"[We need] a Complete Change of Culture": Bystander Intervention Programming and Campus

Safety

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## Abstract

Despite ongoing efforts to decrease the occurrence of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) on college campuses, prevalence rates have remained steady for decades. Experiences of SGBV victimization can negatively impact students' physical and psychological outcomes, as well as their academic success. In 2013, the Campus Sexual Violence Elimination (SaVE) Act mandated that federally funded institutions of higher education provide ongoing bystander intervention programming to university communities as a means to prevent sexual and gender-based violence. While extensive quantitative research to assess the effectiveness of such programming exists, scholars recommend using qualitative research methods to obtain clearer, more nuanced understandings of students' motivations for and difficulties in intervening as bystanders. The present study used both quantitative and qualitative research methods to assess students' perceptions of bystander intervention programming, including whether they feel it impacts their feelings of campus safety, and how their identities influence decisions to intervene. The findings show that although students feel that bystander intervention programming provides them useful tools to intervene, they also feel that it does not prepare them sufficiently to intervene, particularly in potentially violent situations in the context of relationships. Consistent with previous research, a number of identity factors were found to influence bystander outcomes. Female students especially, felt that bystander intervention did not impact their feelings of safety on campus. Finally, students highlighted the positive impact community norms can have on college campuses and, consistent with calls by scholars, emphasize the need for prevention programs to provide proactive, ecological, and comprehensive approaches to preventing SGBV that foster a culture of intervening.

**Dedication**

This work is dedicated to all of the women *throughout* my life who have opened their hearts and shared their experiences of violence with me. Each of your stories have led me here; trying to understand what any of us could have done to prevent what happened to you. I hold your stories in my heart and commit to you that I will do my part to create a world where the next generation does not have to collect stories from close friends or have experiences of their own that teach them that sexual violence is an inevitable part of the unsafe world in which they live.

*"I alone cannot change the world, but I can cast a stone across the waters to create many*

*ripples."*

- Mother Theresa

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**Table of Contents**

## List of Tables

## Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

In a 2011 Dear Colleague Letter, the U.S. Department of Education declared that sexual violence on college campuses "interferes with a students' right to receive equal access to a college education free from discrimination" (Ali, 2011). College is a time for personal growth and intellectual development, but for too many students college is also a time marked by increased vulnerability to sexual victimization (Garland at al., 2018). Over 25% of undergraduate women and over 6% of undergraduate men report experiences of nonconsensual sexual contact during college (Cantor et al., 2020). Further, of students who report having been in a relationship since starting college, 10% report experiencing some form of intimate partner violence (Cantor et al., 2015). These rates are alarming because of the well-documented impact that sexual and intimate partner violence has on the academic and psychosocial outcomes of those students who experience it. Experiences of sexual and intimate partner violence during college are associated with a host of negative physical and psychological outcomes, including injury, sexually transmitted infections, depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress disorder (Campbell et al., 2009; Campbell et al., 2003; Fisher et al., 2000; Kaura & Lohnman, 2007). Additionally, survivors of sexual and intimate partner violence can experience a number of negative impacts to their academic success, including decreased academic engagement, lowered academic achievement and even school withdrawal (Jordan et al., 2014; Kaukinen, 2014).

Despite ongoing efforts to decrease the prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)[1] on college campuses, prevalence rates have remained steady since the 1980s (Cantor et

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[1] This proposal discusses sexual violence, intimate partner violence, and stalking. Researchers have used a number of terms to refer to these forms of violence. The present study will use the term sexual and gender-based violence and the acronym SGBV to refer to these forms of violence.

al., 2015; Hong & Marine, 2018; Koss et al., 1987; Senn & Forrest, 2016). This lack of progress has captured national attention, with policymakers, university officials, and even students pushing for reform, which has included calls for increased violence prevention programming. These calls challenge colleges and universities to determine which strategies are most effective and appropriate for preventing SGBV. Moreover, recent shifts in policy have mandated that federally funded institutions implement prevention programming to address the ongoing prevalence of SGBV.

With shifts in programming, research is needed to understand how students understand and relate to SGBV prevention programs in their colleges and universities. The present study examined students' perceptions of one such prevention program and questions whether its presence influences students' feelings of safety on campus. Moreover, the study examines the ways in which students from different social positions may perceive such programming differently. To begin, I provide a history of federal policy related to prevention of SGBV on college campuses.

## Policy History

In the past forty years, lawmakers have passed a number of policies to address the prevalence of campus SGBV. The first of these was Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, a federal civil rights law enacted by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Title IX prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex for participation in university-based activities. At the time, the law granted women the equal opportunity to participate in sports at federally funded institutions (Title IX, 1972). Title IX has evolved from its initial focus on equality in athletics to its present focus on the adjudication of those accused of campus sexual violence (see NASPA, n.d. for review). As previously mentioned, in 2011, the U.S. Department of

Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) released a Dear Colleague letter detailing how campus sexual violence violates students' Title IX rights. The letter outlined the ways sexual harassment and violence negatively impact students' rights to education and called for institutional changes to address SGBV on college campuses. In particular, the letter expanded Title IX's definition of sex-based discrimination to cover various forms of sexual harassment and recommended that schools take "proactive" steps to prevent sexual harassment and violence, including recommending that schools implement prevention education programming.

Subsequent policies continue to complement Title IX's pursuit of equal access to education. For example, the 2013 reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) amended the Clery Act to include the Campus Sexual Violence Elimination (SaVE) Act (H.R. 2016). The Campus SaVE Act went beyond Title IX's *recommendation* for prevention programing by *requiring* that federally funded institutions of higher education provide ongoing SGBV prevention and education programming to university students and employees. The act states that prevention and education programming must: (1) increase awareness of definitions of the different forms of SGBV, (2) provide definitions of consent, (3) provide information about how to report instances of SGBV, and (4) include bystander intervention education and training as part of the ongoing programming students receive.

Overall, these policies seek not only to ensure equal access to education, but also equal access to *safe* educational experiences for all members of university communities (Jennings, Gover, & Pudrzynska, 2007). However, in the wake of increasing Title IX sexual violence investigations, colleges and universities are searching for effective programming to prevent SGBV and create broader changes in campus climate around SGBV. Moreover, with changes in programming requirements, there is a need for better understanding of the ways in which

students experience such programming, in particular bystander intervention programs, and perceive the programs' effects on their campuses. Next, I provide a brief overview of research on bystander intervention programming.

## Prevention of SGBV

Prior efforts to prevent SGBV have focused on either providing risk reduction training for potential victims or changing attitudes and behaviors of potential perpetrators (Labhardt et al., 2017). Frustration with the lack of effectiveness of these efforts to reduce the prevalence of SGBV spurred the development of community-based programming aimed at changing community norms and attitudes by training students to be prosocial bystanders (Banyard, 2015). The following section provides an overview of bystander intervention programming, reviews research findings related to its effectiveness, and discusses recommendations made for future research in this area.

### Bystander Intervention Prevention Programming

To understand the goals of bystander intervention programming one must start with a clear understanding of what it means to be a bystander. There are many definitions for bystanders in the research literature. Banyard (2015) provides an exemplary definition:

> [Bystanders are] witnesses to negative behavior (an emergency, a crime, rule violating behavior) who, by their presence, have the opportunity to step in to provide help, contribute to the negative behavior or encourage it in some way, or stand by and do nothing but observe. (p. 8)

Bystander approaches to the prevention of campus SGBV give all potential parties the opportunity to play a positive role in preventing violence (Banyard, 2015). Bystanders are significant players in the prevention of SGBV because studies reveal that in one-third of sexual

assaults and one-third of instances of intimate partner violence outside parties are present

(Planty, 2002). Bystander intervention programming seeks to capitalize on the social nature of

these problems by harnessing the potential of students to engage in helping behaviors to support

their peers who are in trouble and utilize "informal social control" to express disapproval for

behaviors that are not acceptable according to community norms (Brown et al., 2014; Chaurand

& Brauer, 2008; Sharkin et al., 2003; West & Wandrei, 2002). The goal of this programming is to

train students to be prosocial bystanders who are empowered enough both to intervene when they

witness violence occurring, and to prevent violence before it occurs (Banyard et al., 2007; Brown

et al., 2014; Cares et al, 2015; Moynihan et al., 2015).

### *Components of Bystander Intervention Programming*

What makes this programming unique is that it seeks to approach the prevention of

SGBV in ways that "recognize or leverage the power of *community* to name, challenge, and

change sexual violence" (Hong & Marine, 2018, p. 23). Programming must motivate students to

take action, which requires them to notice that there is a problem and be aware of actions that

they can take in response (Banyard, 2015). Bystander intervention programs seek to educate and

increase student awareness of the following: (1) what actions constitute SGBV, (2) the

prevalence of such violence, (3) the negative consequences associated with being a victim of

such violence, (4) the identification of warning signs that violence will occur, and (5) skills to

effectively intervene with minimal negative consequences (Labhardt et al., 2017). Effective

programs encourage students to directly intervene as bystanders and encourage them to utilize

indirect methods (e.g., getting assistance from others, delegating others to intervene; Banyard et

al., 2005; Berkowitz, 2002; Hoxmeier et al., 2018). Moreover, bystanders are well positioned to

intervene when they see harm being done, and they also have great potential to change social

norms that allow SGBV to persist. Many programs encourage students to be *proactive* bystanders, training them to spread messages and model behaviors that ultimately shift social norms that have historically supported SGBV (Coker et al., 2011).

### *Theoretical Support for Bystander Intervention Programming*

Two frequently cited theoretical frameworks are key to understanding bystanders' role in preventing SGBV.

**Routine Activities Theory.** According to routine activities theory, the factors necessary for a crime to occur include: (1) a motivated perpetrator, (2) a vulnerable victim, and (3) the *absence* of bystanders who are willing to take action to stop harm from being done (Schwarz, DeKeseredy, Tait, & Alvi, 2001). This theory emphasizes that it is not only the characteristics of the perpetrator that predict perpetration of SGBV, but also the contexts they are embedded in (Tharp et al., 2012). This theory highlights the important role that peer norms play in supporting or denouncing SGBV (Banyard, 2015).

**Social Norms Theory.** Social norms theory describes the influence bystanders have in either supporting or challenging harmful norms and negative behaviors that reinforce SGBV. Prosocial bystanders' placement in peer groups can allow them to function as "cultural tipping points for encouraging violence or preventing it" (Banyard, 2015, p. 14). The theory argues that bystanders' presence in situations where SGBV are likely to occur makes them particularly relevant for the prevention of such violence (Taylor et al., 2013). Further, prosocial bystanders can influence community norms because they can spread positive messaging and lobby for cultural change. We see this with college students continuing to lobby for more effective policies to change the climate of SGBV at their colleges and universities (for examples see Hartcollis, 2018; Hartcollis, 2019; Yowell, 2019).

### Existing Research on Barriers to Intervening

Historically, research on bystander intervention focused on apathy or inaction in those who witness violence. This highlighted a number of different predictors of bystander intervention like diffusion of responsibility, which posits that potential bystanders are less likely to take action in the presence of others (see Darley & Latané, 1968)[2]. With increases in bystander intervention programming, contemporary researchers examine the ways in which students are able to step in as bystanders to assist their peers and prevent SGBV (Penner et al., 2005).

The first challenge to students intervening as bystanders is that they must perceive the situation as requiring intervention (Burn, 2009). Students often look for cues that intervention is necessary from the potential victim. They look for signs of resistance and consent, which can be complicated by situational factors (e.g., the presence of alcohol; Hoxmeier et al., 2018; Rozee & Koss, 2001). The decision to intervene is often further complicated by the bystanders' interpretation of the relationship between the potential victim and perpetrator. Students often rely on assumptions to determine the relationship between the parties involved (e.g., assuming women who are friendly are displaying sexual interest; Hoxmeier et al., 2018; Pugh et al., 2016). Knowledge of a preexisting relationship between the potential perpetrator and victim can also be a barrier to intervention (Hoxmeier et al., 2018; Pugh et al., 2016; Shotland & Straw, 1976), although many college students do, in fact, experience sexual assault and other forms of SGBV in the context of a relationship (Hoxmeier et al., 2016).

Although students may determine that the situation is one in which they should intervene, they sometimes do not do so for a variety of reasons (Hoxmeier et al., 2018). Some studies show

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[2] Other relevant predictors include evaluation apprehension, pluralistic ignorance, confidence in skills, and modeling. See Coker et al. (2011) for a review of these predictors.

that when students do not intervene in a situation of SGBV it is often due to a belief that it was

not their responsibility, or that they did not have the skills to intervene (Hoxmeier et al., 2018).

Further, concerns for their own physical safety can be experienced as a barrier to intervening

(Burn, 2009). Although much is known about characteristics of students who intervene as

bystanders (see Banyard, 2015), a more thorough understanding of barriers to bystander

intervention is necessary to better target the messaging of bystander intervention programming.

Researchers recommend the use of text entry responses, which allow for the collection of open-

ended responses from participants, to better capture barriers not already considered in the

research literature (Hoxmeier et al., 2018).

### *Existing Research on Bystander Intervention Effectiveness*

With increases in bystander intervention programming on college campuses, researchers

have examined the effectiveness of bystander intervention approaches to preventing SGBV.

However research on the effectiveness of bystander intervention programs is limited, particularly

because many colleges and universities administer bystander intervention programming to their

entire student body making randomized control trials and quasi-experimental designs more

challenging (Mujal et al., 2019). Additionally, follow up data are most often obtained 2-3 months

post-intervention limiting the understanding of long-term effects of bystander intervention, with

recent studies revealing that program effects diminish over time (Anderson & Whiston, 2005;

Mujal et al., 2019). In 2013, a systematic review and meta-analysis of campus bystander

intervention programming found that the five programs they studied exhibited moderate effects

on students' bystander efficacy and intentions to help their peers, and smaller but significant

effects on self-reported bystander behaviors (Katz & Moore, 2013). Additionally, a 2018

systematic review sought to expand on the 2013 review by exploring the duration of program

effects (Jouriles et al., 2018). They reviewed findings from 24 studies of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programs and found that students who participate in such programs report engaging in more bystander behaviors. However, the 2018 review also found that effects from bystander programming participation diminish over time.

Perhaps most significantly, although many studies find that bystander intervention programs have positive impacts on bystander attitudes and behaviors, prevalence rates of SGBV on college campuses remain unchanged. Moreover, some studies find gaps between students' positive *intentions* to intervene and their *actual* helping behaviors (McMahon et al., 2018). Therefore, more research is needed to provide a nuanced understanding of the factors that influence students' decisions to intervene as bystanders (Labhardt et al., 2017).

Moreover, while bystander intervention programming approaches attempt to prevent SGBV through positive shifts to university cultures by imparting a shared sense of responsibility on all students for preventing violence, the programming makes a number of assumptions: (1) all students are equipped to intervene, and (2) all students feel that bystander intervention will promote a safer environment for students. Such assumptions do not consider how positionality and identity influence students' perceptions of programming and safety on campus. Further, the provision of bystander intervention programming is mandated by an amendment to the Clery Act, a federal statute designed to increase the transparency of campus crime and safety policies. However, to the best of our knowledge no study has examined the influence of the presence of bystander intervention programming on students' feelings of safety on campus. Given the unwavering prevalence rates of SGBV on college campuses and the negative impact fear of crime has on students' academic engagement, the proposed study is designed to explore, in part, whether bystander intervention programming influences students' perceptions of campus safety.

**Perceptions of Campus Safety**

Although college campuses are not typically spaces where property and violent crime are more prevalent than in the general population, rates of SGBV against women <u>are</u> greater on college campuses (Jennings et al., 2007). While studies show that large proportions of students report feeling safe on college campuses (McConnell, 1997), significant proportions do report feeling fear on campus (Fisher & Nasar, 1992; McCreedy & Dennis, 1996), which may negatively impact their mental health. Such fear is often highest in particular spaces on campuses where students perceive they would have a limited ability to escape a potential threat (Day, 1994; Fisher & Nasar, 1992), and is highest at night (Sloan et al., 2000; Tomsich et al., 2011). Moreover, scholars find that gender is frequently the strongest predictor of fear of crime on college campuses and researchers attribute this to women's fear of rape (Dobbs et al., 2009; Ferraro, 1995; Warr, 1984). Studies on both urban and traditional campuses find that female students report higher levels of fear of crime and that male students more often report that their campus environment is safe (Tomsich et al., 2011). While fear of crime can be a healthy way to avoid becoming a victim of crime, when such fear is chronic it can result in increased stress and the use of debilitating, constrained behavior (Fox et al., 2009; Warr, 2000). Further, fear of crime impacts not only individual students' well being, but may also have detrimental effects on university admissions, with promising students and their parents being reluctant to send them to institutions that are perceived as unsafe (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1994; Fisher & Nasar, 1992; Jennings et al., 2007; Tomsich et al., 2011). Researchers have spent extensive time studying the actions students take to keep themselves safe, describing these "constrained behaviors" and how they dictate students' freedom to move about campus and, in turn, impacts their academic and social engagement (Jennings et al., 2007). The following section will, first,

provide an overview of ecological factors associated with fear of crime and then provide an overview of its consequences, in particular students' use of constrained behavior and their diminished academic and social involvement.

### Ecological Factors Associated with Fear of Crime

Fear of crime is connected to both environmental (e.g., campus characteristics, time of day; Jennings et al., 2007; Warr, 1990) and individual (e.g., gender, race, history of victimization) factors.

**Environmental Factors.** Students' fear of crime is associated with a number of environmental factors, including perceptions of whether lighting on campus is sufficient (Day, 1994) and the number of places perpetrators could hide (Fisher & Nasar, 1992; Tomsich et al., 2011). Perhaps unsurprisingly, numerous studies have shown that university students are more fearful of crime at night (Jennings et al., 2007; Sloan et al., 2000; Tomsich at al., 2011). Such findings have pushed campuses to invest in structural changes like increased lighting and escort services (Jennings et al., 2007; Kelly & Torres, 2006`).

**Individual factors.** Of the individual factors associated with fear of crime, gender is the strongest predictor (Fisher & Sloan, 2003). Regardless of their member status in the college community (e.g., student, faculty, staff), women report greater fear of crime than men (Sloan et al., 2000; Jennings et al., 2007). Although men are more likely than women to be victims of crime, women are more fearful of becoming victims of crime than men (Fisher, 1995; Fox et al., 2009; Gibson et al., 2002; Jennings et al., 2007; Warr, 2000). Women are most fearful of physical violence, sexual violence, and stalking (Barberet et al., 2004; Fox et al., 2009; Wilcox et al., 2007). Moreover, examinations of rates of interpersonal crimes reveal that women do experience more sexual violence, intimate partner violence, and stalking (Fox et al., 2009), implying that

their fear – and resulting actions to increase their perceived safety – is warranted. Research shows women are more afraid of crime both during the day and at night, perceive their campus environments as being unsafe, have increased perceptions of their risk for victimization, and adjust their behaviors to increase their feelings of safety more often than men (Jennings et al., 2007; Tomsich et al., 2011). Limited research has examined the relationship of trait fear and anxiety on perceptions of fear of crime on campus. A study by Guedes and colleagues (2018), found that abstract fear of crime is predicted by both sex and trait fear, which is the tendency an individual has to feel fear in daily life. However, the study was conducted in Portugal with a community sample limiting the ability to compare its conclusions to college students in the United States. Regardless, while some fear may be internally driven, in general, female students report greater fear of crime on college campuses and believe that if they were to be victimized they would be blamed for not doing more to prevent or minimize their risk of victimization (Kelly & Torres, 2006).

Research studies find that in addition to gender, other demographic groups experience increased fear of crime. Sloan and colleagues (2000) found that students' fear of crime varies by individual factors, including age, race, and prior victimization experiences. Age can predict greater fear of crime, but trends in the relationship between fear of crime and age differ with college samples. In studies using non-university samples, researchers find that older individuals express more fear of crime victimization than younger individuals (Ferraro, 1995; Fox et al., 2009; Gibson et al., 2002). However, younger college students express higher levels of fear of crime and also perceive themselves to be more at risk than their older peers (Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Kaminski et al., 2010). Researchers attribute this difference to older students' increased time on campus that allows them to feel confident in their ability to preserve their safety (Schafer

et al., 2018). Moreover, racial/ethnic minority students report higher levels of fear on campus (Fox et al., 2009; Kaminski et al., 2010; Lane et al., 2009). Finally, sexual minority students can also express fear for their personal safety on campus, particualry in the context of increased vulnerability for LGBTQ+ students experiencing harassment and threats of violence on some college campuses (D'Augelli, 1992; Rankin, 2005). It is important to note that fear of crime can occur regardless of students' victimization history (Maffini, 2018). Vicarious victimization models propose that individuals who lack a history of victimization are still conscious of the potential for their victimization because of their awareness of rates of crime either by personally knowing a victim or by exposure to media reports (Ferraro, 1996; Fox et al., 2009; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). For many students, fear of crime controls their daily lives, dictating what they should and should not do to protect themselves (Madriz, 1997). The present study explores safety in the context of bystander intervention programming which seeks to promote positive culture change that would help students feel safer. However, the influence of identity is critical because social positionality on college campuses can impact students' perceived safety.

### *Impact of Fear of Crime on Students*

Fear of crime impacts students' daily routines and social behaviors (see Dobbs et al., 2009; Gordon & Riger, 1989; Madriz, 1997). Understanding fear of crime and its effect on students is an important area of research because students who report more fear of crime display lower levels of classroom engagement and report more depressive symptoms (Côté-Lussier & Fitzpatrick, 2016). Lorenc and colleagues (2012) provide a framework for the impact fear of crime can have on students' mental health and engagement. They posit that as fear of crime intensifies it negatively impacts students' mental health. This may lead to the use of restrictive or avoidant behaviors to cope, which ultimately leads to decreased engagement within the

community. Decreased involvement in the community reduces trust and cohesion, which then increases fear, thereby perpetuating the cycle (Lorenc et al., 2012). I now provide an overview of research on students' use of constrained behaviors to cope.

**Students' Use of Constrained Behaviors.** Fear of crime is a strong predictor of students' use of constrained behavior (Hickman & Meuhlenhard, 1997), which is defined as "behavioral changes or actions that individuals purposefully make in hopes of reducing their victimization risk" (Jennings et al., 2007). Constrained behaviors include restrictive, avoidant, and precautionary behaviors (see Jennings et al., 2007; Kelly & Torres, 2006; May et al., 2010; Rader et al., 2009; Tomsich et al., 2011; Wilcox et al., 2007). Examples of such behaviors include: (1) carrying keys in a defensive way, (2) avoiding certain academic spaces, especially at night, (3) not taking nighttime classes, (4) asking someone to walk with them for personal safety, and (5) carrying a weapon (e.g., gun, mace; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1994; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Jennings et al., 2007; McCreedy & Dennis, 1996; Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2003). Students report the use of constrained behaviors regardless of whether they report previous victimization experiences (Jennings et al., 2007; Kelly & Torres, 2006). The use of constrained behavior is, not unexpectedly, higher in female students. A study by Klodawsky and Lundy (1994) looking at perceptions of campus safety in a large sample of university community members (1032 undergraduate students, 208 graduate students, 120 faculty) found that nearly two-thirds of the female members of the campus academic community sampled reported that they restrict their movements because of fear of crime. The use of constrained behaviors impacts students' capacity to engage in their university community and can have an impact on their academic success.

**Effects on Academic Involvement.** Fear of crime impacts the quality of students' educational experiences as well as their ability to participate in positive activities on campus

(Tseng et al., 2004). Female student's use of constrained behaviors can prevent them from being fully involved with campus activities (Currie, 1994). This is especially problematic because student's lack of involvement is usually in both academic and social activities, which can negatively impact their academic persistence (Hu, 2011). Astin (1993) developed a theory that details the importance of student involvement in *all* aspects of college life. Astin's theory defines involvement as "the amount of physical and psychological energy that the student devotes to the academic experience" (Astin, 1993, p. 297). Student involvement facilitates positive moral and cognitive development (Flowers, 2004; Moore et al., 1998). Tinto (1993) also emphasizes the importance of involvement on student persistence stating, "involvement…is itself positively related to the quality of student effort and in turn to both learning and persistence" (p. 71). Involvement is both quantitative and qualitative (Astin, 1984), and comprises academic behaviors, as well as contact with peers and faculty in and out of the classroom, as well as involvement in extracurricular activities (Astin, 1984).

Given the importance of involvement on success and persistence in college (Milem & Berger, 1997), scholars propose that the effectiveness of educational policies and practices should be judged by the extent to which they are able to promote student involvement. Moreover, due to the clear deleterious effects associated with fear of crime, researchers have suggested that more work should be done to understand the impact of university practices to increase campus security on students' fear of crime (Fisher, 1995; Jennings et al., 2007). The proposed study seeks to question whether the presence of bystander intervention programming, a mandate of federal law seeking to increase campus safety, influences students' fear of crime and use of constrained behavior on a college campus.

### Calls for Research on Bystander Intervention Programming

While several studies have demonstrated the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming at increasing students' confidence in intervening and their use of bystander skills (e.g., Coker et al., 2015; Jouriles et al., 2018; Salazar et al., 2014), more research is needed to better understand students' use of and responses to bystander intervention programming. Researchers call for increased understanding of bystanders' thought processes when they consider whether or not to intervene (Banyard, 2015). This is particularly critical because many students report prosocial bystander *intentions*, but research finds gaps between such intentions and their use of bystander behaviors (Labhardt et al., 2017).

Bystander intervention programming is often delivered in the same way to all students, thereby assuming that all students are equipped to intervene in some way. However, studies of bystander intervention programming seldom consider the status of the bystander and how status influences students' comfort in intervening. Researchers propose that it may be easier to intervene if one occupies a higher status position in the social context (Banyard, 2015), but little consideration has been paid to the actions and intentions of bystanders from underrepresented groups. It is possible that position in the community impacts the actions a bystander feels are safe and appropriate to take (Banyard, 2015).  For example, students from underrepresented groups might feel risk in how their actions will be interpreted, being concerned that they might be labeled as part of the problem or considered a perpetrator themselves (Banyard, 2015). However, few studies of bystander intervention programming have included marginalized student populations and those studies that do rarely consider the impact of the marginalized identity of the helper on their intervention behaviors (Brown et al., 2014).  Further, while some studies show differences by gender for intentions to intervene (Brown et al., 2014), others find that men and

women do not differ in the amount of intervening they do (Banyard, 2015). These findings point to the importance of research on variables like race, gender, and the intersection of those identities to further understand how they influence students' intentions and actual bystander behaviors. Nuanced perspectives on bystander intervention programming are necessary to consider differences amongst subpopulations of students not often studied in SGBV prevention research (Hubach et al., 2019).  Brown and colleagues (2014) highlight this by stating, "it may be useful to conduct qualitative studies in which Black and White men and women are interviewed about their experiences and thoughts about intervening in the context of sexual violence" (p. 359).

Related to this assertion, scholars have called for the increased use of qualitative methods to capture the nature of students' bystander intervention behaviors and barriers to such behaviors (Hoxmeier et al., 2018). Researchers suggest that qualitative work might better illustrate the contexts and experiences that both promote and inhibit student's willingness to intervene as well as their actual interventions as bystanders in situations of SGBV (McMahon et al., 2017; McMahon et al., 2018). More research is needed to understand the proximal and distal factors that influence students' bystander intervention behaviors.

Furthermore, little research has been done to assess students' perceptions of bystander intervention programming and whether they feel it is an effective approach to addressing SGBV. Sexual violence prevention researchers acknowledge that in order for programs to be effective, they must create structures that appeal to participants and ensure their buy-in (Kervin & Obinna, 2010). As the most significant stakeholders in bystander intervention programming, students possess relevant knowledge and experience that is crucial to informing programming development. A consideration of the critical role students play in bystander intervention, reveals

how necessary it is to understand the meaning students make of bystander intervention programming and how such meaning connects to their confidence and intentions to intervene as bystanders. Further, while bystander intervention programming is developed to decrease the prevalence of SGBV, little work has been done to determine whether the presence of bystander intervention programming promotes feelings of safety on campus.

## Present Study

The present study examines a largely unexplored area of research that informs universities' efforts to combat SGBV and explores a potential strategy to address the detrimental effects fear of crime has on student involvement. The study seeks to understand in what ways bystander intervention programming does and does not meet students' needs related to SGBV prevention. This work furthers the understanding of how programming can be designed to optimize its potential to create lasting change in students' bystander attitudes *and* behaviors and ultimately create safe, more equitable educational environments for *all* students. The study centers students as experts on their lived experience as related to SGBV prevention and is designed to assess whether bystander intervention programming meets the needs of the students they are designed to help (Hubach et al., 2019). This dissertation ultimately explores whether students consider bystander intervention programming to be a *meaningful* approach to prevention and examines their experiences with bystander intervention and its presumed byproduct, a greater sense of a culture of safety on campus.

First, the study seeks to provide a more nuanced understanding of students' use of and reactions to bystander intervention programming. Moreover, the study seeks to examine the intersection of bystander intervention programming, fear of crime, and students' use of constrained behaviors. The study design uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to obtain

a more detailed understanding of how, why, and when undergraduate students intervene when faced with situations of SGBV. Moreover, the study seeks to examine the relationship between students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV and bystander intervention programming, and whether such programming is perceived to be the solution to the problem of SGBV on college campuses. More specifically, the study addresses the following aims:

1. *What are students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV and bystander intervention programming?* The specific exploratory questions include: How effective do students feel that bystander intervention programming is at addressing the climate of SGBV on their campus? What, if anything, do students feel is the impact of bystander intervention programming?

2. *How do students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV at their school relate to bystander outcomes?* In looking at the intersection of students' bystander outcomes and their perceptions of the climate of SGBV, I specifically examined whether students' perceptions of the climate relate to their confidence in and use of bystander skills. While previous literature does not suggest any particular relationship between these variables, I hypothesize that students who rank the climate of SGBV as more problematic will feel less confidence and efficacy and will intervene less often. I also hypothesize a negative relationship between students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV and their perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander programming, such that the more problematic students feel the climate is, the less effective they will perceive bystander programming to be at addressing that climate.

3. *Do students feel that the presence of bystander intervention programming on their campus influences their perceptions of safety on that campus?* For this research aim I

used qualitative data to examine how students' perceptions of bystander intervention

programming relate to their use of constrained behaviors and involvement in social

and academic activities on campus. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, there

are no a priori hypotheses about the connections between students' fear of crime, use

of constrained behavior, and perceptions of bystander intervention programming. I

expect to find similar findings on fear of crime and use of constrained behavior that

were previously mentioned (e.g., women display greater fear of crime and use of

constrained behavior).

4. *Are aspects of students' identities associated with their bystander attitudes and*

   *behaviors? What are the factors that promote and inhibit students interventions as*

   *bystanders in situations of SGBV?* This research aims specifically to examine

   whether students' confidence about intervening as a bystander and use of bystander

   skills differs by demographic group (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation,

   and involvement in Greek life) and how students perceive their identities make it

   easier or more difficult for them to intervene. Based on studies highlighting the

   significance of gender on intervention behaviors and gender differences in

   students' willingness to intervene (e.g., Banyard, 2008; Brown et al., 2014), I

   expect to find that gender is significantly associated with bystander outcomes.

   Specifically, I expect to find that male students will report lower bystander efficacy

   and fewer bystander behaviors. Additionally, while most studies examining race in

   bystander intervention focus on the race of the potential victim (e.g., Saucier,

   Miller, & Doucet, 2005), studies examining the impact of the race of the helper

   have found mixed results with some studies failing to find relationships between

the helper's race and bystander intervention (Christy & Voigt, 1994; Frye, 2007),

and others finding racial differences in self-reported bystander behaviors (Brown et

al., 2014). Therefore, while I expect to find significant associations between

race/ethnicity and bystander outcomes, it remains unclear which direction those

outcomes will be in. Finally, given research showing associations between Greek

life involvement and willingness to intervene (Bannon et al., 2013), I expect to

find significant associations between bystander outcomes and Greek life

involvement. In particular, I expect that Greek life involvement will be associated

with decreased bystander efficacy and bystander behaviors. Moreover, the study

seeks to advance existing research findings to further understand factors that

students perceive make it easier or more difficult to intervene and consider whether

there are gender differences in such factors. I expect to find barriers consistent with

Burn's (2009) five barriers to bystander intervention: (1) failure to notice, (2)

failure to identify situation as high risk, (3) failure to take intervention

responsibility, (4) failure to intervene due to skills deficit, and (5) failure to

intervene due to audience inhibition.

**Chapter 2: Study Methodology**

The study was designed to complement existing research related to students' use of

bystander intervention behaviors in situations of SGBV. It utilized a parallel mixed methods

approach to address the study questions (see Appendix A for a depiction of the full study design).

Parallel mixed design involves the parallel collection of quantitative and qualitative data, which

allows for the analysis of both confirmatory and exploratory research questions (Teddlie &

Tashakkori, 2009). Allowing for both types of questions to be explored broadens the scope of

study and creates a structure in which qualitative results provide context for quantitative results

and vice versa (Greene et al., 1989). Confirmatory questions seek to test theory-based

hypotheses. These questions will be answered with quantitative data collected from surveys of

undergraduate students. Exploratory questions, those questions that seek to produce information

about previously unknown facets of an area of inquiry (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), will be

probed primarily using data from focus groups. The data gleaned from focus groups provide a

rich understanding of students' perceptions of SGBV and bystander intervention programming

(Lindgren, Schacht, Pantalone, & Blayney, 2009; DeMaria et al. 2018).

**Context of Study**

Before describing the data collection processes, I describe the context in which the data

were collected to address the transferability of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Data were

collected across three academic years (2017-2018, 2018-2019, and 2019-2020) at a large, public,

predominantly White institution of higher education in the mid-Atlantic United States. There are

a few forms of bystander intervention programming provided to the student body, and the

structure of this programming changed during the course of the study (changes described further

below). In each year of the study, incoming students (i.e., first years, transfer students) are

required to take online sexual violence education modules. Students are required to complete the modules before they start classes and again every two years during their time at the university. According to the university's Office for Equal Opporunity and Civil Rights, "the modules are designed to educate students on conduct prohibited by the University's Policy on Sexual and Gender-Based Harassment and other Forms of Interpersonal Violence (the "Title IX Policy") and inform students of ways in which we can all serve as active bystanders and community leaders in preventing harassment and violence in our community." Online modules are one of the primary ways colleges and universities fulfill the Department of Education's requirement that universities provide ongoing sexual violence prevention education. The university's specific online educational module was developed in partnership with EverFi, a digital education company that offers such educational modules to over 1500 colleges and universities.

In addition to the online modules, incoming students are required to attend a roughly one-hour presentation with other incoming students during welcome week about the culture of sexual respect and bystander intervention at their university (the presentation will be referred to as the "welcome week presentation" throughout the dissertation). The welcome week presentation is attended by thousands of students each year. In the 2017-2018 and 2018-2019 academic years the content of the welcome week presentation used curriculum from Green Dot, a primary prevention program designed by Dr. Dorothy Edwards to train "participants to engage in proactive behaviors that model and endorse norms that are incompatible with violence." Green Dot was recommended by the Obama White House Taskforce on Sexual Violence (2017) as an evidence-based program for bystander intervention training and is listed as a promising prevention strategy by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Coker et al., 2015). Participation in the training was voluntary. Trainings were multi-hour and are "designed to give

participants space to learn and practice realistic bystander intervention skills" (Trainings, n.d.). A staff member who worked with Green Dot as well as one or two upperclass students delivered the content of the welcome week presentation. The program used the language "green dots" to describe individual's efforts to prevent "red dots," or moments of SGBV. Additionally, in the 2017-2018 and 2018-2019 academic years students could take a multi-hour Green Dot bystander training, designed to teach students how to be an active bystander and intervene in situations of SGBV and give them the opportunity to practice those skills during the training. Students who participated in the multi-hour training are referred to as "bystander trained" students.

Finally, in 2019, the university's Office of Health Promotion began to develop its own primary prevention program for SGBV. The university delivered its own bystander intervention presentation to incoming students for the welcome week presentation in the Fall of 2019. The content was delivered solely by senior undergraduate students and changed the language of "green dots" to "moments of help" and "red dots" to "moments of harm." The programming included more student stories of intervening and discussed having a "culture of checking in on one another." Focus groups were conducted after the change in programming such that first year students received the online modules and the new welcome week presentation, but older students (second year onward), including all of the survey study participants, received the original Green Dot welcome week presentation and the online modules every two years.

**Strand I: Survey Study**

*Participants*

Strand 1 of the study utilized data from surveys that were administered to a convenience sample of 925 undergraduate students enrolled in Psychology courses in the spring and fall of 2018 at the university. The recruitment of participants and administration of the surveys occurred

through the use of the Psychology department's participant pool. Additionally, at the time, the

university offered the Green Dot[3] bystander trainings to students, faculty, and staff. In addition to

participant pool data, the study utilized data collected from an evaluation of the Green Dot

bystander training at the university. Bystander training data collection began in the fall of 2017,

and continued to be collected from undergraduate students who signed up to participate in

bystander trainings through the spring of 2019 ($n = 63$). Data for the present study are taken from

training pre-surveys sent to students to fill out in the week before the training. See Appendix N

for Strand I participant demographics.

*Methods*

**Strand I: Survey Study**

Participant pool and bystander training participants were asked to fill out a battery of

surveys on Qualtrics assessing a number of constructs, including bystander confidence, attitudes

towards SGBV, and use of bystander behaviors. In the fall of 2018 ($n = 587$), questions assessing

students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV, their perceptions of bystander programming

efficacy, and factors that promote and inhibit intervening as a bystander were added to the

surveys.

**Measures.** Quantitative surveys were first developed in collaboration with the UVA

Green Dot Steering Committee during the researcher's time as an intern with UVA's prevention

team. The surveys were selected and measures were modified to align with the goals and

priorities of the prevention office. As preliminary results were obtained, surveys were modified

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[3] A detailed description of the Green Dot bystander intervention program is beyond the scope of this paper. For a review of the program see Coker et al. (2011) and Coker et al. (2015).

to add questions to obtain a deeper understanding of students' perceptions of the programming.

Additionally, some items within measures were modified to be consistent with language used in

Green Dot bystander trainings (e.g., "rape" was changed to "sexual assault") and some gendered

items were made gender neutral (e.g., "women's" to "someone's"). Appendix B depicts an

overview of information on the included measures and Appendix C includes the complete battery

of surveys provided to both participant pool and bystander training students. Due to

modifications to survey language, I conducted analyses to test the reliability of the modified

measures and have included the results of those analyses in Appendix B and the descriptions of

the measures below.

*Outcome Variables.* The Bystander Efficacy Scale (BES; Banyard et al., 2005) asks

participants to rate their level of confidence performing bystander behaviors. The scale includes

12 bystander behaviors (e.g., Ask a friend if they need to be walked home from a party; Get help

if I hear of an abusive relationship in my dorm or apartment). Participants rate their confidence

performing the behavior on a scale from 0 (cannot do) to 100 (very certain can do). Higher

scores on the scale indicate higher levels of confidence in intervening as a bystander. A study of

female undergraduates by Foubert and colleagues (2010) found good internal consistency in the

measure ($\alpha = .89$). Additionally, Langhibrichsen-Rolling and colleagues (2011) found excellent

internal consistency using the scale with male undergraduates ($\alpha = .95$). The modified version of

the BES used in the present study found good internal consistency in the measure ($\alpha = .88$).

The Barriers to Sexual Assault Bystander Intervention scale (BSABI; Burn, 2009)

evaluates participants' apprehension towards sexual assault-specific bystander behavior. The

survey includes eleven items from 3 of the 5 original subscales of the BSABI. Students respond

on a scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree, with higher scores indicating increased

apprehension to intervening as a bystander. The included subscales are: (1) failure to notice

(e.g., At a party or bar, I would probably be too busy to notice if someone was at risk for sexual

assault), (2) failure to identify situation as high risk (e.g., In a party or bar situation, I think I

would be uncertain as to whether someone is at-risk for being sexually assaulted), and (3) failure

to take intervention responsibility (e.g., If I saw someone I didn't know was at risk for being

sexually assaulted, I would leave it up to their friends to intervene). In a study of male and

female undergraduate students, Burn (2009) found acceptable internal consistency in all of the

included subscales of the measure, with Cronbach's alphas ranging from .72 to .85. In the present

study, the failure to identify situation as high risk subscale found acceptable internal consistency

($\alpha = .75$) and good internal consistency in the failure to take intervention responsibility subscale

($\alpha = .86$). A Cronbach's alpha was not obtained for the failure to notice subscale because that

scale only included one item.

The Bystander Behaviors Scale (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2005) is used to

determine how frequently participants observe and utilize bystander behaviors to prevent SGBV.

The measure is split into two questionnaires, each featuring 7 questions, in which participants

rank the frequency of their use of bystander behaviors, as well as the amount of times they

observed the same bystander behaviors in the past three months. For the present study, I used the

questions assessing participants' use of bystander behaviors. Significant modifications to the

survey were made to better examine the behaviors students are encouraged to use in the Green

Dot bystander training. The Green Dot Steering Committee added three items to the survey to

assess the following: (1) students' use of distraction as an intervention technique (i.e., Found a

way to distract someone in a high-risk situation in an effort to prevent an assault), (2) students'

intervention strategies involving seeking help from others present (i.e., Sought help from

someone else in an effort to de-escalate a potentially high risk situation), and (3) students'

intervention in a situation of stalking (i.e., Provided support to someone who was afraid for their

personal safety because they were being stalked (either in person or online)). Additionally, the

committee chose to remove five of the items used in Banyard and colleagues' scale (2005) that

assessed bystander behaviors around witnessing excessive alcohol use (e.g., Discussed the

possible dangers of drinking too much with friends; Made sure someone who had too much to

drink got home safely). Finally, language of some of the items was modified to better align with

training content (e.g., the word rape was changed to sexual assault in a couple of the items).

Participants respond on a scale from not at all, once, a few times, and many times with

higher scores indicating higher frequency of use of or observation of bystander behaviors. I

added an additional response of "I never encountered this situation" to give students the option to

distinguish from not observing or using the behavior and not encountering the situation at all.

Little research has been conducted to assess students' *opportunities* to utilize specific bystander

strategies to prevent SGBV (Brown at al., 2014). Researchers recommend not only measuring

students' use of bystander behaviors, but also the frequency of bystander intervention

opportunities to more accurately understand the effectiveness of bystander training programs

(Hoxmeier et al., 2018). In a study of the Green Dot bystander intervention program, Coker and

colleagues (2011) found the Bystander Behaviors scale demonstrated acceptable internal

consistency ($\alpha = .80$). In the present study, I found improved internal consistency from the scale

used in the 2011 study, with the modified survey showing good internal consistency ($\alpha = .90$).

***Demographic Variables.*** I collected a number of demographic variables including: year

in school, age, gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, involvement in Greek life, athletics

participation, previous victimization, and exposure to bystander intervention programming prior

to the start of college. I also asked participants to type the gender identification into an open-ended response item. The open-responses were coded into the following categories: (1) male-identifying (e.g., Male, Boy, Man, Cis Male), (2) female-identifying (e.g., Female, Girl, Woman), (3) female, trans-identifying, and (4) male, trans-identifying. For the present study due to the small number of trans-identifying students ($n = 2$), analyses testing differences between gender were limited to the male-identifying and female-identifying students. Additionally, Greek life involvement was assessed with a number of categories (e.g., National Interfraternity Conference, service fraternity, academic fraternity or sorority). For the purposes of this study, I chose to narrow Greek Life involvement to only those who reported that they were in fraternities/sororities that are part of the National Interfraternity council (labeled "IFC/ISC" in the survey) based on guidance from university partners, as well as a wealth of research documenting the increased risk for sexual victimization and perpetration in these subcultures (e.g, Bannon et al., 2013; Strombler, 1994). All other students were defined as "not involved" in Greek life. In addition to these variables, participants are asked if they consider themselves advocates of survivors of violence and if they participate in a group that exists to promote the prevention of SGBV. Tables 1 and 2 provide an overview of the representation of demographics in the sample of participants already surveyed.

  ***Researcher-Developed Questions.*** For the fall 2018 version of the survey I developed a series of questions to better understand students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV as well as their perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming at addressing that climate. Perceptions of the climate of SGBV at their university are assessed with a series of questions assessing the climate of each separate form of violence the bystander training is meant to prevent (i.e., sexual assault, dating/domestic violence). These questions were created to mirror

questions included in the 2017 university campus climate survey (i.e., "How problematic is sexual assault or sexual misconduct at the [your university];" Westat, 2017). Response options include: not at all, a little, somewhat, very, and extremely, with higher scores indicating that the student perceives the climate to be more problematic. These questions are followed by questions asking students to rank how effective they feel bystander intervention is at addressing each type of violence (e.g., "How effective is bystander intervention at addressing sexual assault at [your university]?"). The response options also include not at all, a little, somewhat, very, and extremely. Higher scores for this question indicate that students perceive bystander intervention to be more effective at addressing the form of SGBV.

The researcher-developed quantitative questions are followed up with open-ended questions asking participants to explain why they selected their bystander effectiveness rating (e.g., "Please explain why you rated bystander intervention's effectiveness in addressing sexual assault at [your university] as you did.") and to explain what would make bystander intervention more effective (e.g., "What, if anything, do you think would make bystander intervention more effective at addressing sexual assault at [your university]?"). Finally, the surveys conclude with two open-response questions asking participants to reflect on factors that make it easy or difficult for them to intervene in situations of SGBV (e.g., "What are the kinds of things that prevent you, or people like you, from intervening in a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking?").

**Data Organization.** Quantitative survey data from participant pool and bystander training study participants were merged into SPSS 25.0 software to facilitate quantitative analyses. Although bystander trainings were sometimes attended by staff members and graduate students, the goals of the present study are focused on *undergraduates'* perceptions of bystander

intervention and programming. Therefore, non-undergraduate bystander training participants ($n =$ 12) were removed from the dataset. Additionally, although some participants indicated they were "Staff," six of these participants also indicated that they were undergraduates. These participants were kept in the sample as they were likely undergraduate students who also hold employment positions on campus (e.g., staff at a library or athletic facility).

## Strand II: Focus Group Study

There is a long history of using focus groups to research issues of gender equity and SGBV (Wilkinson, 1998). Focus groups allow for elements of social constructionism to be integrated into the research design. Through their interactions with one another, group members co-construct meaning related to the topics of interest (Wilkinson, 1998). Given the inherently social nature of bystander intervention, I chose focus groups as the data collection strategy for strand II of the study to provide more fruitful data that allow for a greater consideration of context, which is more likely to be lost in individual interviews (Krueger & Casey, 2015). Data gleaned from these groups comprise individual perspectives, and also allowed participants to discuss issues with one another, creating interactive data. The study design contributes a more nuanced understanding of students' responses to universities' efforts to decrease the prevalence of SGBV via the provision of bystander intervention programming. It also explores such programming as a potential community-based strategy to minimize students' fear of crime. By placing importance on how participants conceptualize concepts, focus group participants are empowered to co-construct knowledge and understanding (Wilkinson, 1998). Best practices for qualitative research recommend that researchers describe their positionality, which details how their background and experiences might play a role in the design of the study and analysis of findings. Furthermore, although the present study is conducted at a single university I argue that

this university is uniquely positioned to offer perspectives on the chosen topics given its history of Title IX investigations and negative news media coverage related to the prevalence of SGBV at the university. Therefore, I prepared both researcher and institutional positionality statements, which are described below.

### *Researcher Positionality*

I was first introduced to bystander intervention programming in 2016 as a graduate intern in the prevention office at the University of Virginia. Since then I have collaborated with the prevention office and other university faculty and staff to strategize on how to evaluate existing programming and how to engage with best practices to improve prevention efforts. In August of 2016, I attended a training that certified me to implement the Green Dot Violence Prevention Strategy on college campuses (see Alteristic.org). This certification allowed me to deliver Green Dot programming to undergraduate and graduate students, as well as faculty and staff at the University of Virginia. It was through delivering this content and conversations with stakeholders that I began to consider the questions about bystander intervention programming that have culminated in this research. I was struck by the premise that bystander intervention programming is developed to be a universal, community-based approach to the prevention of SV, but how differently participants responded to the content, My positionality as an insider in the prevention team allowed me to connect with participants and gave me the foundational knowledge to contextualize the implications for my results. However, I collaborated with a research team on coding of qualitative data, allowing them to voice their observations in the data so that my experiences did not bias emergent coding.

***Study Design***

Focus groups were conducted using a multiple-category design (Krueger & Casey, 2015). Categories include gender, bystander training involvement, and year in school, such that comparisons can be made in three ways: (1) between male and female students, (2) between bystander trained to non-bystander trained students, and (3) between first years and upperclassmen. Year in school is of particular interest given the timing of exposure to bystander intervention programming. In their first year, students receive the most exposure to bystander intervention programming, with the exception of students who sign up for bystander intervention trainings in later years. Typical programming is primarily provided in two formats: (1) online sexual violence education modules and (2) attending a presentation with all incoming first year and transfer students about the university's "culture of sexual respect" and bystander intervention. Students are asked to take the online modules every two years, but no other presentation or talk is required for upperclass students to attend. Therefore, in their first semester, students are most recently exposed to bystander intervention education programming, which is why I wanted to probe for potential differences in perceptions of programming when comparing first year, first semester students to upperclassmen. Additionally, Krueger and Casey (2015) recommend creating groups where there is enough variation within the group so that contrasting opinions are present, but not so much variance that participants feel inhibited or defer to the knowledge and experience of others. They state it may be unwise to mix genders in focus groups, especially if the group's experiences on the topics of discussion are known to differ by gender. Thus, due to the large amount of research demonstrating gender differences in men's and women's use of constrained behavior (see Jennings et al., 2007), single-gender groups were conducted.

**Participant Recruitment.** Focus groups were conducted in the fall of 2019 with undergraduate students attending the university. Participants were recruited using a number of techniques, both online and in person. The research team posted recruitment flyers (see Appendix D) around campus in spaces where undergraduates frequent (e.g., student centers, gyms, bulletin boards near classrooms). The researcher also reached out to her existing connections in the university (e.g., the university's Office of Health Promotion, student groups she has partnered with in the past, faculty, graduate students, and staff she has worked with) by email to share information to recruit participants (see Appendix E for sample recruitment email). Further, the researcher partnered with the university's sexual violence prevention coordination team reached out to student groups whose mission is to advocate for survivors of SGBV to recruit from their membership. Finally, in an attempt to recruit a diverse sample of students from the university the researcher reached out to leadership of student groups and organizations on campus who work with underrepresented student populations (e.g., the National Pan-Hellenic Council, the Multicultural Student Center, the LGBTQ Center).

To recruit bystander trained students for focus groups the researcher collaborated with the university's Office of Health Promotion to obtain the email addresses of students who participated in Green Dot bystander trainings. Recruitment emails were sent to bystander trained students who were still attending the university in the fall of 2019 ($n = 91$). The researcher utilized research funding obtained from a fellowship with the Power, Violence, and Inequality collective at UVA, as well as funding from an IES predoctoral fellowship to compensate focus group participants with a modest incentive for their participation (see Appendix O for funding acknowledgment).

Recruitment materials directed students to use the study's email address if they were interested in participating. When students emailed they were instructed to take a brief recruitment survey (see Appendix F) to determine their eligibility for participating and to determine which focus group they were eligible to participate in. Recruitment began in September 2019 and continued through November 2019. Focus groups for female-identifying students were filled first. Table 1 shows the amount of eligible students per focus group category who expressed interest in participating in the study and were sent the recruitment survey. The table also depicts how many students were invited to participate, and the number who actually participated in a group. The upperclass, non-bystander trained female-identifying focus group was the group that had the most students indicate interest in participating. Because more students indicated interest in this group than could be compensated for their participation in the study, invited participants were purposefully selected to represent a distribution of years, race/ethnicities, and sexual orientations. Additionally, the female-identifying, bystander training group had low attendance. In an attempt to recruit additional upperclass women and bystander trained women, a combined make-up group was held where participants who did not attend the original group they were invited to were invited to attend a makeup focus group. Ultimately, 38 undergraduate students participated in the focus groups with an equal distribution of male ($n = 19$) and female-identifying ($n = 19$) students. Table 2 depicts the demographics of students who participated in the groups, including the participants' self-identified race/ethnicity and sexual orientation. All participants were assigned pseudonyms to maintain their confidentiality. Additionally, although the recruitment survey allowed students to use their own language to describe their race/ethnicity, language was adjusted for some participants to minimize the opportunity for students to be identified.

**Table 1.**

***Focus Group Recruitment Numbers***

| Focus Group | Responded to Recruitment Survey and Eligible to Participate | Invited to Participate | Attended Focus Group (% attended from invitations) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Female-identifying, first years | 13 | 13 | 6 (46.15%) |
| Male-identifying, first years | 9 | 9 | 6 (66.67%) |
| Female upperclasswomen, non-bystander trained | 25 | 12 | 6 (50%) |
| Male upperclasswomen, non-bystander trained | 13 | 13 | 9 (69.23%) |
| Female bystander trained students | 12 | 12 | 7 (58.33%) |
| Male bystander trained students | 9 | 9 | 4 (44.44%) |

**Table 2.**

***Focus Group Participant Information.***

| Focus Group Category | Participant Pseudonyms | Participant demographics (Year (included for upperclass groups), Race/ethnicity, and Sexual orientation) |
|---|---|---|
| Female-identifying first year students (*n* = 6) | Cassie | Asian, Questioning |
| | Kamara | African American, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Sloane | White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Zoe | White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Lauren | Asian, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Michelle | White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| Male-identifying first year students (*n* = 6) | Mateo | Latino, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Minsheng | Asian American, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Joshua | Caucasian, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Dan | White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Andre | Mixed, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Amir | Asian American, Heterosexual/Straight |
| Female upperclasswomen, | Andrea | Fourth Year, White & Hispanic/Latinx, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Anisa | Fourth Year, East Asian, Heterosexual/Straight |

| non-bystander | Charlotte | Third Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
|---|---|---|
| trained | Lillian | Fifth Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| ($n$ = 6) | Chelsea | Second Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Nicole | Fourth Year, White/East Asian, Bisexual |
| | | |
| Male upperclassmen | Noah | Second Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| non-bystander | Zachary | Fourth Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| trained | Ryan | Second Year, White, Gay |
| ($n$ = 9) | David | Second Year, White/Caucasian, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Nicholas | Second Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Michael | Fourth Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Connor | Fourth Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Ben | Third Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Rashad | Fourth Year, Asian, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | | |
| Female bystander | Mary Grace | Third Year, White, Bisexual |
| trained students | Jordan | Third Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| ($n$ = 7) | Emily | Fourth Year, Caucasian, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Kaitlin | Third Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Elizabeth | Third Year, White, Bisexual |
| | Josephine | Fourth Year, Black/Biracial, Heterosexual/Straight |
| | Beatrice | Fourth Year, Multiracial/ethnic, Bisexual |
| | | |
| Male bystander | Easton | Fifth Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| trained students | Lawson | Fourth Year, White, Heterosexual/Straight |
| ($n$ = 4) | Adam | Fourth Year, White, Decline to state |
| | Leo | Fourth Year, White/Hispanic/Latino, Heterosexual/Straight |

### Focus Group Methods

One-and-a-half to two-hour semi-structured, open-ended same-sex focus groups were

conducted in November and December of 2019. As depicted in Appendix A, qualitative data

collection using focus groups comprised iterative processes, whereby information and

conclusions obtained from early focus groups influenced future data collection (Krueger &

Casey, 2015). For instance, early focus groups discussed distinctions in intervening in situations

of sexual violence and dating/domestic violence without prompting. Although this was not an

original question in the focus group protocol, it was asked about in later groups to examine

commonalities across groups.

        **Facilitation of Focus Groups.** Focus groups were conducted by an interviewer and a

note taker who matched the gender-identification of the participants. Additionally, interviewers

and note-takers were of different races/ethnicities and the male interviewer and note taker and

one of the female note takers were alumni of the university.  In total, two interviewers (one male,

one female) and three note takers (one male, two female) helped to facilitate the focus groups.

Before data collection began, interviewers were trained in the purpose of the study and the

administration of the open-ended interview protocol. Note takers were trained to take detailed

field notes on who was speaking in the group and what themes were brought up moment by

moment so that transcription data could be triangulated with note taker data. Note takers were

also instructed to take notes on moments of agreement and disagreement during the course of the

focus group (see Appendix G for the focus group note taking worksheet). At the end of each

focus group the interviewer, note-taker and, in the case of male focus groups, the author of this

dissertation met to debrief the group. In the debriefing the interviewer and notetaker provided

feedback on the questions, discussed overarching themes in the group, commonalities across

groups, and whether anything discussed was particularly surprising or resulted in a lot of

agreement amongst participants. The focus group debriefings were recorded and the content of

the discussions was used to update protocols and generate themes for coding. Group debriefing

facilitated the continuous analysis of data, allowing for a sense of whether questions asked

during the focus group provided useful information and if there should be changes to the

protocol (Krueger & Casey, 2015).

**Procedures.** Focus groups began with interviewers obtaining consent from participants, followed by introductions and a discussion of group rules to ensure confidentiality. Focus groups began with a discussion of bystander intervention and students' familiarity and prevention of such programming on their campus. Next, participants discussed their own experiences intervening and the factors that promote or inhibit them from intervening as a bystander in situations of SGBV. This discussion segued into an activity on identity, discussed further in chapter 4, which was used to generate discussion on what aspects of their identity students are most aware of when deciding to intervene. After this, students were asked to discuss their perceptions of safety on campus, their use of constrained behavior, and whether bystander intervention programming influences their perceptions of safety. Finally, focus groups concluded with a discussion of SGBV prevention on college campuses, which included an activity in which participants were asked to discuss the importance of different topics that could be discussed in SGBV prevention programming. See Appendix H for the full focus group protocol and a full description of the activities described here.

After participating in the focus group, students were sent a text message asking them to respond to a question about their comfort level during the focus group: "Do you feel that you were able to share all that you wanted to share during the focus group?" Participants were given the following response options: 1: "Not at all," 2: "A little," 3: "Somewhat," 4: "Mostly," and 5: "Definitely." If participants indicated a comfort level below 4 they would be invited to speak with the researcher to share anything they felt they were unable to share during the course of the group. All focus group participants responded to the text messages indicated a comfort level of 4 or 5.

**Overview of Data and Dissertation Questions**

Before describing the data analysis procedures, I first explain how data from the different strands of the study were used. Given the mixed methods nature of the study, the research questions were often answered using data from multiple strands. Table 3 provides detailed information on which data were used to address each of the research questions. The results chapters provide additional information on the data obtained from the focus groups, providing more detailed descriptions of the relevant questions students were asked and activities that were done during the course of the group.

**Table 3.**

*Research Questions and Methods Used to Address Them*

| Research Questions | Method Used |
|---|---|
| Student Perceptions of Climate, Safety, and Bystander Intervention Programming | |
| What are students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV at their school and do those perceptions relate to their confidence in and use of bystander skills? | Quantitative survey data |
| How effective do students feel that bystander intervention programming is at addressing the climate of SGBV on their campus? | Quantitative survey data |
| What, if anything, do students feel is the impact of bystander intervention programming? | Researcher-developed open-ended questions<br>Focus group qualitative data |
| How do students' perceptions of bystander intervention relate to their use of constrained behaviors and involvement in academic and social activities on campus? | Focus group qualitative data |
| Student Perceptions of Themselves as Bystanders | |
| Do students' efficacy about intervening as a bystander, and intervention behaviors differ by demographic group (i.e., gender, race, sexual orientation, year in school, involvement in Greek life)? | Quantitative survey data |

| | |
|---|---|
| How, if at all, do students' identities impact their decisions to intervene? | Focus group qualitative data |
| What do students perceive to be factors that make it easier or more difficult for them to intervene in situations of SGBV? Are there demographic (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation) differences in such factors? | Quantitative survey data<br>Open-ended questions<br>Focus group qualitative data |

## Data Analysis Procedures

### *Analysis of Quantitative Data*

Analysis of the quantitative measures, as well as, the researcher-developed quantitative questions were analyzed using SPSS 25.0 software. The researcher conducted detailed descriptive analyses on all variables of interest, as well as t-tests, ANOVAs, and tests of linear regression models to address the confirmatory research questions included in Strand I. Detailed descriptions of the specific tests used to answer research question are included in the results chapters.

### *Analysis of Qualitative Data*

**Analysis of Researcher-Developed Survey Questions.** The researcher-developed qualitative questions included two questions asking for students perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming and two questions asking for students' perceptions of factors that make it easier and more difficult to intervene. Open-ended question coding was used to provide more context to quantitative results. For instance, data from the question "Please explain why you rated bystander intervention's effectiveness in addressing sexual assault at [your university] as you did" is used to contextualize students' quantitative ratings of the effectiveness of bystander intervention at addressing sexual violence on campus. Coding of open-ended

questions was conducted in Microsoft Excel. The coding and analysis of two sets of questions

occurred separately and are described further below.

**Bystander Intervention Effectiveness and Suggestions Coding:** Coding of students'

responses to the open-ended questions about the effectiveness of bystander intervention

programming and suggestions for ways to improve the programming began with the principal

investigator (PI)[4] and a graduate student researcher familiar with the project engaging in

descriptive (assigning labels to summarize the topic of an excerpt) and in vivo coding (using

students' own words as codes; Saldaña, 2016) of two separate sets of 50 student responses per

question (total of 200 responses). After meeting to discuss and develop an initial set of codes,

they then independently coded the same set of 50 student responses per question. Afterwards,

they met again to compare responses, refine the codebook, and achieve consensus on that set of

student responses. The resulting codebook split codes by evaluation and suggestions for

improvement questions. Evaluation codes included descriptive and evaluation codes (application

of codes that describe students' judgements on the significance of programs, example; Saldaña,

2016). Suggestions for improvement responses were coded using descriptive codes (see

Appendix I for the full codebook). The PI and graduate student researcher then independently

coded all student responses. The coding process allowed for simultaneous coding where more

than one code could be applied to the same excerpt of data (Saldaña, 2016). Once coding was

complete, the PI served as the master coder (i.e., the lead coder with domain expertise; Drouhard

et al., 2017), comparing the two researchers' code applications and consulting with the graduate

student to achieve consensus on disparate codes. The PI then analyzed the data, generating

---

[4] In order to clearly describe the team approach to qualitative coding, the author of this dissertation is referred to as the "principal investigator" or "PI."

frequency counts for the most common themes described by students for the evaluation and

suggestions for improvement questions. Additionally, student survey excerpts were compared

with focus group participant themes to explore the interrelationships amongst themes found in

the different forms of data.

     ***Barriers and Promotive Factors Survey Data.*** Coding of students' responses to the open-

ended questions about the factors that make it easier (termed "promotive factors") and more

difficult (termed "barriers") for them to intervene occurred in multiple stages. In the first cycle of

coding, the PI took a subset of the students' open-ended responses and engaged in provisional

and descriptive coding. Provisional coding was specifically used for coding the barriers to

intervention because it enabled the use of a predetermined set of codes based on previous

research literature (Saldaña, 2016), which included Burn's (2009) five barriers to intervention

described in the previous chapter. Descriptive coding was also used for both barriers and

promotive factors to allow themes to emerge from the data. From the first round of coding, I

developed and modified a codebook and used it to code the remainder of the student responses ($n$

$= 293$). The coding of barriers and promotive factors for intervening also allowed for

simultaneous coding.

     In the second cycle of coding, an undergraduate researcher familiar with the study

partnered with the PI to code the data using the preliminary codebook. She independently coded

small chunks of data (~20 - 40 student responses at a time) and then met with the PI to achieve

consensus on the codes based on established standards of achieving consensus in qualitative

research (Hill et al., 2005). In these meetings, we discussed and refined the codebook. This

process was repeated three times until we agreed that the codebook sufficiently fit the data (see

Appendix J for the codebook for barriers to intervening and Appendix K for the codebook for

promotive factors for intervention). Next, the undergraduate researcher proceeded with coding

the remaining student responses, blind to the PI's original coding. After the undergraduate

researcher completed the coding of all student responses she compared her codes to the PI's and

they met to achieve consensus on any differing codes (Hill et al., 2005). To analyze the coded

excerpts, the PI generated frequency counts of the codes to explore the most common barriers

and promotive factors reported by students (Saldaña, 2016). Moreover, to the best of our abilities

the student survey themes were compared with the focus group participant themes to examine the

interrelationships amongst themes found in the different forms of data. However, due to limits in

the survey participants' open-ended responses, I was not able to compare themes about barriers

and promotive factors in depth between survey versus focus group participants.

**Analysis of Focus Group Data.** Data obtained from focus groups is primarily transcript-

based and field notes were used to provide further context to content in the transcripts. Focus

groups were recorded, transcribed by a professional transcription service, and checked by the

researcher using field notes. Once transcripts were checked they were then deidentified,

pseudonyms were inserted to replace participant names, and the transcripts were then entered

into the Dedoose software program. The Dedoose software allowed for content coding of the

interviews, which included both researcher-generated and emergent codes (Coffey & Atkinson,

1996; Marshall & Rossman, 2010).

Coding of focus group data began with the primary investigator reading through the

transcripts and engaging in memo writing (written reflections on codes/meanings/patterns found

in the data; Saldaña, 2016). The memos were compiled into a Microsoft Word document that

included two sections: (1) memos per focus group, and (2) lists of descriptive codes the PI

generated from reading through the memos. In the next phase of developing a codebook, two

graduate student researchers familiar with the research study separately read through the memos for each focus group. After reading the memos, they read through the list of descriptive codes compiled by the PI and wrote memos on the codes they agreed with and any they felt were missing from the list (see Appendix L for the graduate students' worksheet used to memo on codes). The research team then met to review each of their worksheets and worked together to develop an initial codebook that comprised both descriptive codes and subcodes (see Appendix M for the codebook used to code focus group data). The team then used the initial codebook to separately code one focus group transcript in Dedoose (2018). After coding was complete, the primary investigator compiled the excerpts where members of the research team applied differing codes. The team then met to obtain consensus (Hill et al., 2005) and discuss the utility of the codebook based on the initial coding process. In order to facilitate efficient coding, the team decided to do the first round of coding in pairs where each researcher coded the transcript separately using only the descriptive codes. Afterwards, the pair of researchers that coded each transcript met to achieve consensus. In the second round of coding, the PI applied the subcodes, which were "improved and fine-tuned" during the first round of coding (Miles, Huberman, Saldaña & 2014). All coding of transcripts allowed for simultaneous coding of the data (Saldaña, 2016). To conduct thematic analysis of the coded data (i.e., identifying larger themes across codes), the PI engaged in pattern coding (generating major themes and constructs across the coding of the transcripts) of the excerpts to generate and define major themes in students' responses to the focus group discussion.

## Chapter 3: Student Perceptions of Climate, Safety, and Bystander Intervention Programming

The first chapter of results explores students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV, the effectiveness of SGBV, and campus safety. The chapter is split into four sections (1) Student Perceptions of the Climate of SGBV and Effectiveness of Bystander Intervention Programming, (2) Students' Praise for and Critique of Bystander Intervention Programming, (3) Student Perspectives on Bystander Intervention Programming and Campus Safety, and (4) Students' Suggestions for Improving Bystander Intervention Programming. To begin, I describe the results of quantitative analyses of students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV and the ranking of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming.

**Student Perceptions of the Climate of SGBV and Effectiveness of Programming**

*Climate of Sexual Violence*

At the end of their online surveys, students were asked to rate how problematic they felt sexual assault is at their university. Students responded on a scale from 1 to 5, with higher scores indicating that students felt sexual assault was more problematic at their university. In the total sample, students reported an average score of 2.83 (SD = .87) for how problematic they felt sexual assault is at their university. Table 4 shows the average rankings of how problematic students felt sexual assault was at their university split by the following identity groups: (1) year in school, (2) gender identification, (3) sexual orientation, (4) race/ethnicity, and (5) involvement in Greek life. Scores for identity groups that were endorsed by fewer than ten students are not reported in the tables. I utilized a number of statistical tests to examine whether there were significant mean differences in climate scores for the following groups: (1) male identifying compared to female identifying students, (2) racial/ethnic groups, (3) sexual orientation groups,

(4) and different levels of involvement in Greek life. There were not significant relationships found between year in school, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, or Greek life involvement and effectiveness scores. However, an independent samples t-test found marginally significant differences between male-identifying ($M = 3.05$, $SD = .93$) and female-identifying ($M = 2.90$, $SD = .84$) students' ratings of the climate of sexual violence, $t(603) = 1.95$, $p = .05$.

**Table 4.**

***Sexual Violence: Problematic Scores by Demographics.***

| Demographic Group | Problematic Score |
|---|---|
| Year in School | |
| First Year ($n = 399$) | Mean = 2.81, SD = .84 |
| Second Year ($n = 135$) | Mean = 2.89, SD = .91 |
| Third Year ($n = 58$) | Mean = 2.90, SD = 1.02 |
| Fourth Year ($n = 19$) | Mean = 2.74, SD = .73 |
| Gender Identification | |
| Male ($n = 218$) | Mean = 2.66, SD = .84 |
| Female ($n = 388$) | Mean = 2.93, SD = .87 |
| Sexual Orientation[a] | |
| Heterosexual/Straight ($n = 544$) | Mean = 2.81, SD = .86 |
| Gay/Lesbian ($n = 23$) | Mean = 3.22, SD = .90 |
| Bisexual ($n = 28$) | Mean = 2.82, SD = 1.02 |
| Race/Ethnicity[b] | |
| Asian ($n = 111$) | Mean = 2.81, SD = .85 |
| Black/African American ($n = 21$) | Mean = 2.76, SD = 1.14 |
| Hispanic/Latinx ($n = 18$) | Mean = 3.11, SD = 1.02 |
| White ($n = 408$) | Mean = 2.85, SD = .86 |
| Muliracial/ethnic ($n = 49$) | Mean = 2.69, SD = .85 |
| Involvement in Greek Life | |
| Non-IFC/ISC ($n = 536$) | Mean = 2.93, SD = .86 |
| IFC/ISC ($n = 74$) | Mean = 3.12, SD = .92 |

[a] Does not include Asexual, Questioning, Not Listed, and Decline to State because fewer than 10 students identified with these groups.

[b] Does not include American Indian, Race/ethnicity unknown because fewer than 10 students identified with these groups.

### Climate of Dating/Domestic Violence

Students were asked to rate how problematic they felt dating/domestic violence is at their university. Students responded on a scale from 1 to 5 with higher scores indicating that students found the students felt that dating/domestic violence was more problematic at their university. In the total sample, students reported an average score of 2.27 (SD = .80) for how problematic they felt dating/domestic violence is at their university. Table 5 shows the average rankings of how problematic students felt dating/domestic violence was at their university split by the following identity groups: (1) year in school, (2) gender identification, (3) sexual orientation, (4) race/ethnicity, and (5) involvement in Greek life. Scores for identity groups that were endorsed by fewer than ten students are not reported in the tables. I utilized a number of statistical tests to examine whether there were significant mean differences in climate scores for the following groups: (1) male identifying compared to female identifying students, (2) racial/ethnic groups, (3) sexual orientation groups, (4) and different levels of involvement in Greek life. There were not significant relationships found between year in school, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, or Greek life involvement and effectiveness scores. However, an independent samples t-test found significant differences between male-identifying (M = 2.16, SD = .85) and female-identifying (M = 2.33, SD = .77) students' ratings of the climate of dating/domestic violence at their university, $t(604) = -2.56, p = .01$.

**Table 5.**

*Dating/Domestic Violence: Problematic Scores by Demographics.*

| Demographic Group | Problematic Score |
|---|---|
| Year in School | |
| First Year (n = 399) | Mean = 2.27, SD = .78 |
| Second Year (n = 135) | Mean = 2.24, SD = .83 |
| Third Year (n = 58) | Mean = 2.41, SD = .92 |
| Fourth Year (n = 19) | Mean = 2.11, SD = .66 |

Gender Identification
Male (*n* = 219)               Mean = 2.16, SD = .85
Female (*n* = 387)             Mean = 2.33, SD = .77

Sexual Orientation[a]
Heterosexual/Straight (*n* = 544)     Mean = 2.26, SD = .80
Gay/Lesbian (*n* = 23)                Mean = 2.30, SD = 1.02
Bisexual (*n* = 28)                   Mean = 2.25, SD = .80

Race/Ethnicity[b]
Asian (*n* = 110)                     Mean = 2.28, SD = .85
Black/African American (*n* = 21)     Mean = 2.14, SD = 1.01
Hispanic/Latinx (*n* = 18)            Mean = 2.56, SD = .86
White (*n* = 409)                     Mean = 2.26, SD = .79
Muliracial/ethnic (*n* = 49)          Mean = 2.24, SD = .72

Involvement in Greek Life
Non-IFC/ISC (*n* = 537)               Mean = 2.27, SD = .80
IFC/ISC (*n* = 74)                    Mean = 2.26, SD = .80

[a] Does not include Asexual, Questioning, Not Listed, and Decline to State because fewer than 10 students identified with these groups.
[b] Does not include American Indian, Race/ethnicity unknown because fewer than 10 students identified with these groups.

### *Climate Perceptions and Bystander Outcomes*

Next, I investigated if students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV at their university related to their confidence in intervening as bystanders and their self-reported use of bystander behaviors. In an attempt to account for the influence of identity on intervention behaviors, I included gender, year in school, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, and involvement in Greek life in the models. In the total sample, on a scale from 0 to 100, with higher scores indicated more confidence intervening, students reported an average bystander efficacy score of 76.17 (*SD* = 14.76). Additionally, on a scale from 0 to 3 (0 = not at all, 1 = once, 2 = a few times, and 3 = many times), the average score across the sample for their average frequency of intervening as a bystander in the past three months was 1.28 (*SD* = .81). For the bystander behaviors scale, I also examined the average scores per item for those students whose responses indicated that they had

encountered the situation described in the question. For each item, I found the average score for

only those students who reported that they had encountered the situation. The average scores,

standard deviations, and ranges per item can be found in Table 6 below. The table also includes

the number of students and percentage of the sample who indicated that they had not

encountered the situation to get a sense for which situations students are encountering at higher

rates.

**Table 6.**

*Bystander Behaviors Scale – Item Descriptives*

| Item | Mean | Standard Deviation | Range | Have encountered | Have not encountered |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Expressed concern to someone in a relationship where you've observed a partner exhibiting jealous and controlling behavior | 2.60 | .92 | 1-4 | 569 (56.73%) | 434 (43.27%) |
| Spoke up if somebody said that someone deserved to be harmed by their partner | 2.33 | 1.10 | 1-4 | 294 (29.37%) | 707 (70.63%) |
| Offered support to someone who was sexually assaulted or hit by a partner | 2.23 | .99 | 1-4 | 342 (34.13%) | 660 (65.87%) |
| Asked someone who looked very upset if they were okay or needed help | 3.26 | .78 | 1-4 | 896 (89.33%) | 107 (10.67%) |
| Asked someone if they needed to be walked or driven home | 3.19 | .80 | 1-4 | 846 (84.35%) | 157 (15.65%) |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Spoke up if someone was bragging or making excuses for forcing sexual contact on someone | 2.19 | .99 | 1-4 | 317 (31.64%) | 685 (68.36%) |
| Got help for someone because they had experienced sexual assault | 1.83 | .92 | 1-4 | 304 (30.34%) | 698 (69.66%) |
| Found a way to distract someone in a high-risk situation in an effort to prevent an assault | 2.31 | .91 | 1-4 | 424 (42.27%) | 579 (57.73%) |
| Sought help from someone else in an effort to de-escalate a potentially high-risk situation | 2.46 | .89 | 1-4 | 505 (50.40%) | 497 (49.60%) |
| Provided support to someone who was afraid for their personal safety because they were being stalked (either in person or online) | 2.31 | .96 | 1-4 | 345 (34.40%) | 658 (65.60%) |

First, I report on findings about the impact of perceptions of sexual violence and then transition to examining the influence of perceptions of dating/domestic violence.

**Sexual Violence and Bystander Efficacy.** A multiple regression was carried out to investigate whether student perceptions of the climate of sexual assault at their university could significantly predict bystander efficacy scores. The results of the regression indicated that the model explained 7.3% of the variance and that the model was a significant predictor of bystander efficacy, $F(6, 600) = 7.84$, $p < .001$. Additionally, while perceptions of the climate of sexual assault ($\beta = .18$, $p < .001$) and gender contributed significantly to the model ($\beta = .16$, $p < .000$),

year in school ($\beta$ = .04, $p$ = .33), race ($\beta$ = -.03, $p$ = .401), sexual orientation ($\beta$ = .05, $p$ = .182),

and Greek life involvement ($\beta$ = .02, $p$ = .623) were not significant in the model. On average,

female students scored about .164 standard deviations higher on the bystander efficacy scale than

male students. Additionally, as students' perceptions of how problematic sexual violence is at

their university increased by one unit, indicating that they found the climate of sexual violence to

be more problematic, their bystander efficacy increased by .179 standard deviations. This

signifies that students who perceived the climate of sexual violence to be worse, showed higher

bystander efficacy.

**Table 7.**

*Predicting Bystander Efficacy from Perceptions of the Climate of Sexual Violence*

| | $\beta$ | $r$ | Total $R^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Problematic Ranking for Sexual Violence | .18*** | .21 | |
| Year in School | .04 | .04 | |
| Gender (Male=0; Female =1) | .16*** | .18 | |
| Race | -.03 | -.01 | |
| Sexual Orientation | .05 | .07 | |
| Involvement in Greek Life | .02 | .00 | |
| *Summary Statistics* | | | .073*** |

Note. *** $p$ < .001. ** $p$ < .01. * $p$ < .05.

**Sexual Violence and Bystander Behaviors.** A multiple regression was carried out to

investigate whether student perceptions of the climate of sexual assault at their university could

significantly predict bystander behaviors. The results of the regression indicated that the model

explained 3.2% of the variance and that the model was a significant predictor of bystander

behaviors, $F$ (6, 600) = 3.34, $p$ = .003. Additionally, while perceptions of the climate of sexual

assault ($\beta$ = .10, $p$ = .011) and Greek life involvement contributed significantly to the model ($\beta$

= .11, $p$ = .008), gender ($\beta$ = -.05, $p$ = .201), year in school ($\beta$ = -.00, $p$ = .929), sexual orientation

($\beta$ = .03, $p$ = .536) and race ($\beta$ = .07, $p$ = .091) were not significant in the model. On average,

students involved in Greek life scored about .113 standard deviations higher on the bystander

behaviors scale than students not involved in Greek life. Additionally, as students' perceptions of

how problematic sexual violence is at their university increased by one unit, indicating that they

found the climate of sexual violence to be more problematic, their bystander behaviors increased

by .104 standard deviations. This signifies that students who perceived the climate of sexual

violence to be worse, showed higher tendency to intervene as bystanders.

**Table 8.**

*Predicting Bystander Behaviors from Perceptions of the Climate of Sexual Violence*

|  | $\beta$ | $r$ | Total $R^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Problematic Ranking for Sexual Violence | .10* | .10 | |
| Year in School | -.00 | .03 | |
| Gender | -.05 | -.04 | |
| Race | .07 | .08 | |
| Sexual Orientation | .03 | .02 | |
| Involvement in Greek Life (0 = Not involved, 1 = involved) | .11** | .13 | |
| *Summary Statistics* | | | .032*** |

Note.   ***$p$ < .001.   **$p$ < .01.   *$p$ < .05.

**Dating/Domestic Violence and Bystander Efficacy.** A multiple regression was carried

out to investigate whether student perceptions of the climate of dating/domestic violence at their

university could significantly predict bystander efficacy scores. The results of the regression

indicated that the model explained 7.2% of the variance and that the model was a significant

predictor of bystander efficacy, $F (6, 600) = 7.79$, $p < .000$. Additionally, while perceptions of the

climate of dating/domestic violence ($\beta$ = .18, $p < .001$) and gender contributed significantly to

the model ($\beta$ = .17, $p$ < .001), year in school ($\beta$ = .04, $p$ = .28), race ($\beta$ = -.03, $p$ = .473), sexual

orientation ($\beta$ = .06, $p$ = .150), and Greek life involvement ($\beta$ = .02, $p$ = .607) were not

significant in the model. On average, female students scored about .169 standard deviations

higher on the bystander efficacy scale than male students. Additionally, as students' perceptions

of how problematic dating/domestic violence is at their university increased by one unit,

indicating that they found the climate of dating/domestic violence to be more problematic, their

bystander efficacy increased by .182 standard deviations. This signifies that students who

perceived the climate of dating/domestic violence to be worse, showed higher bystander

efficacy.

**Table 9.**

***Predicting Bystander Efficacy from Perceptions of the Climate of Dating/Domestic Violence***

| | $\beta$ | $r$ | Total $R^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Problematic Ranking for Dating Violence | .18*** | .20 | |
| Year in School | .04 | .04 | |
| Gender (0 = Male, 1 = Female) | .17*** | .18 | |
| Race | -.03 | -.01 | |
| Sexual Orientation | .06 | .07 | |
| Involvement in Greek Life | .02 | .00 | |
| *Summary Statistics* | | | .072*** |

Note. *** $p$ < .001. ** $p$ < .01. * $p$ < .05.

**Dating/Domestic Violence and Bystander Behaviors.** A multiple regression was carried

out to investigate whether student perceptions of the climate of dating/domestic violence at their

university could significantly predict bystander behavior scores. The results of the regression

indicated that the model only explained 2.8% of the variance and that the model was a significant

predictor of bystander behaviors, $F (6, 600)$ = 2.85, $p$ = .010. Additionally, while Greek life

involvement contributed significantly to the model ($\beta = .12$, $p = .006$), perception of the climate of dating/domestic violence was only marginally significant ($\beta = .08$, $p = .057$) and gender ($\beta = -.04$, $p = .323$), year in school ($\beta = .00$, $p = .970$), sexual orientation ($\beta = .03$, $p = .469$), and race ($\beta = .07$, $p = .096$) were not significant in the model. On average, students involved in Greek life scored about .116 standard deviations higher on the bystander behaviors scale than students not involved in Greek life.

**Table 10.**

***Predicting Bystander Behaviors from Perceptions of the Climate of Dating/Domestic Violence***

| | β | r | Total $R^2$ |
|---|---|---|---|
| Problematic Ranking for Dating Violence | .08 | .07 | |
| Year in School | .00 | .04 | |
| Gender | -.04 | -.04 | |
| Race | .07 | .08 | |
| Sexual Orientation | .03 | .02 | |
| Involvement in Greek Life (0 = Not involved, 1 = involved) | .12** | .13 | |
| *Summary Statistics* | | | .028*** |

Note.   ***$p < .001$.   **$p < .01$.   *$p < .05$.

***Student Perceptions of the Effectiveness of Bystander Intervention Programming***

After they were asked how problematic they felt SGBV is at their university, students were asked to rate how effective they felt bystander intervention programming is at addressing the climate of the different forms of SGBV at their university. Again, students responded on a scale from 1 to 5 with higher scores indicating that students felt that bystander intervention programming was more effective at addressing the climate of SGBV at their university.

**Effectiveness of Programming at Addressing Sexual Violence.** In the total sample of participants, with a scale of 1 to 5, with higher scores indicating that students felt bystander

intervention is more effective, students reported an average score of 3.32 ($SD$ = .82) for how effective they felt bystander intervention programming is at addressing sexual assault is at their university. Table 11 shows the average rankings of how effective students felt bystander intervention programming was at addressing sexual violence at their university split by the following identity groups: (1) year in school, (2) gender identification, (3) sexual orientation, (4) race/ethnicity, and (5) involvement in Greek life. Scores for identity groups that were endorsed by fewer than ten students are not reported in the tables.

I utilized a number of statistical tests to examine whether there were significant mean differences in effectiveness scores for the following groups: (1) male identifying compared to female identifying students, (2) racial/ethnic groups, (3) sexual orientation groups, (4) year in school, and (5) different levels of involvement in Greek life. I did not find significant relationships between gender identification, sexual orientation, year in school, or Greek life involvement and effectiveness scores. However, a one-way between subjects ANOVA found a significant effect of race/ethnicity on reports of bystander effectiveness at addressing sexual assault, $F$ (4, 602) = 2.56, $p$ = .038. However, upon using Tukey's HSD to conduct post-hoc tests to examine group-level differences I found no significant group differences. Differences between Black participants ($M$ = 3.76, $SD$ = .831) and Hispanic/Latinx participants ($M$ = 3.06, $SD$ = .873) appeared to be marginally significant ($p$ = .058), with Black participants reporting that bystander intervention is more effective than Hispanic/Latinx participants. Additionally, differences between Black and White ($M$ = 3.30, $SD$ = .798) participants appeared to be marginally significant ($p$ = .086), with Black participants indicating that bystander intervention is more effective than White participants. Notably, power for tests of significant differences between the

groups was significantly reduced due to the small numbers of participants who identified as

Black ($n = 21$) and Hispanic ($n = 18$).

**Table 11.**

***Sexual Violence: Effectiveness Scores by Demographics.***

| Demographic Group | Problematic Score |
|---|---|
| Year in School | |
| First Year ($n = 399$) | Mean = 3.39, SD = .80 |
| Second Year ($n = 135$) | Mean = 3.21, SD = .82 |
| Third Year ($n = 58$) | Mean = 3.19, SD = .96 |
| Fourth Year ($n = 19$) | Mean = 3.21, SD = .86 |
| | |
| Gender Identification | |
| Male ($n = 218$) | Mean = 3.38, SD = .88 |
| Female ($n = 388$) | Mean = 3.30, SD = .79 |
| | |
| Sexual Orientation[a] | |
| Heterosexual/Straight ($n = 544$) | Mean = 3.32, SD = .82 |
| Gay/Lesbian ($n = 23$) | Mean = 3.48, SD = .79 |
| Bisexual ($n = 28$) | Mean = 3.39, SD = .88 |
| | |
| Race/Ethnicity[b] | |
| Asian ($n = 111$) | Mean = 3.29, SD = .93 |
| Black/African American ($n = 21$) | Mean = 3.76, SD = .83 |
| Hispanic/Latinx ($n = 18$) | Mean = 3.06, SD = .87 |
| White ($n = 409$) | Mean = 3.30, SD = .80 |
| Muliracial/ethnic ($n = 48$) | Mean = 3.48, SD = .71 |
| | |
| Involvement in Greek Life | |
| Non-IFC/ISC ($n = 538$) | Mean = 3.31, SD = .81 |
| IFC/ISC ($n = 73$) | Mean = 3.41, SD = .94 |

[a] Does not include Asexual, Questioning, Not Listed, and Decline to State because fewer than 10 students identified with these groups.
[b] Does not include American Indian, Race/ethnicity unknown because fewer than 10 students identified with these groups.

**Effectiveness of Programming at Addressing Dating/Domestic Violence.** Students

were also asked to rate how effective they felt bystander intervention programming is at

addressing the climate of dating/domestic violence at their university. In the total sample of

participants, with a scale of 1 to 5, with higher scores indicating that students felt bystander

intervention is more effective, students reported an average score of 2.95 ($SD = .87$) for how effective they felt bystander intervention programming is at addressing dating/domestic violence at their university. Table 12 shows the average rankings of how effective students felt bystander intervention programming was at addressing dating/domestic violence at their university split by the following identity groups: (1) year in school, (2) gender identification, (3) sexual orientation, (4) race/ethnicity, and (5) involvement in Greek life. Again, scores for identity groups that were endorsed by fewer than ten students are not reported in the tables.

I utilized a number of statistical tests to examine whether there were significant mean differences in effectiveness scores for the following groups: (1) male identifying compared to female identifying students, (2) racial/ethnic groups, (3) sexual orientation groups, (4) and different levels of involvement in Greek life. However, I found no significant relationships between gender identification, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, or Greek life involvement and students' ranking of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming at addressing the climate of dating/domestic violence at their university.

**Table 12.**

***Dating/Domestic Violence: Effectiveness Scores by Demographics.***

| Demographic Group | Problematic Score |
|---|---|
| Year in School | |
| First Year ($n = 398$) | Mean = 2.99, SD = .86 |
| Second Year ($n = 135$) | Mean = 2.84, SD = .92 |
| Third Year ($n = 58$) | Mean = 2.91, SD = .84 |
| Fourth Year ($n = 19$) | Mean = 3.11, SD = .94 |
| | |
| Gender Identification | |
| Male ($n = 218$) | Mean = 3.05, SD = .93 |
| Female ($n = 387$) | Mean = 2.90, SD = .84 |
| | |
| Sexual Orientation[a] | |
| Heterosexual/Straight ($n = 544$) | Mean = 2.94, SD = .88 |
| Gay/Lesbian ($n = 23$) | Mean = 3.30, SD = .82 |

Bisexual ($n$ = 28)                    Mean = 3.11, SD = .96

        Race/Ethnicity[b]
Asian ($n$ = 109)                    Mean = 2.91, SD = .95
Black/African American ($n$ = 21)    Mean = 3.24, SD = 1.09
Hispanic/Latinx ($n$ = 18)           Mean = 2.78, SD = .73
White ($n$ = 409)                    Mean = 2.92, SD = .84
Multiracial/ethnic ($n$ = 49)        Mean = 3.18, SD = .91

        Involvement in Greek Life
Non-IFC/ISC ($n$ = 536)              Mean = 2.93, SD = .86
IFC/ISC ($n$ = 73)                   Mean = 3.12, SD = .92

[a] Does not include Asexual, Questioning, Not Listed, and Decline to State because fewer than 10 students identified with these groups.
[b] Does not include American Indian, Race/ethnicity unknown because fewer than 10 students identified with these groups.

***Relationship between Students' Effectiveness and Problematic Scores***

I also examined whether a relationship exists between students' perceptions of the climate and how effective they feel bystander intervention is at addressing that climate. Results of the Pearson correlation indicated there was a significant positive association between perceptions of the climate of sexual assault and the effectiveness of bystander intervention at addressing sexual assault, $r$ = .51, $p$ = ≤ .001, $n$ = 609. The results indicate that as students reports of the climate increased, signifying that the felt the climate was more problematic, their reports of bystander intervention effectiveness increased. However, there was not a significant association between perceptions of the climate of dating/domestic violence and the effectiveness of bystander intervention at addressing dating/domestic violence, $r$ = .02, $p$ = .688, $n$ = 610.

***Discussion***

The findings of this chapter thus far point to college students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV at their university and bystander intervention programming, how such perceptions impact their bystander outcomes, and how effective they feel bystander intervention is at

preventing sexual and dating/domestic violence at their university. For the most part, students from different identity groups did not differ in their perceptions of the climate of SGBV at their university, with one major exception, gender. In particular, female students judged the climate of dating/domestic violence as significantly more problematic than their male peers. Gender is also related to students' bystander outcomes, with male students reporting lower bystander efficacy, but greater tendency to intervene as a bystander. These results are consistent with previous research showing that women are often more willing to intervene and men report more barriers to intervention (Banyard, 2008; Brown et al., 2014). Moreover, as students' perceptions of the climate of sexual violence grew more negative, their bystander efficacy also increased.

However, in looking at the relationship between perceptions of the climate of dating/domestic violence on bystander outcomes, I mainly found significant associations between perceptions and bystander efficacy. Again, as students' perceptions of the climate of dating/domestic violence increased, their bystander efficacy also increased. Moreover, in the models predicting bystander outcomes that included perceptions of dating/domestic violence, I found that involvement in Greek life was a significant predictor of bystander behaviors. The influence of Greek life involvement on bystander outcomes might point to the significance of *opportunity* for intervention. Research shows sorority members are more likely than other students to experience sexual violence victimization and fraternity members are more likely to be perpetrators of sexual violence (Bannon et al., 2013). Researchers attribute fraternity members' increased perpetration rates to the cultures of fraternities, which includes increased adherence to traditional gender norms, and correlations between fraternity membership and hypermasculinity (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007), which can promote attitudes that support rape myths and interpersonal dynamics that "lead to the social construction of a rape-prone environment"

(Boswell & Spade, 1996; Godenzi, 2001). Moreover, one factor that researchers attribute to the higher prevalence of experiences of sexual violence for sorority members is their greater interaction with fraternity members (Bannon et al., 2013). Additionally, when compared to non-sorority women, sorority women also display stronger adherence to traditional gender norms, but more research is needed to understand how sororities and fraternities create cultures that support or inhibit intervention. A study by Bannon and colleagues (2013) found that sorority women showed greater willingness to intervene than fraternity men, but did not find differences in bystander efficacy between sorority and fraternity members. Moreover, Brown and colleagues (2014) argue that perceived peer norms can influence opportunities to intervene as well as willingness to intervene, however this might look a particular way for members of Greek life. Although some peer norms might predict friend groups engaging in safer and prosocial ways (Brown et al., 2014), the context of Greek life might place students in unique contexts where their opportunities to intervene and willingness to intervene are both positively correlated due to the group norms within their contexts (Brown et al., 2014). It is possible that perceptions of the climate of SGBV intersect with student's ecological environments, and, for Greek life members, their perceptions of the climate interact with their opportunities to intervene to promote bystander intervention behaviors, making them report greater tendencies to intervene.

Students' perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming at addressing sexual violence differed by race/ethnicity with Black students ranking bystander intervention as more effective than Hispanic/Latinx and White students. The ability to interpret results around group difference by race were limited due to power issues. However, differences for Black students, in particular, align with Brown, Banyard, and Moynihan's (2014) finding that Black students, particularly Black men, self-report more bystander behaviors than White

students. Additionally, studies show that while White students are more reluctant to intervene on behalf of Black students, Black students are willing to help Black and White students equally, which can help explain racial differences in intervening (Kuntsman & Plant, 2008). However, to my knowledge, this is the first study of its kind to explore students' perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming. It is possible that a number of factors contribute to students' perceptions of the utility and effectiveness of prevention programming. Future research should continue to explore this issue, particularly because few studies evaluating bystander intervention programming have incorporated the perspectives of marginalized student populations (Brown et al., 2014). Also, there were small sample sizes for a number of racial/ethnic groups and future research should further explore difference by racial group in perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming.

Finally, contrary to my hypothesis, I only found a significant positive relationship between students' perceptions of climate of sexual violence and their perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming at addressing such violence. Conversely, there was not a significant association between perceptions of the climate of *dating* violence and perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming at addressing such violence. There are a number of possible explanations for this finding. First, students' critiques of bystander intervention programming, which are further described below, include negative appraisals of assumptions that guide bystander intervention programming, particularly that it focuses of violence between strangers in contexts related to party culture. It is possible that students feel that bystander intervention programming as it is currently implemented is more intrinsically connected to sexual violence and does not do enough to address violence in the context of ongoing romantic relationships or violence in the context of students who already

know each other. In the next section, I explore qualitative findings related to students'

perceptions of bystander intervention programming, specifically exploring why students ranked

the programming as effective as they did and examining focus group participants' praise for and

critique of the programming.

**Students' Praise for and Critique of Bystander Intervention Programming**

*Explanation for Survey Sample's Effectiveness Rankings*

After reporting how effective they felt bystander intervention programming is at addressing the climate of sexual and dating/domestic violence on their campus students were asked two open-ended questions: (1) **Explanation for effectiveness rating:** Please explain why you rated bystander intervention's effectiveness in addressing sexual assault/dating/domestic violence at [your university] as you did, and (2) **Suggestions for improving bystander intervention:** What, if anything, do you think would make bystander intervention more effective at addressing sexual assault/dating/domestic violence at [your university]? Participants typed in their responses in text boxes. As with the problematic and effectiveness rankings, students were asked the questions separately for the different types of violence. Results of student responses for suggestions for improving bystander intervention are detailed at the end of this chapter.

Student responses for the **explanation for effectiveness rating** were coded using the codes listed in table 13. The majority of the codes were split positive/negative, indicating that the student made either a positive or negative statement related to the topic. For example, "bystander intervention positive" was used any time the participant indicated that bystander intervention is a useful, positive approach to prevention, whereas "bystander intervention negative" was used any time the student indicated that bystander intervention is not a useful approach to prevention of that form of violence. Barriers to intervention, promotive factors, and lack of knowledge/experience did not have a positive or negative rating. For barriers and promotive factors, the code was applied any time the participant referenced things that make it more difficult to intervene or make students more likely to intervene, respectively. Finally, lack of knowledge/experience was used any time a participant indicated that they ranked bystander

intervention's effectiveness as they did because they are unfamiliar or lack experience, which

was most typically referenced related to rates of the type of violence. When student responses

did not fit with any of the codes, the coders could use the "other important themes" column to

take notes on what the student was referencing. Additionally, if the response was too vague (e.g.,

the coders felt the topic of the student's response was unclear) they wrote "too vague to code" in

the other important themes column.

**Table 13.**

***Explanation for Effectiveness Rating Codes***

| Code | Definition |
| --- | --- |
| Bystander intervention positive | Student made positive comments about bystander intervention as an approach to preventing sexual assault/dating/domestic violence and/or that they have seen bystander intervention being used effectively. |
| Bystander intervention negative | Student made general negative comments about bystander intervention as an approach to preventing sexual assault/dating/domestic violence. |
| Training quality positive | Student provided positive feedback about aspects of the bystander intervention training/education programming that is provided, including general positive statements about training. |
| Training quality negative | Student provided negative feedback about aspects of the bystander intervention training/education programming that is provided, including general negative statements about training. |
| Training quantity positive | Student made positive comments about the *amount* of bystander intervention training/education programming that is provided. This could include positive comments about mandatory programming. |
| Training quantity negative | Student made negative comments about the *amount* of bystander intervention training/education programming that is provided. This could include negative comments about mandatory programming. |
| Barriers to intervention | Student referenced things that make it difficult to intervene or negatively impact their willingness to intervene. |
| Promotive factors | Student referenced things that make it easier to intervene or positively impact their willingness to intervene. |
| Friend group positive | Student made positive comments about their social/friend group (e.g., My friends would intervene). |
| Friend group negative | Student made negative comments about their social/friend group (e.g., My friends don't intervene). |

| | |
|---|---|
| Culture positive | Student mentioned positive aspects of the culture that increase individuals' willingness to intervene. This could include general positive statements about the culture of the university. |
| Culture negative | Student mentioned negative aspects of the culture that decrease individuals' willingness to intervene and that sexual/dating/domestic violence still occurs in the culture. This could include general negative statements about the culture, including the subject matter being taken as a joke. |
| Lack of knowledge/experience | Student mentioned that they lack knowledge about sexual/dating/domestic violence or lack experience with intervention. |
| Other important themes | Student commented about additional meaningful themes that are not covered by existing codes. |

I first examined the results for patterns across three groups: (1) students who reported that bystander intervention was highly effective (i.e., participants who ranked bystander intervention as either "Extremely" or "Very" effective), (2) students who reported that bystander intervention was not very effective (i.e., participants who ranked bystander intervention as either "A little" or "Not at all" effective), and (3) students who reported neutral responses (i.e., participants who ranked bystander intervention as "Somewhat" effective). It is important to note that many students' responses had multiple codes present. In the following sections, results are split by the type of violence: sexual assault or dating/domestic violence. The results begin with a report of the numbers of students in each group, followed by a description of the most common themes across the groups with representative quotes. For both sexual violence and dating/domestic violence, the most common themes across the groups were bystander intervention positive, barriers, culture positive, culture negative, and lack of knowledge/experience. Additionally, bystander intervention negative was a common theme for the not very effective at addressing dating/domestic violence group. However, the factors students describe for each of these themes differ slightly by form of violence, which is why they are reported separately. To begin, I

describe students' explanations for their rankings of bystander intervention programming's effectiveness at addressing sexual assault.

**Effectiveness for Addressing Sexual Assault.** Before presenting the themes across groups for student perceptions of bystander intervention's effectiveness at addressing sexual violence, I report on the number of students per group. In total, 245 students (42.39% of the total sample) were in the highly effective group with 25 students reporting bystander intervention is "extremely" effective at addressing sexual assault and 220 students reporting bystander intervention is "very" effective at addressing sexual assault. In the highly effective group 12 participants either left the open-ended response box blank or answered "N/A." In total, 251 students (43.43% of the total sample) reported that bystander intervention is somewhat effective at addressing sexual assault. In the neutral group 12 participants either left the response blank or responded "N/A." Finally, 82 students (14.19% of the total sample) are in the not very effective group with 11 students reporting bystander intervention is "not at all" effective at addressing sexual assault and 71 students reporting bystander intervention is "a little" effective at addressing sexual assault. In the not very effective group 5 participants either left the response blank or answered "N/A." The following sections include descriptions of the themes across student responses, which includes information on which themes were common for which groups.

*Bystander Intervention Positive.* The theme "bystander intervention positive" was only a common theme for students in the highly effective group, with 100 student responses being coded with this theme. In their positive reflections on bystander intervention, participants referenced its capacity to increase students' awareness of sexual violence. Students also expressed belief that bystander intervention is "very important because it helps to reduce instances of sexual assault on [campus]." Students felt bystanders are important for their ability

to prevent sexual assault, reflecting a belief that if individuals step in it will stop situations from "snowballing." However, some students did put the condition that *if* bystanders intervene then bystander intervention can be effective, but "not many people interfere" and "sometimes there is no bystander to intervene." Students often referenced seeing people intervene in risky situations as a reason for why they felt bystander intervention is very effective. For instance, one student wrote about both witnessing others intervene and intervening themselves stating, "I have seen or heard of many high-risk situations for sexual assault, but in almost all of those instances, I or someone I know has done something to intervene and stop the situation which could have been potentially harmful." Finally, students felt that even if bystander intervention is only able to stop one incident, "it would be well worth it and extremely important." In discussing the importance of bystander intervention as a strategy for preventing sexual assault, one student summarized its potential writing:

> "I think bystander intervention is extremely important in addressing sexual assault because sometimes the victim just needs another person to help them. Having an ally (whether they're a friend [or] stranger) intervene on a potential victim's behalf when they're in danger can greatly reduce the chances of sexual assault because the perpetrator is likely to back off if there are witnesses."

**Barriers to Intervening.** The "barriers" theme was common in the not very effective and somewhat effective groups, with 23 students from the not very effective and 52 students from the somewhat effective groups' responses being coded with this theme. Students mentioned a number of barriers to intervening, which are defined in more detail in the next chapter. Such barriers included *difficulty intervening in ambiguous situations* (e.g., "It is also hard to know when someone at a party is at risk for sexual assault, so you won't know to help them until it's

too late."), *personal characteristics* (e.g., "intervention can be difficult for those who are more shy"), *diffusion of responsibility* (e.g., "I feel like a lot of people think other people will intervene so they don't have to."), *not knowing the parties involved* (e.g., "I feel like most people will choose not to intervene because most of the time, individuals do not personally know the victim."), *the response of the parties involved* (e.g., "Because people don't always allow people to help them"), *concerns for personal safety* (e.g., "For females, it can often be hard to intervene in a situation because we are scared of males getting violent"), *failure due to audience inhibition* (e.g., "It is hard to control, especially because people are afraid to be labeled (as for instance, party poopers or weirdos)."), *failure to notice* (e.g., "I think many people when they are out are too busy or intoxicated themselves to really notice anything"), and *not knowing the signs of violence* (e.g., "I think that many times people don't know how to know if the situation is high-risk for sexual assault, so they don't know if they should intervene").  Students who mentioned barriers also referenced gendered norms around *not* intervening. One wrote, "I do not think it is a shock that date rape is fairly common around here and plenty of 'bros' are more than willing to look the other way to protect their friend so that he can get laid."

Students in the not very effective and somewhat effective groups expressed the belief that intervention could work if people do it, but that the limiting factor is that not everyone intervenes writing, for example, "I think when people decide to intervene it is effective, but people first have to make that choice, which they do not always do." Perhaps most troubling, some wrote in that students fail to intervene even when they know how to do so, with one student stating, "You can learn about bystander intervention all day long, situations will still occur where students don't step in to help even though they know they should."

***Lack of knowledge/experience.*** The "lack knowledge/experience" theme was also common in the not very effective and somewhat effective groups, with 24 students from the not very effective and 69 students from the somewhat effective groups' responses being coded with this theme. It is important to note that as lack of knowledge/experience was reported by similar percentages of students from all years, signifying lack of knowledge is not due to differences in the amount of time spent as a university student. The students who lacked experience and knowledge tended to write things like "I have never been in a situation at [my university] so far where bystander intervention was needed" and "I have no idea if it is or is not a problem." Many students mentioned that they ranked bystander intervention as somewhat effective based on their lack of experience with sexual assault or potential sexual assault and because of this they picked the neutral option. Students also mentioned that because they learned about bystander intervention, their "presumption is that doing something is certainly more effective than doing nothing." They frequently discussed not being familiar with the prevalence of sexual violence at their university. Additionally, some stated because they are new to the university they are not sure of everything the university does to prevent sexual assault. Moreover, many students wrote that because they do not socialize in particular settings that would require bystander intervention they were unsure of the effectiveness of bystander intervention. For instance, one student wrote, "I don't hear much about it. I don't go out to bars or parties, so I rarely hear or see things like this happening." Interestingly, many students seem to center the need for bystander intervention in "parties or bars" and fraternities, which was also common amongst focus group participants.

***Descriptions of Culture.*** Evaluations of culture were common across the groups. Students in the neutral group seemed to have mixed feelings about the culture of sexual violence at their university with many endorsing both positive and negative aspects of the culture in their

responses. However, as one might expect, "culture positive" was only common in very effective group responses and "culture negative" was only common in the not very effective group responses.

*Culture positive.* The "culture positive" theme was coded for 111 student responses in the highly effective group and 53 student responses in the somewhat effective group. Positive aspects of the culture mentioned included recent increases in awareness of sexual violence and their university's focus on preventing sexual assault. Students also referenced seeing people intervene and hearing about moments where intervention helped someone. Students also discussed how intervening has become a cultural norm. For instance, one student wrote "because all students at [my university] look out for each other, and from my experience people are always standing up and stepping in to help others." They describe their fellow students as "caring" and that many students look out for one another within a "community of trust." Oftentimes, students specifically referenced seeing people look out for each other as a culturally normative behavior. One student wrote, "From my experiences, people here look out for each other and their friends at parties. They make sure that their friends are in a safe space at the end of the night, so bystander intervention would be very effective." Some students stated that the positive culture norms they witness are a result of the existing programming at their university stating things like, "I think a lot of people around here look out for each other because we have been taught what to look for and that we need to try to prevent it." They also describe that there are many "resources," "organizations," and "programs" that help increase students' awareness and "create an atmosphere where it is encouraged to speak up and to be a bystander for others." Finally, some students felt there is not a big culture of sexual violence at their university, but qualified

their statements based on the settings they frequent, writing in things like "I feel like it's not a big problem, but I also don't go to parties and feel that is where any problems would occur."

*Culture Negative.* The "culture negative" theme was coded for 23 student responses in the not very effective group and 66 student responses in the somewhat effective group. Students discussed negative aspects of the culture at large. In their negative critiques of the culture students referenced not hearing about students intervening, hearing about people experiencing violence, and students not understanding how serious the issue is as reasons why they rated bystander intervention as not very effective. One wrote, "I still hear a lot of questionable stories about people being assaulted/taken advantage of (especially when they're drunk)." Some seemed jaded about the effectiveness of bystander intervention because "[sexual assault] still happens all the time." Students also felt that some students will and have intentions to intervene and help others, but at times people will not. One student wrote, "I believe that some people have good intentions to help others, but many people still do not offer to help others in need and a strong culture of toxic masculinity exists." Students referenced negative social norms at their university writing things like, "I think that people know what they should do, but are afraid due to social norms here." One student reflected gender norms around students' willingness to intervene writing, "the same men will continue to take advantage of women and while many people say they would intervene, in most cases they won't." They referenced problematic norms in subcultures at the university, in particular fraternities. One wrote, "I also think that in fraternities there is a culture where toned down sexual assault is OK." Many seemed pessimistic about students' willingness to intervene.

Some students mentioned that the lack of ongoing programming is an issue saying things like, "I think we all learn about it first year, but then that is it. It isn't a continuous reminder or

education, it's just a one and done." The lack of ongoing programming was also referenced in detail by focus group participants, and will be described in further detail later in this chapter. Additionally, students stated that regardless of the many resources and groups focused on preventing sexual assault, "sexual assault is still a huge problem at college campuses" and they are "not sure if everyone takes [bystander intervention programming] seriously." In fact, some students talked about problematic aspects of programming that puts the responsibility on victims to keep themselves safe. For instance, one student wrote, "Because there never seems to be any programs that tell people (boys) not to sexually assault people. We only ever hear about not walking home alone and 'distracting' and things that aren't actually stopping our problem of sexual assault." Students seem to express frustration that bystander intervention is not effective as stopping sexual assault altogether, a sentiment that was also shared amongst focus group participants. One survey respondent wrote, "While bystander intervention can be effective, it only stops the problem once it is already happening. The real problem is it happening in the first place." Another said, "While bystander intervention can be effective, it only stops the problem once it is already happening. The real problem is it happening in the first place."

Next, I describe students' explanations for their rankings of bystander intervention programming's effectiveness at addressing dating/domestic violence.

**Effectiveness for Addressing Dating/Domestic Violence.** Before presenting the themes across groups for student perceptions of bystander intervention's effectiveness at addressing dating/domestic violence, I report on the number of students per group. In total, 134 students (23.33% of the total sample) were in the highly effective group for dating/domestic violence with 19 students reporting bystander intervention is "extremely" effective at addressing sexual assault and 115 students reporting bystander intervention is "very" effective at addressing

dating/domestic violence. In the highly effective group 14 participants either left the response

blank or answered "N/A." Additionally, 273 students (47.31% of the total sample) reported that

bystander intervention is somewhat effective at addressing dating/domestic violence. In the

neutral group 22 participants either left their response blank or responded "N/A." Finally, 170

students (29.46% of the total sample) are in the not very effective group with 24 students

reporting bystander intervention is "not at all" effective at addressing dating/domestic violence

and 146 students reporting bystander intervention is "a little" effective at addressing

dating/domestic violence. In the not very effective group 12 participants either left the response

blank or answered "N/A."  The following sections include descriptions of the themes across

student responses, which includes information on which themes were common for which groups.

***Bystander Intervention Positive.*** The theme "bystander intervention positive" was only a

common theme for students in the highly effective group, with 40 student responses being coded

with this theme. Participants who discussed the ways bystander intervention is a positive

approach to addressing dating/domestic violence referenced that "bystanders/outside friends" are

the "best way at putting an end to this." Many students' responses centered bystanders as

uniquely able to offer support to those experiencing dating/domestic violence. They often

referenced how victims of such violence might "be blind to the danger they're in and need

someone to support and advise them." Additionally, "bystander intervention can help the victim

realize that he/she is not alone." Statements about the bystander's position to offer an outsider's

perspective were not only targeted towards the victim, but also included the knowledge that both

partners in such relationships may not interpret the relationship as problematic. One student

wrote, "I think intervention is very important in dating violence at [my university] because many

people in the unhealthy relationship may not be able to see that the relationship is not healthy."

Another wrote, "Most times the people in these situations do not recognize what is happening so the presence and advice of others can provide a lot of help." In discussing intervening with dating/domestic violence, some students specifically mentioned the potential of friends to intervene and the influence they can have on the parties in an unhealthy relationship. They wrote, "Pressure from friends to not be violent can be very powerful, as it's a pattern of behavior that friends can almost always pick up on" and "Friends talking about their relationships is common and easy."

      ***Bystander Intervention Negative.*** The theme "bystander intervention negative" was only a common theme for students in the not very effective group, with 21 student responses being coded with this theme. Students who commented on the limits of bystander intervention in being able to address dating/domestic violence often talked about how a lot of dating/domestic violence occurs in private. They also mentioned that "relationships tend to continue through the domestic violence most times." They talked about how dating/domestic violence is "easier to hide" and that "it is difficult and uncomfortable to tell someone that their partner is abusive, especially if they are unable to see the abuse and then get angry at you for claiming they may be in an unhealthy relationship." They mentioned that it can be difficult for parties involved to accept the intervention and that they "do not listen to the advice of bystanders."

      ***Barriers to Intervening.*** The "barriers" theme was common in the not very effective and somewhat effective groups, with 38 students from the not very effective and 68 students from the somewhat effective groups' responses being coded with this theme. Many of the barriers that students discussed referenced the nature of dating/domestic violence, particularly the private nature of that type of violence, writing things like "it is much harder to intervene in a situation behind closed doors than it is a situation right in front of you at a party." Students stated it is

difficult for them to intervene when they "might not know the whole story" and "no one wants to

budge into a relationship and cause trouble." Many students mentioned that dating/domestic

violence is complicated because they feel that couples are entitled to their privacy around their

relationship and intervening would feel like they are crossing a boundary. Crossing boundaries

was also referenced in describing the ways that victims of such violence are reluctant to disclose

violence in their relationships because they fear the response of others, in particular their

romantic partner. For instance, one student wrote, "I think bystander intervention may be less

effective because victims can be reluctant to open up to people out of fear of their partner or

being judged or accused of lying." Additionally, students talked about how dating/domestic

violence typically occurs in private and "it is hard to know what is going on in a relationship."

Students felt that dating/domestic violence is more complicated to recognize than sexual assault.

One student wrote, "domestic violence is often less obvious because victims are not vocal about

it so bystander intervention is not super effective because domestic violence is not very public."

Students also mentioned that it is the ongoing nature of dating/domestic violence that makes

intervention more complex. For example, one student wrote, "Dating/domestic violence is a

much more personal and long-lasting issue so it can be harder to address." They also questioned

the willingness of the individuals in the relationship to be receptive to intervention, saying things

like, "Oftentimes the people involved in this scenario are reluctant to leave it for various reasons

and may not always listen to bystanders" and "It is difficult in general to speak to someone of

this situation and even more difficult for them to listen."

Specific barriers students referenced include *failure to notice* (e.g., "as a generalization, a

lot of dating violence happens behind closed doors, so sometimes there simply aren't bystanders

there to say anything."), *failure to take intervention responsibility* (e.g., "Because many times

people do not speak up when a relationship seems abusive because they do not believe it is their place or think that these are just small problems."), *fear of consequences* (e.g., "Again, people don't want to offend/lose their friends so they are reluctant to intervene."), *lack of knowledge of the signs of violence* (e.g., "A lot of times people just don't know what to look for as signs of bad situations."). Additionally, related to the *failure to notice* barrier, student mentioned how students' assumptions about romantic relationships can be a barrier to intervention. For example, one student wrote, "I feel that this can be a harder problem to address because…when two individuals are in a relationship it is seen as OK for them to have sex, etc. even if there isn't total consent." "People often assume that when people are dating they are at less risk than two strangers for something dangerous to happen." Students' comments about barriers to intervention often overlapped with the training quality negative code because they mentioned that the programming they received around bystander intervention did not effectively address the signs of dating/domestic violence in relationships. They see this as critical because the signs are much more difficult to notice as a bystander.

     ***Lack of Knowledge/Experience.*** The "lack knowledge/experience" theme was also common in the not very effective and somewhat effective groups, with 79 students from the not very effective and 99 students from the somewhat effective groups' responses being coded with this theme. Students whose responses indicated a lack of knowledge/experience often referenced being unfamiliar both with the prevalence of dating/domestic violence and bystander intervention's effectiveness at addressing that violence. Some students, in particular first year students, mentioned that this lack of experience comes from the fact that they do not know many people in romantic relationships. Some said they know their university addresses it, but not as much as they address sexual violence. Many students wrote things like, "I don't know much

about it" and "I personally am not aware of domestic violence situations." Students also talked

about lacking experience to know how effective bystander intervention is at addressing

dating/domestic violence. One wrote, "I've never had an experience where I have had to deal

with it and I feel like it's not talked about much so I just have no idea." Although many students

said they lacked familiarity with dating/domestic violence at their university, many said they still

believe it happens.

*Descriptions of Culture.* Evaluations of culture were common only in the highly

effective and not very effective groups. It came as no surprise that the "culture positive" was

only common in very effective group and the "culture negative" was only common in the not

very effective group responses.

*Culture Positive.* Forty of the student responses in the highly effective group were coded

as "culture positive." Students who described positive aspects of the culture felt that it is a norm

to intervene. One wrote, "Students like to help other students in need" and "people care about

each other here." Additionally, many students stated that they had not heard of dating/domestic

violence being a problem at their university, which they implied must mean that bystander

intervention is effective. Another wrote, "I have never seen dating/domestic violence at [my

university] so I am assuming bystanders are helping by stepping in." Additionally, others said

they had not heard of dating/domestic violence at their university, but felt that students would

intervene if they did encounter that type of violence. One wrote, "I don't believe there is

domestic abuse here on campus, but I believe most people would intervene." However, even if

the very effective group, some students discussed the limits of bystander intervention at

addressing dating/domestic violence, a theme that was even more common in the not very

effective group. One wrote:

"I would say bystander intervention is a little bit less effective when dealing with domestic violence because that is usually more ongoing [and] harder to detect. People might be really good at hiding this violence within their relationship. However, I still think bystanders/outside friends are the best way at putting an end to this."

***Culture Negative.*** Twenty-five of the student responses in the not very effective group were coded as "culture negative." Students referenced negative culture norms regarding dating/domestic violence, including that "people don't understand how serious the problem is." This was often paired with a lack of knowledge/experience, with students mentioning that although they are not aware of incidents of dating/domestic violence, they are certain or would not be surprised that it happens. One student wrote, "I'm not aware of any actual incidents of dating violence at [my university], but given certain attitudes espoused by some of the students I wouldn't be surprised."

### *Focus Group Results: Praise and Critique of Programming*

Focus groups were used to further explore students' perceptions of and opinions on bystander intervention in more depth than the surveys allowed. In the first section of the focus group protocol students were first asked to discuss their familiarity with bystander intervention programs at their university. Next, they were asked the following questions: (1) What, if any, do you think the impacts of bystander intervention are for students on campuses that have bystander intervention programs? and (2) How do you think bystander intervention programming is perceived by students? These sections of the transcripts provided the primary data for the analysis of students' perspectives on existing programming, but the coders also found relevant data for these questions throughout the transcripts, which they included in their coding. Three primary codes are relevant to this portion of the dissertation: (1) Praise for Programming; (2)

Critique of Programming, and (3) Mandatory Programming. It is important to note that in the

discussion of students' responses to programming, students sometimes referenced programming

that is not centered on bystander intervention (e.g., blue lights around campus). Because of this,

the author added subcodes for Praise/Critique of BIP (bystander intervention programming) and

Praise/Critique of non-BIP. For the purposes of the dissertation, I specifically analyzed excerpts

from the subcodes "Praise of BIP" and "Critique of BIP".

**Praise for Bystander Intervention Programming.** Focus group participants praised

bystander intervention programming for two main reasons: promoting a culture of intervening

and providing tools for intervening. Additionally, students described how students at their

university have a mixed feelings about the importance of bystander intervention programming.

***Promotes a Culture of Intervening.*** In their praise for bystander intervention

programming, students discussed how such programming promotes a culture of intervening.

Students discussed that having programming like Green Dot in a university creates a language

for intervening. Nicole talked about how this language permeates the larger university culture:

> I think it's interesting how the vernacular gets brought into like the culture of the
>
> University because I feel like most people on grounds like know the phrase Green Dot
>
> whether it's taken super seriously or kind of jokingly...So, like just even saying it, even if
>
> it is jokingly – they're like, "Oh, you're such a Green Dot" – there's still like a culture of
>
> thinking about it.

The fact that the culture of intervening permeates through the larger university culture makes

students feel more comfortable. For instance, Liz said, "I do kind of operate under the impression

that I am surrounded by people at [my university] who care about me and who would intervene if

something bad were happening." Liz talked about this as not only related to sexual assault, but also around things like the overconsumption of alcohol.

Students felt that because programming was delivered immediately during their first year orientation it set "an expectation that you're watching out for people and if you don't, you're not serving the needs of the community" (Josephine). They felt it increased their awareness that things happen and "made it more real" (Michelle). Jordan added, "It's one of the first things they learn when they come here, is how to be an active bystander and so [it] just puts on the forefront of their minds whether or not it was something they learned in high school…but sometimes it falls away and they don't think about it as often." First-year Sloane said,

> I think at the beginning of the year, when we have to do the module and there was [the welcome week] presentation…I think that kind of makes first-years more aware and it made – at least for my friend group, we were definitely a lot safer I think than we would've been if we hadn't done it when we go out and stuff.

However, students in some focus groups tended to have friends involved in student groups that cared about bystander intervention and they mentioned the caveat that "certainly, there are people who are very much more joking about [intervening] and don't take it as seriously" and that they don't always feel that it is "super necessary" (Josephine).

Older male students talked about how sometimes the idea of intervening feels obvious, but that receiving the message that it is a community norm to intervene makes bystander intervention useful. This idea was discussed amongst participants in the male upperclass, non-bystander trained group:

> Connor: I do have one question as to what [the online modules are] addressing. Because before these trainings came out, did people see a guy walking with a drunk girl

and just assumed that was fine? But it was only when the training came out that

they realize it wasn't…

Rashad: I think it would be more about the emboldenment…it's not just that oh people

didn't think it was wrong before it was more –

*Facilitator: Acknowledging?*

Rashad: - am I gonna be like taken seriously sort of thing. But now it's like, "Oh, I know

I'm encouraged to do this…"

David: So, they have the backing of the institution.

Rashad: Yeah, yeah.

Zachary: It's like bridging the gap of awkwardness. It's like taking away that moment of

hesitation. "Should I intervene" or something…

Related to promoting a culture of intervention, some students felt that the programming

conveyed that prevention of SGBV is a serious issue. For instance, when discussing the impact

of bystander intervention programming, Rashad said,

If not for their educational utility, then at least for just reinforcing that this is something

that's taken seriously. So, maybe you don't learn something new about preventing sexual

assault from happening to someone. But what you do get is that if something happens,

you're aware that it's wrong and you're more likely to speak up about it, I think.

Rashad's group often discussed that bystander intervention feels obvious, but Rashad describes

the impact as not directly providing strategies to intervene, although that was endorsed by some

students, as described below, but that it conveyed that preventing violence is a serious issue,

which encourages students to intervene.

***Provides Tools to Intervene.*** Students also discussed how the bystander intervention programming they received helped them have a "toolkit to use or [what] to tell others to do if they don't feel comfortable intervening themselves" (Chelsea). Beatrice, a bystander trained student, said,

> When I took bystander intervention…it did give me the tools to kind of step in in other situations where I like saw friends that were a little bit drunk and like making different decisions than I would have. And so, it gave me tools to like check on them and to create a community around me that was more respectful.

Additionally, first year students felt that the programming they received gave them strategies to intervene in a way that was easy to retain. In responding to his facilitator's question about whether bystander intervention programming has a positive effect on students, first-year student Andre reported that it did saying, "I'm terrible at remembering things but I just gave you the three Ds which shows that some part of me retained useful information."

***Importance to Students.*** Students seemed to feel mixed about whether the programming is considered important to students. Some students felt that although the programming is perceived as important it is not always at the forefront of students' minds. For example, Joshua said,

> I think people see it as important but generally it's not part of daily life. So, you'll think about it and you'll say it's important when it's brought up. But…it's not really something you think about on a daily basis or see on a daily basis.

The importance of the programming was often related to whether students felt it was taken seriously by students. As the first year women discussed whether students take the programming seriously, Sloane reported that she felt that her male friends take it seriously

saying, "If you were…in high school, you're taught to do the right thing. I think it reaches those people and it doesn't reach the people who don't care." Bystander trained student, Easton, describes how the programming helps start necessary conversations related to sexual respect:

> I think it definitely helps start the conversation in spaces where that conversation wasn't taking place. And I think that's still a lot of conversation that is being held all over [the university], but I think it's progress keeping in mind that the context [*student mentioned a number of events in the university's recent history where sexual violence occurred*] and other things that have gone on [at the university] are indications of a very negative sexual culture. And I think there have been improvements. It's not perfect; it's far from it, but I think that Green Dot was a positive step in the right direction.

Easton seems to reference that in the presence of a negative sexual culture the university's bystander intervention programming was a first step to improving that culture. In the upperclass men's group, Ben talked about how a lot of the programming might feel pointless, but what is important to one student might be less important to another and vice versa. In discussing the university's online modules he said,

> So, the majority of it seems pointless, but we all have that one things we're like that was actually important. So…being fair to the program itself, it's addressing everything so that we can cover every single thing because we can't predict what's going to happen to each of us.
>
> Ben's comments reflect the difficulty in creating programming that is considered relevant

and important to all students. The students' comments seem to acknowledge that although some of the content of programming is not considered to be especially necessary or significant to

students, the information is still worthwhile because it facilitates necessary conversations and at

least some of the student body considers it to be worthwhile.

      **Critique of Bystander Intervention Programming.** In spite of the praise for

programming in meeting the goals of providing tools for intervening and promoting a culture of

intervening, students reported a number of critiques of bystander intervention programming. In

general, some students seemed to express a lot of frustration over feeling that bystander

intervention is an ineffective attempt to address the culture of SGBV at their university. For

instance, Mary Grace, a bystander trained student, said,

> I really think the programming here is ineffective and most people don't really care and
>
> most people don't really think about it and I guess we had the training, I feel like a lot of
>
> people didn't take it seriously. I don't know, I think this kind of programming, people just
>
> think it's kinda lame and they don't really take it seriously.

Mary Grace's comments provide a summary of students' critiques of bystander intervention

programming, described below.

      ***Students Think it Is Unnecessary and Do Not Take it Seriously.*** A common critique of

bystander intervention programming students described is that they notice that their peers either

think the content of the programming is unnecessary or do not take the programming seriously.

Students who do not take the information seriously often do so because they are believing that

the information is "common sense" and that during programming like the welcome week

presentation students are "just thinking, this is stuff I already know" (Katilin). A number of

groups talked about students joking about bystander intervention and not taking it seriously.

When the facilitator asked one group to describe the joking, Josephine replied that students often

joke about the examples used in the training that students feel do not resonate with them: "I think

like not being necessary or being overdramatic. I think more of the joking is like specific to the training." Students also talked about how the term "Green Dot" became a joke around campus, saying things like, "Whenever I've heard about the joking, it was more like making fun of the term Green Dot, which might be why they changed the name…whenever something good would happen before [they changed the name students would] be like, 'Oh yea, that's a Green Dot!'" (Beatrice). Students in one group mentioned that because they are involved in particular subcultures of the university, however, they are not close to people who would joke about the subject matter, although they have heard of that happening. They also referenced hearing people being disrespectful during the welcome week presentation. For example, Nicole said, "I was surrounded by a lot of people who were like talking over or, you know, just making a lot of snide comments towards the presenter." She talked about how it made her uncomfortable that people were not paying attention, but she didn't feel comfortable calling them out on it. Moreover, students said the mentality of "it's never gonna happen to you" gets in the way of students engaging with the information provided in programming (David).

   ***Bystander Intervention is an Insufficient Response to SGBV.*** Many students, particularly those involved heavily in student groups seeking to advocate for culture change around sexual violence felt that bystander intervention is not the correct strategy to address such violence. Liz said, "I think you could probably find a number of people on grounds who think that bystander intervention is kind of like a Band-Aid on a problem of like rape culture and patriarchy." The theme of bystander intervention as a "band-aid" to a much larger problem was referenced in multiple focus groups. Emily said,

When you just say, be aware and notice toxic situations, that doesn't address other

reasons for why people might feel entitled to someone's attention or entitled to their

body. It's just sort of…I feel like it's kind of a band-aid to a much deeper issue.

Some students felt with a purely bystander intervention strategy to preventing SGBV, "a lot of

the issues that are normally associated with violence or moments of harm like consent or like

communication or respect for a partner or partners in a situation" can be ignored. They talked

about how bystander intervention is "inherently reactive." For instance, in describing bystander

intervention as an incomplete vision for prevention, Lawson stated,

It's meant to be reactive so you're kind of waiting for something bad to happen. I think it

kinds misses the point of like even after someone intervenes, those people are still out

there, those attitudes and passing harm on to other people.

Additionally, some students criticized the programming for training to recognize unhealthy

relationships without defining the facets of healthy relationships. Related to this, Emily said,

"We just talk about terms of toxic relationships…We don't ever really consider what a good

relationship is; what a healthy sexual experience is."

*Assumptions of Bystander Intervention Programming.* Students also discussed a

number of assumptions they felt permeate the programming and limit its relevance to the larger

student body. Some students described assumptions regarding who is going to require

intervention. For instance, Nicole said, "I think the issue with the bystander programming is

there's often the assumption that it's a stranger, it's like a date rape drug or something like that

where it's…maybe not someone you're dating." She contrasts this assumption by saying, "But a

friend, a hall-mate, someone you're very close to…that's much harder to navigate, but much

more common." Additionally, many students expressed that the programming lacks information

on the facets of dating/domestic violence. In describing the limits of the online modules, Beatrice said, "They were talking about like abusive relationships, but whenever they were talking about that, it was always focused on physical abuse. They really never talked about emotional abuse or anything like that. It was always recognizing physical symptoms."

Students also expressed frustration that the programming feels generally targeted towards preventing violence in heterosexual relationships, but there is not enough work done on other types of relationships. Additionally, students feel that there is no room in the programming to discuss the potential for men to experience such violence. For example, Jordan said, "not giving any voice to male victims, to only paint women as victims and then you miss all of…there's so many other factors besides just gender and sexuality to impact how people are affected by these things."

***Lack of Ongoing Programming.*** A common critique across the focus groups was the lack of ongoing prevention programming for students. Many upperclassmen were dismayed at the majority of programming being offered during orientation week in their first year. For instance, Andrea said, "I also think it's interesting to note that a lot of the talks that happen starting first year [are] mandatory….where I think when you get to be an upper classman there aren't things, aside from the modules [which] aren't really effective, that are mandatory." Even in their first semester of college, some of the first year students said although in the beginning of the semester the information was "in the forefront in all of [their] minds," but they felt that was no longer the case. Moreover, because the information is delivered in a time where students are "inundated with all this change and knowledge…it's just kind of like one hour thrown in there amongst all of this other really busy stuff…so I think it loses some of its impact in that group setting during such a busy time of change." (Jordan).

Students even described how ongoing programming is needed in first year. Chelsea said,

"All of these meetings are occurring in the beginning of the year and everything is thrown at you

in that first couple of weeks." She talks about needing refresher meetings to "reinforce those

topics again because the amount of information that's thrown at you those first couple of weeks

is obscene." Overall, students call for more ongoing programming, a theme described further in

students' suggestions for improving programming. Kaitlin provides a good summary of this

sentiment:

> I feel like we got here as undergrads and that's like the first thing you go through. And
>
> then from there, people can decide to learn more about it, but there's a lot of people who
>
> just – they don't see it as an issue, obviously they know about the three D's and what they
>
> should do, but they may not necessarily apply those when they are out at frat parties. And
>
> so, I think it's a much bigger issue that's not really addressed as much as it should be.

***Mandatory Programming Perspectives.*** Students provided many comments on the

mandatory programming provided to students, the online modules students are required to take

every two years after that and the welcome week presentation for all first year students during

orientation. Students discussed the reactions to programming being mandatory in general. Some

student felt that while students may feel positively about the overall content of the programming,

some may feel negative about it being mandatory. However, in some groups this generated

interesting discussion about programming needing to be mandatory. For instance, Chelsea states,

"The people that care are the ones that show up anyways or would show up without it being

mandatory (Anisa: yeah) and then the ones that probably do need to hear it are the ones not

showing up." Students stated that by having the online modules there is a way to be certain that

students receive the programming. Anisa talked about how because the online modules have built

in quizzes, this enables the programming to make sure students get the information they really want students to get from it.

*Critique of Online Modules.* Many students said they understand why the content of the trainings should be mandatory, however they had many critiques for why the format of the mandatory programming should be improved. The most widely criticized aspect of bystander intervention programming was the online modules as the medium through which prevention programming is provided. Students called the modules "ineffective" and many said they felt like "a waste of time." Additionally, many students described the modules as "tedious" to have to go through. Students said "there should be in-person talks and not just online courses about it." They said the motivation for students to do the modules is not to learn the content, but to get the holds on their online student accounts released. They felt the modules were "impersonal" and that they could not relate to the information being shared. For instance, David said, "For me the training was sort of impersonal…I didn't feel involved in the [online module] or really to be honest with the Green Dot presentation. I didn't feel like I was – I wasn't really into that very much."

In a rare bit of praise for the modules, older, male students who were not bystander trained described the module as long, but comprehensive. Ben described the modules as probably the best way to make sure all potential scenarios students might encounter are covered. He said,

What better way to put out that information then make it required…and do it online so

that people can do it at their own time. I mean how much more up in arms would we be if

it was a required four-hour training before classes every semester or every year. I mean, it

would be unfeasible. It would be impossible. And this [online] training is one of the best

ways they can employ it.

However, in an interesting twist, earlier in the focus group Ben said "the only thing I remember about it was wanting to just rush through it and not really wanting it to waste my time." The men in his group agreed that they had forgotten the content of the modules, saying they doubted that it would change how they would act in a situation (Connor). Additionally, some students felt that the information provided in the modules was useful, but that they paid attention to the modules because they were interested in the topic. For instance, Anisa said,

> I think for at least like people that actually do care about it, like the modules I actually went through them and they actually give you really good strategies that I never thought of before. Like distracting the person instead of just like directly confronting them. But for people that don't identify with it or don't take it seriously, like they probably just think it's a waste of time I guess.

Furthermore, one of the most common themes across groups was students describing how they and their peers tend to skip through the modules, "just passively going through it; they just keep clicking the next button and just let the videos play while they do something else" (Minsheng). Anisa said that although she actually went through the modules and found them useful, "since it's on your honor that you're doing it, I know a lot of people just skip through them and play them out loud while they're doing other work. Just letting the time pass so that they can just get that completed check." First year students also described this tendency. For instance, Sloane said, "Because you don't want to spent your summer watching videos – so I think a lot of people probably kind of skipped through that. For some people, it might not have that much of an effect." And interest in the topic area does not ensure engagement with the content of the modules. Even students who had participated in the longer bystander intervention training reported that they skipped through the modules, saying things like, "You can't really ensure

engagement very well. People do just kind of click though it, like I've literally done that for almost all the modules I've done and I care about (this) stuff" (Lawson).

**Welcome Week Presentation.** The large talk provided for all first years in the basketball arena was mentioned in all of the groups. Students felt that the format of this programming, given that it was delivered to their entire class, was impersonal and did not allow them to practice the skills that the event was intended to impart. They talk about how many people "don't really wanna be there..they don't really wanna take it seriously and listen." They did not feel that the lecture style presentation was engaging. Students felt "they just throw you all into [the welcome week presentation] and you're all supposed to pay attention to the videos, but most people are talking to their friends or on their phone" (Kaitlin). They say that the way the programming is delivered is not "intimate" and "it's very easy to remove yourself…so I think it loses some of its impact in that group setting during such a busy time of change (Jordan). Additionally, although discussions with resident advisors after the talk are designed to make the programming more personal, participants who are resident advisors reported that not all of the discussions are taken seriously by resident advisors. One student described how disappointing it was when her hall and resident advisor did not take it seriously. While discussing how unhelpful the response of her hall and even resident advisor were, Lillian said, "My hall was definitely more on the side of this is a joke…I was actually...[I felt like I] want to talk about this and learn more about it, but no one else here does so I guess I'm just gonna sit here and be quiet." Perhaps most troubling, some students' critiques of the mandatory programming seemed to foster a sense of distrust in the university's intentions. For instance Emily's group members agreed with her when she she talked about how the structure of programming feels insufficient, saying, "It almost seems as if it's the university's way to avoid liability. They're like, oh look, we put out the blue

phones and oh look, we gave them the Green Dot presentation so if anything happens, it's not really our fault." Many students felt that the current structure of programming is a "copout" and does not show a large commitment by the university to prevent SGBV.

### *Discussion*

The majority of students felt that bystander intervention is either highly or somewhat effective at addressing sexual violence. However, the percentage of students who felt that bystander intervention is highly effective at addressing sexual violence is nearly two times that of students who felt it is highly effective at addressing dating/domestic violence. Moreover, the percentage of students who felt that bystander intervention is not very effective at addressing dating/domestic violence was nearly two times that of the students who felt bystander intervention programming is not very effective at addressing sexual violence. Although both sexual and dating/domestic violence are included in the content of the bystander intervention programming provided to students, it is clear that they hold different perceptions of how useful the skills and information they are taught are for sexual and dating/domestic violence.

Students' positive perceptions of bystander programming include its ability to promote a culture of intervening and its ability to provide tools to intervene. However, for the student survey sample, the highly effective group was the only group that commonly reported that bystander intervention is a positive approach to intervening. Moreover, a common theme in the not very effective group for dating/domestic violence was that bystander intervention is *not* an effective approach to intervention. Related to this, one of the major themes amongst focus group participants was that bystander intervention programming is an insufficient response to SGBV and that the assumptions in it make bystander intervention programming a less effective strategy

to address *all* forms of SGBV. Many students felt that bystander intervention programming is inherently reactive, and not a true form of primary prevention.

Focus group participants also talked about the mixed reactions students have to the programming and that some students think it is unnecessary and do not take it seriously. Although many of the participants expressed the belief that the programming is important, they also felt that such divergent reactions to programming can interfere with students' ability to get what they should from the programming. It is likely that this is related to students' perceptions of the delivery of the programming, including the lack of ongoing programming and the structure in which the mandatory programming is delivered. While students recognize the need for mandatory programming on preventing SGBV, they feel that the current structure the university uses to provide this programming is impersonal, not frequent enough, and has lent itself to <u>not</u> being taken seriously by students. Students may feel that bystander intervention is "common sense," but this study's results reveal that students face a variety of barriers to intervening (described further in the next chapter), often including not knowing how to intervene. It is clear that students need this programming and many even want it, but the structure in which it is provided does not facilitate students' ability to gain crucial knowledge about SGBV and how to intervene as bystanders, particularly in the contexts in which they are most likely to be experiencing SGBV. Moreover, based on the number of students who report skipping through the online modules, it is possible that without changing the structure of the online modules, this could be a waste of university resources. Perhaps even more detrimental, the current study finds that the structure of programming might foster a sense of distrust in the university and a belief that existing efforts are only out of concern for liability as opposed to being designed to promote student well-being. Later in the chapter, I describe students' suggestions for improving bystander

intervention programming, but, first, I provide an overview of students' perceptions of bystander

intervention programming's ability to influence feelings of campus safety.

**Examining Student Perspectives on Bystander Intervention Programming and Safety**

One specific question the study sought to examine is how students' perspectives on bystander intervention programming intersect with their feelings of safety on campus. This section of the dissertation analyzes students' responses to Section IV of the focus group protocol (see Appendix H). In this portion of the focus group, students were asked to, first, describe if concerns about safety affect how they engage at their university, both academically and socially. This general discussion around safety was followed by the question: What, if any, are the ways that the presence of bystander intervention programming influences your feelings or behaviors around campus safety? If students had trouble answering this question, they were asked if there are ways that bystander intervention makes them more open to being involved as a student at their university. All groups were asked these follow up questions with the exception of the male bystander trained students, who were just asked the initial question about their perceptions around campus safety. Students' responses to this section of the protocol were coded using the codes in Table 14. For the purpose of this dissertation I do not describe participant responses that were coded "non-BIP makes me feel more safe." Additionally, codes related to critique and praise of bystander intervention programming were examined for themes related to bystander intervention and safety on campus.

**Table 14.**

*Bystander Intervention Programming and Campus Safety Codes*

| Code | Subcode | Definition |
|---|---|---|
| Constrained behavior | | Constrained behavior includes statements about any behavior that participants say they engage in to help them feel safe. These are typically things that they stop themselves from doing. |
| | Academic | Statements participants make about changing academic behaviors in order to feel safe. This will often be related |

|  |  | to where they go to study, whether they take night classes. |
|---|---|---|
|  | Social | Statements participants make about changing their social behaviors in order to feel safe. This will typically be related to things like going out with friends. Also, their attendance at meetings (particularly late night meetings) is impacted by concerns for safety. |
|  | Technology | Statements participants indicating that they use technology to feel safe. This will typically be related to using technology to feel safer while walking home (e.g., calling friends, turning on Find My Friends). |
| Identity & Safety |  | Identity & safety includes any time the participant indicates that an aspect of their identity impacts their feelings of safety. |
|  | Gender | Any time a participant indicates that their gender impacts their feelings of safety. |
|  | Race | Any time a participant indicates that their race impacts their feelings of safety. |
| I feel safe |  | I feel safe is used any time participants say they generally feel safe and don't tend to change their behaviors based on fear of safety. |
| Need to protect self regardless |  | Need to protect self regardless should be used to indicate any time the participant talks about how regardless of any safety measures taken by the university, they need to take additional measures to keep themselves safe. This includes participants saying that they feel guilty or blame themselves if they don't take safety precautions and something happens. This can include statements about how they will be blamed by others if something happens and they did not work to protect themselves (e.g., they were walking home alone, they were drunk). |
| Events/contexts that increase feelings of unsafety |  | Events/contexts that have increased feelings of unsafety should be used to indicate any event (e.g., Aug. 11/12) or context (e.g., alleyways, dark spaces) that increase their feelings of unsafety. This can include discussions of lack of parking on campus. |
| BIP & Safety |  | BIP and Safety should be used to code any statements participants make about how the presence of bystander intervention programming impacts their feelings of safety. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Pros of BIP re: safety | Any time a participant indicates that bystander intervention programming has a positive impact on their feelings of safety. |
| | Cons of BIP re: safety | Any time a participant indicates that bystander intervention programming has a negative impact on their feelings of safety. |
| | No impact | Any time they indicate that BIP has no impact on their feelings of safety. |
| Non-BIP makes me feel more safe | | Non-BIP makes me feel more safe should be used any time a participant indicates that a non-bystander intervention program (e.g., blue lights, ambassadors) makes them feel more safe. |

To begin this section, I will describe the sample's feelings around safety on campus and then transition to their thoughts on how and if bystander intervention programming impacts their feelings of safety on campus.

### Students Perspectives on Campus Safety.

**Male Students Feel Safe on Campus.** Male students expressed that they were not as impacted by fears of safety on campus. In fact, all of the excerpts that were coded using the "I feel safe" code were from male participants. Some participants did mention that they know their female peers feel unsafe. For instance, first year student, Andre, said, "I know a lot of my female friends…are uncomfortable walking at night and…think it is imperative to go out in groups, but…based on my own personal safety, I never really think about it much. I'm never worried." Many male participants said they have never felt unsafe on campus and that the only times that male students talked about feeling unsafe were leaving late-night meetings. Leo said, "if we're leaving a late night meeting, a lot of people will carpool together so that they don't have to walk home alone." In fact, when male participants were asked if they have concerns about safety specifically on campus, many simply responded no. Connor said, "I feel like when you're generally on [campus], you're pretty safe." Later in his focus group Connor reiterated his point

saying, "on a whole, I think [the university] is pretty safe." According to the facilitators, many of

the conversations around safety fell flat with male groups because male students did not report

feeling unsafe so they did not endorse constrained behaviors.

      **Female Students Feel Unsafe on Campus.** In a stark contrast to male students'

responses to questions about safety, female students talked extensively about feeling unsafe on

campus and their use of academic and social constrained behaviors. Female students said they

feel unsafe on campus particularly at night. Zoe said, "I feel only concerned about my safety at

night. I know the daytime is still probable. It's just at night, it's more isolated and... Especially on

the weekends at night there's no one around; really it's very isolated." They talked about making

sure to walk in groups at night, if possible, and even male students talked about staying away

from certain areas of town at night because the areas are dark and they know things have taken

place there. For example, Easton said, "I try to stay away from [certain areas of town]

because…the things that I know that have taken place there from the police emails, I just like to

steer clear of there."  Female students noticed the impact of the right-to-know emails on their

male peers. Some talked about their male peers wanting to end meetings early so that people do

not have to walk home alone late at night. Emily said,

      I was recently at a meeting and the meeting was running pretty late and this one guy

      raised his hand, he's like, can we try to finish up in the next 15 minutes because there's

      been some muggings around this area and I don't want to be here too much later.

Moreover, many students mentioned that the lack of parking on campus impacts their feelings of

safety. They discussed that the lack of parking makes them feel uncomfortable with driving on

campus at night to go to the library because there is nowhere to park. Female students

intentionally plan to reach out to friends through text or FaceTime if they are walking home at

night. Chelsea said, "[it] is frustrating that I have to go through all that just to walk home or that might prevent me from literally going to the library because I don't feel safe walking back later."

***Female Students' Use of Constrained Behaviors.*** Many female participants talked about engaging in both academic and social constrained behaviors. For first-year students, constrained behaviors often meant not going to the library at night. While talking about academic constrained behaviors in her first year, Lillian stated, "Once I was home, if there was nobody to go somewhere with, I didn't want to walk far to go somewhere late and get back from that." Jordan, who is an RA for first-year students, described a recent conversation she had with one of her first year, female residents:

> I was just having a conversation with one of my residents last night...and actually I do relate to what she said, [about] not wanting to study out at a library late night solely because they don't wanna have to walk home in the dark...but they're more productive in the library so... having to choose between either working where I feel like I'm really productive or feeling totally safe by being in my dorm before it gets dark and, to me, that's not a fair decision that we have to make...because we don't feel totally safe making that trek.

Many students talked about not wanting to walk home alone in the dark, which keeps them from engaging in academics in ways that would be useful to them. Sloane said, "We have study groups and I just don't stay as long, usually. I usually try to head back kind of early just so I don't have to be in a bad situation." In order to avoid walking home alone at night some students will wait for things like Safe Ride or time the buses strategically so that they can get home safe. This sometimes requires female students to sacrifice sleep by having to wait for things like SafeRide to start running. Mary Grace said, "sometimes if I'm in the library and I really need to get stuff

done, I'll stay super late until Safe Ride is up, but then it's like I'm sacrificing sleep versus safety

concerns. Either that or I just don't go to the library and I go home early, even though that's not

productive for me." Female students expressed a lot of frustration at the lengths they have to go

through to plan for their own safety. When discussing her frustration over needing to use

constrained behaviors, Chelsea added, "That's kind of preventing me from feeling like I can even

function, I mean like use the school itself."

Female students also discussed engaging in constrained behaviors around social

activities. They talked about not wanting to go alone to parties or to other areas of town out of

concerns for safety. Chelsea discussed needing to spend additional money because she does not

want to walk home alone after a night out. She said,

> I mean if I'm going out with friends and we're not ending up at the same place at night, it
>
> kind of sucks. First of all, I hate walking home alone like if I have to do that after a night
>
> out. A lot of times I will call an Uber even though I don't really want to spend money but
>
> I do it because I care more about my safety than that.

Jordan, the RA, is in a unique position because she is an upperclass student living on campus,

which is not common after first year at her university. However, she experiences similar concerns

around walking home alone at night after going out with her friends. She describes an intense

planning process in order to socialize with friends:

> I guess socially for me just because all my...or most of my friends all live not in first-year
>
> dorms...I'll make sure I have someone I know I can call while I'm walking and so it's so
>
> just a very intentional planning process of, 'What time I'm going to go...it's going to be
>
> dark? Who's going to be free to call at this time?' And a whole lot of extra things have to
>
> be accounted for, or then sometimes feeling like, it isn't even worth going to meet them

> because I'm going to have to go all the way back and then they don't like that I'm alone so they're like, let us walk you home and it's just all these factors that just make it more difficult than it should be.

Many students talk about intentionally planning how they would get home at night. Female students' intentional safety planning often involved using technology as means to feel safer while walking home. Female students discussed intentionally planning who they would call on their way home or sharing their location with friends through their phones. Kamara and Cassie talked about making sure they had their phones on them when leaving the library at night so that they could call someone or be able to reach out if necessary. Students said they are diligent about having their phones charged and making sure they can reach out to someone in case of an emergency. Although they did not report needing to do this themselves, some male participants acknowledged that their female peers feel more comfortable when they can call someone. David said, "I know my female friends tell me that when they're on the phone with someone or when they're talking to someone they're always going to feel safer when they're walking anywhere." Kaitlin, whos job sometimes involves being on campus late at night, talked about her planning process:

> So when I close, I'm walking home at like 12:30 a.m. and so I have Find My Friends with roommates so they all can watch and I can text them like, 'oh, I'm leaving. I'm coming home now.' And usually one of them, one particular, she's always watching my location so I feel very comfortable and if I really need to, like you (Jordan) said I can call someone to talk to while walking.

Additionally, some students carry things like pepper spray in order to help them feel safe. Emily talked about having a pocket knife in her backpack that makes her feel safe. She said:

So one thing for me when I was in my first and second year, I used to [carry] a keychain

that had a little pocket knife on it. And my justification for that was that even if I couldn't

stop an attack with my pocket knife, I could at least mark my attacker's face. Reality is

it's in my backpack, I'm not going to be able to get my knife out in time to stop something

from happening, but just that idea that I had my little pocket knife in my backpack, it

made me feel a lot safer, even though it had no real effect on my future.

Students also talked about their friends carrying pepper spray on keychains and others said when

walking home at night they would "pull my key out and have it in my hand, and it's not like a

weapon, but I can still use it if I need to, like a weapon" (Kaitlin).

When discussing their concerns around safety, female participants acknowledged that

men have it easier around safety. Beatrice expressed frustration about this as she discussed how

she used to monitor the time of her buses to go home from the library during her first year. After

describing the lengths she took to strategically plan when to leave so she would not have to walk

20 minutes in the dark by herself, she said, "I remember like complaining a lot to other people

being like, hey if I were a man, this would be so much easier. I could just leave when I wanted to

and not have to watch my phone for when the bus is going to be here." Additionally, Charlotte

discussed how she and her roommates need to plan how they park their cars at night to make sure

that none of them will have to walk home alone from where they parked their cars on the street.

She said, "I'm constantly thinking about that and I don't always think about how that is so

gendered. Like guys don't have to really think about that, but I definitely am aware of that

constantly."

Female students also discussed having rituals around checking in with her friends after

they go out. However, female students also mentioned that their male peers do not always

understand their concerns for safety. Lillian described how it is normal for her friends to make

sure to text message each other when they get back home. However, when her male friends

overhear her and her friends saying "text me when you get back," they respond with confusion.

She said, "The guys are always like, 'what do you mean text me when you get back?' Yeah well

it's because we might be taken on the way home. They're like what? We're like yeah, it's

something we have to think about." Finally, students talked about feeling guilty if they don't

engage in constrained behaviors and rituals around safety. Josephine said,

> I think about the amount of time that I spend also like either timing for buses or like
>
> walking with friends or something and how I like to be alone like it wouldn't bother me to
>
> walk home alone or to kind of coordinate that kind of thing. But that I really feel like I
>
> need to and feeling like guilty when I don't.

Such feelings of guilt and the necessity for safety precautions are reflected in female students'

responses to whether bystander intervention programming impacts their feelings of safety on

campus, which is described further below.

### Bystander Intervention and Perceptions of Campus Safety

Discussions around perceptions of safety on college campuses were followed up by

explicit questions around the impact of bystander intervention programming on perceptions of

safety. It is important to note that in many of the male focus groups, questions around safety fell

flat, most likely because those students already feel safe in their daily lives. In many of the

groups there were long pauses as students considered whether or not bystander intervention

programming promotes their feelings of safety on grounds. In particular, most female and male

first year students seemed to struggle to consider whether or not they felt more safe because of

the presence of such programming. Their responses were littered with words like "I suppose" and

"maybe" rather than definitive statements around the impacts of the programming in their lives. For instance, first year student Sloane said,

> I mean I guess with bystander intervention programming, you might be more willing to go out and stuff because, I guess, people will be looking out for you, but I think taking measures like carrying pepper spray on a keychain, that's not going to hurt anybody unless they're trying to hurt you, so it's - you should still take the safety measures.

As with the discussion on campus safety, the more fruitful conversations around the impact of bystander intervention programming and perceptions of safety on campus were had in the female upper class groups. However, male students did posit that the presence of bystander intervention programming would have a positive impact for those students who don't feel safe on campus. Additionally, the men's groups discussed how they judged their safety and feelings of safety on campus based on their own experiences rather than the presence of programming. Noah said, "I don't think - I think the bystander training intervention - or the bystander training stuff was not pervasive enough to really have an impact on how I think about safety on [campus]." Some students reported that their feeling of safety on campus is much more informed by their experiences walking around campus, as opposed to a training at the beginning of their time in college.

**Bystander Intervention Programming Increases Comfort on Campus.** Some students felt that bystander intervention programming makes them feel more comfortable on campus. They related this to the idea of bystander intervention creating a community of intervening. For example, Liz said:

I think, personally, it makes me more comfortable because I think I do kind of operate

like under the impression that like I am surrounded by the people at [the university] who

care about me and like you would intervene if like something bad were happening.

In the first year women's group, some of the students reported that the training that they received

in the beginning of the year made them more aware and pushed them make plans for safety with

their friend groups. For instance, Sloane seems to oscillate between being uncertain about

whether bystander intervention increases feelings of safety, which was referenced in the previous

section, and feeling that it does increase how she and her friends make plans for their safety. She

said,

I think that kind of makes first years more aware and it made - at least for my friend

group, we were definitely a lot safer I think then we would have been if we hadn't done it

when we go out and stuff. We always make sure we're with each other and stuff like that.

Some older students mentioned that in their first year they felt safer on campus because they

knew there was a culture of intervening. Beatrice said, "I do remember, especially first year I

think with all of that stuff going on, feeling a lot safer knowing that like okay the other people in

the community understand or kind of know about it or are aware of it more." However, later in

the focus group Beatrice stated that since first year her image of her university having a sense of

community around intervening has shattered because of high profile incidents of racism that

have happened on campus. She said:

Hearing about all the sexual violence that's happened…it was only a few months after

that, that hate speech started coming up on all the walls. And so, a lot of stuff about racial

violence started happening…the whole debate about that kind of showed me like the

university's true colors and I didn't feel the same way after that.

Beatrice then distinguished between the community she surrounds herself with and the larger campus community and reflected that her own personal community has safety rituals and practices to ensure that everyone is cared for, but she does not believe this is the case across the university.

Students also mentioned that walking around campus might feel safe because they know that students received bystander intervention training, but they acknowledged that the belief in training and its capacity to make them feel safer did not translate once they left campus. They describe this as being in their university bubble. Josephine says, "I guess, implicitly, the bystander intervention training probably has not - I don't have the same like confidence in everyone outside [the university] who hasn't been engaged as I do with the people at [the university] generally."

**Bystander Intervention Programming does not Impact Feelings of Safety.** While female students sometimes acknowledged that there were benefits to having bystander intervention programming on campus, many mentioned that they did not feel it impacts their feelings of safety or their involvement either academically or socially. In fact, Mary Grace said, "I don't think it has any impact, the training we get." Fellow group member Jordan said, "I'd like to think that it does," however in the same breath Jordan said the following:

> I don't know, if I ever feel nervous walking home in the dark, I'm not like, but at least we
> all got bystander trained, I'm going to be okay. I don't think it's a super active thought, but
> I hope that it does make some sort of implicit impact.

Students said what would made them feel safer is evidence of a culture of intervening, including seeing people look out for one another. Some students pointed to awareness campaigns, including posters that were put up asking for how people intervene, as being a sign that people

care about intervening. However, students also pointed to specific incidents on campus that have

them doubt that everyone at their university cares about intervening. This included the second

time that public incidents of racism were referenced by students, with Liz saying:

> I think just like promoting that like it is [this university's] thing to look out for people.
>
> There's also undercurrents of that, obviously, not being true, clearly, in certain situations,
>
> especially what we talked about in the aftermath of [high profile incident of racism] like
>
> the sort of revelation that in many ways, that is not like fulfilled or lived up to.

> From their perspective of not feeling safe on campus, female students often talked about

thinking that it is nice that bystander intervention has a presence on campus, however they do not

feel that it impacts their behaviors related to safety because they do not trust that people will

actually intervene. Charlotte said,

> I don't think it really impacts how I... I don't think I changed anything based on having it
>
> or not because, yeah, it's nice to know that people are educated on it, but I'm not going to
>
> trust that people are actually going to do something about it. So my initial thing is like
>
> just stay out of situations that could be harmful.

Chelsea also mentioned that if she sees large groups of people around she knows that at least

someone will be there to see if something bad happens to her, but if she sees one person she can

feel scared. She said,

> It's kind of like it's nice because you think at least everyone has this collective
>
> understanding that you should intervene, but also if there's no one around, it doesn't really
>
> do anything. You know what I mean? Because you yourself can't intervene in your own
>
> situation.

Oftentimes, female students' perceptions around safety came from socialization messages they have received throughout their lives that tell them that women have to take responsibility for their own safety. Andrea said,

> I think I remember when I was younger, my grandmother told me that a girl learns to fear the word rape in the first day she learns what it means. I definitely think that's true. I think that regardless of the bystander intervention or programming that there is an effort to make [the university] be a safer place, which I do appreciate, I always feel like there's going to be like... Even if I do feel safe walking home or I feel confident, which a lot of times I do, I still get that feeling of being on edge when somebody comes near. And I think that's always going to be a thing.

Many of Andrea's group members agreed with her sentiment. Socialization messages around safety were not only shared with women; male participants also talked about feeling their responsibility to protect the women around them and prevent them from experiencing SGBV. First year student, Dan described how growing up his family put him in the position of protecting his female family members. He said,

> I've grown up in a household where [when] my sister wanted to go out and…my girl cousins they would have [to have] a guy they trusted with them because it's how my parents grew up. So a lot of times when my sisters would want to go do something, my parents would be like, 'Hey, you should go too.' [My sister is] only one year older so we're similar in age, but they're like, 'Hey, you should go because when you have that presence of a male sometimes when another man's coming to do harm he'll be scared off.'

Dan was tasked with acting as a chaperone and, in many ways, a bodyguard for his female relatives because he was socialized to acknowledge that his presence would make them relative safer. This seems to play into a "white-knight" positionality that many of the men talked about, which might relate to why many of the men talk about intervening specifically with the aggressor in the situation, which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

**Female Students Must Protect Themselves Regardless.** In addition to discussing the minimal impact bystander intervention programming has on their perceptions of safety, many female students stated that they would need to protect themselves regardless of the presence of *any* prevention program. For instance, as her group discussed the need to do everything they can to protect themselves, Lillian said, "I think part of that mindset too is if something did happen to me or any of us here the first question would be like 'Oh were you alone? Were you at night? Was it dark outside? What were you doing?'" The group discussed how it is their responsibility to take precautions for their own safety, regardless of whether or not someone else is around. Even in the first-year group, students talked about taking precautions in order to protect their safety. Sloane summed up female participants responsibility to protect themselves, saying:

> To be honest, I feel like even if it was a perfect world and everyone cared and bystanders intervened, I would still take the same measures I do just because you never know. I feel like on a college campus where it's really emphasized, you still can't take those kinds of risks. It's not worth it.

Students in the focus groups and in the survey sample expressed doubt that bystander training would stop potential perpetrators of violence from acting violently. Focus group participant, Michelle said,

Even with bystander intervention, you can send somebody for modules and presentations, but it's not likely going to change who they are as a person and what their actions can be, so I think that - being here I still have the same safety measures. I judge my safety situation more in like the people I'm around something like that. I'm only going to surround myself with safe people.

In the same group, Lauren said, "Even if you have the most perfect - the best bystander intervention program, I would definitely still take the same safety measures because if things were perfect bystander intervention programs, they wouldn't even have to exist because they wouldn't be necessary." Zoe agreed with her replying, "Yeah, and I believe that you can only depend on yourself. You can't really depend on other people's actions, so you should always take precaution."

Female students' responses to the questions around safety and bystander intervention programming point to a larger issue of women's perceptions of safety as they navigate their day-to-day world. The women in the focus groups clearly stated that they feel it is their responsibility, regardless of programming, to protect themselves and that if they do not do that they may be blamed for not protecting themselves if something were to happen to them. Although many of the female students had positive things to say about the impact of bystander intervention programming on college campuses, fundamentally whether such programming impacts their feelings around safety is a moot point for them because they know and have been socialized to know that it is their responsibility to always look out for their own safety. Socialization messages around safety will be discussed further in the next chapter when describing gendered norms around intervening.

*Discussion*

To my knowledge, this is the first study to explore the intersection of students'

perceptions of bystander intervention programming's and their perceptions of campus safety.

Consistent with research that gender is the greatest predictor of fear of victimization (Fisher &

Sloan, 2003), discussions around campus safety differed immensely based on the gender of the

group, with female focus groups describing more concerns for personal safety than male groups.

Consistent with previous findings, all students, particularly female students, described greater

fear of crime at night (Sloan et al., 2000). Male students expressed far fewer fears for their

personal safety and use of constrained behavior than female students. Female students described

the ways they intentionally plan around concerns for safety and endorsed traditional forms of

academic and social constrained behavior found in research, describing a number of avoidant

constrained behaviors including not going to the library at night and limiting their social

activities if they will have to go spaces alone at night (Campbell, 2005; Fisher & Sloan, 2003)

Additionally, students in the male and female groups discussed women's use of technology to

mitigate fear when walking around at night. Women in the study are using advanced forms of

technology to promote their sense of safety, from using apps that allow friends to track their

whereabouts to calling friends to send the message that they are not alone. Cumiskey and

Brewster (2012) argue that such use of technology can promote women's feelings of safety.

Technology can also empower women to feel socially connected to others in ways that promote

their confidence in public spaces because it "broadcasts" that the individual is not alone

(Cumiskey & Brewster, 2012). However, their use of technology is a double-edged sword;

although it can promote feeling of safety, researchers find that it can lead to engaging in riskier

behavior (Nasar et al., 2007).

Research finds that women's use of constrained behaviors has a large impact on their lives and stems from socialization practices (Gardner, 1989; Hollander, 2001). Consistent with previous findings, female focus group participants expressed concern that if they are victimized on campus, they will be blamed for putting themselves at risk (Turner & Torres, 2006). They also expressed frustration that their male peers have fewer concerns for their personal safety and do not understand their female peers' concerns for their personal safety. In synthesizing a number of research findings related to women's use of constrained behaviors and how such behaviors function as social control on women's lives, Rader and colleagues (2009) describe a pattern of constrained behavior use consistent with the findings in the present study, stating, "women engaging in constrained behavior limit their activities, lose autonomy, worry about the effectiveness of these behaviors, and cognitively map their routes to and from potential danger areas." Researchers posit that there is a positive feedback loop between the use of constrained behaviors and fear of crime (Radar et al., 2009), which would be incredibly difficult to disrupt. Therefore, it is not surprising that students report that the presence of bystander intervention programming has minimal effects on their feelings of campus safety. Female students' use of constrained behaviors points to the strong influence constrained behaviors and fear of crime play in female students' lives and their discussions points to larger societal issues. Female students stated that regardless of the presence of *any* form of SGBV prevention programming, they will still feel responsible for their own safety due to fears of victim blaming if they were to experience victimization. The influence of socialization practices that make female students aware of the risk of experiencing SGBV and the resultant victim blaming likely feed into the positive feedback loop between fear of crime and use of constrained behaviors.

The qualitative findings around safety point to fundamentally different lived experiences between the genders. While female students described the ways that they are socialized to live in a world where they expect to be unsafe, male students did not appear to share their concerns around safety and described being socialized to protect the women around them. Given male students' greater sense of safety on campus, it is unsurprising that they did not report that bystander intervention impacts their feelings of safety. Conversely, given the strong influence fear of SGBV on female students' behaviors on campus, it is unsurprising that bystander intervention programming does not stop them from engaging in constrained behaviors. While some female students reported that bystander intervention promoted their belief that their peers are looking out for one another, they are still strongly aware of, and are socialized to be aware of, risks to their personal safety. Therefore, they see bystander intervention programming as an insufficient approach to promoting their feelings of safety because they know they need to protect themselves regardless of the presence of programming. While the programming can sometimes make them feel more comfortable on campus, what would make them feel safer is a culture of intervening. However, they also say that in the current climate they do not trust that people will intervene and they can only depend on themselves. It is possible that the only true effect on female students' perceptions of safety will be a shift in the culture where the prevalence of violence against women is greatly diminished. Until then, they call for programming to address the roots of SGBV and made suggestions for other improvements to bystander intervention programming, which are described below.

**Suggestions for Programming Improvement**

In the student survey samples as well as the focus groups, students provided

recommendations for how bystander intervention programming could be improved. There were

many overlapping themes in students' suggestions for programming improvement. Therefore, the

results of students' suggestions from the survey sample and focus groups are presented together.

Before presenting their suggestions, I review the coding process for the survey sample and focus

group data.

*Coding of Survey Sample's Suggestions for Programming Improvement*

Student responses for **suggestions for improving bystander intervention** were coded

using the codes listed in table 15. The majority of student responses referenced improvements

necessary at the training and cultural levels. Training improvement responses were typically

related to either the quality and content of training or the quantity of training students receive.

Moreover, we added a specific code related to barriers to intervening because students often

referenced addressing students' barriers to intervention in their suggestions for how

programming could be improved. Finally, many students simply wrote they were not sure how

bystander intervention could be improved and during the master coding process the "not sure"

code was added.

**Table 15.**

*Suggestions for Improving Bystander Intervention – Codes for Survey Sample*

| Code | Definition |
|------|------------|
| Improve culture/awareness | Student made a statement about the need for positive culture change, including increasing awareness of the issue and helping people care about the issue. |
| Improve training quality/content | Student made comments related to ways that the quality of the programming provided could be improved. This could include the |

| | context in which programming is provided and topics that should be covered by programming. |
|---|---|
| Training quantity | Student made comments related to having more frequent training. This could include comments about making programming mandatory and students indicating that more education is necessary. |
| Address barriers to intervention | Student stated that training needs to address barriers to intervention (e.g., bystander effect, diffusion of responsibility, shyness, feel like it's not my place). |
| Not sure | Student stated that they are unsure or do not know what improvements can be made to bystander intervention. |
| No improvements needed | Student made comments that the existing programming is sufficient and/or no changes are necessary. |
| Other important themes | Student commented about additional meaningful themes that are not covered by existing codes. |

### Coding of Focus Groups' Suggestions for Programming Improvement

Throughout the focus groups, many students described improvements they believed could be made to bystander intervention programming to make it more effective for students. Additionally, student surveys asked students to respond to the question, "What, if anything, do you think would make bystander intervention more effective at addressing sexual/dating/domestic violence at [your university]?" Students' responses were subcoded using the codes listed in Table 16.

**Table 16.**

*Suggestions for Improving Bystander Intervention – Codes for Focus Groups*

| Code | Definition |
|---|---|
| More personal programming | More personal programming should be used when participants discuss the fact that existing programming feels impersonal and any suggestions they use to make programming more personal. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ongoing programming | Ongoing programming should be used when participants discuss the lack of ongoing sexual violence prevention programming throughout college. This will typically include instances when they discuss how they experience programming in their first year experience, but then that programming drops off. |

For the focus group participant responses, the author analyzed data from the "Suggestions for programming improvement" code and its subcodes "more personal programming" and "ongoing programming." Next, the survey sample's and focus group participants' suggestions for improvement will be discussed. The suggestions fell under two major categories: (1) general programming suggestions, and (2) programming content suggestions.

### *General Programming Suggestions*

Focus group participants and survey participants made a number of suggestions for improving the structure, dissemination, and promotion of bystander intervention programming. Students specifically called for (1) promotion and synergy of existing programming, (2) more ongoing programming, and (3) more personal and engaging programming.

**Promotion and Synergy of Existing Programming.** Students called for "more outreach and more ways that [programming is] promoted so that you can see it and have an awareness of it." Students also recommended that the university do more to promote bystander intervention programs with things like posters and other forms of awareness campaigns. Cassie described the benefit of promoting the programming, stating,

> I would hope that there would be more promotions so people know this program exists
> and what they actually do. For example, some lectures and some promotions about
> [bystander intervention programming] or any other events so that, 'Oh this program
> exists and it is protecting us.'

Additionally, students, particularly those involved in student groups related to the prevention of

SGBV on campus discussed the need for synergy of existing prevention efforts. For instance,

Lawson said:

> Yeah. I mean, I think [this university] is unique in that we have student organizations that
>
> kinda take the charge and do this kind of work, right? So, more systematically
>
> coordinating those student efforts to build a cooperative curriculum theoretically, right?

**More Ongoing Programming.** The need for more ongoing programming was discussed

mainly by focus group participants. Related to their critique that programming mainly happens

first year and then only again in the "ineffective" online modules, focus group participants called

for more ongoing programming around bystander intervention. For instance, Kaitlin said, "I just

agree that… it should be more ongoing conversation, most people don't pay attention to the

modules, etc." Jordan agreed with her saying,

> I also think it needs to be a lot more ongoing, like one conversation the first weekend you
>
> get here, is not gonna change a culture so just finding ways to make it just more of a
>
> constant, not even constant, but just recurring conversation.

Even first year students felt that "it needs to be touched up on again" (Andre). Referencing how

how many of the men in his group forgot the content of the online modules, Amir described one

possible format for such ongoing programming, saying:

> I think we should have I guess reminders throughout the year. Because I know some
>
> people mentioned that they forgot about what they were trying to get at at the beginning
>
> of the semester. So, I think if we had the reminders it would just be in people's minds.

In her group, Andrea agreed with the other participants about the need for ongoing programming,

saying,

Yeah. I agree. I think it should continue over your four years here because I think after

your first year it really drops off. It's not a problem that stops after first-year. It continues

on so I think that having exposure to that information is still really valuable especially

when people are transitioning to living on their own or rushing and doing things. I don't

know. It would be helpful to have that knowledge in spaces.

**More Personal and Engaging Programming.** Students in the survey sample and in the

focus groups stated the existing programming could be more engaging. They call for more

personal programming that helps the information resonate more with students. Such comments

included wanting more personal, real-life "stories about how [bystanders] helped others," which

they would want to be told by the students themselves. Additionally, given that there was a

previous high-profile case of dating violence at their university that resulted in the murder of a

female undergraduate, students called for students to be taught about that case as a way to reflect

the seriousness of the issue.

Students also call for the context of trainings to be improved, including having more

personal programming, including "smaller meetings to have a more interactive discussion."

Many students called for more in person programming with fewer people so students would have

a better opportunity to discuss and practice the skills being taught. For instance, Sloane said,

For that module at the beginning of the year, I don't know if this is viable, but I think it

would be better if it was in person. Not for a huge group, but for smaller groups…If it

was small groups in person they would probably pay more attention and get more out of

it.

Students feel that more hands-on programming would give them the opportunity to receive

information on "specific strategies," and would also allow them to practice those strategies. This

would allow students to feel more comfortable intervening when facing a situation in real life.

Some of the upperclass male students even stated that a setting like their focus group would be a

more effective medium for training. Connor describes the potential format of such a program:

> So, I feel like they should do this kind of sort of thing like during orientation. Spend like
> an hour and a half here. And they could easily fit that in versus just going to – you going
> and sitting there for two and a half hours like I did during my orientation. It was super
> useless. And we didn't do anything. So, if fit in an actual training like this – this is
> probably the thing I'll remember the most about bystander intervention and like input
> from other people. Because when you're doing [the online module], it's just you and the
> computer going back as you click as fast as you can.

Students in Connor's group even stated that having discussion groups after students went

through the modules would be more effective. Ben said, "If everyone sat down and did the

module for 20 minutes and then had a discussion right after, I feel like it would be way more

effective because everyone's like, 'I might actually take my time. I know we're about to discuss

this. I need to not look like an idiot in front of all these people I'm about to meet.'" Students

called for more dialogue between participants, which would help expose students to different

perspectives. For instance, Adam said, "maybe dialogue with other strangers or people of other

backgrounds or genders to really get a different perspective from them instead of just a constant

lecture from the speaker."

### *Programming Content Suggestions*

Focus group participants and survey participants also made many suggestions for

improving the content of bystander intervention programming. They suggested improving the

means by which bystander intervention programming (1) provides general knowledge about

SGBV and bystander intervention, (2) that bystander intervention should include information about healthy relationships, (3) that content of programming should include more intersectional perspectives, (4) that programming should be designed to promote positive culture norms, particularly around intervening, and (5) that more programming is needed to address the roots of SGBV.

**Provide More General Knowledge about SGBV and Intervening.** Students', particularly survey students', suggestions often referenced the need for programming to include more education about SGBV and intervening. Students called for more education on the negative impacts of experiencing sexual violence to communicate the seriousness of the issue. Many students called for more education on the signs of violence, including "what a risky situation for sexual assault looks like in real life setting (at a bar/party)" and "focus more on being able to identify problematic situations." Additionally, students called for more awareness amongst men, particularly straight men, saying things like "I think culture really needs to change among men" and "removing the idea in guys that it's not a big deal." They called for promoting intervention, particularly amongst men writing things like, "Getting more males involved in bystander intervention. I know many females who will, but in my experience, men are less likely to intervene." although existing programming is designed to tell them how to intervene, students still requested that programming help them "be more educated as to how they can intervene to help." Students wanted strategies for intervening, including "how to go about it if everyone thinks it's not a problem."

Students, in general, felt that dating/domestic violence needs to receive more attention in the programming. Many students seemed to lack an understanding of what is considered abuse in romantic relationships. They wanted more information on the "definition of dating/domestic

violence" and "what unhealthy relationships look like," as well as the prevalence of dating/domestic violence. Being educated more on the signs of dating/domestic violence was mentioned by a lot of students. They wrote things like, "I think bystander intervention would be more effective if people were educated more on how to spot the signs of abusive relationships both in their own lives and the lives of others." They also wanted information on the "hidden" and "more subtle" signs of dating/domestic violence. Moreover, students felt that they do not receive information on all forms of dating/violence and want the topics of emotional and verbal abuse to be addressed more in programming. Students called for programming to "make [dating/domestic violence] seem as important as the other topics like alcohol and sexual assault" and not let domestic violence be "overshadowed by sexual assault." In fact, although Green Dot includes information in its programming on this type of violence, some students called for "adding dating/domestic violence to the Green Dot program." Many students mentioned that there simply needs to be more awareness about dating/domestic violence. They call for breaking down stigmas related to this type of violence (e.g., "being weak to ask for help" and "the stigma that it is a private issue").

**Include More Information about Healthy Relationships.** Some survey students called for education about "what is acceptable behavior in a romantic relationship."  Students in the focus groups were also critical of bystander intervention programming because of its sole focus on defining unhealthy relationships and its lack of focus on what makes a romantic relationship healthy. For instance, Chelsea talked about how the student group she is a part of talks about healthy relationships as a foundation to discuss unhealthy relationships:

One thing that we talk about now is with relationship violence, we talk about positive relationships first and then we also talk about relationships that are negative. Really

emphasizing the point of giving an example of something that's positive to people so that

they have something to look towards rather than just having that negative example" and

distinguishing between negative things that happen in relationships and patterns of abuse.

Additionally, Emily called for more discussion of positive aspects of romantic relationships,

stating,

> We should be able to talk about the positive things; like what does a healthy relationship
>
> look like? And how can consent be sexy? And all of these different things that I just as
>
> important conversations so that it's not just every time we talk about sex, it's scary. So,
>
> just finding a balance between being sex positive, but also preventing these things is that
>
> something that... I don't think we've struck that balance yet.

**Include More Intersectional Perspectives in Content.** In addition to addressing the

roots of SGBV and talking about healthy relationships, students called for more intersectional

perspectives to be incorporated in prevention programming. Students acknowledge that much of

the programming centers "heteronormative" perspectives on SGBV and often does not consider

what SGBV looks like in different groups. Students also called for programming that does not

reflect heteronormative examples of dating/domestic violence, "teaching male-female and

female-male dating/domestic abuse." They also stated that there needs to be an acknowledgment

of the different levels of privilege potential victims, and even bystanders have for intervening.

For instance, Beatrice said, "When intervening in a lot of situations, understanding the levels of

privilege that different people have. So say - I don't know - understanding that going to the police

for some survivors is going to be a much different experience than it will be for other survivors."

As a racial/ethnicity minority student herself, she discussed how approaching a White man

would feel much less safe for her than approaching a Black man. She felt that it was "important

to understand the different levels of - or the difference systematic issues and factors at play." In

his group, Dan said that he felt intersectionality " needs to be emphasized - that some people are

at greater risk just from who they are and…it's hard to admit that in a society that now we value

that everyone has equal rights and stuff like that. But I think it's very important that people are

aware that that can be taken advantage of."

Moreover, in describing what changes she thinks would improve bystander intervention

programming, Jordan stated, "it needs to be way more intersectional than it is because even

though we try to throw things in, people still have a certain idea of what this situation looks like,

that's just not robust enough." Jordan's statement reflects how students' ideas around SGBV and

romantic relationships and the lack of intersectionality in those perspectives can be a barrier to

intervening, a topic that will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

**Improve the Culture (of Intervening).** Survey participants called programming to

improve the culture of the university. These suggestions included reductions in party/drinking

culture, hookup culture, and rape culture. They also pushed for changes to norms in university

subcultures like Greek life writing, "If it could somehow convince people in tight friend groups

like fraternities that they must speak up if they see something. They need to know that they

won't be cast out for raising very important concerns." They also suggested that bystander

intervention programming be designed to improve the culture of intervening, meaning promoting

a culture where intervention is encouraged and expected. Calls for a culture of intervening

included things like "developing a greater sense of community…emphasize the importance of

respecting the entire community rather than just our friends." Students also call for reinforcement

of messages that communicate that sexual assault is not tolerated and for outreach to be "farther-

reaching." Finally, after setting the foundations for students to be more informed on

dating/domestic violence and how to intervene, as with sexual assault, students state "the university should create a culture where students are more comfortable with interfering with people's personal lives if it means protecting a student."

**Address the Roots of SGBV.** Both survey respondents and focus group participants suggested that more programming be designed to address the roots of SGBV. One student wrote, "Ideally we would put more effort into stopping people from doing bad things in the first place. It shouldn't be girls' responsibility to stop sexual assault which is the underlying message I feel whenever I hear about bystander intervention." Student suggestions for improving programming's ability to address the culture of sexual assault include asking for more discussion in general about sexual assault and consent and more of an emphasis on stopping individuals from assaulting in the first place. One student wrote, "Truthfully: focusing less on bystander intervention. More on changing the way people think about consent, talk about sex, and how men view women." Some students seem frustrated by how little programming is targeted towards teaching people not to be violent. Students feel that bystander intervention is not truly a preventative means to address the culture of sexual violence. One student wrote,

 I think we should be explicitly told not to sexually harass or assault other people. We should emphasize why it is wrong and how it negatively impacts victims…Right now, we are only taught how to help each other if sexual assault occurs, but there aren't any preventative measures in place.

Many students, particularly female students expressed frustration that bystander intervention programming does not address the roots of SGBV. Some of this sentiment was directed particularly at men, with students saying that the way to improve the effectiveness of programming would be "if males were taught not to abuse women's bodies." Many students

called for programming to address the root causes of sexual violence. One student summed up the need for more targeted training around preventing the roots of sexual violence, writing:

> Having more programs that address the root causes of sexual assault and rape culture. For example, while the 'Green Dot' program is great, it does operate under the assumption that 'boys will be boys' and that interpersonal gender-based violence and sexual assault is bound to happen, and places the locus of responsibility on bystanders as a result. Green Dot would be much improved if there were programs that addressed roots of the issue, such as toxic masculinity.

Female focus group participants called for education that not only addresses intervention methods, but also programming that is designed to change societal expectations and norms that perpetuate the culture of SGBV. Female participants often linked this to the social expectations placed on them to look out for their own safety. For instance, Lauren said:

> I think a prevention program should really try to focus on the root of the problem instead of telling people, especially girls, "Don't wear this, watch out for your drinks. Don't just leave them out and about. Don't go out alone at night, walk in groups and stuff." It's kind of – address – the fact that other people shouldn't be doing this in the first place. Yes, all those things are very helpful. They're things you should do, and they can reduce the likelihood or the impact of something actually happening, but I feel like it has to go further than that and actually address the fact that there's something wrong. People should not be doing this sort of behavior to other people.

### *Discussion*

This chapter closes with students' suggestions for improving bystander intervention programming. There were a number of overarching themes found in students' suggestions.

Students call for the promotion and synergy of existing SGBV prevention programming on their campus. At their university, there are a number of student groups working to prevent SGBV. Students call for synergy between university and student efforts related to prevention. Additionally, although students reported a number of critiques of the existing, mandatory programming, they acknowledge that the mandatory nature of this programming is critical and suggest ways to make it more engaging and personal to hopefully combat the tendency for students to not take the programming seriously and ignore vital components of the existing programming. In addition, they call for more ongoing programming. Currently, the majority of programming is provided in students' first year. However, researchers argue that students' experiences throughout college influence their use of bystander behaviors (Brown et al., 2014). Therefore, it is critical that programming acknowledge the developmental differences between students in different years of college and consider how to continue to deliver relevant and engaging programming throughout students' tenure in college. Improvements to the structure of programming will help to promote a culture of intervening. While students felt that bystander intervention programming can promote such a culture, they still call for improvements in the programming's capacity to do so. The importance students place on community norms and a culture of intervening directly relates to two of the factors that McMahon (2015) states influence bystander intervention: social norms and sense of community. In their statements, students suggest the potential for social norms to change students' attitudes and behaviors, an assertion supported by research (Berkowitz, 2002). The importance of community norms around intervening is discussed further in the next chapter, particularly related to students' descriptions of factors that promote intervening.

Students also call for programming to increase their knowledge about dating/domestic violence, particularly the signs of SGBV. A number of students reported that a lack of knowledge on dating/domestic violence influenced their effectiveness ratings, however this lack of knowledge was not only due to the private nature of dating/domestic violence, but also the lack of education they receive regarding dating/domestic violence. Such calls for better education on dating/domestic violence, as well as education that contrasts healthy relationships from abusive ones, is critical because relationship violence is prevalent among college students, but they report barriers to recognizing such violence. Providing education on more than physical violence, as well as on healthy relationships is critical. Education on other forms of dating/domestic violence is particularly critical because studies show that emotional abuse is the most common form of relationship violence reported by college (Forke et al., 2008). Students are adamant that dating/domestic violence should be considered *as* important as sexual violence in bystander intervention programming.

Moreover, students' calls for more intersectional perspectives to be represented in bystander intervention corresponds to similar calls by researchers. For instance, Hirsch and Khan (2020) highlight the "need for programming that does more to help [students] think critically about status and power on their own campus" (p. 196). The lack of intersectionality and critical conversations on status and power limit students' ability to recognize SGBV. The value students place in understanding how privilege and status impact SGBV and intervening aligns with recent calls for critical consciousness to be incorporated into models of bystander intervention. Critical consciousness is "a sociopolitical tool used to critique, create a sense of responsibility for, and encourage action against social conditions that perpetuate injustice and suffering" (Freire, 1970, 1974). Researchers state that critical consciousness plays a role in students' ability to label a

situation as needing intervention, the precursor to intervention (Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

Moreover, researchers find that critical consciousness is associated with increased willingness to

intervene (Rojas-Ashe et al., 2019). Therefore, it is possible that incorporating intersectional

perspectives and critical conversations around status and power in bystander intervention

programming, will promote students' ability to recognize situations where intervention is

necessary and increase their willingness to intervene. More research is needed on bystander

intervention programming that incorporates such practices.

Finally, students call for programming that addresses the roots of SGBV. They are

adamant that programming needs to address the perpetration of SGBV. The mutual importance

students place on perpetration prevention and bystander intervention programming supports the

push for more integrative approaches to SGBV prevention. While a review of how such practices

can be integrated is beyond the scope of this study, such approaches would address students'

suggestions by incorporating and integrating programming that promotes empathy, skills

training, and social norms. Researchers state that campus prevention efforts "must leverage the

strengths of different types of programs and widen the scope of prevention activities offered to

students across the years that they are enrolled" (Orchowski et al., 2018, p. 13). They state that

an integrated approach has a higher potential to diminish the prevalence of SGBV on college

campuses, a perspective shared by students in the study (see Orchowski et al., 2018 for

researchers call to action for integrating programming).

## Chapter 4: Students' Perceptions of Themselves as Bystanders

The second chapter of results addresses the following research questions: (1) Do students' efficacy about intervening as a bystander and self-reported bystander behaviors differ by demographic group (i.e., gender, race, sexual orientation, year in school, involvement in Greek life)?, (2) How, if at all, do students' identities make it easier or more difficult for them to intervene?, and (3) What do students perceive to be factors that make it easier or more difficult for them to intervene in situations of SGBV and are there gender differences in such factors? The chapter is split into four sections: (1) Student Identity Group Differences in Bystander Outcomes, (2) Student Perceptions of the Impact of Identity on Bystander Behaviors, (3) Students' Barriers to Intervening, and (4) Student Perspectives on Promotive Factors for Intervening. To begin, I will describe the results of quantitative analyses examining the impact of identity on bystander efficacy and bystander behaviors.

## Group Differences in Bystander Outcomes

### *Differences in Bystander Efficacy and Behaviors*

First, I tested for groups differences in the variables of interest: bystander efficacy and bystander behaviors. To run these analyses, I specifically examined racial/ethnic groups and sexual orientation groups who had sufficient sample sizes to analyze group differences. Therefore, racial/ethnic group analyses were limited to Asian, Black/African American, Hispanic/Latino, White, and multiracial/ethnic students. Additionally, sexual orientation analyses were limited to heterosexual/straight, gay/lesbian, and bisexual students.

**Bystander Efficacy.** I first tested for differences by demographic group for students reports of confidence in intervening as a bystander to prevent SGBV.

***Bystander Efficacy and Year in School.*** A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of year in school on reports of bystander efficacy. There was not a significant effect of year in school on bystander efficacy, $F(3, 998) = 2.18$, $p = .089$.

***Bystander Efficacy and Gender.*** An independent samples t-test was run to determine if there was a mean difference in reports of bystander efficacy between male-identifying ($n = 387$) and female-identifying ($n = 608$) participants. There was a significant difference in the scores for male-identifying ($M = 72.0$, SD $= 15.61$) and female-identifying ($M = 78.85$, SD $= 13.50$) participants, $t(993) = -7.34$, $p < .000$, indicating that on average men reported lower bystander efficacy than women.

***Bystander Efficacy and Race/Ethnicity.*** A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of race/ethnicity on reports of bystander efficacy. This included the following racial/ethnic groups: Asian, Black or African-American, Hispanic/Latino, Multiracial/ethnic, and White. There was a significant effect of race on bystander efficacy, $F(4, 989) = 3.70$, $p = .005$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the means scores for the following groups were significantly different: (1) Asian ($M = 75.79$, $SD = 14.98$) and Black/African American students ($M = 82.54$, $SD = 11.83$), $p = .025$; and (2) Hispanic/Latino ($M = 70.36$, $SD = 12.85$) and Black/African American students ($M = 82.54$, $SD = 11.83$), $p = .001$. I also found marginally significant differences on bystander efficacy between Black/African American ($M = 82.54$, $SD = 11.83$) and multiracial/ethnic ($M = 74.91$, $SD = 14.34$) students, $p = .05$. Bystander efficacy did not significantly differ between all other racial/ethnic groups. Table 17 depicts all racial/ethnic group means and delineates which were not significantly different from one another.

**Table 17.**

*Bystander Efficacy and Race/Ethnicity*

| Asian | Black/African American | Hispanic/Latino | White | Multiracial/ethnic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 75.79[a] | 82.54[b] | 70.36[a] | 76.38[ab] | 74.91[a] |

Note. In each column, the means with the same subscripts did not differ significantly from one another.

**Bystander Efficacy and Greek Life Involvement.** An independent samples t-test was run on the same to determine if there was a mean difference in reports of bystander efficacy between students involved in Greek life ($n = 211$) and students not involved in Greek life ($n = 560$) participants. There was a significant difference in the scores for Greek life involved students ($M = 74.99$, $SD = 14.31$) and students not involved in Greek life ($M = 77.79$, $SD = 14.53$), $t(769) = 2.40$, $p = .017$, indicating that on average students involved in Greek life report lower bystander efficacy than students not involved in Greek life.

**Bystander Efficacy and Sexual Orientation.** A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of sexual orientation on reports of bystander efficacy. There was a significant effect of sexual orientation on bystander efficacy, $F(2, 954) = 3.79$, $p = .023$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean scores for bystander efficacy between heterosexual/straight ($M = 75.92$, $SD = 14.86$) and bisexual ($M = 83.15$, $SD = 12.80$) students differed significantly. However, bystander efficacy did not significantly differ between all other sexual orientation groups. Table 18 depicts all sexual orientation group means and delineates which were not significantly different from one another.

**Table 18.**

***Bystander Efficacy and Sexual Orientation***

| Heterosexual/Straight | Gay or Lesbian | Bisexual |
|---|---|---|
| 75.92[a] | 77.40[ab] | 83.15[b] |

Note. In each column, the means with the same subscripts did not differ significantly from one another.

**Bystander Behaviors.** Next, I tested for differences by demographic group for students reports of bystander behaviors to prevent SGBV.

***Bystander Behaviors and Year in School.*** A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of year in school on reported bystander behaviors. There was not a significant effect of year in school on bystander behaviors, $F(3, 995) = .48$, $p = .694$.

***Bystander Behaviors and Gender.*** An independent samples t-test was run on the same to determine if there was a mean difference in reports of bystander behaviors between male-identifying ($n = 385$) and female-identifying ($n = 607$) participants. There was a marginally significant difference in the reported bystander behaviors for male-identifying ($M = 1.31$, $SD = .848$) and female-identifying ($M = 1.25$, $SD = .786$) participants, $t(990) = 1.19$, $p = .058$.

***Bystander Behaviors and Race.*** A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of race on reports of bystander behaviors. There was a marginally significant effect of race on reported bystander behaviors, $F(4, 985) = 2.31$, $p = .056$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean scores for bystander behaviors between Asian students ($M = 1.14$, $SD = .85$) and Hispanic/Latino students ($M = 1.52$, $SD = .99$) were marginally different, $p = .082$. Bystander behaviors did not significantly differ between all other racial/ethnic groups. Table 19 depicts all racial/ethnic group means and delineates which were not significantly different from one another.

**Table 19.**

*Bystander Behaviors and Race/Ethnicity*

| Asian | Black/African American | Hispanic/Latino | White | Multiracial/ethnic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1.14[a] | 1.35[ab] | 1.52[b] | 1.29[ab] | 1.33[ab] |

Note. In each column, the means with the same subscripts did not differ significantly from one another.

***Bystander Behaviors and Greek Life Involvement.*** An independent samples t-test was run to determine if there was a mean difference in reports of bystander efficacy between students involved in Greek life ($n = 209$) and students not involved in Greek life ($n = 559$) participants. There was a significant difference in the scores for Greek life involved students ($M = 1.58$, $SD = .78$) and students not involved in Greek life ($M = 1.20$, $SD = .78$), $t(766) = -5.97$, $p < .000$. Indicating on average Greek life involved students report more bystander behaviors than students not involved in Greek life.

***Bystander Behaviors and Sexual Orientation.*** A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of sexual orientation on reports of bystander behaviors. There was not a significant effect of sexual orientation on reported bystander behaviors, $F(2, 952) = 0.74$, $p = .480$.

## *Discussion*

The findings of this chapter, thus far, parallel findings in the previous chapter, revealing gender differences in bystander efficacy (i.e., male students self-report lower levels of bystander efficacy than female students) and differences by Greek life involvement on bystander behaviors (i.e., Greek life involved students self-report more bystander behaviors than students not involved in Greek life). Although researchers hypothesize that year in school might impact students' bystander efficacy and bystander behaviors, the present study did not find significant

differences by year in school on either of the bystander outcomes assessed. However, the study found that all other facets of students' identities (gender, race, sexual orientation) were significant in one or both of the bystander outcomes.

Few studies examining bystander outcomes consider the race of the person doing the intervening (Laditka & Laditka, 2001). In addition to Black students showing more positive perceptions of bystander intervention's effectiveness at addressing sexual violence, Black students also self-reported high levels of bystander efficacy, particularly when compared to their Asian and Hispanic/Latino peers. Research findings are often mixed in examining the influence of racial identity on bystander outcomes (Frye, 2007; Hoxmeier et al., 2018). For instance, while some studies find that African American students report more prosocial bystander behaviors and fewer missed opportunities for intervention (Brown et al., 2014), others show that African American students report more missed opportunities to intervene (Hoxmeier et al., 2017). Moreover, a study by Diamond-Welch and colleagues (2016) compared students of color to Caucasian students and did not find a significant relationship between race and bystander efficacy. Given the conflicting findings around the relationship between race and bystander outcomes, research with more racially and ethnically diverse samples of students is needed to parse out the influence of racial and ethnic identity on bystander outcomes, particularly because the majority of research investigating the relationship between racial identity and bystander outcomes is often limited to comparisons between White students and African American students (Kuntsman & Plant, 2000). Moreover, it it important to consider the intersection of racial/ethnic identity within context. The present study explored racial/ethnic group differences at a predominantly White institution of higher education, however it is possible that efficacy could look different in different contexts, for instance at historically Black colleges and universities. By

considering how racial/ethnic identity is experienced within context allows researchers to consider how the systems and structures that give identity meaning influence bystander intervention.

Even fewer studies have explored bystander outcomes in non-heterosexual groups of students. While one study found no differences between sexual minority and heterosexual students on bystander efficacy (Mennicke et al., 2019), the present study found that bisexual students showed increased bystander efficacy when compared to heterosexual students. However, the study did not reveal a significant influence of sexual orientation on bystander behaviors. More research is needed to explore the impact sexual orientation has on willingness to intervene. Scholars call for increased research to understand sexual minority individuals' unique experiences intervening, particularly because sexual minority students experience SGBV at equal or greater rates than their heterosexual peers (Anderson et al., 2015; Edwards et al., 2015). However, the content of many prevention programs focuses primarily on norms within heterosexual relationships (Cannon & Buttel, 2015; Greene et al., 2015; Messinger, 2014; Potter et al., 2012). Additionally, sexual minority college students can experience less social connection to their campus communities and diminished trust in institutional support, particularly in the context of sexual minority-based discrimination (Menncike et al., 2019). Therefore, given the mixed findings around the influence of sexual orientation on bystander outcomes, in particular bystander efficacy, more research is necessary to understand how students' contextualized sexuality (i.e., the meaning of their sexual identity in the particular higher education structures and systems) influences their attitudes and behaviors around intervening as bystanders.

Finally, although students involved in Greek life reported more bystander behaviors, they also reported lower bystander efficacy. This lends further support to the argument that while the

cultures of Greek organizations provide *opportunities* to intervene, the prevalent attitudes in those environments (e.g., toxic masculinity, traditional gender norms, increased endorsement of rape myths (Brown et al., 2014) might negatively impact students' attitudes towards intervention. Given the relationship between facets of students' identities and bystander outcomes, focus group participants were asked to engage in an activity that encouraged them to describe how they factor their identities in their decisions to intervene. The results of that activity are presented next.

**The Impact of Identity on Bystander Decisions**

During the focus groups, students were asked to participate in an activity around identity (see Appendix H for the activity sheet). The activity included warm up questions asking students to consider what aspects of their identity, for instance, impacted how they perceive themselves, how others perceive them, and what aspects of their identity they are most aware of in different spaces on campus. The activity concluded with asking students to consider what "Aspects of [their] identity [they] are most aware of while thinking about whether to intervene as a bystander." Students could endorse any and all of the following 10 identities: Race, Ethnicity, Socioeconomic Status, Gender, Sexual Orientation, National Origin, First Language, Physical/Emotional/Developmental (Dis)Ability, Age, and Religious/Spiritual Affiliation. Table 20 depicts the identities endorsed by the total sample of focus group participants ($n = 39$). The most common identities endorsed were gender ($n = 36$), physical/emotional/developmental (dis)ability ($n = 21$), and age ($n = 16$). Table 20 also shows the trends in what identities students endorsed by the following groups: (1) Male groups, (2) Female groups, (3) First year groups, (4) Upperclass, non-bystander trained groups, and (5) Bystander trained groups.

**Table 20.**

*Identity Activity Ratings*

| | Total Sample ($n = 39$) | Male ($n = 19$) | Female ($n = 19$) | First year ($n = 12$) | Upper Non-BT[a] ($n = 15$) | BT[b] ($n = 11$) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Race | 5 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| Ethnicity | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| Socioeconomic Status | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Gender | 36 | 17 | 19 | 11 | 14 | 11 |
| Sexual Orientation | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| National Origin | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| First Language | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Physical/Emotional/Developme ntal (Dis)Ability | 21 | 14 | 7 | 7 | 11 | 3 |
| Age | 16 | 8 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| Religious or Spiritual Affiliation | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

[a] These students are upperclass students who did not participate in a bystander training.
[b] These students are students who participated in a bystander training.

Some students acknowledged that the facet of their identity that is most relevant to intervening depends on the situation. They also acknowledged that certain aspects of an individual's identity can make it harder to intervene depending on the situation. In response to the identity activity Nicole said,

> I think it's pretty hard given all the variables and it depends and even if…you're aware of the situation happening, just knowing how to go about it – I think you can have all the training and it's still hard to navigate. And if certain aspects of your identity, they can make it harder depending on the situation.

Further, some students displayed an awareness of how their personal identities can shape how they interpret scenarios. For instance, Emily talked about how she is aware that she is "a straight, White woman" and that she is aware that her identity and, more importantly, her privilege can "cloud" her perception of situations. In their discussions on the facets of identity they consider when deciding whether to intervene the conversations typically returned to "the intersection of identity and power," which students described as "one of the biggest factors for intervention behavior" (Lawson).

Next, I will provide an overview of student's comments for why age, physical and emotional ability were endorsed. Additionally, because facets of students' identities cannot be isolated from one another, in each of the following sections I describe any statements related to intersectional identities and their influence on intervening. This section will end with an

exploration of students comments around gender, exploring the research question, are their

gender differences in the factors that make it easier and more difficult to intervene?

### *Age and Intervening*

Students across the focus groups endorsed age as one aspect of their identity that they are

aware of when thinking about whether to intervene as a bystander. Students talked about how it

is difficult for them to approach someone who is older. For example, Josephine said, "I think it's

harder to approach someone who is way older and it's like why are you at this college bar?"

Some students described this in connection with emotional/developmental ability and related it to

lack of maturity. Minsheng, a first year, said, "Technically, you're still a teenager but you haven't

developed a lot of life skills on how to deal with certain situations. So, that would definitely

affect how I choose to intervene because you can only do so much when you're only 18 years

old." Moreover, many students related age to the ability to hold a sense of power in a situation.

For instance, first year students approach situations with a lower sense of power because of their

age, which makes it difficult for them to intervene in situations involving older students. Mateo

said,

> I think your age really makes a difference because as a first year, obviously, all of us look
>
> a lot younger than many people out there. So, you can't really come with that superiority.
>
> Like if you're thirty or forty, you, can be like, you, kind of, give someone a look and
>
> they're like, "Yeah, I'm doing something wrong."

At times, students related age with physical size, again describing their perceptions of

themselves as lacking power in a particular moment. For instance, Liz said,

> And also feeling like – often perceived as younger when I'm – it's kind of like a
>
> combination of like age/physical stature in terms of being like I'm 5'1"… I'm not like a

> wrestling champ, you know what I mean? I feel like age kind of plays into like my self-perception as like not necessarily physically like intimidating in the way that like people would maybe take me seriously or not.

In this quote, Liz relates her physical size to being perceived as younger, which makes her feel that she is taken less seriously. Students' perceptions of themselves as a powerful, effective intervener were common across their discussions of how their identity influenced their ability to intervene, and the most prominent examples of this occurred when they discussed physical ability.

### *Emotional Ability and Intervening*

Students described the influence of physical and emotional ability separately. While physical ability was discussed far more often, some students noted the importance of emotional ability. In discussing emotional ability, students' ability to overcome introversion is an important factor in intervening. For example, Joshua described how his own introversion is likely to get in the way of him intervening. He said,

> I almost can't really say whether I could actually overcome that introvertedness that draws me away from talking to people…when I'm surrounded by a ton of people I don't know, usually I just don't say anything…so, I'm not sure if I'd intervene. I'd definitely be uncomfortable.

Students described assessing their capacity to emotionally and socially have the conversation with the parties involved, particularly the aggressor is something they consider. Moreover, students described the importance of their ability to empathize with and gauge the parties' involved emotions. Andrea described the importance of understanding the emotions of both the potential victim and aggressor:

> I think in terms of emotional ability, being able to like put yourself in that person's shoes and think about how they're feeling in that moment, especially if they do seem uncomfortable. Potentially being like how would I feel in that situation? I would not feel okay. Stepping in at that point… Or perceiving like- especially if it's an aggressor, perceiving like where they are emotionally. How angry they are, how upset they are. I guess like having that impact how you choose to intervene.

Other students described the importance of being able to gauge the emotions in the moment so that they can approach the situation in a reassuring way.

### *Physical Ability and Intervening*

Students, regardless of other identities, approach intervening scenarios asking themselves "if it was a physical situation, if I could handle myself in that" (Nicole). Many students relate this assessment of their physical capacity to how effective they might be at intervening. For example, Chelsea described her physical stature as making her feel she would be ineffective at intervening:

> Because I'm 5'3 and I just don't feel like I would have much effect if I had to physically separate something or like just stop something from happening. I'd feel much more comfortable delegating or distracting, but not directly intervening.

Additionally, Dan stated that he felt one of the most important factors to consider is "whether you're going to be effective in the situation" and that one of the things that determines that is "whether you're physically able to stand up to an aggressor." Students also related physical ability to the power they feel they hold in a particular scenario. Anisa described a scenario where she wished she could have intervened, but did not because her physical size did not allow her to feeling powerful enough:

> This is the first and only time that I wasn't able to intervene successfully. I was at a
> [sports team's] party and everyone was really big, like really tall and really big and
> mostly males. And this one dude went to the bathroom with another girl and I could hear
> like screaming. So, I told my friend on the [sports] team can you go check out what's
> happening and all he said was, "That's his girlfriend. It's okay." And I really wanted to go
> to the bathroom and try to stop it myself, but I felt so small and not powerful enough.
> And I was just completely stunned about what to do. So it was weird to me that he didn't
> realize that even though that's his girlfriend, if you're hearing screaming probably
> something is going wrong.

When talking about her lack of power in that scenario Anisa compared her own sense of power
to the men around her. She said there were "plenty of guys around there that could have done
something" and would have been more effective because they would be "calling out another
friend," but that they were impeded from intervening because of other barriers like "apathy." The
ways physical size influences decisions to intervene appears to interact with gender in
influencing students' perceptions of power in a situation and how confident they feel intervening.
Both male and female students described their physical ability as being a strong factor in their
decision to intervene. For instance, Andrea said, "I'm a very tiny person. So, it's very present in
my mind." Additionally, Adam said,

> I'm not the strongest or the tallest; I'm like 5'8", 135 so it's something I think about if I
> am to intervene. And, you know, most males are taller and stronger than me and I think
> about how much of an impact I could make and could I actually intervene effectively.

For some men, whether or not they intervene in a situation with strangers depended on how their
physical size compares to the aggressor's. For example, Connor said, "If you're bigger than the

person. If it's strangers – and I'm pretty tall. And so, if I'm just bigger than some guy, it's super easy to step in at that point." Physical ability is important to men because although "a girl has a better chance of de-escalating a situation without being confrontational because a guy is not gonna fight a girl that says he's being creepy…he might fight a guy that says that." During their focus group, Noah and Rashad described the different risks men and women perceive related to their physical size and the lack of confidence in their physical capacity to intervene:

> Noah: I think gender also plays a role though because I definitely don't think that they would turn on me – try and victimize me. So, I kinda feel more secure in my ability to step into a situation without being at a huge risk. But I mean definitely part of that is ability physically.

> Rashad: Yeah, I think gender plays into it because I'm confident that creepy guys aren't into me more than like, "Oh, they're gonna try to fight me." I'm not expecting a fight either way, but…I feel like if a girl goes to them and is like, "Hey, you're being creepy," a creepy guy…is gonna start hitting on the girl that went up to him sort of thing. Whereas with me, it's just "Dude, cut it out." And that's the end of it sort of thing.

Women's concern for their personal safety that Noah and Rashad describe is depicted in Anisa's story about not intervening. She said, "I could have been dragged into the bathroom too because I'm so small. I probably wouldn't have been able to defend myself." However, later in her focus group Anisa pointed out that being "big and tall" does not necessarily equate to intervening because other barriers can impede intervening. She said, "Even though someone might be big and tall, they might not feel comfortable with it…It's usually just irrelevance or apathy because they can't really, or they don't see it as a problem." Additionally, not all women feel physically

unable to intervene. For instance, Lillian described why her confidence in intervening is higher than many of her female peers:

> I actually talk about this fairly often with other girls that are the same age as I am. But they're always a lot more hesitant to intervene than I am because I'm fairly tall and fairly secure in my physical ability. So, they're always like, oh well, I would never walk up if a man is being violent. I'm like, I'm about to deck the bitch.

Ben talked about knowing women who are "confident and have…a bigger presence enough to have influence over any guy that I've met." For Ben, confidence is an even bigger factor than physical and emotional ability, but he said "I see a lot more guys being more confident in a situation like that than a girl necessarily." Ben centers this gendered difference in confidence on societal norms. In fact, many participants reflected that the intersection of physical ability *and* gender is critical to understanding differences in power and confidence to intervene. Gender and its influence on perceptions of capacity to intervene is described further below.

### *Gender and Intervening*

The majority of focus group participants said their gender is an aspect of their identity they think of when deciding to intervene. In fact, *all* of the female participants endorsed gender during the activity. Excerpts where gender was discussed were coded with the gender identity code and because the discussion of gender's impact on deciding whether to intervene was a more in-depth conversation than the other facets of identity relevant subcodes were applied to the transcripts. Gender subcodes are listed and defined in Table 21.

**Table 21.**

*Focus Group Subcodes for Discussions of Gender*

| Subcode | Definition |
| --- | --- |
| Gender makes it easier | Participant's response indicates that they felt that their gender identification makes it easier for them to intervene or decide to intervene. |
| Gender makes it difficult | Participant's response indicates that they felt that their gender identification makes it more difficult for them to intervene or decide to intervene. |
| Everyone equally responsible | Participant's response indicates that everyone, regardless of their identity or the barriers they face to intervening, should be responsible for intervening. This is often a response to questions where participants were asked what the responsibility is for their gender or the opposite gender to intervene. |
| Gender socialization/norms | Participants discuss gender norms around sexual and relationship violence and intervening. This could also include participant statements about how aspects of their upbringing socialized them in particular ways related to SGBV and intervening. |
| Empathy/noticing | Participant discusses how their gender influences their ability to empathize with the parties involved in the potential intervention situation or even notice the situation is occurring. |
| Frustration with opposite gender | Participant talks about frustration with the opposite gender's role in intervening or their normal perceptions around intervening/sexual violence. For instance, women express frustration at having to explain to their male friends why they don't feel safe or why they do certain things to account for their safety. Or express frustration that their male friends indicate they don't need to be educated because they're a "good guy." |
| Responsibility to educate/call out own gender | Participant indicates that it's their own gender's responsibility to educate others on sexual/relationship violence or call out their own gender for their problematic behaviors. |
| Responsibility to educate/call out opposite gender | Participant's response indicates that it's a person's responsibility to educate the opposite gender others on sexual/relationship violence or call out the opposite gender for their problematic behaviors. |

The codes in Table 21 were applied not only to participants' responses to the identity exercise, but across the focus groups. In particular, students were asked about the responsibility of their own gender and the opposite gender to help prevent SGBV. Gender differences were referenced often throughout the focus groups and the results touch on students' perspectives on gender differences in intervening. The themes found provide an in-depth understanding of how students perceive the impact of their own gender and other's genders in intervening as bystanders. It should be noted that conversations about the influence of gender were particularly fruitful in upperclass groups, potentially pointing to the influence of experience in understanding the role of gender in intervening. The themes that emerged are: (1) Everyone's responsibility to prevent SGBV, (2) Disparate socialization and attunement, (3) The importance of education and empathy, and (4) The labor of educating the opposite gender.

**Everyone's Responsibility to Prevent SGBV.** Students acknowledged that it is important for all students to play an active role in preventing SGBV. The responsibility to prevent SGBV begins with not being perpetrators of SGBV. Female participants, in particular, emphasized that it is women's role to help prevent SGBV, and that they must not be the perpetrators of such violence. For example, Josephine said, "I mean, I think the first role of women is to not be the predator themselves. Often we're victims but it can be the opposite way." In the same breath, Josephine also emphasized that regardless of gender, all students should be expected to help prevent SGBV. She said, "I do think like we have just as much of – there should be just as much of an expectation on women as on men to prevent." However, the students acknowledge that some students feel more comfortable intervening. Male participants acknowledged that men can feel a greater sense of security in intervening because they do not have to fear that they will be victimized, which is evidenced by Noah and Rashad's quotes in the

section on physical ability above. Some female participants were adamant that it is easier for men to intervene. For instance, Mary Grace said her gender "makes it harder and more difficult and more uncomfortable to intervene." Male participants seem to agree with Mary Grace's point, stating that men are taken more seriously when they intervene and male aggressors can sometimes dismiss women's attempts to intervene. Nicholas said,

> I think being a guy versus being a girl, intervening is probably the biggest difference…because if you see the classic sexual violence, you don't know any of the people, and you're kind of like a bigger dude. And you roll up and be like, "Bro, what are you doing? Go away." And he'll probably listen to you. If you're like a small girl, and you walk up and kind of look up at him like, "Hey, you should probably go away." I mean, that's just psychologically kind of easier for him to dismiss you in that way.

However, some male and female participants felt that it can be easier for women to intervene. For instance, Kaitlin described why it is easier for a woman to intervene with other women saying, "Because when you're out and you're drinking and stuff… for me at least, it's easier for me to be social and so it could be a complete stranger girl, but I'm comfortable … going up and talking to her…to check up on her." One reason for this is because women's intentions are not likely to be misconstrued. For instance, Andre said he feels it is sometimes better for him to delegate to a female peer because "if somebody's already distressed– I'm fairly tall, it's cold out, I'm wearing a coat. I'm not like a small person. I don't wanna make anyone feel distressed again." Additionally, Easton felt that it can be difficult for a man to intervene when there is a situation with multiple women "because it just might seem out of place or you might worry about being perceived as out of place." Jordan's words also show she feels women are perceived as less threatening:

I feel like my gender makes it easier to intervene sometimes, I don't know if it's like a

potential moment of harm if women are perceived as less threatening. So, I find it easier

to just walk up and seem very innocent and just really willing to help with no wrong

intentions. If it is a heteronormative situation, you're almost more expecting another

female to come up and help.

Connor felt that women might be better able to deescalate a situation "without [it] becoming

confrontational." In fact, a number of male participants felt that when women intervene with

confidence *and* in groups, they are able to take away power from men. Connor described how

women are able to easily intervene, saying:

The other girl will go over and be like, "Hey, I'm gonna take my friend away" or

something like that. And just saying "This girl's gonna come with me" instead of

confronting the guy…it kind of takes the power away from him entirely in that situation

because he would have to directly stop the other person from leaving at that point. And

he's- most people aren't gonna take that step in any sort of social situation to basically

restrain somebody.

 Connor and other male participants described scenarios where social norms allow women to

easily intervene. Moreover, social norms often dictate which parties men and women intervene

with, which also impacts how gender operates in intervening scenarios. Overall, female students

most often described intervening with the potential victim and male students most often

described intervening with the aggressor.

Conversely, women perceive men as not being invested in helping prevent SGBV.

Students felt that regardless of the changes occurring at a societal level to address SGBV, true

change will not happen until men are on board. Anisa said,

I always think of this one quote by Ben Franklin. He said change doesn't come about

until those who are unaffected are as outraged as those who are affected. (*lots of*

*agreement, yeah!)*…I know there's other people that are also assaulted. But with that

frame, us women, we can talk all day long about how this is wrong but it's not changing

those people who are going to do it anyways.

They feel that gender norms prevent men from intervening. The following exchange between

Anisa and Lillian displays such beliefs:

Anisa: I think that some, not all, but just some boys they feel like if they intervene,

they're weak, if that makes sense. You know how some boys don't like to say they're

feminists?

Lillian: Yeah. Like they're not a bro.

Anisa: Exactly! They're not a bro. *(laughs, murmurs of agreement)* That's good

terminology. So, like they don't wanna appear as weak or on the other side. They wanna

keep their loyalty in their group and stuff that they need to recognize that's not okay.

Female participants were quick to point out that they do not need men to be their "saviors," but

that it is important for those who feel comfortable intervening - which they perceive is often men

- to intervene and not express frustration around intervening to support their friends. Chelsea

described frustration over not wanting it to seem that women need chaperones, but that they want

their male peers to understand how their concerns for safety impact their lives:

It is frustrating that it seems to be like we need to have a male chaperone or whatever. It's

just incredibly frustrating but yeah really emphasizing to people who don't understand or

who don't perceive it that way. Oh this is an issue. For example, my friend was with a

guy friend and she was walking back to her apartment. And he was like, do you need me

to walk you home again, kind of in a condescending tone. It's just that type of behavior or

attitude where it's like, really honestly it's 10 minutes of your time to just walk someone

home and make them feel safe if you feel comfortable doing so. And so, if it's an option

to you to make sure someone is okay who is close to you, I think that that's important.

Even if it's two of your friends.

Although male participants feel that women have an easier time intervening, female participants

expressed that men should still understand that preventing SGBV involves helping women feel

safe in their contexts.

**Disparate Socialization and Attunement.** Female participants shared that they feel it is

everyone's responsibility to help prevent SGBV and women can be less comfortable intervening.

However, many of the female participants stated that because of their socialization, women are

more likely to notice situations and take it more seriously. Nicole describes women's greater

capacity to notice and empathize with experiences of SGBV saying, "I know that I am not as

comfortable confronting men…but at the same time, it also makes me more likely to intervene

because I can see myself in that situation or like a friend in that situation." Moreover, Zoe

described women's understanding of the seriousness of the issue stating, "I think it hits closer to

home for girls just because it does happen more often. I'm saying – it still happens to men, just

not as often, so I think girls tend to take it more seriously for sure."

Many women attribute such understanding and attunement to their upbringing. For

instance, Sloane said, "I think as a girl, you're…kind of more aware because from a young

age…[to] be more aware when you're out socially…[so] so sometimes it feels like it's falling on

you to intervene because you feel like you notice it a little bit more." Women talked about being

taught to look out for other women and to be hypervigilant for one another's safety, with Lauren

stating, "I think you're taught you have to watch out for other girls…don't let someone go off

alone, don't let someone walk alone at night, that sort of thing. There's this idea that we kind of

have to watch out for other people." Women feel that they are conditioned to think about SGBV

and are even taught ways to not be sexually assaulted. Beatrice described this education being

passed through generations, "I know, at least for me, I was taught specific ways not to be

sexually assaulted like by my mom and she was taught that by her mom and like it's kind of gone

down the generations." In fact, women feel that they are socialized to think about the risk their

gender poses not only in intervening, but across many contexts. As a result of this socialization,

women feel a sense of responsibility for intervening on behalf of other women that is not shared

by their male peers. For example, Anisa said, "Like I can relate if I'm seeing another woman in a

bad situation I feel like it's almost my responsibility."

In fact, they say this socialization creates an "inherent community" amongst women that

they should be looking out for one another. Women embody this sense of community when they go

out, by utilizing a "buddy system" and do things like "always make sure I have that one friend that

I'm gonna stick with and if she's going home, I'm going home." However, they do express

frustration over this socialization and the messages they receive that they should accept SGBV as a

"just part of being a woman." Moreover, although women reflected a sense of responsibility for

intervening, they contrasted this with their male peers saying,

>  I've been walking around with male friends and if we both see something they're like
>
>  that's not my problem. Or if they see something…they'll say things like snitches get
>
>  stitches or something like that. They can't relate to it and it's like not their place. I think
>
>  it's easier for me to intervene because I know how it feels. (Anisa)

While Andrea's quote in the previous chapter talked about women being taught to fear

SGBV from a young age, male participants' statements discussed the expectations that men be

the "protectors of women." Men felt intervening is a "societal aspect of the idea of chivalry…so,

the man should be the one who intervenes." Men are often the ones responsible for intervening

directly and when students use delegate, men are often the ones delegated to. Lawson described

this expectation, stating:

> I think a lot of the time the onus can kind of be on men to be the ones directly
>
> intervening…for reasons of like status and power…but also ideas of what masculinity
>
> looks like. It looks like…being direct, being authoritative, and not being afraid to kind of
>
> lay someone out and fight them if it comes to that. And I think if other people are
>
> delegating, it's more likely in my experience that I see people delegating to a man than to
>
> someone else.

Such a belief in men's superior capacity to intervene was even reflected by female students. For

example, Kamara said, "I think that men should play more of a role in it because, for example, if

a woman is getting sexually assaulted, then the men are obviously stronger and have more power

in that situation." Male participants felt that the messages they receive tell them that "the male

presence is always seen as a way to prevent other people from doing harm" (Amir). However,

this is to the detriment of men because it places a large amount of responsibility on men, and it

prevents society from recognizing male victimhood. This was discussed by both male and female

participants. Joshua described the negative impact of societal norms interfering with recognizing

when men might need intervention, saying

> The sociocultural idea we give to men that they're supposed to be strong and be able to
>
> be independent and handle themselves. We don't directly intervene maybe because men

aren't supposed to be the ones in need? And, also, maybe it is part to help them save face

from that sociocultural value.

Such beliefs impact the ability to even recognize when a man might need help.

**The Importance of Education and Empathy.** Related to men being taken more

seriously in their intervention attempts, female participants highlighted the need for men to be

more informed about the importance of preventing SGBV. They felt that "men could have more

of a role in educating other men" (Michelle). They feel that "when a guy hears it from another

guy… they take it more seriously (Mary Grace). Moreover, women felt that it is important for

men to work harder to foster positive group norms around intervening. Female students felt that

improvements' in men's group norms can encourage a sense of responsibility in men to

intervene, which could push them to call out behaviors in other men. Andrea described men as

being at the "forefront of the battle for a culture change," saying

A lot of the times being called to call things out if they see them or help to change the

behavior and help change the idea of the masculine man as being strong and all powering

and dominant over women to be attractive, which I think plays into it. I think that it's

slowly melting away, but that idea is still very prevalent out there. It does take a bro to

call another bro out and be like that's not what it's about anymore. That's not something

that's okay.

Further, women felt that it is critical for men to be more educated and to not assume that they

know right from wrong because they are "good guys." This is particularly important because

even if they "claim they're good guys and that they don't need this information…if you don't

know what the definition of assault is, if you don't know what consent is…you might be

somebody who is contributing to this whole culture of assault" (Chelsea). Women also felt that

increased education is critical because men's socialization does not increase their capacity to

empathize with and understand the importance of preventing SGBV. Lauren highlighted this

notion saying:

> I think men generally – they don't have the same experience as women. They don't have
>
> to think about the same stuff as we do, so I feel like women empathize with other women
>
> more, but men have to continually educate themselves and kind of have to continually
>
> educate themselves and kind of have to put that in the forefront of their mind to
>
> empathize with them and work together to alleviate the issue because it's not something
>
> that you really think about unless you're in that situation. I think men have to work
>
> harder to see the issue and understand the issue.

**The Labor of Educating the Opposite Gender.** Another theme that was unique to

female participants was discussions of the labor of educating the opposite gender on the

importance of preventing SGBV. Women expressed a lot of frustration over having to explain to

their male peers the lengths that they go to in order to ensure their safety. However, they felt that

sharing their concerns for safety can help their male peers notice other situations where they

might need to help their friends feel safe. Charlotte talked about the potential positive influence

of her efforts to "enlighten" her male friends

> Sometimes they'll be like what? I'm like, yes. This is something that is normal for girls.
>
> We think about how we're going to walk home at night and other things like that that they
>
> don't have to think about. I think also, I mean at least my guy friends, they are interested
>
> in knowing that and kind of like they always offer now. They're like, can we walk you
>
> guys home? They want to make sure that we're taken care of which I hate that it has to be
>
> like oh I need a guy to walk me home, but just the fact that they're also more aware of

that now so in other situations if I'm not there to point something out, maybe they'll see it on their own.

They see sharing their experiences as helping their male friends understand and empathize with their experience. It is especially critical for women to share their experiences because their male friends are not likely to have been affected to the same degree by SGBV.

Moreover, some women expressed frustration over "not being able to do it alone so having to ask for help from males" (Andrea). Because of the "emotional labor" it takes to educate their male peers, they highlight the importance of their male friends working to understand and listen to their experiences. For instance, Nicole described an experience where her male friends felt her response to having a stalker was "overdramatic until it got bad and then they would listen," but she wishes they would have "just listened in the first place," which would have made feel more supported. When their male peers do listen and support them, it can feel like a relief to women. Liz described a time when her friend stepped in to educate a friend and how the friend took it even more seriously because it was coming from a male peer:

> One guy said something and I was about to like say something back to him…and I kind of had this like, here we go again like this man has just said some bullshit. And my guy friend, who is like a year older than me…before I could even open my mouth, he was like, "Here's why this is wrong." And I was like, oh, that's so nice to not have to not to have to like be the one for a change to like shut this down.

Stories like these acknowledge the importance *all* genders play in combating SGBV and students' statements about the influence of gender in intervening highlight the inability of any one group to prevent SGBV alone.

*Discussion*

Students' identities are embedded in the structural and systemic contexts of their colleges and universities, which shape not only the meaning they make of their identities in those contexts, but also how comfortable they feel intervening. In the present study, students reported that the facets of their identities that are most influential in their decisions to intervene are their age, personal and emotional ability, and, most greatly their gender. Students felt that their age influences their ability to intervene, particularly if the parties involved are older. Little research has explored how students' year in college influences their bystander behaviors or intentions to intervene, but researchers propose that experience in college influences such outcomes (Brown et al., 2014). Moreover, some research findings show negative relationships between age and bystander behaviors, with one study of undergraduate students at the University of New Hampshire indicating that self-reported bystander behaviors decrease across years in college, with first year college students reporting more bystander behaviors (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011). These findings are inconsistent with how students perceive their age impacts their decisions to intervene. However, findings on age are mixed given null results found in one study between students' year in school and intervening behaviors (Brown et al., 2014). Interestingly, age often intersected with students' perceptions of their emotional ability, in particular their emotional maturity to intervene. It is possible that emotional maturity influences students' confidence to intervene effectively, a factor that multiple studies have documented is critical to bystander intervention (e.g., Banyard & Moynihan, 2011). In describing their personal capacity to intervene, a large proportion of students reported that their physical ability also impacts their decision to intervene. In observing students' bystander behaviors, often in the context of Greek life, Hirsch and Kan (2020) found that students frequently intervene physically, often using

physical force if necessary. The importance students place on physical ability in their decisions to intervene likely relates to the large number of students who reported that concerns for their personal safety is a barrier to intervening, which is described further below.

The overwhelming majority of students in the study reported that their gender impacts their decisions to intervene. In describing the influence of gender, students referenced differences they observe in different genders' confidence in intervening. Most often, students reflected on the differences in power and control men and women experience around intervening, particularly related to women's increased fears of victimization. Interestingly, although research shows that men report lower bystander efficacy and more barriers to intervention (Brown et al., 2014), their female peers, and even some male participants, felt men have an easier time intervening. However, other participants acknowledged that women can sometimes have an easier time intervening because they are perceived as less physically threatening and their efforts to intervene are less likely to be misconstrued, a barrier reported by men that is discussed in the next portion of the chapter. Women are also able to approach intervening in ways that are less confrontational. While men in the sample often described intervention behaviors that cause them to directly address the aggressor, women talked about intervening with the potential victim. Such nuance in students' descriptions of their intervention decisions helps illuminate why gender differences are found in students' bystander outcomes.

Moreover, female students expressed frustration that their male peers do not care as much about helping to prevent SGBV. This parallels research findings that college women show greater intentions to intervene (Banyard, 2008; Brown et al., 2014). Moreover, the influence of gender norms played a large role in students' discussions about the influence of gender in intervening. Research shows that peer norms impact men's bystander behaviors (Carlson, 2008;

Fabiano et al., 2003). Female participants attributed men and women's differences in caring

about prevention to the different socialization that men and women receive, particularly women's

socialization to fear SGBV. Studies show that women are better able to empathize with potential

victims of SGBV in intervention scenarios, and this "empathic effect" reduces the influence of

evaluation apprehension on their willingness to intervene (Burn, 2009). Although men are

socialized to protect women (Hirsch & Kan, 2020), their female peers felt that men should work

to foster more positive group norms around intervention. The influence of peer norms on

willingness to intervene is well documented in research (see Berkowitz, 2002; Brown et al.,

2014) and students discussions of peer norms and how they can serve as barriers and facilitators

to intervening are further discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

**Student Perspectives on Barriers to Intervention**

Multiple methods were used to assess the factors that students reported as being barrier to and promotive of bystander intervention. First, students who participated in the online surveys were asked to complete the modified form of the Barriers to Sexual Assault Bystander Intervention (BSABI) Scale, which included subscales assessing three barriers: failure to notice, failure to identify the situation as high risk, and failure to take intervention responsibility. I tested for group differences in the scale, specifically examining differences by the following identity groups: year in school, gender, race, involvement in Greek life, and sexual orientation. Additionally, a subset of the survey sample were asked to answer open-ended questions about barriers and promotive factors, After reporting on the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming and what they felt would make bystander intervention more effective at addressing SGBV, students were asked two open-ended questions: (1) **Barriers to Intervening:** What are the kinds of things that prevent you, or people like you, from intervening in a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking?, and (2) **Promotive Factors for Intervening:** What are the kinds of things that make it easier for you, or people like you, to intervene in a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking? Participants typed in their responses to the two questions in text boxes. Finally, focus group participants were asked about barriers and promotive factors for intervening. Due to limits in the method used to ask survey respondents to respond to questions about barriers and promotive factors, I was unable to compare, in depth, overlapping themes between barriers to intervention reported by survey respondents' and focus group participants. I note when there were clear connections between the different sample's responses, but given the lack of nuance and depth to

the survey sample's responses, I was unable to make more meaningful connections between the groups.

In the following sections I first provide an overview of the analysis of group differences in responses to the BSABI subscales. Next, I describe the themes found in students' responses to the open-ended questions, with particular attention paid to emergent themes found in students' open-ended responses. In this overview of the themes in students' responses I report the number of students throughout the study sample who reported each theme. Next, I explore whether there are differences by identity groups in the barriers and promotive factors reported in the survey sample, comparing students based on the following identities: (1) gender, (2) racial/ethnic identities, and (3) sexual orientation. In our exploration of group differences, I first report on the most common codes and subcodes found in students' responses, then I report on differences between demographic groups by reporting on differences in the proportion of students in each demographic group whose responses included those codes. Finally, I provide an overview of focus group participants' responses, highlighting similar themes found across the survey sample and focus groups.

### *Barriers to Sexual Assault Bystander Intervention Scale*

In this section, I report the results of tests for differences by demographic group for students reports of barriers to bystander intervention, specifically examining the failure to notice, failure to identify situations as high risk, and failure to take intervention responsibility subscales. Significantly higher self-reported levels of these barriers indicate that students report more experiences with those barriers when compared to other students.

**Barriers and Year in School.** Two one-way between subjects ANOVAs were conducted to compare the effect of year in school on students' reports of barriers to bystander intervention.

There was not a significant effect of year in school on failure to notice, $F$ (3, 997) = 1.67, $p$ = .172. failure to identify a situation as high risk, $F$ (3, 998) = 1.91, $p$ = .126, or on failure to take intervention responsibility, $F$ (3, 998) = 1.30, $p$ = .273.

**Barriers and Gender.** Two independent samples t-tests were run on the sample to determine if there was a mean difference in reports of barriers to bystander behavior between male-identifying ($n$ = 388) and female-identifying ($n$ = 608) participants. First, there was a significant difference in failure to notice for male-identifying ($M$ = 3.74, $SD$ = 1.53) and female identifying ($M$ = 3.29, $SD$ = 1.44) students, $t$ (994) = 3.36, $p$ = .001, signifying that men endorse failure to notice at higher rates than women. There was a significant difference in failure to identify situations as high risk for male-identifying ($M$ = 3.79, $SD$ = 1.21) and female-identifying ($M$ = 3.54, $SD$ = 1.15) students, $t$ (994) = 3.36, $p$ = .001, signifying that men endorse failure to identify situations as high risk at greater rates than women. Additionally, there was a significant difference in failure to take intervention responsibility in male-identifying ($M$ = 3.10, $SD$ = 1.01) and female-identifying ($M$ = 2.61, $SD$ = .93) students, $t$ (994) = 7.88, $p$ < .001, signifying that men endorse failure to take intervention responsibility at greater rates than women.

**Barriers and Race.** A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of race on reports of barriers to bystander intervention. There was not a significant effect of race on failure to notice, $F$ (4, 988) = 1.06, $p$ = .376. There was a significant effect of race on failure to identify situations as high risk, $F$ (4, 989) = 3.30, $p$ = .011. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the means scores for the following groups were significantly different: (1) Asian ($M$ = 3.79, $SD$ = 1.11) and Black/African American students ($M$ = 3.12, $SD$ = 1.21), $p$ = .007, and (2) Black/African American ($M$ = 3.12, $SD$ = 1.21) and White ($M$ = 3.65, $SD$ = 1.19) students, $p$ = .032. In both of the group differences, Black/African American students

reported lower levels of the barrier failure to identify situations as high risk. However, failure to identify situations as high risk did not significantly differ between all other racial/ethnic groups.

**Table 22.**

*Failure to Identify Situation as High Risk and Race/Ethnicity*

| Asian | Black/African American | Hispanic/Latino | White | Multiracial/ethnic |
|-------|------------------------|-----------------|-------|--------------------|
| 3.79[a] | 3.11[b] | 3.70[ab] | 3.65[a] | 3.47[ab] |

Note. In each column, the means with the same subscripts did not differ significantly from one another.

Additionally, there was a significant effect of race on failure to take intervention responsibility, $F (4, 989) = 6.52$, $p < .001$). Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean scores for failure to take intervention responsibility were significant different for the following groups: (1) Asian ($M = 3.07$, $SD = .98$) and Black/African American students ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 1.08$), $p = .002$, (2) Asian ($M = 3.07$, $SD = .98$) and White ($M = 2.73$, $SD = .95$) students, $p < .001$, and (3) Black/African American ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 1.08$) and Hispanic/Latino students ($M = 3.11$, $SD = .94$), $p = .024$. Again, Black/African American students reported lower levels of failure to take intervention responsibility and White students reported lower levels of the barrier when compared to Asian students. However, failure to take intervention responsibility did not significantly differ between all other racial/ethnic groups.

**Table 23.**

*Failure to Take Intervention Responsibility and Race/Ethnicity*

| Asian | Black/African American | Hispanic/Latino | White | Multiracial/ethnic |
|-------|------------------------|-----------------|-------|--------------------|
| 3.08[a] | 2.46[b] | 3.11[a] | 2.73[b] | 2.79[ab] |

Note. In each column, the means with the same subscripts did not differ significantly from one another.

**Barriers and Sexual Orientation.** A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of sexual orientation on reports of bystander behaviors. There was not a significant effect of sexual orientation on failure to notice, $F(2, 954) = .24$, $p = .789$. There was a marginally significant effect of sexual orientation on failure to identify situations as high risk, $F(2, 954) = 2.64$, $p = .072$. However, there was a significant effect of sexual orientation on failure to take intervention responsibility, $F(2, 954) = 4.83$, $p = .008$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean scores for failure to take intervention responsibility differed significantly between heterosexual/straight ($M = 2.82$, $SD = .99$) and bisexual ($M = 2.28$, $SD = .75$) students. The results show that bisexual students report lower levels of the failure to take intervention responsibility barrier. However, failure to take intervention responsibility did not differ significantly between heterosexual/straight and gay/lesbian students or gay/lesbian students and bisexual students.

**Bystander Behaviors and Greek Life Involvement.** Two independent samples t-tests were run on the sample to determine if there were mean differences in reports of barriers to bystander intervention between students involved in Greek life ($n = 209$) and students not involved in Greek life ($n = 559$) participants. There was not a significant difference in failure to notice for Green life involved students and students not involved in Greek life, $t(768) = -1.81$, $p = .071$. There was not a significant difference in failure to identify situation as high risk for Greek life involved students and students not involved in Greek life, $t(769) = -1.08$, $p = .282$. Additionally, there was not a significant difference in failure to take intervention responsibility for Greek life involved students and students not involved in Greek life, $t(769) = -1.52$, $p = .129$.

*Survey Respondent Reports of Barriers to Intervening*

Next, I examined student open-ended responses for **barriers to intervening**. Responses were coded using theoretically based codes, as well as emergent codes. Theoretically based codes are listed in Table 24. Included in Table 24 are the number of students who endorsed each of the themes and examples of students' responses that fit each of the codes.

**Table 24.**

*Barriers to Intervening – Theoretical Codes*

| Code | Definition |
| --- | --- |
| Failure to Notice (FTN) | FTN includes participant statements about factors that lead to the participant not noticing the event. This can include "bystander distraction resulting from self-focus or sensory distraction," intoxication, environmental factors (e.g., "I'm at a party and it's loud."), internal factors (e.g., "I'm hanging out with my friends and I didn't notice."), noise and other sensory distractions, and self focus (Burn, 2009). ($n = 40$) <br> **Examples:** *Being intoxicated myself; Lack of awareness for such actions take place; Busy at a party and it is unnoticed.* |
| Failure to Identify Situation as High Risk (FTID) | FTID includes participant statements about being faced with "an ambiguous, but potentially high-risk situation" and that they will look for clues from those around them when deciding whether to intervene (Clark & Word, 1974; Latane & Darley, 1970). This can include influences like: ambiguity, not knowing the risk factors, and ambiguity about the relationship between the parties involved (Burn, 2009). ($n = 193$) <br> **Examples:** *Being unsure if it is a situation that needs intervention; Things aren't as clear-cut like the movies. Identifying them is the biggest hurdle.* |
| Failure to take Intervention Responsibility (FTTR) | FTTR includes participant statements about assuming others will intervene in the situation (i.e., diffusion of responsibility) and that their relationship to the parties involved influences whether or not they will intervene (Burn, 2009; Chekrown & Bauer, 2002; Darley & Latane, 1968). ($n = 158$) <br> **Examples:** *Don't want to get into other people's business; Whether or not I personally know the people.* |

| | |
|---|---|
| Failure to Intervene due to Skills Deficit (FTSD) | FTSD includes participant statements about being unsure of what to say or do when facing a situation where they could intervene (Burn, 2009) and whether their intervention will be effective. ($n = 31$) **Examples:** *Uncertainty of how to act/intervene; I think a lot of times people just don't know what to do or are scared to do the wrong thing.* |
| Failure to Intervene due to Audience Inhibition (FTAI) | FTAI includes participant statements about being reluctant to intervene because they are afraid of the response of the group present (i.e., evaluation apprehension) and/or that it goes against social norms to intervene (Burn, 2009; Latane & Darley, 1970). ($n = 86$) **Examples:** *Fear of judgment from others; Not wanting to be seen as a party pooper or come off as soft, especially for guys.* |

Moreover, the coding process revealed the emergent codes in Table 25 below. The emergent codes fell under the following categories: (1) Personal safety, (2) Consequences, (3) Personal characteristics, (4) Fear being wrong, (5) Gender dynamics, (6) Interpretation of parties involved, (7) They don't want my help, (8) Aggressor characteristics, (9) Fear, and (10) Not in those situations/contexts. Additionally, 45 students' responses were coded with miscellaneous codes because they did not fit the themes (i.e., None listed, too vague to code, and misinterpreted question) and 12 students stated that they had "no barriers." Included in Table 25 are the number of students who endorsed each of the themes.

**Table 25.**

***Barriers to Intervening – Emergent Codes***

| Code | Definition |
|---|---|
| Fear for personal safety | Participant's response includes a general statement of "fear," "fear of violence," and "afraid to intervene," but the participant does not connect that fear to a factor listed in the other codes (e.g., physical size of offender, consequences). This could include participant fears related to personal safety were coded separately from general fear ($n = 148$). When participants indicated fear for personal safety, their responses were double coded with Consequences – for self. **Examples:** *Fear of getting harmed; Fear that I would get assaulted if I get involved.* |

| | |
|---|---|
| Consequences | Participant's response included any consequence of intervening. Consequences could fall under the following subcategories: |

- For the potential victim ($n = 8$)
  - o **Example:** *Causing more harm to the person in danger; Not wanting to make the victim feel more distressed.*
- For self ($n = 114$) This included codes for fear -- personal safety ($n = 123$), but also included other consequences for self.
  - o **Examples:** *Scared of getting in legal trouble for underage drinking; I'm afraid that I'd be caught up in the situation and have a negative impact on me.*
- Response of the parties involved ($n = 48$)
  - o **Examples:** *Fear of having the people involved hate you;*
- Make it worse ($n = 19$)
  - o **Examples:** *If I think my presence would only put them or myself at greater risk; Not wanting to escalate tensions*
- Harm to others ($n = 2$)
  - o **Examples:** *Maybe if it seems like intervening could cause harm to yourself or others around you; If the person who was being violent would turn to m and become violent towards my friends and I.*
- Help being misconstrued ($n = 3$):
  - o **Examples:** *Sometimes when I ask if someone is okay or if they need to be walked home, they assume that I want to hook up with them, and that is just not the case; Not knowing the person, could misconstrue as myself taking advantage of them.*
- Friends ($n = 9$)
  - o **Examples:** *Don't want to hurt a close friend's feelings; In terms of dating/domestic violence, the largest obstacle is jeopardizing a friendship. It would be worse to lose a friend that to try and support them through a difficult situation; The risk of incurring damages to relationships are sometimes an inhibitor to talking about certain things or taking actions.*
- Investigation ($n = 1$)
  - o **Example:** *Lack of willingness be involved in a potentially lengthy investigation*

| | |
|---|---|
| Personal characteristics | Participant's response references personal characteristics that are a barrier to intervening. Characteristics can be something static (e.g., their physical size) or a characteristic that is a response to the situation (e.g., intimidation, shock). Personal characteristics could fall under the following subcategories: |

- Age/Year in school ($n = 6$)
  - o **Examples:** *If you're younger in age you're probably less likely to intervene; If the people are older.*
- Awkward ($n = 5$)

- o **Example:** *Feeling awkward*
- Intimidation/Shock (*n* = 3): The personal characteristics – intimidation shock code was used only when participants did not indicate that the source of their intimidation is due to attributes of the offender. If they related their intimidation/shock to characteristics of the offender it was coded as aggressor characteristics – physically intimidating.
  - o **Example:** *If I feel intimidated; Though I have never been faced with such situation, I believe there is a psychological connection between the shock of witnessing the assault and not intervening on time.*
- Physical size (*n* = 13)
  - o **Examples:** *I am a small person; Physical inferiority.*
- Gender (*n* = 15)
  - o **Examples:** *As a smaller, young woman, I believe my size and gender prevents me; As a woman I feel as if I would subsequently become a victim if I intervened.*
- Non-confrontational (*n* = 7)
  - o **Examples:** *The fear of confrontation; General nervousness about confrontation.*
- Anxiety (*n* = 5)
  - o **Example:** *Social anxiety; I actually have generalized anxiety and pretty severe social anxiety, so I hate talking to strangers*
- Introverted/Shy (*n* = 12)
  - o **Examples:** *I'm an introvert so it might be hard for me to make a scene in a social situation to prevent one of these situations; Shyness.*
- Uncomfortable/Not confident/Embarrassed (*n* = 28)
  - o **Examples:** *I may not feel comfortable; Embarrassed to say anything; Not being confident enough/scared to intervene.*
- Survivor (*n* = 1)
  - o **Example:** *I have also been on the victim side of those encounters and get PTSD sometimes, which can prevent me from being able to intervene.*
- Inconsiderate (*n* = 1)
  - o **Example:** *People being inconsiderate or selfish.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Fear being wrong | Participant's response conveys that they are concerned that they might be wrong or that they are misinterpreting the situation. Often combined with FTID. (*n* = 70)<br>**Examples:** *Fear that I am overreacting; Fear of being wrong about the situation (intervening in a non dangerous situation).* |
| Gender dynamics | Participant's response includes statements about how intervening might be interpreted because of gender norms or that it is the place of the opposite gender to intervene. (*n* = 12) |

|  | **Examples:** *I am a female. If the perpetrator is male and violent, I could be ignored or end up falling victim myself.; As a young woman, however, I find myself nervous of getting involved in situations that would possibly put me at risk, so I think I would just ask one of my guy friends to intervene if I was worried about that.* |
|---|---|
| Interpretation of parties involved | Participant indicates a barrier to intervening is how the parties involved are indicating they interpret the situation or how they might be interpreting the situation and that the participant does not know if the parties involved see the situation as problematic. (*n* = 14) |
|  | **Examples**: *If the victim is making light of the situation; Not knowing the thoughts of a person who you think is potentially at risk of being assaulted (e.g. whether they are actually fine with the other person or whether they are uncomfortable with the situation).* |
| They don't want my help | Participant talks about receiving messages from the potential victim that they do not want help. (*n* = 9) |
|  | **Examples:** *It is hard to balance friendships and helping friends through abusive relationships, particularly when they don't yet want help; The victim denies your help in the moment.* |
| Aggressor characteristics | Participant describes characteristics of the aggressor that make it more difficult to intervene. This is often presented in contrast to their own personal characteristics. Aggressor characteristics could fall under the following subcategories: |
|  | • Aggression (*n* = 8) |
|  | ○ **Examples:** *Violent abusers; How aggressive the violent person is being.* |
|  | • Physically Intimidating (*n* = 17) |
|  | ○ **Examples:** *I might feel less able to intervene if I felt the abuser could overpower me or hurt me; Scary men in the situation who are a lot bigger than me and stronger than me* |
|  | • Intoxicated (*n* = 2) |
|  | ○ **Examples:** *I would have trouble confronting someone who is inebriated; I'm a small dude and fighting drunk guys trying to rape a woman is not up my alley.* |
| Not in those situations/contexts | Participant's response includes that they are not typically in situations/contexts where they might need to intervene. This code includes the participant saying they are not there when the harm is happening. (*n* = 11) |
|  | **Examples:** *For me, I don't go out to parties so I don't hear about sexual assault incidents usually until after they happen. This makes it difficult for me to be a preventative factor; I don't really see examples of this in real life. If I do know people who experience this they don't tell me. I don't drink or "party" so I really don't hang around these high risk places.* |

In the total sample ($N$ =594), the most common theoretically based codes were failure to identify situation as high risk ($n$ = 193), failure to take intervention responsibility ($n$ = 158), and failure due to audience inhibition ($n$ = 83). Amongst the emergent codes, the most common themes were personal safety ($n$ = 123), consequences ($n$ = 213), and personal characteristics ($n$ = 90). More specifically, in the consequences category, the most common subcategories coded were consequences for self ($n$ = 114) and response of the parties involved ($n$ = 48). Additionally, in the personal characteristics category, the most common characteristics mentioned were uncomfortable/not confident/embarrassed ($n$ = 28), gender ($n$ = 15), physical size ($n$ = 13), and introverted/shy ($n$ = 12). Next, I examined trends in student reported barriers the following demographic groups: (1) Gender, (2) Race, and (3) Sexual Orientation. The following codes tended to co-occur: personal safety and consequences for self (which were intentionally coded together), failure to identify a situation as high risk and fear of being wrong, failure to identity a situation as high risk and failure to take intervention responsibility, failure to identify a situation as high risk and failure due to audience inhibition, and failure due to audience inhibition and fear of being wrong.

For all demographic groups of interest, two of the most common barriers, failure to identify the situation as high risk and failure to take intervention responsibility, were similarly reported between the groups. Additionally, when comparing White students to racial/ethnic minority students, who were grouped together due to low sample sizes of the separate groups, I found that the two groups reported similar rates of all barriers. Below, I report on patterns of difference in barriers reported by different gender and sexual orientation groups.

**Barriers to Intervention: Gender Differences.** I examined the most common barriers endorsed by male ($n$ = 190) and female students ($n$ = 391). On average, men reported 1.76 barriers

and women reported 2.10 barriers to intervention. When looking for differences between male and female students' barrier responses, I found different rates for men and women's reporting on the barriers failure to intervene due to audience inhibition, consequences, and fear for personal safety. Men reported the barrier failure to intervene due to audience inhibition at larger rates ($n = 40$, 21.05%) than women ($n = 42$, 10.74%). However, a larger percentage of consequences for intervening were endorsed by women ($n = 139$; 35.55%) than men ($n = 32$; 16.84%). The most common consequences for intervening for women were consequences for self ($n = 61$), response of the parties involved ($n = 36$), and make it worse ($n = 17$). Finally, a much larger percentage of women endorsed personal safety as a barrier to intervening ($n = 110$, 28.13% as compared to $n = 13$, 6.84% of men's responses).

**Barriers to Intervention: Differences by Sexual Orientation.** Heterosexual/straight students ($n = 524$) were compared to sexual minority students ($n = 64$) to examine differences in barriers to intervention. On average, both sexual minority students and heterosexual/straight students reported 1.97 barriers. Due to the small number of sexual minority students, it was difficult to make meaningful comparisons between the groups. However, it is important to note that consequences for intervening were endorsed at a higher rate for sexual minority students, with them being endorsed 26 times (40.63% of student responses) compared to 27.67% of heterosexual/straight students' responses mentioning consequences for intervening. Sexual minority students primarily endorsed consequences for self ($n = 13$), make it worse ($n = 4$), and response of the parties involved ($n = 5$).

*Focus Group Perspectives – Barriers to Intervening*

During the focus groups, participants were asked, "What factors do you consider when deciding whether or not to intervene" and, as a follow up, "What kinds of things make it *more*

*difficult* to intervene." In the first round of coding, participant responses were coded as "barriers"

when they described any factor that makes it more difficult to intervene. In the second round of

coding, participant responses were coded using the codes in Table 26 that describe the types of

factors found in student responses. Many of the codes mirror the primary codes used for coding

survey participant responses (e.g., personal characteristics in the survey sample coding mirrors the

personal factors (non-identity) and identity subcodes for focus group participants).

**Table 26.**

***Barriers to Intervening – Focus Group Codes***

| Code | Definition |
| --- | --- |
| Context/space | Participant's response mentions any part of the interpersonal space/context, physical space/context, the participant's relationship to the space/context, and their relationship to the others present (not including the potential victim or aggressor) is a barrier to intervention. |
| Parties involved | Participant's response indicates that something about the potential victim or aggressor is a barrier to intervention. This could be combined with the stranger v. friend overarching code, where participants indicate that a barrier to intervention is that a party involved is a stranger or a friend. |
| Personal factors (non-identity) | Participant's response indicates that something about them personally makes it difficult to intervene. This could include the belief that "It's not my place to intervene." |
| Identity | Participant's response indicates that something about their identity makes it difficult to intervene. When identity is used, it was combined with the particular identity code (e.g., age, race/ethnicity/culture, physical/emotional ability, gender). |
| Lacking tools to know when to intervene | Participant's response indicates that a barrier to intervention is they do not know or are unsure when they should intervene when they face a situation that could potentially result in SGBV. |
| Aspects of the type of violence | Participant's response indicates that something about the type of violence they are concerned about is a barrier to intervention. This can include the need for sustained intervention for dating/domestic violence, which was also an overarching code. |

| Consequences | Participant response includes descriptions of potential negative consequences to intervening (e.g., to my friendship with the parties involved; personal safety). |
|---|---|

Upon coding and analyzing the data, four major themes emerged in the data about students' reported barriers to intervening. The themes, again, parallel some of the results of the student survey coding and provide more depth to students' thought processes around intervening. The themes are: (1) Considering the consequences of intervening, (2) Personal characteristics' interaction with the context, (3) Complexity surrounding the nature of the relationship and violence witnessed, and (4) The influence of power and control in intervening.

**Considering the Consequences of Intervening.** Students appear to weigh the personal and interpersonal consequences to intervening. Many students mentioned a concern around intervening being "What if I'm wrong?" For example, Charlotte described doubting whether her friend's relationship is abusive,

I think sometimes I tend to doubt that I'm perceiving something to be right. One of my friends, she's been in a relationship on and off for like four or five years now. From my perception…I have thoughts and I wonder if it's an abusive kind of relationship. But then also, I start thinking about maybe I'm perceiving that wrong and also maybe she's only telling me things in either an exaggerated way or like only the bad things and not the other things. So…I doubt myself, so it makes it harder for me to want to say anything.

Such statements illuminate the debilitating influence the barrier failure to identify situation as high risk can have on students' intentions to intervene. Students often connected such concerns to the potential consequences to their relationship to the parties involved. When the parties involved are their friends, they ask themselves: How will my friend(s) respond? Will they be offended? If I share my concerns about what I interpret is a problematic relationship, will this push my friend

further away? In Charlotte's story, she also said, "It's a really good friend and I don't want her to be offended by me saying something. But also…if it is really bad then I do need to say something. So that's kind of a challenge." Moreover, students in the survey sample and in the focus groups described risks to their help being misconstrued like in Andre's story where due to his physical size he worries that he will cause someone who need an intervention to feel distressed again.

In addition, to the consideration of interpersonal risks, students acknowledged that there are often potential risks their personal well-being. For instance, many students in both the survey sample and in the focus groups expressed that concerns for their personal safety. Andrea talked about being "afraid of the assault being turned towards [herself] which I think is a factor that I always have in the back of my mind." Moreover, because many opportunities for intervening occur in contexts where they might be drinking alcohol, students can feel concerned that if they report something bad happening or try to get help, that they will get in trouble for underage drinking. Chelsea said, "I've spoken to some people in my experience who don't feel like they can intervene because they were drinking underage and they're scared that grabbing a bouncer or grabbing someone else will get them in trouble."

**The Interaction of Personal Characteristics and Context.** Many students described aspects of their identity and/or their personality that are experienced as barriers to intervening. For instance, a few students described how "if you're more introverted it's more difficult for you to directly engage in a situation" (Easton). Students also detailed how their personal interpretation of a situation can make them more or less likely to intervene. This was particularly related to whether or not they are inclined to interpret situations as needing intervention, which was often related to aspects of their identity. Students described how a lack of shared identity can make it more difficult to intervene. For instance, female focus group participants detailed how they feel a sense of

community with other women and how that makes them more likely to notice when the women around them need help. However, they stated that it would be more difficult to notice and "come to the conclusion" that a man might need intervention due to the lack of shared identity and assumptions about men being stronger, which were referenced above.

Additionally, students in the focus groups described how their lack of awareness of their surroundings in contexts where intervening occurs can be a barrier to intervening. Sometimes students are "just not aware of their surroundings." Students also described how their relationship to the parties involved and to the context they are in make it more or less easy to intervene. Students described how their lack of familiarity with the context they are in can make it difficult to intervene. For instance, Josephine said, "I think it's also hard when you're…in an environment you're not familiar with…it affects your ability to read the environment or read the situation."

A major theme during the focus groups was how students' relationships to the people involved in the situation make it more or less difficult to intervene. Some students expressed that knowing the parties involved can make it more difficult to intervene, which was often related to the potential consequences to the friendship like in Charlotte's story, above. Mary Grace described the challenges when you're familiar with both parties:

> Another thing I think can be challenging is…if it's someone you care about, you likely also care about their partner, if you're just all friends and it can be really hard to come to terms with the fact that somebody you thought was a good person, exhibiting these negative behaviors and so that can definitely be a barrier to get over that first assumption and then to be there for whoever really needs it.

However, other students felt that intervening with a stranger is more difficult. The disparate opinions on intervening with a stranger versus someone you know was a discussion had in all of

the groups. While not all participants across the focus groups agreed with their perspective, non-bystander trained upperclassmen Connor & Ben described this complexity during their group's discussion:

> Connor: I think with a stranger you can definitely be more assertive if it's like a cut and dry situation. You see some guy hit a girl, and then you can super easily step in. And you can get really physical because he did a clear wrong. But in that case, it's way easier to step in with a stranger. If it's…two random people, and then guy's leaning over some girl at a bar, you have no idea about this whole situation. And I'd probably wouldn't step in at that point. But if it's friend that's doing something like that and you know the backstory, you can be like, "Dude, what the freak are you doing? This is stupid. You know what you're doing is creepy." And you can super easily say that, and you're not going to destroy your friendship if you're actually friends with this person. If you're not friends with them then – yeah, exactly. You're not losing anything there.

> Ben: Connor said it on the head. A straightforward situation is way easier with strangers. But an ambiguous situation is way easier with friends because you must likely understand the dynamic.

Connor and Ben distinguish between the barriers that impact intervening in ambiguous versus clear situation and feel that their relationship with the parties involved determines whether they intervene.

**Complexity Surrounding the Nature of the Relationship and Violence Witnessed.** Many students discussed barriers related to how they perceive the relationship between the parties

involved, as well as the nature of the type of violence, with a particular focus on relationship violence (i.e., dating/domestic violence).

***Nature of the Relationship Between the Parties Involved.*** As with the survey sample, students discussed how ambiguity in the relationship between the parties involved can be a barrier to intervening. In particular, the students in the focus group emphasized the distinction between "quick forming relationships" and "ongoing relationships." In a party/bar context, students judge the nature of relationships as being comprised of "quick forming relationships" that form, for instance, "on the dance floor." However, with ongoing relationships, particularly ongoing romantic relationships, intervening can feel more complex. Students often felt that intervening in an existing romantic relationship was "not their business" and that there is "more freedom to intervene when it's a quick relationship" (Emily). Such examples depict the influence of failure to take intervention responsibility in students feeling unable to intervene. This can be further complicated if they know and are friends with both parties in the relationship.

***The Complicated Nature of Relationship Violence.*** Similar to the survey sample, students discussed the complex nature of relationship violence. The private nature of relationship violence was frequently discussed, particularly in discussing how it can be difficult for students to know when to intervene. For instance, Emily said, "Sometimes it's very hard to know when to intervene because a lot of people don't talk about relationships when they go bad…they like to keep it private." In particular, students felt ill-prepared to recognize relationship violence that involves emotional abuse. Similar to results in the previous chapter, students feel that the training they have received gives them examples of physical abuse, but not other forms of relationship violence. Beatrice described the difficult she has experienced recognizing abuse in friends' romantic relationships:

> Whenever I've been in this situation where someone close to me has been in an abusive relationship, I haven't recognized that it was abusive until they left and then have told me about it… I mean, when it's physical abuse, it's much easier to see, when it's stalking it's easy to see, but when it's emotional abuse, that's much harder to see – no matter what kind of relationship you have to the person being abused. I know the people I've known have been very, very close to me but like I still haven't been able to recognize when they've been in those situations. That's never something I was taught. That's never something that I've really known.

Students acknowledged that even when their friends are in abusive relationships, they might not recognize the relationship as problematic, which can be a barrier to intervening. Students seeing their friends return to abusive relationships can be a deterrent to intervening again. Connor said, "It's especially tough when you do intervene but then they stay in a relationship. You don't know whether to intervene again…What's the point of stepping in in the future?" Michael replied to Connor saying, "You have to keep stepping in…we all think that…a partner can just leave willingly, but it becomes much trickier than that…It's necessary to keep stepping in because it's not easy to walk away the first time." As Michael points out, some students who had personal experience with intervening talked about a need for *ongoing, sustained* intervention for relationship violence. Although students were not trained to do this, they figured out along the way how to maintain their intervention efforts in order to help a friend. For example, Anisa had a friend who was experiencing non-consensual sex in her relationship, but her friend "wasn't understanding that your partner can be violent toward you too and your partner can sexually assault you as well." Anisa talked about figuring out on her own how to engage in a "long-term" intervention with her friend where she used her access to her friend's emotions to continue to offer her advice over time. Such intervention

continuity is rare, with many students confessing that it is difficult to know how to intervene in relationship violence. Furthermore, because the first step to intervening is recognizing when it is necessary to intervene, students' difficulty recognizing the signs of relationship violence is a vitally important issue to address, evidenced by the continued calls for more training on recognizing the signs of such violence in both the survey sample, as well as the focus groups.

**The Influence of Power, Control, and Peer Norms in Intervening.** Students descriptions of their barriers to intervention often described barriers at the "intersection of identity and power." They related facets of their identity to how their perception of the power and control they have over a situation makes them more or less likely to intervene. For instance, as was described above, students described how their age and physical size can make them less likely to intervene. Gender intersected with physical size in students' descriptions of factors that make it more difficult to intervene. Male students referenced their ability to handle themselves physically should their confrontation of the aggressor turn physically violent. Conversely, women perceived the risk in being another victim of the aggressor's violence.

In addition to the ways that students' physical size and gender intersect to give them more or less power to intervene, students also described the ways that gendered norms impede intervening. For instance, female students state that they are aware that for men, intervening can go against gendered norms around being a "wingman" and not being "weak." Students in the upperclasswomen's focus group depict what they perceive as the ways that social norms impede intervening:

> Anisa: I think that some, not all, but just some boys they feel like if they intervene, they're weak, if that makes sense. You know how some boys don't like to say they're feminists?

Lillian: Yeah. Like they're not a bro.

Anisa: Exactly! They're not a bro. (*Other group members murmur in agreement*) That's good terminology. So, they don't wanna appear as weak or on the other side. They wanna keep their loyalty in their group.

This is further complicated if a male student is the one requiring intervention. Students report that they will be less likely to recognize a male peer's need for intervention because they assume men can handle themselves and that he would definitely be interested in "hooking up." Male focus group participants said that "even if a girl's drunk" they assume "there's no sexual misconduct when it's a girl coming onto a guy." David stated because of this conception, her friends are "less likely to intervene because they are just assuming that she's flirting and not gonna cause harm to him." Connor replied, "Yeah, at the same time, I feel like guys are also much less likely to intervene if some woman comes on to one of your friends." Many of the participants agreed saying that they would respond with things like "Dude, nice" and "You can figure it out. You should be able to deal with this yourself." The men felt that the dynamic shifts drastically when they witness a woman in the role of potential aggressor. Moreover, whether or not students buy into norms around things like hookup culture can make deciding to intervene a confusing process. Kaitlin said although she is "not a hook up culture type of person," she worries that she could "perceive a situation that could look completely normal in that [culture] but I don't know if I should intervene because that's…it's not okay for me, but for them it's completely normal in their situation." The strong influence group norms have on intervening speak to the importance of a culture of intervening, which was described in the previous chapter and in the community norms the survey sample students described as promoting their intervention behaviors.

*Discussion*

I used multiple research methods to assess students' perceptions of barriers to intervention. Obtaining a broad understanding of the factors that students perceive as making it more difficult to intervene was used as a strategy to explore why researchers sometimes find gaps between students' intentions to intervene and their actual bystander behaviors (McMahon et al., 2018). First, I used traditional, quantitative approaches to determine whether there are differences in barriers based on demographic identity. While year in school was not significantly associated with barriers to intervention, I found that gender, race, and sexual orientation had a significant influence on barriers. Men reported more barriers to intervention, while Black and bisexual students reported fewer barriers. Explanations for why these groups might show different bystander outcomes have already been discussed in previous sections of this chapter.

Next, I analyzed student responses to open-ended questions about barriers to intervention, using barriers traditionally found in the research literature (see Table 24) and exploring the possibility that additional themes would emerge in students' responses. Across the identity groups explored (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation) the most common barriers were failure to take intervention responsibility and failure to identify the situation as high risk. Although some studies find that White students differ from students of color on bystander outcomes, there were no meaningful differences found in the barriers to intervention reported by survey respondents when analyzing for differences between White and racial/ethnic minority students. However, I found meaningful differences based on gender and sexual orientation. While women showed greater concerns for the consequences of intervening, particularly their personal safety, men's' barriers were more often coded as including audience inhibition (i.e., social concerns about whether others will support intervening). Such results are unsurprising

given the influence of peer norms on male intervening and the negative influence they may play on men's decision to intervene (Carlson, 2008; Fabiano et al., 2003), and women's concerns for their own safety (Sloan et al., 2000; Jennings et al., 2007). Moreover, sexual minority students' responses revealed greater concern for the consequences of intervening when compared to their heterosexual peers. Given the context of sexual minority discrimination in some universities (Menncike et al., 2019), it is important for future research to explore how sexual minority students experience unique concerns for personal and interpersonal consequences for intervening.

While the differences in how students were asked about their barriers to intervening limited the ability to definitively compare survey respondents to focus group participants, it is possible to speculate on overlapping themes across the two samples. It is abundantly clear that students heavily weigh the potential consequences for intervening, particularly related to their personal safety and that of the parties involved. Such consequences likely feed into the failure to take intervention responsibility (Burn, 2009), but point to distinct thought processes that students may be having related to weighing the costs and benefits of intervening. Moreover, students discuss a number of intriguing intersections between the failure to identify a situation as high risk (Burn, 2009) and failure to take intervention responsibility. For instance, many focus groups debated whether it is easier to intervene on behalf of a stranger or someone they know. Students' relationships to the parties involved not only influence whether they feel responsible for intervening, but also whether they understand that something problematic is going on. Connor and Ben's distinction between how one's relationship to the parties involved interacts with the perceived ambiguity of the situation is a clear representation of how failure to take intervention

responsibility and failure to identify as situation as high risk intersect to influence students'

willingness to intervene.

Further, it is clear that students feel less comfortable intervening in situations of

relationship violence, particular in the context of long-term relationship violence. Focus group

discussions around relationship violence often referenced the theoretical barrier, failure to notice

(Burn, 2009). Students expressed that they have difficulty recognizing relationship violence, and

even when they do, they face challenges in knowing how to intervene, which parallels the skills

deficit barrier previously represented in research (Burn, 2009). Because many students report

bystander intervention is most useful in particular situations (e.g., in the context of a party, when

the aggressor is a stranger) students seemed to struggle with describing how to intervene in

situations of violence that do not fit such assumptions. These results paired with the results of the

previous chapter point to the need for a consideration of how we can train students to intervene in

situations of ongoing relationship violence as well as in situations where students exhibit the

potential for SGBV between people who know each other. This is particularly important because

we know that a large percentage of SGBV occurs between people who know each other, whether

or not they are in a romantic relationship with one another (Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1997). If

students limit their intervention schemas to "quick forming relationships," they will likely miss a

number of opportunities to intervene. This was especially true in some of the women's examples

where they themselves were in abusive relationships, but their friends and peers did not feel

comfortable expressing their concern until after the relationship had already terminated. It is

crucial for bystander intervention programming to encourage students to intervene in the context

of parties and quick forming relationships, and acknowledge the importance of intervening with

friends who are in relationships. Moreover, students must be given the skills to intervene in such

contexts. It is possible that not only training students in the "three Ds," but also training them to have open, honest, empathic, and sensitive conversations with their friends will be critical to addressing a large portion of relationship violence that is often considered "private" by students.

Finally, focus group participants describe the influence of peer norms in inhibiting intervention, which directly relates to a number of theoretical barriers, including failure due to audience inhibition (Burn, 2009). Peer norms can serve as a barrier to students' intentions to intervene because they create consequences for intervening and can impede students' ability to recognize when violence might occur, which directly relates to the failure to notice, which has been identified as a barrier by other researchers as well (Brown et al., 2014). This is particularly significant because peer and societal norms often impede students' ability to recognize non-heteronormative examples of violence. For instance, although female students often display greater empathy for potential victims (Burn, 2009), female focus group participants reported that the sense of community they share with other women over their mutual risk for victimhood is not shared with their male peers and can, in fact, limit their ability to recognize when a male peer might need help. Moreover, hypermasculine peer norms make it difficult for men to recognize when other men might need help (Carlson, 2008). Research has documented men's fears of being deemed weak for intervening due to norms around not interfering with male peers' sexual conquests (Burn, 2009), and gendered sexual scrips that men always want sex (Hirsch & Khan, 2020). The influence of peer norms on intentions to intervene is a clear barrier to intervening reported by focus group participants. Scholars argue that understanding the role of peer norms in bystander intervention not only points to an understanding of the factors that decrease students' bystander outcomes, but can also point to opportunities for considering how peer networks can be mobilized to create healthy climates that promote intervening (Hirsch & Khan, 2020). One

way to do this is by understanding the interpersonal factors that facilitate student intervention,

which is discussed in the final section of this chapter.

**Student Perspectives on Promotive Factors for Intervening**

To explore the factors that students feel make it easier to intervene I describe students' responses to the survey question about promotive factors for intervening, as well as focus groups' discussions of promotive factors (described below). As with the barriers for intervening data in the previous section, the method used to ask survey participants about their promotive factors for intervening did not encourage them to respond with the same level of depth and nuance that characterized focus group participants' responses. Therefore, I was unable to directly compare overlapping themes between promotive factors reported by survey respondents and focus group participants. However, I noted when there were clear connections between the two samples' responses.

*Survey Respondents' Promotive Factors for Intervening*

After describing their barriers to intervention, survey participants were asked about **promotive factors for intervening:** What are the kinds of things that make it easier for you, or people like you, to intervene in a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking? Survey participants again typed in their responses into text boxes. Students responses for promotive factors were coded using entirely emergent codes due to the lack of previous literature assessing such factors. The codes fit into an ecological framework, which included the following levels: (1) Personal characteristics, (2) Interpersonal characteristics of the parties involved, (3) Interpersonal context of others present, (4) Contextual factors, and (5) Community norms. Additionally, promotive factors included situational factors, which are factors related to the specific situation in which an individual might intervene. Brief definitions and subcategories of each of the levels of codes are listed in Table 27. Included in Table 27 are the number of students who endorsed each of the subcategories and examples of those subcategory responses. For full

definitions of all subcategories see Appendix K. As with students' responses to barriers to

intervention, 74 students' responses were coded with miscellaneous codes (i.e., None listed, too

vague to code, nothing, unsure, and misinterpreted question) because they did not fit the themes.

**Table 27.**

***Promotive Factors for Intervening – Emergent Codes***

| Code | Definition |
|---|---|
| Personal characteristics | Personal characteristics as promotive factors are things that the participant described as factors about themselves that make it easier to intervene. Personal characteristics could fall under the following subcategories:<br>• Personal background ($n = 10$)<br>    o **Examples:** *Having a background of dealing with sexual and dating violence; Many people around me that I love have been victims of sexual and domestic violence, so I would do anything to prevent it from happening to others.*<br>• Confidence in personal abilities ($n = 31$)<br>    o **Examples:** *Having the confidence to know how to act in a specific scenario; If I feel like I can handle the situation.*<br>• Lack of consequences ($n = 25$)<br>    o **Examples:** *When you feel your own safety isn't at risk; If the situation seems safe*<br>• Personal morals ($n = 31$)<br>    o **Examples:** *I want other people to be treated respectfully and nobody should have to suffer from sexual violence, abuse, etc.; I am a caring person who hates to see others get hurt.*<br>• Belief in the Golden Rule ($n = 8$)<br>    o **Examples:** *Thinking if I was being harmed, I would hope that someone would step in whether if they knew me or not;*<br>• Empathy ($n = 10$)<br>    o **Examples:** *Putting yourself in persons shoes and thinking about what you are preventing long term; Realizing how I would feel in the victim's situation.*<br>• Do something regardless ($n = 7$)<br>    o **Examples:** *It is better to be safe than sorry; Knowledge that it's better to speak up if you're uncertain than stay silent.*<br>• Awareness of surroundings ($n = 13$) |

- o **Examples:** *Not being intoxicated; Being aware of the people and the environment.*
- Ability to identify issues ($n = 11$)
  - o **Examples:** *If I personally see it and not just hear it; Being more alert for the signs that could point to these behaviors.*
- Acknowledgment of benefits to intervening ($n = 16$)
  - o **Examples:** *Knowing you've helped someone; It is seen as noble to intervene. Intervention is heroic and people respect you for doing so. You are socially rewarded for helping.*
- Training to recognize problematic situations ($n = 27$)
  - o **Examples:** *Knowing the signs; Better understanding of the warning signs.*
- Training on how to safely and effectively intervene ($n = 49$)
  - o **Examples:** *If I was trained on how to intervene; Education on tactics of how to intervene.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Interpersonal characteristics of the parties involved | Participants describe aspects of the parties involved (i.e., potential victim, aggressor) and their relationship to those parties and/or what is going on between them that makes it easier for them to intervene. Interpersonal characteristics of parties involved could fall under the following subcategories: |

- Know the people involved ($n = 123$)
  - o **Examples:** *If the perpetrator is someone I know or someone connected to the same social groups as me; Knowing the victim personally.*
- Don't know the people involved ($n = 4$)
  - o **Examples:** *Strangers. I could care less if a stranger thinks I'm stepping out of my lane;*
- Same gender as people involved ($n = 6$)
  - o **Examples:** *It is a norm at [my university] that it isn't weird to ask a girl if she is okay and girls feel comfortable asking other girls for help; It's usually easier when the person is of the same gender as me.*
- Signs of distress from potential victim ($n = 27$)
  - o **Examples:** *Seeing that the victim is clearly refusing advances/unable to consent; If the victim for example asked for help or announced they needed help.*
- Parties are alone ($n = 5$)
  - o **Examples:** *When the victim has nowhere to go or no one to go to for help; If the person in possible need is alone and more approachable.*
- Confident there is a problem ($n = 43$)
  - o **Examples:** *If the situation is so horrible that it justifies intervention; If you can clearly tell the situation is not safe for one of the people in the situation.*

| Interpersonal context (others present) | Participants describe aspects of the people in the context that are not parties involved (i.e., potential victim, aggressor) that make it easier to intervene. Interpersonal context could fall under the following subcategories: |

- In a group/Backup ($n = 103$)
  - **Examples:** *Lots of people around; Having friends by your side; Having people to back you up.*
- Others agree it's bad ($n = 33$)
  - **Examples:** *When I have a friend that validates that something's wrong; Other people feeling the need to intervene.*
- Support from others for intervening ($n = 47$)
  - **Examples:** *Encouragement from peers; A group agreeing on intervening.*
- Seeing others intervene ($n = 14$)
  - **Examples:** *Seeing other people intervening in troubling situations empowers me to do the same; Seeing other people help out gives you the courage to do the same.*
- Intervening with others ($n = 84$)
  - **Examples:** *Having someone else with me that will also help me intervene so it doesn't feel like I am going in alone; Confronting the problem with a friend can make dealing with the situation easier.*
- Someone familiar with situation ($n = 3$)
  - **Example:** *If you have someone who is familiar with a situation or location that may be new to you (e.g. frat party, frat house)*
- Sober people present ($n = 1$)
  - **Example:** *Sober people around me.*

| Contextual factors | Participant describes aspects of the context that make it easier to intervene. Contextual factors could fall under the following subcategories: |

- Access to supportive figures ($n = 4$)
  - **Examples:** *If you have friends who you trust to consult on the situation; Having older people you can talk to/ask for advice*
- Access to authorities ($n = 9$)
  - **Examples:** *Access to the police; Knowing that I have the backing of law enforcement.*
- Access to safety resources ($n = 3$)
  - **Examples:** *Having helpful resources; Greater access to safe rides/walk-home-services, etc.*
- Familiar/Comfortable context ($n = 11$)
  - **Examples:** *When I'm in a place I know well; When you are in a comfortable environment.*
- Fewer people present ($n = 5$)

| | |
|---|---|
| | o  **Examples:** *In an environment when there is not a lot of people; Not having as many people around.* |
| Community norms | Participant mentions community-level norms that make it easier to intervene. These often reflect that participants feel community-level beliefs around violence prevention, respect, and maintaining a safe environment make it easier to intervene. ($n = 32$) |
| | **Examples:** *If a community is formed that stands against this stuff, then more people will act to prevent it; Knowing that I am surrounded by a community that, for the most part, wants to prevent sexual violence, dating/ domestic violence, and/or stalking* |
| Situational factors | Participant describes the type of violence they are concerned about whether there are clear ways to help with that violence. Situations factors included: |
| | • Minor problem ($n = 1$) |
| | o  **Example:** S*eeing only a minor problem rather than an extreme one.* |
| | • Clear ways to help ($n = 13$) |
| | o  **Example:** *Knowing how to help without being completely involved; Knowing the most effective methods to respond to those situations.* |

In the total sample ($N = 594$) the most common themes in students' responses fell under the categories interpersonal context ($n = 285$), interpersonal characteristics of the parties involved ($n = 208$), and personal characteristics ($n = 232$). For interpersonal context, the most common subcategories endorsed were in a group/having backup ($n = 103$) and intervening with others ($n = 84$). For interpersonal characteristics of the parties involved, the most common subcategory endorsed across all categories, was knowing the people involved in the situation ($n = 123$). Finally, for personal characteristics, the most common subcategories endorsed were training on how to safely and effectively intervene ($n = 49$), personal confidence in ability ($n = 31$), personal morals ($n = 31$), and not needing to be concerned for personal consequences ($n = 25$). Next, I examined trends in student reported promotive factors for intervening in the following demographic groups: (1) Gender, (2) Race, and (3) Sexual Orientation.

For all demographic groups of interest, the most common promotive factors were knowing the people involved, in a group/backup, and intervening with others (however sexual minority students reported this at a lower percentage than all others). Below, I report on patterns of difference in promotive factors reported by different gender, racial/ethnic, and sexual orientation groups.

**Promotive Factors for Intervening: Gender Differences.** I examined the most common promotive factors endorsed by male ($n = 190$) and female students ($n = 391$). On average, men reported 1.30 promotive factors and women reported 1.45 promotive factors for intervention. Slightly higher percentages of women ($n = 209$; 53.45%) mentioned the interpersonal contexts of others present as a promotive factor to intervening compared to male students ($n = 80$, 42.11%). In particular, the percentage of female students whose responses mentioned intervening with others ($n = 66$, 16.88%) was nearly double that of male students ($n = 28$, 9.47%).

**Promotive Factors for Intervening: Racial/Ethnic Differences.** As with barriers to intervention, I examined the most common promotive factors endorsed by White students ($n = 393$) and racial minority students ($n = 199$). On average, racial/ethnic minority students reported 1.27 promotive factors and White students reported 1.46 promotive factors for intervention. Comparisons of the percentages of students who endorsed the overarching categories of promotive factors revealed that White students responses' included slightly higher percentages of personal characteristics ($n = 172$, 43.77% for White students, compared to $n = 66$, 33.17% of racial/ethnic minority students) and interpersonal characteristics of the parties involved endorsed ($n = 160$, 40.71% for White students, compared to $n = 60$, 30.15% for racial/ethnic minority students). However, when I looked at patterns of responses for the subcodes, there were no general patterns of difference in the promotive factors endorsed by White and racial/ethnic minority students.

**Promotive Factors for Intervening: Differences by Sexual Orientation:** Heterosexual/straight students ($n = 524$) were compared to sexual minority students ($n = 64$) to examine differences in barriers to intervention. On average, sexual minority students reported 1.20 promotive factors and heterosexual/straight students reported 1.39 promotive factors for intervention. When examining for group differences in the patters of promotive factors endorsed, I found that sexual minority students' responses that included interpersonal characteristics of the parties involved far less than heterosexual/straight students ($n = 9$, 14.06% for sexual minority students, compared to $n = 197$, 37.60% for heterosexual straight students). Related to this, the percentage of heterosexual/straight students' responses that mentioned knowing the people involved ($n = 116$, 22.14%) was nearly three times the percentage of sexual minority students' responses ($n = 5$, 7.81%). Sexual minority students' responses mentioned personal characteristics slightly more often than heterosexual/straight students' responses ($n = 29$, 45.31% for sexual minority students, compared to $n = 206$, 39.31% for heterosexual straight students). In referencing their personal characteristics, sexual minority studens often referenced their personal morals ($n = 6$, 9.38%) and training to know how to safely and effectively intervene ($n = 6$, 9.38%).

This chapter will close with an examination of focus group participants' discussions of the factors that make it easier for them to intervene as bystanders.

### *Focus Group Perspectives – Promotive Factors for Intervening*

During the focus groups, participants were asked, "What factors do you consider when deciding whether or not to intervene" and, as a follow up, "What kinds of things make it *easier* to intervene." In the first round of coding, participant responses were coded as "promotive factors" when they described any factor that makes it easier for them to intervene. In the second round of coding, participant responses were coded using the codes in Table 28 that describe the specific

types of promotive factors found in student responses. Many of the codes mirror the primary codes used for coding survey participant responses (e.g., personal characteristics in the survey sample coding mirrors the personal factors (non-identity) and identity subcodes for focus group participants).

**Table 28.**

*Promotive Factors for Intervening – Focus Group Codes*

| Code | Definition |
|---|---|
| Context/space | Participant's response includes a description of any part of the interpersonal space/context, physical space/contact, the participant's relationship to the space/context, and their relationship to the others present (not including the potential victim or aggressor) makes it easier to intervene. |
| Parties involved | Participant's response indicates that something about the potential victim or aggressor makes it easier to intervene. This could be combined with the **stranger v. friend** overarching code, where participants indicate that what makes it easier to intervene is that a party involved is a stranger/friend. |
| Personal factors (non-identity) | Participant's response indicates that something about them personally makes it easier to intervene. |
| Identity | Participant's response indicates that something about their identity makes it easier to intervene. When identity is used, it was combined with the particular identity code (e.g., age, race/ethnicity/culture, physical/emotional ability, gender). |
| Aspects of the type of violence | Participant's response indicates that something about the type of violence they are concerned about makes it easier to intervene. |

Upon coding and analyzing the data, two major themes emerged in the data about factors that promote students' intervention behaviors. The themes, again, parallel some of the results of the student survey coding and provide more depth to students' thought processes around intervening. The themes are: (1) Personal connections that promote bystander intervention and (2) Culture of intervening.

**Personal Connections that Promote Bystander Intervention.** Students discussed how their personal connection to the context, the situation, and the parties involved makes it easier for them to intervene. This is particularly found in the promotive influence shared gender has on intervening. It appears that such personal connections promote a "duty to intervene" (Michael).

***Personal Connection to the Context.*** When students feel a personal connection to the context they are in they are more inclined to intervene. For instance, Josephine described how being the host of a party or being the member of an organization that is hosting a party makes her feel like it is her place to intervene:

> I have been at parties where I'm like on the board of the organization or whatever that's hosting a party and then like I feel very comfortable and able to be like, "Hi, I'm an officer. We're not doing this at this party." Or like I'm like stepping in – like just wanting to check-in or something because – or if it's my apartment and like I own the place. I think when there's a proprietary element, it's a little bit more easy to insert yourself. You're not just like some random person.

Additionally, another student who works as a bus driver for the campus bus services, talked about feeling a sense of control when driving that makes it feel like it is her place to intervene: "If I'm driving a bus and I see something, I pull over. 'Hey cut it out! Otherwise I'm gonna kick you off.' So when I'm driving I feel like I have more control over the situation." These students contrasted the personal connection to the context or event with times where they do not feel that level of connection. Zachary contrasted parties where he is president of the club versus parties where he does not have an authority role saying, "If I'm at a frat house, I'm like, 'I don't know. It's not really my place. Maybe I shouldn't do that'…You figure there's someone who should be responsible that's not you. It's easy to pass the responsibility off if it's not your party."

***Personal Connection to the Parties Involved.*** A large barrier to intervening experienced by students was the fear of being wrong in the face of ambiguous situations. The potential for personal connections to facilitate bystander intervention is particularly critical given the importance students place on being able to clearly tell when a situation requires intervening. Students describe a key factor that promotes them intervening and mitigates the risk of ambiguous situations: their personal connections to the parties involved. When students know the parties involved they feel that it is easier to know if someone is wrong. Knowing the parties involved facilitates students' interpretation of what's going on. For example, Sloane said, "I'd definitely be more likely to intervene with my friends just because I know them, so I know their social cues a little bit better. It's easier I guess to tell if something's wrong." It is also helpful in understanding whether or not people in a potentially risky situation know each other. Knowing the parties involved is particularly critical for understanding when relationship violence is occurring. In her group's discussion of relationship violence, Anisa described how her personal connection to a friend who was experience relationship violence helped her have "access" to her friend's emotions, which, in turn, allowed her to sustain her intervention over time. However, women, in particular, appeared to center the benefits of having a personal connection to the parties involved in situations where the person they know is the potential victim. When the person they know is the one doing something wrong they seem to find this more difficult. For instance, Michelle said, "If it was your friend that was maybe making somebody uncomfortable, it would be harder to intervene because you wouldn't wanna hurt them, but also you don't support what they're doing." Interestingly, this difficulty does not appear to be shared with their male peers, who predominantly described intervening with the aggressor.

Numerous groups exhibited how shared gender promotes intervention. For instance, female participants talked about "women protecting women" and that they generally look out for other women while they are out. Women stated that it is more comfortable for them to specifically intervene with women. For instance, Liz said,

> I think it's easier for me…confronting someone [who] is also a girl or presents physically as a girl…For example, it's easier for me to go up to a girl who seems uncomfortable but like very conscious of her situation and be like, "Hey, are you okay," then it is for me to go up to someone who presents as a guy and be like, "Hey, that person is really drunk. You should stop dancing on them like that where they're not holding themselves up. We should go get them help, not like grind on them."

 Conversely, men discussed it being easier to intervene with other men. For instance, Joshua stated that it is easier for him to talk with other men simply because he is "used to talking to guys, most of [his] friends are guys." Even in the case of a man being the potential victim, the male participants stated they would intervene with him. However, they note that their intervention strategy would differ in they would use more subtle intervention strategies. The intention behind this shift in intervention style seems to be related to helping the man not "lose face" as was previously discussed, it goes against social norms for men to require intervention.

**Culture of Intervening.** The benefits of a culture of intervening were not only discussed in students' praise of bystander intervention programming, but also as a factor that promotes their intervention behaviors. Students describe how the belief that others would intervene on their behalf promotes intervention. Such a culture of intervening helps combat the barrier, failure to intervene due to audience inhibition because it helps prevent students from "feeling like…I'm just being an asshole and stopping my friends from making their decisions or whatever" (Beatrice). Such a

culture of intervening encourages students to do what is best for the community and is applied to other risky situations, including "intervening if someone's drinking too" (Liz).

Interestingly, there is an intersection of the two major themes of personal connections and culture of intervening. Female focus group participants talked about how their personal connection to their awareness of women's increased risk for victimization promotes a culture of intervening amongst women. The women describe an "implicit understanding" of shared risk that causes them to look out for other women, a theme described earlier in the results around gender. Moreover, women who are survivors of SGBV use this shared understanding to strategically intervene. For instance, Emily described how she uses self-disclosure of a previous abusive relationship to facilitate intervention in situations of relationship violence. As described previously, women's personal connection to victimization risk increases their empathy and awareness of their surroundings. However, there was no mention of a similar culture of intervening due to personal connections amongst male participants. Therefore, it is no surprise that female participants expressed frustration over having to educate their male peers over the hypervigilance to their personal safety that permeates their lived experience. Women's capacity to connect with other women over their shared risk clearly promotes them intervening, which makes it no surprise that there are gendered divides in who men and women approach for intervention.

### *Discussion*

The results of the final portion of this chapter point to the wide array of factors that students feel promote their ability to intervene as bystanders. Students referenced personal factors that make it easier to intervene, including personal morals, confidence, and their ability to recognize situations and safely intervene. They also referenced a number of interpersonal factors that make it easier to intervene, both related to the parties involved in the potential high-risk

situation as well as the presence of supportive outsiders. Clearly students heavily factor in the interpersonal context and community norms on whether they feel able to intervene. Such factors help combat barriers like failure to take intervention responsibility and failure due to audience inhibition. Finally, both survey respondents and focus group participants talked about the positive influence of a culture of intervening. As I mentioned in the previous section, scholars posit that the norms that students perceive in their social environments may impact their willingness to intervene (Berkowtiz, 2002 in Brown et al., 2014). Moreover, Perkins & Craig (2000) found that in order to match the social norms within their peer networks, college students will change their attitudes and behaviors.

Many of the promotive factors I found align with Banyard's (2011) findings that "knowledge and awareness of the problem, confidence in ability, sense of bonds or ties to the community, and the number and relationship to other bystanders who witness" the situation can push students to intervene.  The importance college students' place in their peer and social networks gives researchers and program developers a vision for how bystander intervention programming can move beyond the typical focus on changing individual attitudes and skill building and be designed to intentionally promote culture change (Orchowski et al., 2018). The results of the present study point to the need for more *interpersonal* components of bystander intervention programming. For instance, having more personal programming like students described in the previous chapter where students are able to discuss issues of SGBV and intervention with their peers and practice skills with their peer networks.

If colleges and universities are striving to create culture change through the provision of universal bystander intervention programming (Banyard, 2015) we must not only understand students' barriers to intervention, but also what students feel promotes their intervening as

bystanders. In the coding of survey respondents' responses for what factors make it easier for them to intervene, students' responses fell within the levels of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The common structure and format of bystander intervention programming tends to exclusively address the individual level of the ecological model (Orchowski et al., 2018). However, scholars call for programming that harnesses the potential of group level influences to shape the culture of SGBV on college campuses (see Banyard, 2011; Hirsch & Kan, 2020). Students' reports of the factors that facilitate them intervening as bystanders illuminate the need for a greater consideration of factors at all levels of the ecological model, particularly the meso- and macrosystems, in thinking about how we structure, design, and deliver bystander intervention programming.

**Chapter 5: General Discussion**

Despite ongoing efforts to combat SGBV on college campuses, prevalence rates have remained steady since the 1980s (Cantor et al., 2015; Senn & Forrest, 2016). In the wake of increasing Title IX sexual violence investigations, colleges and universities are searching for effective programming to prevent SGBV. Bystander intervention programming is an increasingly popular, community-based approach to preventing SGBV on college campuses. Studies find that bystanders are present in one-third of sexual assaults and one-third of intimate partner violence incidents (Burn, 2009; Planty, 2002). Therefore, bystander intervention programming capitalizes on the social nature of many instances of SGBV by empowering students to be proactive bystanders and intervene to prevent violence before it occurs (Cares et al., 2015; Moynihan et al., 2015). The programming also seeks to encourage students to intervene as bystanders so that they can shift social norms that support SGBV (Coker et al., 2011). The present study used a parallel mixed methods approach to center the voices of the biggest stakeholders in the prevention of SGBV on college campuses: students. The study addressed the following research questions:

1.  Do students' perceptions of the climate of SGBV at their university relate to their confidence in and use of bystander skills?

2.  What do students feel is the impact of bystander intervention programming and how effective do they feel the programming is at addressing the climate of SGBV at their university?

3.  How do students' perceptions of bystander intervention programming relate to their use of constrained behaviors and perceptions of campus safety?

4.  Do students' bystander outcomes (i.e., bystander efficacy and self-reported bystander behaviors) differ by demographic group?

5. How, if at all, do students' identities make it easier or more difficult for them to intervene to prevent SGBV?

6. What do students perceive to be factors that make it easier or more difficult for them to intervene in situations of SGBV and are there demographic differences in such factors?

**Overview of Findings and Implications for Research and Practice**

This study revealed that as students with more negative perceptions of their campus climate in relation to SGBV felt more efficacious in their abilities to intervene in instances of SGBV. Additionally, contrary to my hypothesis, worse perceptions of the climate of sexual violence predicted increases in bystander behaviors. One possible explanation for this finding is that students who reported more negative perceptions of the climate are, in general, more aware of the issue and may be more attuned to issues of SGBV in general and, therefore, feel more concerned about intervening. On average, students perceived bystander intervention programming to be somewhat effective at addressing sexual and dating/domestic violence. The only difference by demographic group in perceptions of effectiveness was for Black students, who ranked bystander intervention as more effective than other racial/ethnic groups. This finding likely relates to previous findings that Black students report more bystander behaviors than other identity groups, particularly White students (Brown et al., 2014). One possible explanation for this study's findings that Black students reported higher bystander efficacy, fewer barriers to bystander intervention, and more positive perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander intervention is differences found in Black families' orientations towards cultural values around collectivism and interconnectedness (Utsey et al., 2000), possibly signifying differential impacts of socialization practices on bystander outcomes. However, in the context of predominately White institutions of higher education, studies find that Black students typically experience

lower sense of belonging (Allen, 1992), further complicating the understanding of the potential

for connectedness to explain Black students' differences in bystander outcomes. More research is

needed to further understand Black students' perceptions of bystander intervention programming

and themselves as bystanders.

Other facets of identity impacted students' decisions to intervene and the barriers that

they perceived to bystander intervention. Focus group participants reported that their age,

physical ability, emotional ability, and genders were the aspects of their identity they most

commonly thought of when deciding whether or not to intervene. Moreover, men reported lower

bystander efficacy and heterosexual students reported more barriers to intervening when

compared to bisexual students (but not to gay or lesbian students). This results of this study show

identity is related to students' perceptions of bystander intervention programming and their

experiences intervening. However, the study was limited in its ability to look at the outcomes

related to intersectional identities (e.g., the unique experiences of racial/ethnic + sexual minority

students). It is crucial that future research to incorporate more intersectional samples of students

to obtain an understanding of how students' intersectional identities relate to their bystander

outcomes and perceptions of programming (Bowleg, 2020). Moreover, scholars must center their

interpretation of findings on the influence of students' identities with an understanding that

identities are inherently intersectional and interdependent in ways that influence how students

experience their identities in the context and culture of universities (Bowleg, 2008).

Although researchers find that SGBV is disproportionately experienced by racial, ethnic,

and sexual minority groups, few interventions are developed and evaluated in ways that center

the experiences of those students (Coulter et al., 2017). However, the present study shows that

some racial minority and sexual minority groups report more positive bystander outcomes than

their peers. Too often, research on the prevention of SGBV centers White, cisgender, and heteronormative perspectives (Bang et al., 2008; Krebs et al., 2011), which limits our understanding of *all* students' experiences. Because bystander intervention occurs in the larger sociocultural context and colleges are becoming increasingly diverse, it is imperative that research considers how a student's position and status impacts which actions they feel are safe and appropriate to take in their communities (Banyard, 2015).

Moreover, it is clear that men and women on college campuses have vastly different perspectives on SGBV and their own safety. While the men in this study reported that, for the most part, they feel safe, the women in the study did not. Women ranked the climate of sexual and dating/domestic violence at their university as significantly worse. These women report the use of constrained behaviors consistent with those found in previous research (Klodawsky & Lundy, 1994). Although policies like Title IX and the Campus SaVE Act (2016) are designed to ensure equitable educational experiences for *all* students, it is clear that women face significant barriers to their academic and social freedom on campus. Such limits to their freedom stem from the understanding that it is their responsibility to protect themselves. Because of this, they report that bystander intervention programming does not significantly impact their perceptions of campus safety and, perhaps more troubling, they feel no prevention program would stop them from engaging in constrained behaviors. While they affirm that bystander intervention programming is important and can make them feel more comfortable on campus, they acknowledge that they cannot trust that everyone will intervene and they know that they will be blamed if anything happens to them. Fears of being blamed impact women's use of constrained behaviors and their willingness to report when they have experienced SGBV (Orchowski et al., 2009). The results point to the need for broader systemic change around SGBV that eliminates

the prevalence of SGBV experienced by women. Only then can prevention programs attempt to undo the influence of years of socialization and lived experience that tell women they are, in fact, at increased risk of SGBV. Unfortunately, women's use of constrained behaviors is something that campus prevention programming may have a difficult time impacting and, until then, women will continue to do all that they need to in order to keep themselves and their female peers safe.

Differences in gender were also prevalent in how male and female students felt their genders impacted intervening. Many female students noted the need for male students to do more to care about preventing SGBV. The differences found in this study and previous research on men's lower efficacy to intervene and female students' perceptions that their male peers are not sufficiently educated to empathize with the experience of survivors of SGBV point to the need for bystander intervention programming to be grounded in an understanding of Banyard and colleagues' readiness to change theory (2010). The theory incorporates developmental components to prevention that highlight the need for students to move from awareness to motivation to engage in prevention efforts. Studies show that students' readiness can impact the effectiveness of prevention programs (e.g., Moynihan et al., 2015). However, many colleges and universities deliver universal programming that assumes that students are at the same level of awareness.

The findings of this study point to the fundamental flaw in that assumption, with numerous students reporting that they are unable to recognize the signs of some forms of SGBV and that programming should educate them more on the negative impacts of experiencing SGBV. We cannot assume that students approach programming from the same level of concern for preventing SGBV. While many women report that due to their socialization and personal or friends' experiences with violence they are aware of the importance of prevention, their male

peers do not consistently hold the same level of understanding. In the absence of programming

and educational opportunities that communicate the importance of prevention of SGBV for many

male students, their female peers are doing the work of educating them on the importance of

preventing SGBV. Therefore, integrative models of prevention programming should incorporate

critical consciousness that encourages deeper discussions around status and power, which are

critical to effectively addressing the differences reported by female students in many of their

male peers' readiness to change (Banyard et al., 2010). Integrating critical consciousness in

discussions around prevention of SGBV will foster students' understanding of how their own

privilege and as well as others' status and power, or lack thereof, influences their comfort

intervening in situations of SGBV. Moreover, critical consciousness can help support male

students' capacity to empathize with the experience of those who experience violence or perceive

themselves to be at an increased risk for violence. Such consciousness is imperative for

subpopulations of college students, particularly White male students who some studies find

report the least bystander behaviors of all demographic groups and are often reluctant to

intervene even when given the opportunity (Brown et al., 2014).

Orchowski and colleagues (2018) describe a number of considerations that colleges

should make in determining the appropriate approach to integrating different forms of SGBV

prevention programming. For instance, they state that interventions should not only be targeted

for new students, but should also be provided throughout the course of college. In describing the

importance of providing programming throughout college they note:

It is simply unreasonable to ask colleges to undo over a decade of socialization through a

single workshop. Rather, we must consider sequential doses of programming that build

logically on one another and address developmental needs of students across different

stages of college (p. 11).

While participants in the present study did not connect their need for ongoing programming to

the impact of differential socialization around SGBV, their perspectives clearly align with those

presented by Orchowski and colleagues. Students' perspectives of bystander intervention

programming and themselves as bystanders are fundamentally influenced by their socialization

and the social norms in their environments. They feel that it will take more than a few online

modules and an introductory orientation during their first week in college to combat the

influence of years of socialization.

Students also experience ongoing socialization throughout college. The influence of

community norms was discussed both by the survey respondents and focus group participants.

Students report that peer norms can operate as barriers *and* facilitators to intervention. The

influence of peer norms on bystander intervention is well documented in research literature (e.g.,

Burn, 2009; Carlson, 2008; Fabiano et al., 2003). The significant influence social norms play in

students' bystander behaviors is well represented in this study's findings on the influence of

Greek life involvement. While Greek life involvement was a significant predictor of higher self-

reported bystander behaviors, it was also associated with lower bystander efficacy. This

discrepancy between efficacy and behaviors is likely related to an interaction of increased

opportunities to intervene, within university subcultures that endorse of traditional gender norms,

particularly around supporting hypermasculine pursuit of sexual conquests with little regard for

consent (Burn, 2009). It is clear that all university subcultures, particularly Greek life

subcultures, would benefit from not only reactive approaches to preventing violence that

interrupt violence as it is already in progress, but also proactive approaches that encourage

conversations about things like healthy and respectful sexuality, healthy relationships, and consent, which was emphasized by many students in the study (Hirsch & Khan, 2020). Students' critique that bystander intervention programming is not a sufficient approach to preventing SGBV highlights the need for more comprehensive, critical approaches to addressing SGBV that address the root causes of such violence.

Finally, throughout the study students referenced the importance of bystander intervention programming's ability to promote a culture of intervening. They felt this was both a positive aspect of the existing programming and something that the programming should continue to work to improve. Moreover, community norms around intervening were discussed by students as a factor that makes it easier for them to intervene. Students call for a change in the culture and acknowledge the importance of all members of a campus community in fostering a culture of intervening. The relative importance students place on cultures that promote intervening directly relates to McMahon and colleagues' (2019) call for a Whole School Approaches (WSA) to be applied to SGBV prevention. WSA models, which have been applied to bullying prevention efforts, build from public health frameworks that value ecological approaches to promoting health (Stewart-Brown, 2006). McMahon and colleagues (2019) state that the premise of WSA points to the "complex" and "systemic" nature of SGBV that is rooted in multiple levels of the socio-ecological model. The mission of the WSA framework to prevention is that, "*all* members of the school community have a role to play in addressing violence, even those that may not directly have a vested interest in prevention" (p. 2). The goals of WSA frameworks seek to promote cultures of intervention by building students' empathy, encouraging students to act in prosocial ways, and fostering prosocial connections amongst students (Cowie & Jennifer, 2007; Espelage & Swearer, 2004). WSA frameworks' use of

integrative and collaborative approaches to preventing SGBV to create school environments that prevent violence clearly align with a number of students' suggestions for improvement of bystander intervention programming, particularly the value students place on promoting a culture of intervening.

**Limitations**

A number of limitations to the present study should be noted. The study was conducted at one public university in the mid-Atlantic United States. Moreover, there was limited racial/ethnic and sexual orientation diversity in the study samples. The results of this study may be limited in their generalizability across research sites and populations of students outside of the university where the data for this research were collected. Moreover, while the goal of qualitative work is not generalizability, but transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), it is important to note that despite numerous efforts to recruit students from underrepresented backgrounds, the sample of focus group participants was predominantly White and heterosexual. Future research is needed to further understand racial/ethnic and sexual minority students' experiences intervening as bystanders. Moreover, throughout the study I report solely on findings related to a dichotomy of gender representation because the study's sample only allowed for meaningful comparisons between male- and female-identifying students. More research is needed to understand the experiences of gender non-conforming students around intervening and their perceptions of the effectiveness of bystander intervention programming, particularly because research shows they are at increased risk for SGBV victimization (Testa et al., 2012).

There were a number of limits to the qualitative questions in the study. The survey sample's open-ended questions allowed for less nuanced interpretations of the themes present in students' responses. The students' short responses on the surveys limited the depth of analysis

possible of this data without inferring meaning beyond what was confirmable in the responses themselves. Thus, there may be meanings or patterns of meanings that remain un-interpreted within the survey data. The structure of the open-ended survey questions prevented the ability to interpret whether there were more overlapping themes with barriers and promotive factors for intervening discussed during the focus groups. Additionally, one of the focus groups, the male bystander trained group, was not asked for their perceptions of bystander intervention's ability to promote students' feelings of safety on campus. Moreover, given male undergraduates' general sense of safety, the questions around safety did not resonate with them and limited the depth in which students could respond to follow up questions about the connection between safety and bystander intervention programming. While focus groups were intentionally designed to be single gender to promote men and women's comfort in discussing sensitive topics around SGBV, it is possible that gendered pressures men experience around hypermasculinity, particularly the desire to not appear weak, could have prevented men from disclosing feelings of unsafety. In fact, in one study using focus groups to discuss the effects of violence in daily life, men did not admit to feeling unsafe due to social norms around masculinity that pervaded the social context of the groups (Hollander, 2001; Hollander, 2004). However, gender differences in students' perceptions of campus safety are well documented (Thomsich et al., 2011) and it is unlikely that the study's sample of male participants would have endorsed drastically different perspectives on campus safety.

**Conclusion**

This dissertation has provided a rich depiction of students' perceptions of bystander intervention programming and themselves as bystanders. While students report a wide array of barriers to intervening, they also report a host of ecological factors that make it easier for them to

intervene. The importance students place on community norms that create a culture of intervening speaks to the potential bystander intervention programming can have in preventing SGBV on college campuses. While students value the information that bystander intervention programming is designed to provided them, they also report a plethora of critiques in the ways that the programming is provided, and in bystander intervention programming's reactive approach to prevention. The work presented in this dissertation shows the importance of valuing students' perspectives on prevention and providing students a space to share their ideas on preventing programming so that it is better designed to meet their needs. In the wake of decades of unchanging SGBV prevalence rates on college campuses, it is time for universities to incorporate more integrated, comprehensive approaches to intervention that allow students to be more engaged in the prevention of SGBV on their campuses. Consequently, universities will need to develop infrastructures of support that address the limits students perceive in existing frameworks of prevention.

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**Appendix A. Visual Representation of the Proposed Study Design.**
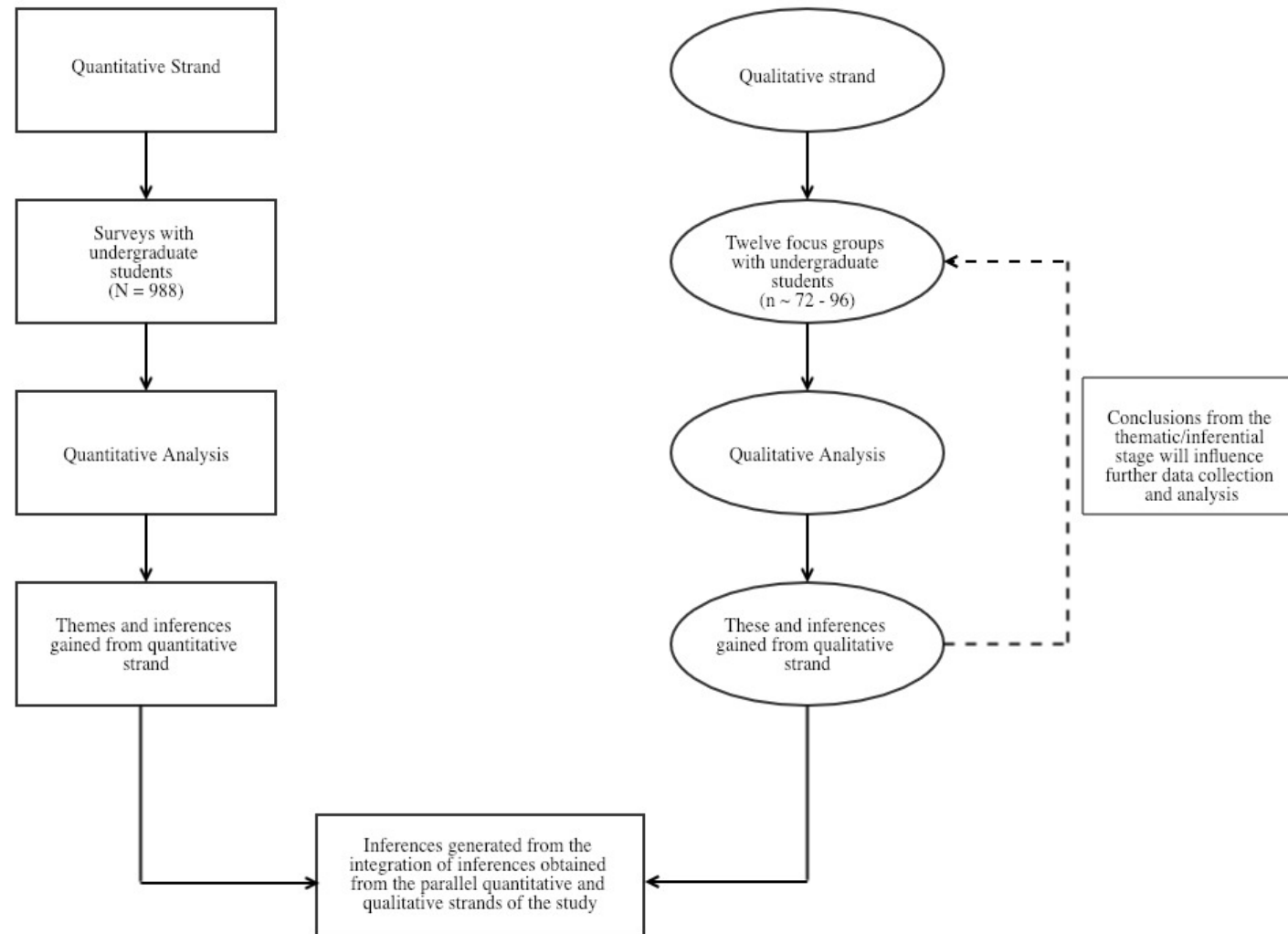
## Appendix B: Overview of Quantitative Measures

Bystander Outcome Measures

| Measure (number of items, scale) | Alpha | Mean | Standard Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bystander Efficacy Scale (12 items; 0 to 100) *Express discomfort if someone says that sexual assault survivors are to blame for being assaulted.* | .88 | 76.17 | 14.76 |
| BSABI – Failure to identify situation as high risk (3 items; 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree)) *In a party or bar situation, I think I would be uncertain as to whether someone is at-risk for being sexually assaulted.* | .75 | 3.64 | 1.18 |
| BSABI – Failure to take intervention responsibility (7 items; 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree)) *Even if I thought someone was at risk for being sexually assaultd, I would probably leave it up to others to intervene.* | .86 | 2.80 | .99 |
| Bystander Behaviors Scale (10 items, scale; 0 (Not at all) to 3 (Many times)) *Asked someone if they needed to be walked or driven home.* | .90 | 1.28 | .81 |

Perception of Climate and Bystander Intervention Programming (BIP) Effectiveness

| Measure (number of items, scale) | Mean | Standard Deviation |
|---|---|---|
| Climate of Sexual Violence (1 item, 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely)) *How problematic is sexual assault at [your university]?* | 2.83 | .87 |
| Climate of Dating/Domestic Violence (1 item, 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely)) *How problematic is dating/domestic violence at [your university]?* | 2.27 | .80 |
| Effectiveness of BIP at addressing sexual assault (1 item, 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely)) *How effective is bystander intervention at addressing sexual assault at [your university]?* | 3.32 | .82 |
| Effectiveness of BIP at addressing dating/domestic violence (1 item, 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely)) *How effective is bystander intervention at addressing dating/domestic violence at [your university]?* | 2.95 | .87 |

# Appendix C: Online Survey

## Bystander Efficacy Scale

**(BES) Please read each of the following behaviors. Indicate in the column "Confidence" how confident you are that you would do them. Rate your degree of confidence by recording a number from 0 to 100 using the scale given below.**

| Not at all confident 0 | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 | 90 | Very confident 100 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| Q# | Confidence | Question |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | | Express discomfort if someone makes a joke about someone's body. |
| (2) | | Express discomfort if someone says that sexual assault survivors are to blame for being assaulted. |
| (3) | | Call for help (i.e., call 911) in a situation where it's not safe for me to intervene. |
| (4) | | Talk to a friend who I suspect is in an abusive relationship. |
| (5) | | Get help and resources for someone who tells me they have been assaulted. |
| (6) | | Ask a stranger who looks very upset at a party if they are okay or need help. |
| (7) | | Ask a friend if they need to be walked home from a party. |
| (8) | | Ask a stranger if they need to be walked home from a party. |
| (9) | | Speak up in class if a professor is providing misinformation about sexual assault. |
| (10) | | Do something to help a very drunk person at a party who does not seem to be getting help from others. |
| (11) | | Get help if I hear of an abusive relationship in my dorm or apartment. |
| (12) | | Tell someone at the university if I have information about an assault (i.e., an RA, staff/faculty member, Just Report It). |

## Barriers to Sexual Assault Bystander Intervention Scale
**(BSABI) Please indicate your agreement with the following statements along a scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.**

| Extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) At a party or bar, I would probably be too busy to notice if someone was at risk for sexual assault. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (2) In a party or bar situation, I find it hard to tell whether someone is at risk for sexually assaulting someone else. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (3) Even if I thought a situation might be high in sexual assault risk, I probably wouldn't say or do anything if other people appeared unconcerned. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (4) Even if I thought someone was at risk for being sexually assaulted, I would probably leave it up to others to intervene. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (5) If I saw someone I didn't know was at risk for being sexually assaulted, I would leave it up to their friends to intervene. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (6) In a party or bar situation, I think I would be uncertain as to whether someone is at-risk for being sexually assaulted. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (7) I am less likely to intervene to reduce a person's risk of sexual assault if I think they made choices that increased their risk. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (8) If a person is dressed provocatively, or acts provocatively, I am less likely to intervene to prevent others from taking sexual advantage of them. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (9) If a person is extremely intoxicated I am less likely to intervene to prevent others from taking sexual advantage of them. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (10) If a person is dressed provocatively, or acts provocatively, I feel less responsible for preventing others from taking sexual advantage of them. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (11) I am more likely to intervene to prevent sexual assault if I know the potential victim than if I do not. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

## BYSTANDER BEHAVIORS SCALE

**(ABB) The following questions are about <u>YOUR OWN</u> use of bystander behaviors. Please read the list of situations below and estimate how often <u>YOU</u> used the following behaviors in the last three months.**

| NOTE:  If you were not in the situation listed please select "I never encountered this situation." | Not at all | Once | A few times | Many times | I never encountered this situation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Expressed concern to someone in a relationship where you've observed a partner exhibiting jealous and controlling behavior. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (2) Spoke up if somebody said that someone deserved to be harmed by their partner. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (3) Offered support to someone who was sexually assaulted or hit by a partner. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (4) Asked someone who looked upset if they were okay or needed help. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (5) Asked someone if they needed to be walked or driven home. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (6) Spoke up if someone who was bragging or making excuses for forcing sexual contact on someone. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (7) Got help for someone because they had experienced sexual assault. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (8) Found a way to distract someone in a high-risk situation in an effort to prevent an assault. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (9) Sought help from someone else in an effort to de-escalate a potentially high-risk situation. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (10) Provided support to someone who was afraid for their personal safety because they were being stalked (either in person or online). | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

**(OBB)  The following questions are similar to the last section, BUT they are about bystander behaviors you have seen or heard <u>SOMEONE OTHER THAN YOURSELF</u> using. Please read the list of situations below and estimate how often you have witnessed or heard about <u>SOMEONE ELSE</u> using the following behaviors in the last three months.**

| Note: If you did not see or hear about the situation listed please select "I never encountered this situation." | Not at all | Once | A few times | Many times | I never encountered this situation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Expressed concern to someone in a relationship where you've observed a partner exhibiting jealous and controlling behavior. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (2) Spoke up if somebody said that someone deserved to be harmed by their partner. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (3) Offered support to someone who was sexually assaulted or hit by a partner. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (4) Asked someone who looked very upset if they were okay or needed help | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (5) Asked someone if they needed to be walked or driven home. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (6) Spoke up if someone who was bragging or making excuses for forcing sexual contact on someone. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (7) Got help for someone because they had experienced sexual assault. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (8) Found a way to distract someone in a high-risk situation in an effort to prevent an assault. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (9) Sought help from someone else in an effort to de-escalate a potentially high-risk situation. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| (10) Provided support to someone who was afraid for their personal safety because they were being stalked (either in person or online). | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

**INSTRUCTIONS: Please choose the best response for each question by selecting your answer.**

Q8 Which of the following best describes your affiliation to [the university]? (Check all that apply)
- ☐ First Year (1)
- ☐ Second Year (2)
- ☐ Third Year (3)
- ☐ Fourth Year (4)
- ☐ Fifth Year (5)
- ☐ Graduate Student (6)
- ☐ Faculty (7)
- ☐ Staff (8)
- ☐ Alumni (9)

Q9 If you are an undergraduate student, did you transfer to [the university]?
- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)
- ☐ I am not an undergraduate student (3)

Q16 Are you an international student?
- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q10 What is your major or intended major?

_____

Q11 Are you a member of an athletic team?
- ☐ Yes, I am a member of a varsity athletic team (1)
- ☐ Yes, I am a member of club sports (2)
- ☐ No, I am not a member of an athletic team (3)

Q12 Are you a member of a fraternity or sorority?
- ☐ Yes, I am a member of IFC/ISC (1)
- ☐ Yes, I am a member of a service fraternity (2)
- ☐ Yes, I am a member of a multicultural fraternity/sorority (3)
- ☐ Yes, I am a member of an academic fraternity/sorority (5)
- ☐ No, I am not a member of a fraternity or sorority (4)

Q13 Are you involved in a group that exists to promote the prevention of sexual violence on grounds?
- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q14 Do you consider yourself an advocate for survivors of violence?
- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q17 Have you or someone you know ever experienced sexual assault, stalking, and/or dating/domestic violence?
- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q25 Have you or someone you know ever experienced bias incidents, such as incidences of hate speech?
- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q20 Prior to coming to [this university] did you participate in programming related to bystander intervention?
- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q19 Have you ever heard a Green Dot Overview Talk (~45 minutes)?
- ☐ Yes (1)
- ☐ No (2)

Q6 What is your age? _____

Q15 Please indicate your race/ethnicity. (Check all that apply)
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native, non-Hispanic/Latino (1)
- ☐ Asian, non-Hispanic/Latino (2)
- ☐ Black or African American, non-Hispanic/Latino (3)
- ☐ Hispanic/Latino (4)
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic/Latino (5)
- ☐ Race/ethnicity unknown (6)
- ☐ White, non-Hispanic/Latino (7)

Q7 What is your gender? _____

Q21 Do you consider yourself to be:
- ☐ Heterosexual or straight (1)
- ☐ Gay or lesbian (2)
- ☐ Bisexual (3)
- ☐ Asexual (4)
- ☐ Questioning (5)
- ☐ Not listed (6)
- ☐ Decline to state (7)

**Researcher-Developed Questions**

1. How problematic is **sexual assault** at [your university]?
   a. Not at all
   b. A little
   c. Somewhat
   d. Very
   e. Extremely
2. How effective is bystander intervention at addressing sexual assault at [your university]?
   a. Not at all
   b. A little
   c. Somewhat
   d. Very
   e. Extremely
3. Please explain why you rated bystander intervention's effectiveness in addressing sexual assault at [your university] as you did. _____
4. What, if anything, do you think would make bystander intervention more effective at addressing sexual assault at [your university]?

1. How problematic is **dating/domestic violence** at [your university]?
   a. Not at all
   b. A little
   c. Somewhat
   d. Very
   e. Extremely
2. How effective is bystander intervention at addressing dating/domestic violence at [your university]?
   a. Not at all
   b. A little
   c. Somewhat
   d. Very
   e. Extremely
3. Please explain why you rated bystander intervention's effectiveness in addressing dating/domestic violence at [your university] as you did. _____
4. What, if anything, do you think would make bystander intervention more effective at addressing dating/domestic violence at [your university]?

There are many things that can make it easy or difficult for someone to intervene in situations of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and stalking.

1. What are the kinds of things that prevent you, or people like you, from intervening in a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking?

2. What are the kinds of things that make it easier for you, or people like you, to intervene in a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking?

**Appendix D: Recruitment Flyer**

**Appendix E. Recruitment Email**

Hello {{FirstName}},

I hope this message finds you well. I am emailing you with an exciting opportunity to be paid to participate in focus groups discussing sexual and relationship violence prevention programming at your university! My name is Victoria Mauer, and I am a PhD student in UVA's Psychology department working on my dissertation, Project STOPP (Student Thoughts on Prevention Programming). The study (IRB-SBS #2508) is an investigation of students' perspectives on sexual and relationship violence prevention programming, particularly students' responses to bystander intervention programming on campus. To complete this study, I am reaching out to Green Dot bystander trained students like yourself to take part in confidential, 2-hour focus groups during the Fall semester.

If you choose to participate, you will receive food during the focus group and will also receive a $20 Amazon gift card for your participation. If you are interested in participating in the study or have any questions about participating in the study please email me at [uvaprojectstopp@gmail.com](mailto:uvaprojectstopp@gmail.com). Additionally, if you have any friends who might be interested in participating who have or have not been bystander trained please feel free to share this email and the attached flyer!

Thanks so much for your time,

Victoria

## Appendix F. Recruitment Survey

**Thank you for your interest in participating in a Project STOPP (Student Thoughts on Prevention Programming) focus group! In order to determine your eligibility for participating in one of our focus groups we ask that you complete the following brief survey, which will help us determine which focus group to place you in. Once you have completed the survey we will contact you about scheduling a focus group.**

**Email Address:**
**Name:**
**Age:**
**Cell Phone Number:**
**Have you ever participated in a Green Dot bystander training (an interactive 4-5 hour training designed to give participants space to learn and practice realistic bystander intervention strategies)?**
&#9633; Yes
&#9633; No
&#9633; Unsure

**What is your year in school?** (*Note:* If students indicated that they were a fifth year they were asked if they graduated from the university. If so, they were eligible to participate.)
**How do you identify your gender?**
**How do you identify racially/ethnically?**
**Do you consider yourself to be:**
&#9633; Heterosexual or Straight
&#9633; Gay or Lesbian
&#9633; Bisexual
&#9633; Asexual
&#9633; Questioning
&#9633; Not Listed
&#9633; Decline to State

**Are you involved in a group, such as a CIO, that exists to promote the prevention of sexual and relationship violence on Grounds?**
&#9633; Yes
&#9633; No

**How did you hear about the study?**
&#9633; Recruitment flyer
&#9633; Email invitation
&#9633; From a friend
&#9633; Other (please write in)

## Appendix G: Focus Group Coding - Note Taking Worksheet

**Project STOPP Focus Group**
Date:
Time:
Location:
Type of Participants in the Focus Group: *(e.g., First Year, Male Identifying)*
Number of Participants:
Name of the Moderator:
Name of Assistant Moderator:

**Diagram of the seating arrangement –** do on paper provided in your clipboard

### Field Notes

(*Note:* Below this I included labels for each section of the protocol)

## Appendix H: Focus Group Protocol

**Introduction:**
Thank you all for joining this discussion of violence prevention programming. Before we get started I just want to run through some logistics. You've all had the chance to review and sign the consent form. I just want to highlight a few things about today's group:

1. **Audio recording**

   a. This focus group is being recorded. This will allow us to capture everyone's comments. As the consent form said, none of your names and identifying information will be connected to the data.
   b. Also, [cofacilitator] (*Point them out; they should be sitting outside the group)* will be taking notes on our conversation today just as a backup in case anything happens to the recordings. They'll also be helping me with some logistics during the group.

2. **Confidentiality**

   . While I guarantee that I will handle everything that is said in this group confidentially, I cannot control what others say when they leave this group. In order to create a comfortable space space for everyone, let's take a moment to generate rules for this group so that everyone is able to share what they would like, openly and honestly.
   a. *Have participants generate their own rules using the following questions:*
      1. What kinds of things will allow everyone to participate in this group and feel safe?
      2. What kinds of rules do we want to have for each other?
   b. *Facilitator: Make sure the following comes up:*
      1. We want to ask everyone to keep anything shared within the group confidential. Meaning you won't share what was said here today outside of the group.
      2. Additionally, whether or not you already know anyone here today, please be sure to keep the confidentiality of others participating in the group.

3. **Wanting to hear from everyone:**
   . From past experience in groups like this, we know that some people talk a lot, and some people don't say much. We really want to hear from all of you because you've had different experiences. So if you are talking a lot, I may interrupt you, and if you aren't saying much, I may call on you. If I do, please don't be offended. We have a lot to cover here tonight, and it's just my way of making sure we get through all of the questions and that everyone has a chance to talk.

   a. Also, I should mention that our goal today is not to have everyone always agree on what we're discussing. In fact, many of you might have different opinions about the topics we are discussing. If you have a different opinion or perspective on what is being said please know that we want to hear it!

**Before we begin let's go through some quick introductions.** Just so you all know who's in the room, you were all selected to be in a group together because you are [first year men/women | upperclassmen and women at the university |bystander trained men/women at the university]. I'd like everyone to go around and say your first name and *upperclassmen/bystander:* year at the university/*first years*: your hometown.

**Section I: Program Level Factors**

To begin, we want to get a baseline for your knowledge of prevention programming. Some of you may be familiar with bystander intervention programming, while others of you may not be as familiar with it -- we just want to know what you know about this type of programming. (*For bystander trained students*: You all are familiar with this kind of programming, but you may have different definitions. We want to know how each of you define it, in your own terms.)

1. For our first question I want to hear from everyone. When you hear the words bystander intervention what comes to mind? (*You can start with a particular student or ask them to popcorn. Since students may be nervous to speak you can always just ask that they go around the circle/table*)

Thanks everyone. For this study, when we use the term "bystander intervention" we're thinking of colleges' and universities' attempts to prevent sexual and relationship violence using bystander intervention programming. Bystander intervention programs engage students, faculty, and staff on college campuses in the prevention of sexual and relationship violence by increasing their awareness of the nature and frequency of such violence and educating them on behaviors to safely and effectively intervene to reduce the risk of violence (Coker et al., 2015). Next, we will discuss bystander intervention programming more generally and get your feedback on it.

2. Are you aware of any bystander intervention programs at [your university]? If so, what are they?
3. What, if any, do you think the impacts of bystander intervention are for students on campuses that have bystander intervention programs?
   a. What, if any, do you think are the impacts of bystander intervention for students here at [your university]?
4. How do you think bystander intervention programming is perceived by students?
   . Is it considered important? Not important? Why?

**Section II: Program + Student Level Factors**

Now we want to talk about your own experiences with bystander intervention.

1. Have you ever intervened in a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking as a bystander? (*Note: this may come up when they are answering the questions above; make sure to have these questions in your mind if they start talking about their own experiences intervening*)
   a. If yes, can you describe the situation, what you did, and how you felt after intervening?
   b. If no, have you ever witnessed a situation where you thought maybe I could intervene?
      i. What stopped you from intervening?
2. What factors do you consider when deciding whether or not to intervene?
   1. What kinds of things make it easier to intervene?
   2. What kinds of things make it more difficult to intervene?
3. What factors do you consider when deciding whether or not to intervene in a situation of *relationship violence*? *I added this question in the majority of my groups because most students referred to situations where they perceived risk of sexual violence. You could also ask them about what factors they consider for sexual violence as well.*

**Section III: Student Level Factors**
**Identity Exercise (see exercise sheet on pg. 8)**
Now, we're going to transition to talking about identity and how our own identities make us more or less likely to intervene as bystanders. To do this, we're going to start with a worksheet activity where we

reflect on our individual identities as students at [your university]. Please flip over the worksheet on your clipboard that has the number 1 on it. As you can see, the worksheet features a circle that is separated into 10 sections. Each section is labeled: (starting at the top and moving clockwise around the circle) ethnicity; socio-economic status; gender; sexual orientation; national origin; first language; physical, emotional, developmental (dis)ability; age; religious or spiritual affiliation; race). In the center of the circle, there are seven numbered prompts for you to think about identity and reflect on the various ways you identify socially, how those identities become visible or more keenly felt at different times, and how those identities impact the ways others perceive or treat you.

For filling out this worksheet you can put more than one number in the box for each identity, and you can select more than one identity in response to the question. Using the worksheet, I'd like you to put a...

1. One by the aspects of your own identity that have the strongest effect on how you perceive yourself
2. Two by the aspects of your own identity that have the greatest effect on how others perceive you.
3. Three by the aspects of your identity you are most aware of at [your university].
4. Four by the aspects of your identity you are most aware of while sitting in classes.
5. Five by the aspects of your identity you are most aware of while out with friends socializing.
6. Six by the aspects of your identity you are most aware of while walking around Grounds at night.

**Identity + Bystander Intervention Questions**
So thinking about how you responded in this activity, put a 7 by the aspects of your identity you are most aware of while thinking about whether or not to intervene as a bystander.

1. Okay so let's share together. Which aspects of your identity did you say you are most aware of while thinking whether to intervene as a bystander?
   1. How comfortable or uncomfortable or easy or hard is it for you or someone like you to intervene as a bystander when witnessing a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking?
2. We are all a group of men/women: What role do you think men/women should play in preventing sexual and relationship violence?
3. What role do you think [gender not in the group] should play in preventing sexual and relationship violence?

*If getting very gender normative ways of thinking about who is the perpetrator/victim, go with that and ask:* What is the responsibility if the victim is a man, etc.?

**Section IV: Safety as an Outcome**
I'd like to now switch gears to think about our perceptions of safety on college campuses. Studies done with college students find that students perform different actions out of concern for their safety. (*In response to the following questions, it would be great to have a sense of what concerns about safety and behaviors coping with that look like for the students!*)

1. Overall, do concerns about safety affect how you engage at [your university]? If so, can you tell me about that (or how)?
   1. *If need more prompts:*
      i. In what ways, if any, have you ever felt that your involvement in academic life was affected by needing to make considerations for your own safety?
      ii. In what ways, if any, have you ever felt that your involvement in social life was affected by needing to make considerations for your own safety?

2. What, if any, are the ways that the presence of bystander intervention programming influences your feelings or behaviors about campus safety?
3. *Way to further discussion:* Are there ways that bystander intervention makes you more open to being involved as a student at [your university]?

## Section V: Student Thoughts of Prevention in General

For the last section we're going to switch gears and move away from talking solely about bystander intervention programming to talking about your thoughts about sexual and violence prevention programming <u>in general</u>. *If you're running low on time you can potentially just ask: What kinds of topics do you think should be included in sexual and relationship violence prevention programming? And get to the activity sooner*

*For students who have not participated in the intervention:*
1. Based on your experiences as a college student, what types of things do you think the ideal sexual and relationship violence prevention program should include?
    a. What kinds of topics should be included in prevention programming?
*For students who are in the intervention group:*
1. From your experience with the programming, are there topics you think are missing from current sexual and relationship violence prevention and education efforts on college campuses? What are those?

So we've all generated some topics for what we think prevention programming should include. Next we're going to work with some worksheets (**see exercise sheet on pg. 7)** about potential topics that could be included in this type of prevention programming. Please turn over the worksheet with the number 2 on it. Using the worksheet, I'd like you to rank order the topics from 1 to 11 in terms of how important you think they are to address for prevention sexual and relationship violence on college campuses with 1 being the most important and 11 being the least important.
We want to discuss why you ranked these topics the way you did.
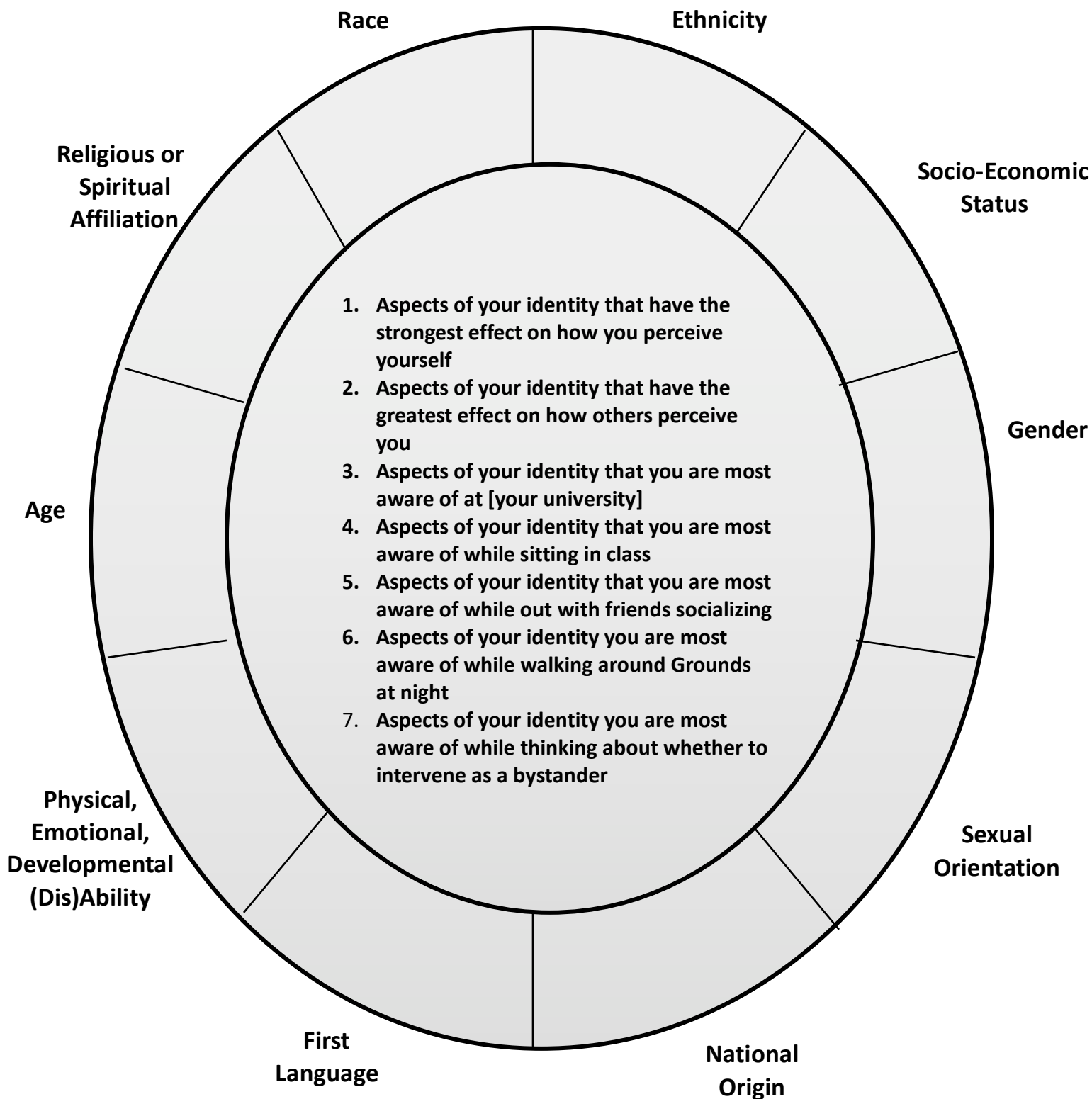1. Who would be willing to share what they ranked as their top 3 topics and why?
    a. Did anyone rank things similarly? If so, in what way?
    b. Whose top 3 differed, or included other topics? Which were those?
2. What were your bottom 3 and why?
3. Did anyone think anything was missing from this list? If so, what?

## Conclusion

Okay, that wraps up my questions for you all! Do you all have any questions for us? {*Make sure to follow up on any questions that were skipped!*}
Before we leave, I wanted to let you all know a couple of things:
1. You will be emailed your Amazon gift cards in the next couple of days. These will be $20 Amazon electronic gift cards.
2. In the survey you filled out we asked you for your phone number. This is because we will be sending you a text message later tonight asking you to rate your experience in tonight's group, so please make sure to respond! It will be a quick question, we promise!
3. Finally, I wanted to thank you all for your participation in today's group. We are currently running these focus groups with students at [your university] and the results will be shared with folks working on prevention programming here at [your university], and also at other universities. We think that student voice is very important in decision making around prevention programing and we know that the folks working on prevention will value your thoughts and use them to make decisions around providing these types of programs to college students. So thank you for being open to sharing your thoughts with us today!

Race

Ethnicity

Religious or
Spiritual
Affiliation

Socio-Economic
Status

Age

Gender

1. Aspects of your identity that have the strongest effect on how you perceive yourself
2. Aspects of your identity that have the greatest effect on how others perceive you
3. Aspects of your identity that you are most aware of at [your university]
4. Aspects of your identity that you are most aware of while sitting in class
5. Aspects of your identity that you are most aware of while out with friends socializing
6. Aspects of your identity you are most aware of while walking around Grounds at night
7. Aspects of your identity you are most aware of while thinking about whether to intervene as a bystander

Physical,
Emotional,
Developmental
(Dis)Ability

Sexual
Orientation

First
Language

National
Origin

**Prevention Topics Worksheet**

**Please rank the following topics for prevention programming from 1 (most important to address) to 11 (least important to address)**:

\_\_\_\_\_ Bystander intervention training (e.g., providing individuals with skills to directly and indirectly intervene when witnessing sexual and relationship violence)

\_\_\_\_\_ Consent (e.g., active vs. passive consent, situations in which individuals cannot consent)

\_\_\_\_\_ Healthy gender norms (e.g., social expectations around masculinity and femininity)

\_\_\_\_\_ Healthy relationships and communication

\_\_\_\_\_ The influence of drugs and alcohol in sexual and relationship violence

\_\_\_\_\_ Intersectionality - the idea that people experience discrimination/marginalization in differing ways and with varying levels of intensity based on their social identities (e.g., race, class, gender, ability, sexuality)

\_\_\_\_\_ Media Literacy (how media (e.g., music, movies, pornography) shape the culture of gender and violence)

\_\_\_\_\_ Power and control (e.g., physical, emotional manipulation in relationships)

\_\_\_\_\_ Preventing individuals from becoming perpetrators of violence (e.g., changing myths about rape, promoting gender-equitable attitudes, increase awareness of what acts are considered abuse)

\_\_\_\_\_ Preventing individuals from experiencing violence (e.g., self defense classes, risk reduction training)

\_\_\_\_\_ Sex positivity and sexual health (e.g., promote positive attitudes about sexual decision making, skills necessary to have safe and pleasurable sexual experiences, setting sexual boundaries)

Other: (*Please list any topics you think should be included in prevention programming that are not listed above.*)

## Appendix I. Codebook for Effectiveness and Suggestions for Improving Programming

**Coding Process:** To code student's responses to the effectiveness questions put a "1" if the participant discusses any of the themes included in the tables below. Leave the box blank if the participant did not discuss that theme.
**Effectiveness question type 1:** Please explain why you rated bystander intervention's effectiveness in addressing sexual assault/dating/domestic violence at [your university] as you did.

| Checkbox Item | When to check that code: |
|---|---|
| Bystander intervention positive | If the participant makes positive comments about bystander intervention as an approach to preventing sexual assault/dating/domestic violence and that they've seen bystander intervention being used. |
| Bystander intervention negative | If the participant makes meneral negative comments about bystander intervention as an approach to preventing sexual assault/dating/domestic violence. |
| Training quality positive | If the participant mentions positive feedback about/aspects of the bystander intervention training/education programming that is provided. General positive statements about training should go here. |
| Training quality negative | If the participant mentions negative feedback about/aspects of the bystander intervention training/education programming that is provided. General negative statements about training should go here. |
| Training quantity positive | If the participant makes positive comments about the *amount* of bystander intervention training/education programming that is provided. This should include positive comments about mandatory programming. |
| Training quantity negative | If the participant makes negative comments about the *amount* of bystander intervention training/education programming that is provided. This should include negative comments about mandatory programming. |
| Barriers to intervention | If the participant mentions things that make it difficult to intervene or negatively impact their willingness to intervene. |
| Promotive factors | If the participant mentions things that make it easier to intervene or positively impact their willingness to intervene. |
| Friend group positive | If the participant makes positive comments about their social/friend group (e.g., My friends would intervene). |
| Friend group negative | If the participant makes negative comments about their social/friend group (e.g., My friends would intervene). |
| Culture mention positive | If the participant mentions positive aspects of the culture that increases individuals' willingness to intervene. Also include general positive statements about the culture of the university here. |
| Culture mention negative | If the participant mentions negative aspects of the culture that decreases individuals' willingness to intervene and that sexual/dating/domestic violence still occurs in the culture. Also include general negative statements about the culture here, including the subject matter being taken as a joke. |
| Lack of knowledge/experience | If the participant mentions lack knowledge about SV/DV or experience with intervening. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Other important themes | Check this off and briefly comment about any additional meaningful themes you notice that are not covered by the previous themes. **For the few times that participants say something about the university (e.g., "There's more the university can do.") should be put in other important themes and type in "university."** |

**Effectiveness question type 2:** What, if anything, do you think would make bystander intervention more effective at addressing sexual assault/dating/domestic violence at [your university]?

| Checkbox Item | When to check that code: |
|---|---|
| Improve culture/awareness | If the participant makes a statement about the need for positive culture change, including increasing awareness of the issue and helping people care about the issue.<br>**Note: If the participant makes a statement about the need for programming to address** the root of the issue (e.g., preventing/teaching individuals to not perpetrate SGBV), put **training quality AND promote culture.** |
| Improve training quality/content | If the participant makes comments related to ways that the quality of the programming provided could be improved.<br>**Note: If the participant makes a statement about the need for programming to address** the root of the issue (e.g., preventing/teaching individuals to not perpetrate SGBV), put **training quality AND promote culture.** |
| Training quantity | If the participant makes comments related to having more frequent training. This also covers comments around making programming mandatory and when students indicated more education is necessary generally. |
| Address barriers to intervention | If the participant makes a comment about training needing to address barrier to intervention (e.g., bystander effect, diffusion of responsibility, shyness, feel like it's not my place). |
| No improvements needed | If the participant makes comments that the programming is good as it is. |
| Other important themes | Check this off and briefly comment about any additional meaningful themes you notice that are not covered by the previous themes. |

# Codebook for Project STOPP Barriers Open-Ended Questions

**Survey participants were asked the following question:**
What are the kinds of things that prevent you, or people like you, from intervening in a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking?
**They were given an open space to type in their response.**
Use the codebook below to code their responses. It is very common for their responses to include multiple codes. If you feel that a response really does not fit into any of the codes because it is vague you can use the code "too vague to code" (see description for this code at the end of the codebook.

## Existing Theory Codes for Barriers

| Code Name | Code Description and Example |
|---|---|
| Failure to Notice (FtN) | In order to intervene the person needs to notice the event. "Bystander distraction resulting from self-focus or sensory distraction may lead to a *failure to notice barrier"* (Burn, 2009, p. 3). Influences: Included in this is intoxication and failing to notice what is going on around you because you are under the influence of substances. Can be environmental factors (e.g., I'm at a party and it's loud), Internal factors (e.g., I'm really drunk and I didn't notice, I'm hanging out with my friends and I didn't focus, I don't know what to look for). Noise and other sensory distractions, self focus (focused on own activities; Burn, 2009). *Examples: Being intoxicated myself, not knowing when it is happening, busy at a party and it is unnoticed, lack of awareness for such actions taking place* |
| Failure to Identify Situation as High Risk (FtID) | In order to intervene the bystander must interpret the situation as one that is risky. There is a strong likelihood that when faced with an ambiguous, but potentially high-risk situation, individuals will defer to the cues given by those around them when deciding whether to respond (Clark & Word, 1974; Latane & Daney, 1970). Influences include: Ambiguity; ignorance of risk markers or what constitutes consent may prevent the bystander from interpreting the situation as one where they is a risk of harm (Burn, 2009). This also includes ambiguity of the relationship between the potential victim and potential perpetrator (Burn, 2009) because people are less likely to intervene in a situation where thy think there is a romantic relationship between the potential victim and potential perpetrator (Shotland & Straw, 1976 as cited in Burn, 2009). When relying on others interpretations due to the ambiguity of the situation, pluralistic ignorance can occur when "ignorant, inactiv bystanders look to other ignorant, inactive bystanders and |

| | |
|---|---|
| | consequently all fail to identify the situation as intervention appropriate (Latane & Darley, 1968)" (Burn, 2009, pg. 3). Included in this: not knowing the whole situation or how the parties involved usually act. Fear misinterpreting the situation. Uncertainty should be coded here, but fear being wrong is a separate code. Might collapse these later so if you use both that's okay. *Examples: Sometimes I'm not sure what "crossing the line" looks like in person, even if I know what it is theoretically; Being unsure if it is a situation that needs intervention; uncertainty about what exactly is happening can make it more challenging to intervene* |
| Failure to take Intervention Responsibility (FttR) | Individuals are less likely to respond in a crisis situation when more people are present because each assumes that someone else will handle it (Chekrown & Bauer, 2002; Darley & Latane, 1968). This barrier occurs due to "the presence of other bystanders, the relationship of the bystander to the potential victim or perpetrator, and beliefs about the potential victim's 'worthiness" (Burn, 2009, pg. 3). Diffusion of Responsibility is part of the responsibility being diffused due to the presence of other bystanders thereby making each individual bystander feel less responsible for intervening (Latane & Darley, 1970). Bystanders tend to feel more responsible for intervening on behalf of someone they already have a relationship with (particularly regarding the victim; Burn, 2009), but there is little research on this issue related to sexual assault bystander behavior (Burn, 2009). Included anything about strangers, not knowing the parties involved here, or the impact of the relationship between the bystander and the parties involved. We won't use this code, however, if they about being alone – that is coded under context. *Examples: Thinking that someone else will be able to take care of the problem; not knowing the person; Between people I don't know* |
| Failure to Intervene due to Skills Deficit (FtSD) | Bystanders are sometimes unsure of what to say or do when they witness a situation where it seems like someone is at risk (Burn, 2009). More likely to intervene when feel confident in ability to do so effectively (Goldman & Harlow, 1993; Latane & Darley, 1970). Influence: don't know what to say/do to intervene (Burn, 2009). Include any statements re: efficacy of intervening. *Examples: Uncertainty of how to act/intervene; feeling as if my effort will have no effect on the situation; feel as if I do not have the training necessary to intervene* |

| Failure to Intervene due to Audience Inhibition (FtAI) | Individuals are reluctant to respond because they are afraid they will look foolish (Latane & Darley, 1970) or it goes again social norms to intervene. Evaluation apprehension (Burn, 2009) is "anxiety at the thought of possible negative evaluations from others" (pg. 4) and it may prevent someone from intervening. Influences: social norms run counter to intervention. Included apprehension of having the attention on them under this code. *Examples: I feel that I will be judged for intervening; afraid of making things awkward; social norms; fear of people talking bad about you, labeling you as immature* |
|---|---|

## Emergent Codes for Barriers

| Code Name | Code Description and Example |
|---|---|
| Personal Safety | Participants might write out personal safety or indicate fears related to personal safety. This is often combined with other codes for offender characteristics, consequences, and fearing personal safety impacts for others present. *Examples: Personal safety, being afraid of it becoming violent, fear the assaulter coming after me, maybe it seems like intervening could cause harm to yourself or others around you.* |
| Consequences | This code is used to label any consequence of intervening the student indicates. These are often combined with other codes like personal safety and FttR. If the participant simply wrote "consequences" you can code this as "consequences" without a subcode. 1. **For the potential victim**: *Example: If it is a danger to the person experiencing any of these.* 2. **Make it worse**: making it worse for the people involved. *Example: I might feel less able to intervene if I felt my intervention would make the situation worse.* 3. **For self**: Because I'm intervening there will be some sort of bad consequence for me. *Example: Being scared of what might happen to me in that kind of situation* 4. **Response of offender/victim**: *Example (offender): I would be personally afraid of getting hurt, stalked, or retaliated against.* 5. **Harm to others:** Because I'm intervening, it will create harm for the people involved. *Example: Maybe if it seems like intervening could cause harm to yourself or others around you.* 6. **Investigation**: *Example: Lack of willingness to potentially be involved in a lengthy investigation.* |

| | 7. **Help being misconstrued:** They're not going to understand my intentions in intervening. *Example: The fear of my attempts at help being misconstrued; Sometimes when I ask if someone is okay or if they need to be walked home, they assume that I want to hook up with them, and that is just not the case.*<br>8. **Think I want to hook up:** *Example*<br>9. **Friends:** *Example: I wouldn't want to accuse someone of something like that if it wasn't actually true or potentially have the friend be mad at me.*<br>10. **Backlash** (coded separately from response of offender or victim because not certain who the backlash is originating from): *Example: afraid of backlash.* – might collapse with FTAI, need to see if any feel separate from it. |
|---|---|
| Fear being wrong | Code any statement about the participant saying they are concerned that they might be wrong or that they are misinterpreting the situation. This is also likely to be combined with the codes FTID and FTTR.<br>*Example: I feel like I might be misinterpreting the situation; Afraid of being wrong about the situation; Fear of having misread/misunderstood the situation; Don't want to offend someone in a relationship if I'm wrong.* |
| Interpretation of the parties involved | Use this code for any statement where the participant indicates a barrier of how the parties involved are indicating they interpret the situation or how they *might* be interpreting the situation. The essence of the participants statement is that think a barrier to intervening is that we don't know if the parties involved see the situation as problematic.<br>*Example: It would prevent me from intervening if both people said everything was fine; We don't know if that's what the person sees it as; Not knowing the thoughts of a person who you think is potentially at risk of being assaulted (e.g., whether they are actually fine with the other person or whether they are uncomfortable with the situation).* |
| Not in those situations/contexts | Use this code for any statement where a participant indicates that a barrier to intervening is that they are not typically in situations/contexts where they might need to intervene.<br>*Example: I have not put myself in many situations where these things most commonly occur; I'm not in a situation in the first place to intervene.* |
| Not there when violence happens | This type of violence typically occurs in private so code when participants indicate that they are simply not there when the violence happens and they can indicate because the violence occurs in private.<br>*Example: I am prevented from intervening by not being there when they happen* |

| No barriers (N/A) | Use this code any time a participant indicates nothing stops them from intervening. Also, given the wording of the question, if the participant simply states No or N/A we will code it as no barriers. *Example: I do not know, I have intervened before and nothing stopped me; Absolutely nothing, there are no excuses; No.* |
|---|---|
| Personal characteristics | Use this code any time the participant describes the ways a personal characteristics can be a barrier to intervening. Characteristics can be something that is static (e.g., physical size), or a characteristic that is a personal response to the situation (e.g., intimidation, shock).<br>1. **Age/Year in School:** *Example: If you're younger in age you're probably less likely to intervene.*<br>2. **Awkward:** *Example: feeling awkward*<br>3. **Intimidation:** *Example: I feel intimidated*<br>4. **Shock**: *Example: the shock of witnessing the assault*<br>5. **Physical Size**: includes "I'm a small person" *Example: I am a small girl and the dude could definitely overpower me*<br>6. **Gender:** Use this code whenever their personal gender is mentioned, especially in contrast to others involved in the situation. *Example: I am a small girl and the dude could definitely overpower me; It is intimidating as a girl to try to step in if you aren't sure that something is wrong.*<br>7. **Non-confrontational:** *Example: Being uncomfortable speaking up in front of strangers or in unfamiliar settings*<br>8. **Anxiety:** *Example: anxiety*<br>9. **Introverted/Shy**: *Example: my introverted personality*<br>10. **Uncomfortable/Not confident enough/embarrassment:** Included mention of being nervous to get involved in risky situations or uncomfortable in those situations. *Example: I may not feel comfortable, not being confident enough, embarrassment*<br>11. **Survivor**: *Example: I have also been on the victim side of those encounters and get PTSD sometimes, which can prevent me from being able to intervene.*<br>12. **Inconsiderate**: *Example: People being inconsiderate/selfish.* |
| Gender dynamics | This differs from personal characteristics gender because while personal characteristics: gender presents their gender in contrast to factors involved in the situation, most often the gender of those involved, "Gender dynamics" refers to how intervening might be interpreted because of gender norms or that is the place of the |

| | |
|---|---|
| | opposite gender to intervene (in this instance you could also code for personal characteristics: gender if they were to mention the limits of their own gender's ability to intervene). Also, when women talk about how because they are women they are nervous of violence being turned towards them. **Includes:** "subtle interactions between the sexes with language" *Example: Sometimes when I ask if someone is okay or if they need to be walked home they assume that I want to hook up with them, and that is just not the case. This is the biggest deterrent in my opinion, a combination of social norms and the perpetuation of gender roles; As a young woman I find myself nervous of getting involved in situations that would possibly put me at risk, so I think I would just ask one of my guy friends to intervene if I was worried about that.* |
| Potential victim doesn't want my help/they don't want my help | Use this code any time the participant talks about receiving messages from the potential victim in the situation that they do not want help. This code should be used only when the potential bystander is receiving <u>direct</u> message to them from the potential victim. If messages aren't directly to the potential bystander it is likely necessary to code as Interpretation of Parties Involved. *Example: Repeated affirmations that the person is okay, directly from the person; If the person insists that they are fine, even when they clearly aren't.* |
| Context | Use this code when participants talk about any of the characteristics of the situation, whether it be the physical context or the interpersonal context or that the context is simply unfamiliar to them. *Example: Being uncomfortable speaking up in unfamiliar settings; if other people/friends aren't around; the people around; the setting you are in, if you are the only one there, whether or not I have backup* |
| Offender characteristics | Use this code any time the participant describes a characteristic of the aggressor/offender that makes it more difficult to intervene. This is often presented in contrast to their own personal characteristics so make sure to notice if they're contrasting themselves and include the relevant personal characteristic code as well. <ol><li>**Aggression:** *Example: How aggressive the violent person is*</li><li>**Physically Intimidating:** *Example: I might feel less able to intervene if I felt the abuser could overpower me or hurt me; being scared of the aggressor; Maybe it would be tough if the guy was really physically intimidating, If the guy involved was much bigger than I am; physically stronger assaulter*</li></ol> |

| | 3.      **Intoxicated:** *Example: I would have trouble confronting someone who is inebriated* |
|---|---|
| None Listed | Use this code when the participant did not fill in anything or put a dash or question mark. |
| Fear | Use this code when the participant states "fear," "fear of violence," or "afraid to intervene" but does not connect that fear to a factor listed in the other codes (e.g., physical size of the offender, retaliation). |

## Too Vague to Code:

This is a category for those responses that are too vague to determine and more context is needed to figure out which of the codes would apply to that example.

Plan is to go back through these later to see if multiple people if strongly about them then we can assign them a code or create a new code to assign them (if patterns emerge amongst these vague responses.

**Appendix K. Codebook for Factors that Promote Intervening**

# Codebook for Project STOPP Promotive Factors Open-Ended Questions

**Survey participants were asked the following question:**

What are the kinds of things that make it easier for you, or people like you, to intervene in a situation of sexual violence, dating/domestic violence, and/or stalking?

**They were given open space to type their response.** Use the codebook blow to code their responses. It is very common for their responses to include multiple codes. If you feel that a response really does not fit any of the cods because it is vague you can use the code "too vague to code" (see description for this code at the end of the codebook).

## Personal Characteristics: These promotive factors are things that the participant described as factors about themselves that make it easier to intervene.

| Code Name | Code Description and Example |
|---|---|
| Personal background | Personal background refers to things in the participant's background or previous experiences they've had, typically with sexual/dating violence, that make it easier for them to intervene or impact their motivations to intervene. This can include having background knowledge. <br> *Example: Many people around me that I love have been victims of sexual and domestic violence; Things that make it easier for me are from my personal experience where I wish someone helped me.* |
| Personal confidence in abilities | Personal confidence in abilities should be used when participants discuss that being confident or feeling empowered or that they are assertive makes it easier for them to intervene. This can be broad confidence, or confidence specifically around how to intervene. Include here participant statements around confidence in intervening effectively. <br> *Example: Having the confidence to know how to act in a specific scenario; If I feel like I can handle the situation.* |
| Personal consequences | Personal consequences should be used any time a participant indicates that not having to worry about consequences for themselves makes it easier to intervene. This will often include not needing to be concerned for personal safety. <br> *Example: To know that we're safe even if we intervene; If the guy doesn't look like he would kill me.* |
| Personal morals | Personal morals should be used when participants express their beliefs are sexual violence and that their personal morals, passion, and/or beliefs around respecting others make it easier for them to intervene. Morals are the motivator for intervening. <br> *Example: Knowing that it is the right thing to do; Caring for the well-being of others; I'd feel very guilty if I knew I could do something and didn't.* |

| Personal – Golden rule | Personal – Golden Rule refers to any time the participants say that believing in the "Golden Rule" (do unto others as you would have them do unto you) is what makes it easier for them to intervene. *Example: I do for people what I hope others would do for me if I were put in the situation; Idea that I would want to be helped if this happened to me.* |
|---|---|
| Personal empathy | Personal empathy should be used any time a participant talks about the ability to empathize with the people in the situation makes it easier for them to intervene. *Example: Putting yourself in persons shoes; Realizing how I would feel in the victim's situation* |
| Personal – do something regardless | Personal – do something regardless should be used any time the participant indicates that they believe what makes it easier for them to intervene is the realization that it is better to intervene even if you're unsure. *Example: It is better to be safe than sorry; Knowledge that it's better to speak up if you're uncertain than stay silent.* |
| Personal awareness of surroundings | Personal awareness of surroundings refers to any time the participant indicates that their ability to attend to their surroundings makes it easier for them to intervene. This can include the participant discussing that being sober makes it easier to intervene. *Example: Not being intoxicated; Being in a relatively more pleasant situation where you are aware of your surroundings.* |
| Personal ability to identify issues | Personal ability to identify issues takes the awareness code one step further to refer to the ability to actually recognize that violence is happening and/or that they are aware it's happening and present when violence occurs. This code often coincides with participants referencing the ability to be aware of cues that violence is occurring or might occur. This can include physical proximity to the situation that gives you the ability to identity cues that something bad is occurring. *Example: Being more alert for the signs that could point to these behaviors; To be there when its happening.* |
| Benefits | Participants referencing knowing the potential benefits/rewards of intervening. These are typically centered on the potential for helping others and preventing bad things from happening to the potential victim. *Example: Knowing that intervening could be potentially lifesaving for someone in dangerous situation; Thinking about what you are preventing long term.* |

**Training:** Training promotive factors refer to the knowledge of/training on how to intervene and how to recognize problematic situations.

| Code Name | Code Description and Example |
|---|---|
| How to safely and effectively intervene | How to safely and effectively intervene should be used any time a participant indicates that having knowledge of how to intervene makes it easier to intervene. This code should be used any time a participant lists a training (e.g., Green Dot) makes it easier to intervene. |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *Example: Knowing examples of ways to intervene; Knowing what to do.* |
| How to recognize problematic situations | How to recognize problematic situations should be used any time a participant indicates that having knowledge of how to recognize warning signs of violence and what sexual violence looks like so they have knowledge of when to intervene makes it easier to do so. *Example: Being made aware of what sexual assault risk looks like in ambiguous situations; More of an emphasis on how to tell when someone needs to intervene in a situation.* |

**Interpersonal Characteristics – Parties Involved:** This set of codes should be used when participants specifically describe aspects of the parties involved (i.e., potential victim, aggressor) and what is going on between them that makes it easier for them to intervene. When participants refer to others that do not include the parties involved look to the "Interpersonal Context – Not Parties Involved" codes.

| Code Name | Code Description and Example |
|---|---|
| Know the people involved | Know the people involved should be used any time the participant indicates that knowing one or both of the parties involved, knowing something about their relationship *Example: Knowing something about the person; When I know the person I am much more likely to intervene; Knowing the victim makes it a lot easier for me to intervene.* |
| Don't know the people involved | In contrast to "know the people involved," this code should be used when participants indicate that not knowing the parties involved makes it easier for them to intervene. *Example: When it's a stranger* |
| Same gender as people involved | Same gender as people involved should be used any time the participant indicates that being the same gender as one of the parties makes it easier for them to intervene. *Example: Its usually easier when the person is of the same gender as me; If it's a fellow female then I'm more likely to intervene than if it's a male.* |
| Signs of distress from potential victim | Signs of distress from potential victim should be used any time the participant indicates that seeing signs of distress (e.g., crying), particularly from the potential victim, makes it easier for them to intervene. *Example: When people are clearly distressed (crying, unresponsive, etc.), If the person you suspect is at risk for assault is clearly uncomfortable with the other person or the situation.* |
| Parties are alone | Parties are alone should be used any time the participant indicates that they know the victim is alone and does not have others around to help or support them. *Example: When the victim has nowhere to go or no on to go to for help; If I see someone walking alone.* |
| Confident there is a problem | Confident there is a problem should be used any time the participant indicates that feeling certain that there is a problem and/or that the situation is unambiguous makes it easier for them to intervene. This |

| | includes the participant indicating that they see a situation/incident firsthand.<br>*Example: If it is obvious that it is occurring; Identifying signs that a bad looking situation is actually bad; If the situation is clear.* |
|---|---|

**Interpersonal Context – Not Parties Involved:** This set of codes should be used when participants specifically describe aspects of the people in the context that are not parties involved (i.e., potential victim, aggressor). When participants refer to the parties involved look to the "Interpersonal Context –Parties Involved" codes.

| Code Name | Code Description and Example |
|---|---|
| Intervening with others | Intervening with others should be used when participants *specifically* indicate that having others help them intervene or intervening with others around them/their friends makes it easier for them. If they mention that the presence of others or having backup helps them intervene, but don't specifically say that those people will help them intervene, use the "In a group/Backup" code.<br>*Example: Other people to intervene with me; Being in a large group of people trying to prevent the situation; We might approach a situation together and see if everything is okay, which makes me feel less put out there.* |
| In a group/Backup | In a group/backup should be used when participants talk about the fact that they are in a group of people or have people around who are on their side and can be backup makes it easier to intervene. This can be combined with intervening with others if you think that part of the participant's statement refers to the presence of others without them intervening. Also, if the participant references having a group to "help," but doesn't specifically say help intervene then use this code. Can be combined with support from others if they reference being in a group that is supportive. Supportive others can also be present in terms of their support in the situation seeming problematic, which would also be coded as "Others agree it's bad."<br>Essentially, use this as an umbrella code if the "support" from others is not specific to intervening or interpreting the situation. Use this any time they discuss the presence of others who are around to help, but aren't specifically saying how to help. This code is used when participants reference that others being there to help promotes them intervening, but they do not mention specifically that others will help them intervene – if they mention this, use the intervening with others code.<br>*Example: Having friends backing me; If there is a larger group of friends.* |
| Others agree it's bad | Others agree it's bad should be used when the participant indicates that knowing that others around them also feel the situation is problematic makes it easier for them to intervene. Other interpret what they're seeing in the parties as a bad situation.<br>*Example: It makes it easier if other people show concern; When I have a friend that validates that something's wrong.* |

| Support from others (*for intervention)* | Support from others should be used when participants indicate that having support from those around them makes it easier to intervene. This often involves reinforcement from others that intervening is good. The message you're getting from those around you is it's good to intervene. *Example: Having close friends support you when/after you chose to intervene; reinforcement that it's a good thing* |
|---|---|
| Seeing others intervene | Seeing others intervene should be used when participants indicate that seeing others intervene, either others around them at the time or having seen others intervene in the parts helps them intervene. This is separate from intervening from others because participants are referring to it being easier to intervene because they are witnessing others do so, not that it is easier because they intervene together. *Example: If other people are intervening, it becomes way easier to intervene; Seeing other people help out gives you the courage to do the same.* |
| Someone familiar with situation | Someone familiar with situation should be used any time the participant indicates that being with someone who is familiar with the situation or location (e.g., frat house) makes it easier to intervene. By situation, this code references someone who is familiar with the dynamic/relationship between the parties involved. However, situation does not refer to participants being familiar with the type of violence or signs of that type of violence. *Example: If you have someone who is familiar with a situation or location that may be new to you.* |
| Sober people present | Sober people present should be used any time the participant indicates that the presence of sober individuals (not referring to themselves) makes it easier to intervene. (1x) *Example: Sober people around me.* |

**Context – Space:** These codes speak to aspect of the context/situation that are not about the other people involved or around the situation.

| Code Name | Code Description and Example |
|---|---|
| Access to supportive figures | Access to supportive figures should be used any time the participant indicates that having someone to turn to and/or someone who can give them advice (usually an older person) makes it easier to intervene. *Example: Having a trusted adult to turn to; having older people you can talk to/ask for advice.* |
| Access to authorities | Access to authorities should be used any time the participant indicates that the access to or presence of authorities (e.g., Law enforcement) makes it easier to intervene. Authorities are less about getting support/advice and more about accessing a resource that can intervene for you or be there if intervention goes poorly, etc. *Example: Having helpful resources or the support of authority figures helps people intervene without having to be worried about consequences for themselves; Having some authority figure near (cops).* |

| Access to safety resources | Access to safety resources should be used any time the participant indicates that access to resources, including safety resources (e.g., Safe Ride) makes it easier for them to intervene. *Example: Plentiful resources to offer; Greater access to safe rides/walk-home-services, etc.* |
|---|---|
| Familiar context | Familiar context should be used any time the participant indicates that being in a context that is familiar to them and/or being comfortable in the context they are in makes it easier to intervene. *Example: When I'm in a place I know well; Being in a familiar setting.* |
| Fewer people | Fewer people should be used any time the participant indicates that the setting they are in having fewer people around makes it easier to intervene. This can sometimes be paired with the personal awareness of surroundings code, but does not have to be. *Example: Not crowded; Not having as many people around.* |

## Situational: These codes refer to the type of violence they are concerned about and whether there are clear ways to help with that violence. These codes are not very common.

| Code Name | Code Description and Example |
|---|---|
| Clear ways to help | Clear ways to help should be used when participants indicate that they feel that there are clear ways they can help in the situation. This code does not refer to their confidence in being able to effectively intervene; that would be "Personal confidence in abilities." *Example: Knowing exactly what to say or do; Knowing exactly what to do in that situation* |
| Minor problem | Minor problem should be used when participants indicate that the situation seeming to be only a minor (vs. major) problem makes it easier to intervene. (1x) *Example: Seeing only a minor problem rather than an extreme one;* |

## Community Norms: These codes refer to community-level norms that make it easier to intervene. These often reflect that participants feel community-level beliefs around violence prevention and respect make it easier to intervene.

| Code Name | Code Description and Example |
|---|---|
| Safe environment | Safe environment should be used when participants indicate that they know others in their community would also prevent violence by intervening. This can include references participants make to things all university students would do to maintain a safe environment and how social awareness and social norms communicate that it's okay to check in on others to maintain a safe environment. *Example: Knowing that others would do the same; Intervening on potential sexual assault or risky situations or asking if people need help/walked home is a norm at [my university] and is not perceived as awkward.* |

**Too Vague to Code:**

This is a category for those responses that are too vague to determine and more context is needed to figure out which of the codes would apply to that example.

Plan is to go back through these later to see if multiple people if strongly about them then we can assign them a code or create a new code to assign them (if patterns emerge amongst these vague responses.
**Nothing:** "nothing" and N/A
**Unsure:** "unsure" and "not sure"

**Appendix L. Graduate Student Coder Memo Worksheet**

**Focus Group Question:** *(this will be on the top of the first page of the written notes)*

| **Focus Group Identification Code** (e.g., FGFBT) | **Memos from Focus Group Transcripts** (Try to make these a bulleted list for easier reading) |
|---|---|
| | • Note 1 <br> • Note 2… |
| | • Note 1 <br> • Note 2… |
| | • Note 1 <br> • Note 2… |
| | • Note 1 <br> • Note 2… |
| | • Note 1 <br> • Note 2… |
| | • Note 1 <br> • Note 2… |
| | • Note 1 <br> • Note 2… |

**Memo 1:** *(<u>Before</u> typing out the overarching themes write your first memo. For this first memo, type in your reflections on the notes and if there any themes you noticed across the focus groups.)*

**Overarching Themes**

*Type in the overarching themes Victoria listed for this focus group question. You can make this is a bulleted or numbered list. Make sure to maintain formatting as close to what is written (e.g., if there are subthemes to an overarching theme, make sure those subthemes are indented in a way that shows they are subthemes).*

**Memo 2:**

*Now that you have typed out the notes and themes, list any reflections you have on the content. Did you notice any themes not included? Is there a way that you think themes overlap, which hasn't been indicated here? Do you see similar themes from other focus group questions you already took notes on? Feel free to include any other reflections you want to make sure to note.*

**Appendix M. Focus Group Data Codebook**

**Process Codes:**
These codes are used to capture particular moments where the groups interacted together and responded to one another's comments.

| | |
|---|---|
| Moments of Agreement | Use this code to indicate when participants agreed with one another |
| Moments of Disagreement | Use this code to indicate when participants disagreed with one another |

**Non-Thematic Overarching Codes**

| | |
|---|---|
| Other important themes | Use this code to indicate any important themes that are not covered in the existing codes. **If you use this code please write a brief memo about what that portion of the transcript is describing.** |
| Memorable quotes | Use this code any time you think a participant's quote is particularly noteworthy or an amazing exemplar of a code. |

**Overarching Codes:**
These are novel themes that were common across different sections of the transcript that I would like to make sure we look out for!

| Umbrella Code | Description |
|---|---|
| Intervene with particular party | Intervene with a particular party should be used when participants indicate the following gendered intervention tendencies: women talk about intervening with potential victim; men talk about intervening with aggressor. **Flip who you would intervene with if the potential victim is a man – make a memo when this happens (will be referenced in gender section).** |
| Intersectionality | Intersectionality should be used when participants discuss the need for a consideration of intersectional identities in bystander intervention or prevention programming. |
| Stranger v. Friend | Stranger v. friend should be used when participants talk about how whether the parties involved (potential victim or aggressor) are a stranger vs. someone they know (friend or otherwise) impacts their intervention behaviors (e.g., barriers, promotive factors). |
| Ongoing intervention for RV | Ongoing intervention for RV should be used when participants discuss the need for ongoing, long-term intervention for situations of relationship violence (e.g., dating, domestic violence). |
| No matter what | No matter what should be used when participants indicate that despite any factor that might make it difficult to intervene, they think it is important to intervene because that is what's right. This includes times where they say things like I don't think I could just not intervene. |
| **\*Note: Critique and Praise for Programming**, which are listed under **Program Level Factors** are also codes that you are likely to find in multiple places in the transcripts. | |

**Program-Level Factors:** How effective do students feel that BIP is at addressing the climate of SGBV on their campus? What, if anything, do students feel is the impact of BIP?

| Umbrella Code | Description |
|---|---|
| Praise for Programming | Praise for programming BIP (bystander intervention programming) includes any statement that students make about positive impacts of programming. Such positive impacts can be about bystander intervention programming or non-bystander intervention programming (see Table below for examples of programming). Statements can include things like:<br><br>• BIP's positive impact of community norms and how it creates a culture of intervening.<br>• Positive remarks about the work student groups are doing and positive impacts of things like blue lights and ambassadors.<br><br>*Coding Note: Victoria will later go in and distinguish praise for BIP from non-BIP.* |
| Critique of Programming | Critique of programming includes any statement that students make where they are critical of programming and the approach to preventing sexual and gender-based violence on college campuses. Such critiques can include:<br><br>• BIP being reactionary as opposed to preventative, that it is designed to fit only particular contexts (e.g., strangers are the ones being violence, violence happens in party contexts), that BIP doesn't get at the root of the problem, and BIP is not useful for preventing relationship violence.<br>• Critiques about the work student groups are doing and negative responses to things like blue lights and ambassadors.<br><br>**Please memo a note if the following 2 topics are discussed:** (1) The lack of ongoing programming/that programming is *only* offered during first year, (2) That existing programming feels impersonal.<br>*Coding Note: Victoria will later go in and distinguish praise for BIP from non-BIP.* |
| University distrust | University distrust includes any statement where the participants are indicating that university programming points to a lack of care by the university or that the university is not doing enough to prevent sexual and relationship violence. This can include negative statements participants make about the university being only concerned about liability. |

**Program Distinctions:**

| BIP: Bystander Intervention Programming | Non-Bystander Intervention (BI) Programs |
|---|---|
| Hoos Got Your Back (HGYB) | Student groups (e.g., CORE, Hope on Grounds) |
| Green Dot + Longer Training | Ambassadors |
| JPJ Event +Talk after JPJ event | Blue Light |
| | Resources (e.g., Women's Center, CAPS) |
| | Title IX |

**Student Level Factors - Identity:** How, if at all, do students' identities make it easier or more difficult for them to intervene?
**Identity, not including gender**

| Umbrella Code | Description |
|---|---|
| Physical Ability | Ability coding should used be any time participants mention that their physical ability (e.g., physical size) is something they consider when intervening and/or how their physical ability makes it easier or more difficult for them to intervene. |
| Emotional Ability | Ability coding should be used any time participants mention that their emotional ability (e.g., **example**) is something they consider when intervening and/or how their emotional ability makes it easier or more difficult for them to intervene. |
| Age | Ability coding should be used any time participants mention that their age is something they consider when intervening and/or how their age makes it easier or more difficult for them to intervene. |
| Race/Ethnicity/Culture | Ability coding should be used any time participants mention that their race, ethnicity, or cultural background is something they consider when intervening and/or how their race/ethnicity/cultural background makes it easier or more difficult for them to intervene. |
| Sexual Orientation | Ability coding should be used any time participants mention that their sexual orientation is something they consider when intervening and/or how their sexual orientation makes it easier or more difficult for them to intervene. |
| Identity privilege | Identity privilege coding should be used any time the participant indicates that an aspect of their identity gives them privilege in intervening (**insert example**) |
| Identity influences perceptions | Identity influences perceptions coding should be used any time the participant indicates that an aspect of their identity influences their perspective when interpreting whether or not to intervene (**insert example**) |
| Depends on situation | Depends on situation should be used any time a participant indicates that the aspect of their identity that makes it easier or more difficult to intervene depends on the situation they might need to intervene in. |

## Identity: Gender

| Umbrella Code | Description |
|---|---|
| Gender makes it easier | Gender makes it easier indicates that a participant felt that their gender identification makes it easier for them to intervene or decide to intervene. This is often in contrast to the opposite gender, but it isn't necessary for that to be present in order to use this code. |
| Gender makes it difficult | Gender makes it easier indicates that a participant felt that their gender identification makes it more difficult for them to intervene or decide to intervene. This is often in contrast to the opposite gender, but it isn't necessary for that to be present in order to use this code. |
| Everyone equally responsible | Everyone equally responsible should be used any time a participant indicates that everyone, regardless of their identity or the barriers they face |

| | |
|---|---|
| | to intervening, should be responsible for intervening. This is often a response to questions where participants were asked what the responsibility is for their gender or the opposite gender to intervene. |
| Gender socialization/norms | Gender socialization/norms should be used any time participants discuss gender norms around sexual and relationship violence and intervening. This is often around women being raised to fear sexual violence and men being raised to be women's protectors/saviors. This might be double coded with frustration with opposite gender if, for instance, the gender speaking is frustrated with norms regarding the opposite gender (e.g., Women saying Men don't need to be our saviors). This can also refer to gender norms around intervening vs. not intervening (e.g., it goes against bro code to intervene; want to help a guy save face if he is the potential victim; men should be able to handle themselves). Additionally code for references to toxic masculinity here. Statements about it's not just a women's issue. *Note: Victoria will later code male vs. female socialization.* |
| Empathy/Noticing | Empathy/Noticing should be coded any time the participant discusses how their gender influences their ability to empathize with the parties involved in the potential intervention situation or even notice the situation is occurring. For instance, women might talk about how their own personal experiences with victimization allows them to empathize with potential victims (and contrast this with men being less able to empathize) and makes them more inclined to notice when there is a potential for violence. |
| Frustration with opposite gender | Frustration with opposite gender should be used any time a participant talks about frustration with the opposite gender's role in intervening or their normal perceptions around intervening/sexual violence. For instance, women express frustration at having to explain to their male friends why they don't feel safe or why they do certain things to account for their safety. Or express frustration that their male friends indicate they don't need to be educated because they're a "good guy." |
| Responsibility to educate or call out own gender | Responsibility to educate or call out own gender should be used any time a participant indicates that it's their own gender's responsibility to educate others on sexual/relationship violence or call out their own gender for their problematic behaviors. This code can also be used when participants of one gender (e.g., women) talk about the responsibility to educate/call out that the gender has for their own gender (e.g., women talking about how men need to call out other men). **(insert example)** |
| Responsibility to educate or call out opposite gender | Responsibility to educate or call out opposite gender should be used any time a participant indicates that it's one gender's responsibility to educate the opposite gender others on sexual/relationship violence or call out the opposite gender for their problematic behaviors. This code can also be used when participants of one gender (e.g., men) talk about it being the opposite gender's responsibility to educate/call out their opposite gender (e.g., men talking about how women need to call out other men). **Code: Need to listen to opposite gender friends (need for opposite gender friends to listen to each other's education/calling out) here.** *Victoria will subcode this later.* |

**Other themes likely to show up in this section:**

- No matter what
- Intersectionality
- Stranger vs. friend
- Intervene with a particular party (victim vs. aggressor)

**Student Level Factors: Barriers + Promotive Factors** What factors do you consider when deciding whether or not to intervene? Factors considered with relationship violence specifically?

| Umbrella Code | Description |
|---|---|
| Intervention Cues | This section is for coding areas in the transcript where participants talk about what cues they use in order to determine whether or not they should intervene. **These codes can include:** <ul><li>Cues from parties involved: any time the participant indicates that they receive cues from either the potential victim or the aggressor.</li><li>Cues from others: any time the participant indicates that they receive cues from others besides the potential victim or aggressor.</li><li>Personal cues: any time the participant indicates that something personal to themselves cues them to intervene (e.g., their past history with sexual violence).</li><li>Contextual cues: any time the participant indicates that something about the context they are in cues them to intervene.</li></ul> *Note: Victoria will go back and code the excerpts for the particular types of cues.* |
| Barriers | Barriers code should be used when the participant describes a factor that makes it more difficult to intervene. **Barriers can include:** <ul><li>Context/space: any part of the interpersonal space/context, physical space/context, the participant's relationship to the space/context, and their relationship to the others present (not including the potential victim or aggressor) is a barrier to intervention.</li><li>Parties involved: any time the participant indicates that something about the potential victim or aggressor is a barrier to intervention. This can also be combined with the **stranger v. friend** overarching code, where participants indicate that a barrier to intervention is that a party involved is a stranger/friend.</li><li>Personal factors (non-identity): any time the participant indicates that something about them personally makes it difficult to intervene. This includes the belief that **"**It's not my place to intervene."</li><li>Identity: any time the participant indicates that something about their identity makes it difficult to intervene. **This should be combined with the identity codes from Student Factors – I (age, race/ethnicity/culture, physical/emotional ability, gender).**</li><li>Lacking tools to know when to intervene: when the participant indicates that a barrier to intervention is they lack the ability to know when they should intervene.</li><li>Aspects of the type of violence: used to indicate that something about the type of violence they are concerned about is a barrier to intervention. This can include the **need for sustained intervention for RV, which is also an overarching code.**</li><li>Intervention risks: any time a participant describes a risk to intervening (**e.g., my intervention will be misinterpreted and they will think I'm looking to hook up).**</li></ul> |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *Note: Victoria will go back and code the excerpts for the particular types of cues.* |
| Promotive factors | Promotive factors code should be used when the participant describes a factor that makes it easier to intervene.<br>**Promotive factors can include:**<br>• Context/Space: any part of the interpersonal space/context, physical space/contact, the participant's relationship to the space/context, and their relationship to the others present (not including the potential victim or aggressor) makes it easier to intervene.<br>• Parties Involved: used any time the participant indicates that something about the potential victim or aggressor makes it easier to intervene. This can also be combined with the **stranger v. friend** overarching code, where participants indicate that what makes it easier to intervene is that a party involved is a stranger/friend.<br>• Personal factors (non-identity): any time the participant indicates that something about them personally makes it easier to intervene.<br>• Identity: any time the participant indicates that something about their identity makes it easier to intervene. **This should be combined with the identity codes from Student Factors – I (age, race/ethnicity/culture, physical/emotional ability, gender).**<br>• Aspects of the type of violence: used to indicate that something about the type of violence they are concerned about makes it easier to intervene.<br>*Note: Victoria will go back and code the excerpts for the particular types of cues.* |

**Other themes likely to show up in this section:**

• Stranger v. friend
• Ongoing intervention for RV

**Safety & BIP:** How do students' perceptions of bystander intervention relate to their use of constrained behaviors and involvement in academic and social activities on campus?

| Umbrella Code | Description |
|---|---|
| Constrained behavior | Constrained behavior includes any behavior that participants say they engage in to help them feel safe. These are typically things that they stop themselves from doing. If the behavior does not relate to the participant's academics, social life, or the use of technology code it under constrained behavior and write a memo briefly describing it.<br>This can include:<br>• Academic constrained behavior: any time a participant indicates that they change their academic behaviors in order to feel safe. This will often be related to where they go to study, whether they take night classes.<br>• Social constrained behavior: any time a participant indicates that they change their social behaviors in order to feel safe. This will typically be related to things like going out with friends. Also, their attendance at meetings (particularly late night meetings) is impacted by concerns for safety.<br>• Technology with constrained behavior: any time a participant indicates that they use technology to feel safe. This will typically be related to using technology to feel safer while walking home (e.g., calling friends, turning on Find My Friends).<br>*Note: Victoria will go back and code the excerpts for the particular types of behavior.* |
| Identity & Safety | Identity & safety includes any time the participant indicates that an aspect of their identity impacts their feelings of safety. If the identity aspect is not gender or race please highlight the segment and write a memo about what piece of their identity they are referring to in their statements.<br>This can include:<br>• Gender: any time a participant indicates that their gender impacts their feelings of safety.<br>• Race: any time a participant indicates that their race impacts their feelings of safety.<br>*Note: Victoria will go back and code the excerpts for the particular types of identity.* |
| Need to protect self regardless | Need to protect self regardless should be used to indicate any time the participant talks about how regardless of any safety measures taken by the university, they need to take additional measures to keep themselves safe. This includes participants saying that they feel guilty or blame themselves if they don't take safety precautions and something happens. **This can include statements about how they will be blamed by others if something happens and they did not work to protect themselves (e.g., they were walking home alone, they were drunk).** |
| Events/contexts that increased feelings of unsafety | Events/contexts that have increased feelings of unsafety should be used to indicate any event (e.g., Aug. 11/12) or context (e.g., alleyways, dark spaces) that increase their feelings of unsafety. This can include discussions of lack of parking on Grounds. If the event/context does not relate to On vs. |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Off Grounds or larger social events code it under Events/contexts and write a memo briefly describing it.<br>    This can include comments related to:<br>• On vs. Off Grounds: any time the participants indicate that they feel safer on or off Grounds.<br>• Larger social events: any time the participants indicate a larger social event (e.g., Aug 11/12) impacts their feelings of safety. |
| BIP & Safety |     BIP and Safety should be used to code any statements participants make about how the presence of bystander intervention programming impacts their feelings of safety. If the comment is not a pro, con, or saying it has no impact code it under BIP & safety and write a memo briefly describing it. **Please memo if the comment is pros, cons, or no impact!**<br>    **This can include:**<br>• Pros of BIP regarding safety: any time a participant indicates that bystander intervention programming has a positive impact on their feelings of safety.<br>• Cons of BIP regarding safety: any time a participant indicates that bystander intervention programming has a negative impact on their feelings of safety.<br>• No impact: any time they indicate that BIP has no impact on their feelings of safety. |
| I feel safe |     I feel safe should be used any time that participants say they generally feel safe and don't tend to change their behaviors based on fear of safety. |
| Non-BIP makes me feel more safe |     Non-BIP makes me feel more safe should be used any time a participant indicates that a non-bystander intervention program (e.g., blue lights, ambassadors) makes them feel more safe. **In contrast, use Critique of Existing Programming (non-BIP) if the participant indicates that the non-BIP has a negative impact or no impact on their feelings of safety.** |

Safety will likely also include the following overarching codes

• Critique of programming – particularly regarding blue lights & ambassadors
• Comments re: gender norms/socialization/differences
• University distrust

**Prevention Topics:** Coding to show how participants responded to the coding topics worksheet

| Umbrella Code | Description |
| --- | --- |
| Top 3 | Sections of participant responses where they discussed their top 3 (or top) topics that should be included in prevention programming |
| Bottom 3 | Sections of the transcripts where participants discussed their bottom 3 (or bottom) topics to include in prevention programming |
| Missing topics | Participants' descriptions of topics missing from the topics worksheet. Please memo briefly describing what those topics were. |
| Media Literacy | Participant listed media literacy in their top or bottom 3 |
| Bystander intervention training | Participant listed bystander intervention training in their top or bottom 3 |
| Consent | Participant listed consent in their top or bottom 3 |
| Drugs & alcohol | Participant listed the influence of drugs and alcohol in sexual and relationship violence in their top or bottom 3 |
| Healthy gender norms | Participant listed bystander intervention training in their top or bottom 3 |
| Healthy relationships and communication | Participant listed healthy relationships and communication in their top or bottom 3 |
| Intersectionality | Participant listed intersectionality in their top or bottom 3 |
| Power & control | Participant listed power & control in their top or bottom 3 |
| Preventing individuals from becoming perpetrators | Participant listed preventing individuals from becoming perpetrators of violence in their top or bottom 3 |
| Preventing individuals from experiencing violence | Participant listed preventing individuals from experiencing violence in their top or bottom 3 |
| Sex positivity & sexual health | Participant listed sex positivity & sexual health in their top or bottom 3 |

**Relevant overarching codes:**

- Pros and Critiques of Programming (BIP and non-BIP)

### Appendix N. Strand I Participant Demographics

*Demographic Characteristics of Participants in the Quantitative Strand of the Study*

|  | Participant Pool (*n* = 925) | Bystander Training (*n* = 63) |
|---|---|---|
| **Gender** | | |
| Female | 581 (62.81%) | 31 (49.21%) |
| Male | 331 (35.78%) | 32 (50.79%) |
| | | |
| **Race/Ethnicity** | | |
| White, non-Hispanic/Latino | 672 (72.65%) | 46 (73.02%) |
| Asian, non-Hispanic/Latino | 206 (22.27%) | 10 (15.87%) |
| Black or African American, non Hispanic-Latino | 46 (4.97%) | 7 (11.11%) |
| Hispanic/Latino | 50 (5.41%) | 2 (3.17%) |
| American Indian or Alaska Native, non Hispanic-Latino | 10 (1.08%) | -- |
| Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, non Hispanic-Latino | 3 (0.32%) | -- |
| Unknown | 2 (0.22%) | -- |
| | | |
| **Sexual Orientation** | | |
| Heterosexual or Straight | 829 (89.62%) | 57 (90.48%) |
| Bisexual | 37 (4%) | 4 (6.35%) |
| Gay or Lesbian | 25 (2.70%) | 1 (1.59%) |
| Questioning | 13 (1.41%) | -- |
| Decline to state | 9 (0.97%) | -- |
| Asexual | 5 (0.54%) | -- |
| Not listed | 3 (0.32%) | -- |
| | | |
| **Year in College** | | |
| First year | 579 (62.59%) | 19 (30.16%) |
| Second year | 219 (23.68%) | 14 (22.22%) |
| Third year | 86 (9.30%) | 10 (15.87%) |
| Fourth year | 36 (3.89%) | 9 (14.29%) |
| | | |
| **Greek Involvement** | | |
| IFC/ISC | 155 (16.76%) | 31 (49.21%) |
| Service fraternity | 7 (0.76%) | -- |
| Academic fraternity | 22 (2.38%) | 3 (4.76%) |
| Multicultural fraternity | 5 (0.54%) | -- |
| | | |
| **Athletics Involvement** | | |
| Varsity athletics | 37 (4%) | 1 (0.11%) |
| Club sports | 120 (12.97%) | 7 (11.11%) |
| | | |
| **International Student** | 51 (5.51%) | 2 (3.17%) |

| | Participant Pool (*n* = 925) | Bystander Training (*n* = 63) |
|---|---|---|
| **Transfer Student** | 90 (9.73%) | 8 (12.70%) |

Table 2.

*Participant Endorsement of Relevant Items in the Quantitative Strand of the Study.*

| | Participant Pool (*n* = 925) | Bystander Training (*n* = 63) |
|---|---|---|
| Involvement in group whose purpose is to prevent SV on Grounds | 45 (4.86%) | 16 (25.40%) |
| Advocate for survivors of violence | 537 (58.05%) | 42 (66.67%) |
| You or someone you know experienced power-based personal violence | 500 (54.05%) | 53 (84.13%) |
| You or someone you know experienced bias incidents | 615 (66.49%) | 45 (71.43%) |
| Exposure to bystander intervention programming prior to college | 330 (35.68%) | 14 (22.22%) |

**Appendix O. Funding Acknowledgment**