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Assessing changes in bystander intervention : the impact of an undergraduate educational program on peer sexual harassment.

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ASSESSING CHANGES IN BYSTANDER INTERVENTION: THE IMPACT OF AN UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM ON PEER SEXUAL HARASSMENT

A Dissertation Presented

by

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DEDICATION

to the healing of humanity

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I write this, the gaping holes still smolder in New York City, at The Pentagon, and in rural western Pennsylvania. Our hearts have been pierced by the enormity of the horror each of us feels as we evaluate the effects of this rupture in our thinking about how people can treat one another. It is also a time that we witness the heroism and generosity of ordinary people stepping in to help. This is a contextual reality for work to curb violence that was merely a metaphor only weeks ago.

No one of us is capable of stopping all violence in human relationships. We are capable of doing small things with great love – a love of life and for living the most decent life with compassion for one another. We can no longer regard ourselves as bystanders to events that happen to others. We have awakened to the awareness that we share the forces – positive and negative – in our world community. Hillel asked, "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? If I am for myself alone, what am I? If not now, when?" This series of questions is as pertinent today as when they were originally combined in the Mishnah (*Avot* 1:14). Our task as educators is to build on students' self esteem, sense of connectedness and community responsibility with encouragement to act on their own beliefs. As with any form of injustice, those who witness the overpowering of others are as responsible for the targets' plight as is the

bully who perpetrates it. Each person's taking action to correct injustice improves life for all.

I have found a balance of challenge and comfort of learning with my mentors, Johnstone Campbell and Joseph Berger. I am grateful to them as they guided and focused me with a gentle hand, respected me, and laughed with me. Linda Enghagen enriched me by challenging my thinking and supporting my work ethic.

My indebtedness goes also to Maureen Mahoney who encouraged me to become part of the process of creating and implementing a student sexual harassment grievance procedure, to Grant Ingle for providing the historical background and access to the research site, to Diana Fordham for welcoming me into her classes with the peer educators, to Liz Williams for sharing her student research experiences on this campus, to Alan Berkowitz, who generously shared his work on bystander intervention, and to Jeff Scrimo for his enthusiasm for the legal process.

My sons, Adam and Dan, have been constant sources of pride, encouragement and mutual respect. My sister-friends, the phone call angels, Jana Nidiffer, the Dean of the College staff at Smith College have all inspired me to claim my mavenhood. My loving spirit guide with a sense of humor, Rob Santoro, has always been with me.

ABSTRACT

ASSESSING CHANGES IN BYSTANDER INTERVENTION:

THE IMPACT OF AN UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATIONAL

PROGRAM ON PEER SEXUAL HARASSMENT

MAY 2002

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The purpose of this study was to assess how attendance at a peer-led sexual harassment workshop affects college students' intervention in response to their peers' sexually harassing behaviors. A quasi-experimental panel design was used to assess change over an interval of six months. An instrument, the Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory (SHBBII), was developed to measure self-reported intervention response to different sexually harassing behaviors. College student peer sexually harassing behaviors were categorized as gender harassing, taunting or intrusive sexually harassing behaviors. Statistically significant differences were found between control and workshop students' post-test interventions on Gender Intervention, Intrusive Intervention and Total Intervention scores. Students intervened more as

observers among other witnesses than when they were sole witnesses. A causal model was constructed from a blocked hierarchical regression analysis for each of the sexually harassing behavior dimensions and for Total Interventions, using five student characteristics (student gender, academic class, racial/ethnic identity, resident assistant status and other sexual harassment training experience), pre-test scores and treatment condition. Implications for program assessment, educational policy, future legal directions and future research are discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Research Problem

What is known about sexual harassment is derived primarily from the workplace experience (Farley, 1978; Gutek, 1985; Gutek, Morasch & Cohen, 1983; MacKinnon, 1979). Farley identified that working women shared a silent fear of sexual exploitation without having a name for it. Other academics looked within the higher education realm and found that the same concerns pertained to female students. Incidence research moved into the realm of academia as the national focus shifted from business environments to relationships between faculty and students. Consistent findings were that 20% to 30% of female students reported to researchers that they had been sexually harassed by male faculty members during their college years (Dziech & Weiner, 1990).

While incidence data for higher education is limited to studies of individual campuses, there is some evidence from secondary schools that student peer sexual harassment is an even more significant problem for students. The American Association of University Women (1993) (AAUW) commissioned a nationwide study to determine the extent to which secondary school students experienced sexually harassing behaviors directed at them. This study found that 81% of students had experienced some form of sexually harassing behavior during their school lives, and that peer harassment was more than four times as common as adult-to-student harassment.

Paludi (1997, quoting Fitzgerald and Ormerod) summarized the pervasiveness of sexual harassment in higher education as follows:

> It seems reasonable (if not conservative) to estimate that one out of every two women will be harassed at some point during her academic or working life, thus indicating that sexual harassment is the most widespread of all forms of sexual victimization studied to date. (p. 232)

It is clear that sexual harassment remains a societal problem after thirty-five years of legal attention attempting to eliminate it. Continuous legal efforts to combat sexual harassment have led appellate courts to continue to refine the concept's definition and the various parties' responsibilities. The most glaring offenses, such as conditioning workplace advancements on sexual compliance, gained the early attention of the courts. As society continues to evolve, increasingly more subtle injuries, for example, the alteration of employment conditions through the creation of an abusive work environment (receiving "love letters" from a co-worker) have come into focus as legitimate causes of legal action (*Ellison v. Brady*). Yet society has been reluctant to provide anything but an umbrella and examples of behavior that might qualify as sexual harassment. The umbrella description comes from the Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education (1997).

> The following types of conduct constitute sexual harassment: *Quid Pro Quo Harassment*—A school employee explicitly or implicitly conditions a student's participation in an education program or activity or bases an educational decision on the student's submission to unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, or other verbal, nonverbal, or physical conduct of a sexual nature. *Quid pro quo* harassment is equally unlawful whether the student resists and suffers the threatened harm or submits and thus

> avoids the threatened harm. Hostile Environment Sexual Harassment—Sexually harassing conduct (which can include unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal, nonverbal, or physical conduct of a sexual nature) by an employee, by another student, or by a third party that is sufficiently severe, persistent, or pervasive to limit a student's ability to participate in or benefit from an education program or activity, or to create a hostile or abusive educational environment. (Federal Register, p. 12034)

The most recent nuance in the sexual harassment definition resulted from the *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education* (1999) United States Supreme Court decision that clearly identified student peer sexual harassment as actionable under the federal law Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. This decision indicated that educational institutions receiving federal funds must respond to student complaints of sexual harassment not only arising from the actions of employees of the institution, but also from a student's peers. This decision, in combination with the *Gebser v. Lago Vista Independent School District* (1998) (distinguishing the responsibility of notification of the sexual harassment as a student responsibility, as opposed to the standard of notice in employment settings, where the employer either "knew or should have known" of the incident), set the stage for a new direction for society. Until these decisions, it was adequate to apply the solutions developed by the business world to the realm of education because administrators were dealing exclusively with complaints that involved employer relationship concepts.

The Supreme Court dissenting opinion in the *Davis* case envisioned jammed court dockets once this Pandora's box lid became raised, acknowledging

the Justices' perception of the enormous magnitude of such activity in our culture. However, instead of addressing students' interpersonal behavior, the majority opinion of the Court addressed institutional responsibilities. Essentially they said that the institutional response is the fulcrum of the legal issue.

Sexual harassment is both a legal issue and a personal issue of interference with one's purpose. Thus far in the history of sexual harassment concern, most educational institutions have chosen to follow the well-traveled path of administrative response that has served the interests of the institution as an employer. They have focused their approach on addressing the issue in terms of legal liability. Yet the approaches that satisfy workplace sexual harassment prevention requirements are not necessarily adequate for educational institutions, especially in light of the inclusion of student peer sexual harassment. The primary difference stems from the purpose of the institutions: businesses exist to provide a product or service that produces a profit for the owners, while educational institutions exist to expand knowledge, socialize individuals, provide tools for further learning, and the like.

Dealing with student-to-student sexual harassment invites additional preventive approaches. A proactive stance can make a positive difference in how society responds to the issue of sexual harassment, not only to individual incidents of sexual harassment. Welsh (1997) wrote

> Because education is fundamental to prevention and elimination of sexual harassment, a school district should be less likely to be found liable for sexual discrimination if it has an effective prevention program in place. . . .

> Therefore, it is appropriate to *use education to prevent undesirable, harassing behavior before it reaches the point where the behavior has created a hostile environment* [emphasis added]. (p. 165)

Effectiveness of prevention programs has gained little attention as a focus of research. Those few programs with published outcomes have measured information gains, enabling students to be more likely to identify sexual harassment events (Bonate & Jessell, 1996) or attitude changes that enhance the likelihood that students would recognize that harm is done by sexual harassment (Beauvais, 1986; Gilbert, Heesacker & Gannon, 1991). There have been no studies to date of the effect of educational programming on changes in the behavior of participants, an essential step in ongoing efforts to eliminate sexual harassment.

Purpose of the Study

At this time there are no large-scale studies of peer sexual harassment incidence among the traditional college-aged undergraduate population. Practitioners are left to draw frequency and severity inferences from the AAUW (1993, 2001) studies, which have been useful, but provide only limited information. Bogart and Stein (1987) speculated that students transport their middle school and high school social norms to their college campuses. An institutional research report (Kluge & Williams, 1998) indicated, "the most common harassing behaviors on the part of other students were making unwanted physical contact, experienced by 57% of respondents, and making [unwelcome] explicit sexual advances, experienced by 52% of respondents" (p. 1).

Federal and state agencies have promulgated regulations that encourage educational institutions to prevent sexual harassment. The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Education issued a Sexual Harassment Guidance in 1997 instructing educational institutions to establish an anti-sexual harassment policy, a grievance procedure that responds promptly with appropriate corrective action to notification of sexual harassment, and to prevent further and future incidents of sexual harassment (Office for Civil Rights, 1997). The OCR suggested training supervisors, employees and students as a method of prevention. More explicit guidance as to the content and goals of such training remain unarticulated.

Hippensteele (1997) observed that prevention efforts in higher education have been motivated by a desire to prevent litigation rather than to prevent sexual harassment. She drew from the segment of the sexual harassment literature that advises institutions of higher education on the necessary qualities of a sound anti-sexual harassment policy and grievance procedure. The body of literature, however, refers to the process of education as little more than a vehicle to publicize the policy statement and complaint procedure.

A few pioneering universities have developed student programs that address not only the informational aspects of most training components of their anti-sexual harassment strategies (institution policies and grievance procedures), but also aim to achieve student behavior changes (Beauvais, 1986; Berkowitz, 1998; Katz, 1995; Rhodes, 1990). They do this by providing more than a definition

and examples of sexual harassment and procedures to follow should sexual harassment occur. These programs encourage targets and witnesses to intervene in what they consider unacceptable peer behavior.

None of these programs has evaluated the behavioral impact on students who have participated in their programs. For many years, concerned educators have called for research on the effectiveness of educational programs on sexual harassment (Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1993; Stokes, 1983). This study begins to answer that call.

The present research opens the path to program evaluation. This study is an exploratory outcome study of a large public university's Peer Educators for Sexual Harassment workshop education program. Student Life professionals need data-driven decision-making tools to develop innovative programs (G. Ingle, personal communication, February, 1999). This study provides data to guide the efforts of institutions of higher education aimed at reducing the incidence of this social problem. The purpose of this study is to evaluate the effects of an education program (that was designed to prevent student sexual harassment on campus) on changes in bystander intervention.

Research Questions

The motivating question that drove this study is: What is the impact on undergraduate students of attending a sexual harassment workshop on their bystander behavior? The specific questions that were investigated are as follows:

1. Does attendance at a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop influence undergraduate students' intervention behavior when encountering sexually harassing behavior?
2. Does undergraduate bystander behavior differ depending on the different types of observed sexually harassing behavior?
3. Does undergraduate bystander behavior differ for sole witnesses of peer sexually harassing behavior from the behavior of witnesses who are among other observers?
4. Are students with different characteristics (gender, age, racial/ethnic identity, resident assistance status, previous sexual harassment training, academic class) affected differently by attendance at a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop?

Significance of the Research

Given the need to affect behavior change in order to eliminate sexual harassment on college and university campuses, educational policymakers need to know if including a behavioral education component to their anti-sexual harassment strategy will yield the desired effect of reducing or eliminating sexual harassment. Student affairs decision-makers need to know the value of moving their programming efforts in this direction. Does higher education merely want to continue to respond as current laws require? This would mean that administrators would ensure that their institutions would not be

> deliberately indifferent to sexual harassment, of which [they] have actual knowledge, that is so severe, pervasive, and objectively offensive that it can be said to deprive the victims of access to the educational opportunities or benefits provided by the school. (*Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education*, 119 S. Ct. 1661, 1674)

A forward-reaching alternative strategy for higher education, with its unique access to and responsibility to the future leaders of the society, would be to respond to the challenge by doing something substantive to reduce sexually harassing behaviors before they rise to the level of a legal cause of action. In order to make this crucial decision, practitioners need to know the impact of the programs they have in place.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are used throughout this study with particular meaning. They reflect definitions from a review of the literature on sexual harassment and program evaluation.

- *Gender harassing behavior*

  generalized sexist remarks and behavior designed not necessarily to elicit sexual cooperation, but to convey insulting, degrading, or sexist attitudes about women (Fitzgerald, 1996b, p. 36) (Fitzgerald, 1996b)or men who are viewed as not fitting the masculine stereotype (Ackelsberg in Whitlock, 1999)
- *Impact*

  the degree to which a program or project resulted in changes (long-term and sustained changes in a target population) (Boulmetis & Dutwin, 2000, p. 7)

- *Intervention behavior*

  bystander's attempt to stop sexually harassing behavior

- *Intrusive sexually harassing behavior*

  attempts to fondle, touch, kiss, or grab; or sexual assault (from Fitzgerald, 1996b, p. 37 definition of *sexual imposition*)

- *Long-term*

  six months following attendance at the educational workshop

- *Peer educators*

  undergraduate students who are enrolled in the course EDUC395L (Peer Educators on Sexual Harassment)

- *Sexually harassing behaviors*

  unwanted sexual attention that would be offensive to a reasonable person and that negatively affects the work or school environment (Brandenburg, 1997, p. 1)

- *Student peer sexual harassment*

  behavior that creates a hostile environment in violation of Title IX when conduct of a sexual nature or conduct based on sex is sufficiently severe, persistent, or pervasive to limit a student's ability to participate in or benefit from an education program (Welsh, 1997, p. 165)

- *Taunting sexually harassing behavior*

  inappropriate and offensive sexual advances. Although such behavior is unwanted and offensive, there is no penalty explicitly attached [to the target's] negative response; nor does this category include sexual bribery (from Fitzgerald's, 1996b, p. 37 definition of *seductive behavior*)

Overview of the Study

This study is organized into 5 chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two focuses on the foundations upon which the research is designed. The chapter begins with a review of the phenomenon of peer sexual harassment as it occurs in educational settings. Then a legal context is provided. This

discussion is followed with an assembly of relevant theoretical social and social psychological perspectives that were drawn upon to develop the research design. This is followed by a review of higher education efforts to address the educational component of campus prevention strategies. The chapter summary reviews the social psychological theoretical contributions and provides a synthesis of them by presenting the measurement instrument that was designed to collect data for this study. The chapter concludes with a description of the items, the scales, and the scoring of the instrument.

Chapter Three describes the research design and the procedures used to execute it. This chapter contains the research questions; a description of the sampling methods, the research site, the treatment, and the data collection methods; the hypotheses and the analytical methods used to test them.

The research results are found in Chapter Four, which begins with a descriptive analysis of the sample, the variables in the study, and students' degree of intervening. Next the Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory (SHBBII) scales and scores, and the respondents' intervention behavior when observing their peers alone and in groups. Next, the results examine the relationships among the variables. This is followed by a narrative of the regression analyses, which culminates in the presentation of a causal model of effects on SHBBII post-test scores.

The final chapter interprets the study results, discusses theoretical implications and program evaluation issues drawn from the results, and

examines the validity of the study. Chapter Five summarizes the study with recommendations and conclusions.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Introduction

Sexual harassment is pervasive in our society. Although "sexual harassment" is a legal term, the social and individual consequences of sexual harassment extend far beyond the legal realm. Federal agency guidelines, case law and human experiences have contributed to the understanding of what constitutes sexual harassment, but a commonly held definition remains elusive. Nonetheless, colleges and universities respond to sexual harassment in a variety of ways. While administrators in higher education institutions are right to be concerned with institutional legal liability, they also have an ethical duty to respond with genuine concern about the quality of the experience of their students. Fife (1993) addressed this duty as follows:

> Sexual harassment is more than just a moral, legal, or financial concern. It is a concern over protecting an atmosphere that is most conducive to our academic ideals. In a condition of fear or emotional discomfort, academic goals cannot be achieved. (p. xvi)

This literature review consists of six sections. It begins with a description of the sexual harassment phenomenon, examining what is known about the extent of the problem and how it affects students. The second section traces the development of the legal definition of sexual harassment.

The third section of this review provides the theoretical foundation for the study of one university's educational program for undergraduates about peer

sexual harassment, beginning with a description of this country's culture as one that supports sexism. Following that subsection is a description of prejudice reduction theory in education. This discussion is followed by an examination of the social psychological concepts of persuasive communication theory, social norms theory, and bystander intervention research. Peer education as a teaching model is subsequently discussed.

The fourth section of this literature review contains an overview of the educational strategies that have been used in institutions to address sexual harassment. The section concentrates on an examination of several extant higher education peer sexual harassment intervention programs.

The chapter concludes with an analysis of the literature in the form of a description of the innovative data-gathering instrument that was developed for this study. The instrument was designed to focus research on the behavior of those who witness sexually harassing behaviors of their peers. The items are discussed and categorized into subscales of hostile environment sexually harassing behaviors. The response options are discussed, and the instrument's scoring is explained. The instrument serves as a tangible manifestation of the state of the literature in the field of bystanders to sexual harassment behavior.

What is Sexual Harassment?

Researchers in the field of sexual harassment have struggled with coming to a common definition of the phenomenon. To use a medical analogy, if one knew the origin of a disease, it would go far towards finding a cure. Before

seeking the origin, however, doctors need to understand the symptoms in order to distinguish the disorder from what is already understood. Similarly, to have a common understanding of sexual harassment would go far toward prevention. In this endeavor some researchers have attempted to categorize behavior into typologies (Till, 1980; Fitzgerald, 1996a; Gruber, 1992), while others have investigated the bio-evolutionary bases of sexual harassment (Studd & Gattiker, 1991). Yet other researchers have considered the perspective of the setting of the occurrence (Gutek, 1985; Gutek & Morasch, 1982; Gutek et al., 1983) in order to define a circumstance as sexual harassment. As yet there is no single, generally accepted, succinct and all-inclusive definition of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald, 1996a).

To begin understanding this elusive phenomenon, several examples of behavior that can be identified as sexually harassing are presented. The remainder of this section is composed of four perspectives of sexual harassment: the extent of the problem, who gets harassed, the impact of being sexually harassed, and who does the harassing.

Paludi & DeFour (1989) quoted the report, *Sexual Harassment: A Hidden Issue* from 1978, which identified the following behaviors as sexual harassment:

> Verbal harassment or abuse; subtle pressure for sexual activity; sexist remarks about a woman's clothing, body, or sexual activities; unnecessary touching, patting, or pinching; leering or ogling at a woman's body; constant brushing against a woman's body; demanding sexual favors accompanied by implied or overt threats …; physical assault. (p. 44)

Bernice Sandler (1997) contributed further examples:

> [P]estering a person for dates long after she/he has indicated no interest, blocking a person's path, graffiti about a person's sexuality, name calling such as 'bitch,' 'whore,' and 'slut,' insulting and belittling a person through sexual ridicule, sending letters, notes, telephone calls, stalking or sending materials of a sexual nature, pejorative (sexist or stereotyped) comments about females, displaying pictures, calendars, cartoons or other materials with sexual content within the institution, coerced sexual intercourse. (p. 52-53)

Extent of the Problem

Sandler (1997) speculated that perhaps 90% of women students who experience sexual harassment on campus will not talk with anyone in a position of authority, and of those who do speak up, the vast majority will not file a complaint. The incidence data available from the studies of college student peer sexual harassment appears below:

> One fourth of college women report that they have been forced to have sexual intercourse at least once. (Sandler, 1997, quoting a 1995 American Social Health Association survey, p. 55)

> Between 70 and 90% of women students report at least one or more males [fellow students] had exhibited one form of unwanted gender-related behavior to which they reacted negatively and which they viewed as serious. (Sandler, 1993, quoting Gruber, p. 7)

> Although a number of campuses have surveyed students to determine the extent of harassment by faculty and administrators, only a few have examined student-to-student harassment, although by far it is the most common form of sexual harassment experienced by women students. (Sandler, 1997, p. 56)

> Thirty-seven percent of undergraduate women reported being subjected to the more serious forms of unwanted sexual attention by their fellow students and 62% of undergraduate women believed that the majority of

> female students at Cornell experienced a wide range of unwanted behavior, including sexual coercion and bribery by their fellow students. (Rhodes, 1990, p. 2)
>
> [T]he most frequent form of sexual harassment in . . . colleges is student to student, or peer harassment, which has been reported as affecting . . . about 75% of female students in postsecondary schools. (Brandenburg, 1997, citing AAUW and Brown & Maestro-Schere, p. 12)

Who are the Targets?

By no means are the targets of sexual harassment only women. According to Sandler (1993), three to five percent of campus sexual harassment cases involve male students as targets (either by females or other males).

Some students are more likely than others to be harassed. Among middle and high school students, three kinds of students are targeted most often: unattractive or not stylish girls, physically mature girls, and boys who do not conform to the stereotypical male image (Shakeshaft, Barber, Hergenrother, Johnson, Mandel & Sawyer, 1995). Among college students, the description varies and includes women who are seen as weak and vulnerable; those who are assertive; first year students; international women students; women of color; those active in women's issues; women who participate actively in class; women who are in classes where men predominate; lesbians; women who are physically impaired; female graduate assistants; women resident assistants; those perceived as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgendered; those who have been sexually abused in the past (Pryor & Whalen, 1997; Sandler, 1997; Tobias, 2000)

Skaine and Skaine (1996) analyzed 105 Letters of Finding issued by the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education over the nine-year period of 1984 to 1992. They profiled the typical complainant (85.7% female, 92.8% undergraduate college or university student). Of the harassers, 9.9% were students, 86.9% of whom were males acting alone and 2.4% were a combination of male and female. These authors compiled data for one of the only nationwide studies on college student peer sexual harassment. They concluded that sexual harassment in education is pervasive. However, they also indicated that the setting itself holds the highest potential for repair of this social problem. "Education, more than any other part of American society, has the greatest opportunity to create the values and atmosphere required to produce an environment free of sexual harassment" (p. 302).

What is the Impact of Peer Harassment?

When researchers have examined the effects of sexual harassment, most of the attention has been focused on the effects on the targets of the harassment. However, in her 1993 discussion of the subject, Sandler also addressed the impact on harassers.

> When male students harass women with impunity, the implication is that harassment is acceptable and that women are fair game. Thus, men may be learning to engage in behavior that is illegal in the workplace they soon will enter. When men are accustomed to relating to women as objects of derision, they may find it difficult to treat women as equal human beings because it is hard to relate to people for whom one has little respect. (p. 10)

In the Project on the Status and Education of Women report titled *Peer Harassment: Hassles for Women on Campus*, Hughes and Sandler (1988) recognized that harassment can cause difficulty for a man in that forming a healthy relationship with a woman is hampered because "it is hard to be committed to someone for whom he [has] little respect" (p. 3).

Figure 1 shows Paludi and Barickman's (1991) conception of the Sexual Harassment Trauma Syndrome. This syndrome identifies psychological, physical, intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects associated with being sexually harassed.

There are effects on the institution as well. *The Educator's Guide to Controlling Sexual Harassment* (Tobias, 2000) indicated that the following concerns arise as a result of sexual harassment: "lowered morale, public relations problems, loss of trust, polarization of men and women, anger toward the institution, diminished reputation of the institution, [and] recruitment difficulties" (p. 600/275). Hughes and Sandler (1988) acknowledged that attracting women students could be a problem for an institution with a poor reputation for dealing with student harassment. It could be a factor in women selecting a school, and in an institutions' retention of students. Sandler (1993) considered the impact sexual harassment has on the entire learning climate, that "[h]arassment chills the learning climate and subverts the very purpose of the institution" (p. 10).

Emotional Reactions	Physical Reactions	Changes in Self-Perception	Social, Interpersonal Relatedness, and Sexual Effects
anxiety	headaches	negative self-concept/ self-esteem	withdrawal
shock	sleep disturbances	lack of competency	fear of new people/situations
denial	lethargy	lack of control	lack of trust
anger	gastro-intestinal distress	isolation	lack of focus
fear	hypervigilance	hopelessness	self-preoccupation
frustration	dermatological reactions	powerlessness	changes in social network patterns
insecurity	weight fluctuations		negative attitudes and behavior in sexual relationships
sense of betrayal	nightmares		potential sexual disorders associated with stress and trauma
embarrassment	phobias		changes in dress or physical appearance
confusion	panic reactions		
self-consciousness	genito-urinary distress		
shame	respiratory problems		
powerlessness	substance abuse		
guilt			
isolation			

Figure 1 Sexual Harassment Trauma Syndrome (Derived from Paludi and Barickman, 1991, p. 29)

Who Sexually Harasses and Where?

Sandler (1997) identified locations where peer harassment is likely to occur. For some men, the group activity of harassing women serves as a way to bond with one another. Theme parties at fraternity houses, athletes (especially when harassing behavior is supported by coaches), and even temporary

groupings (standing outside a student union, in a residence hall lounge, a class, or the dining hall) are more likely to result in harassment.

Certain men are more likely to sexually harass than others are.

- men who hold traditional views of [men and] women
- males from cultures where women are treated poorly
- men who are primarily comfortable relating to women in a sexual manner
- men who shore up their "masculinity" by bullying those they perceive as weaker (Sandler, 1997, pp. 54-55)

Some situations are more likely to give rise to peer harassment (Brandenburg, 1997; Sandler, 1997).

- where college personnel are either absent or ignore the behavior
- in the presence of alcohol or drug use
- fraternity and athletic events
- universities that have not recognized or publicized the issue; do not have a policy or fail to enforce it, have failed to train personnel and students, do not intervene when it occurs . . . or have not removed graffiti about women

Although the argument has been made that sexual harassment is a private matter between two people (prior to the development of the law and its enforcement in the workplace), peer sexual harassment in schools usually occurs in plain view (Stein, 1994, 1995).

Legal Definition

The legal world has not been much more successful than society in general at attempts to define sexual harassment. Definitions of concepts only become part of legal opinions when appellate justices respond to the particular circumstances of cases that appear before them. Thus the legal definition of sexual harassment is part of an evolutionary process. The nameless concept existed long before it became a subject of awareness, grievance and study. Discovering that experiences of working women had common elements of inappropriate personal interactions (Farley, 1978), women sought the protection of the existing laws against discrimination (MacKinnon, 1979).

Legal History of Sexual Harassment

It has been an arduous process for students to gain legal protection from peer sexual harassment. The roots of this protection can be traced to the general public's protection from sex discrimination. Table 1 highlights the brief history of legislative acts and judicial interpretations that have led to today's understanding of student peer sexual harassment.

Table 1

Significant Events in theDevelopment of Student Peer Sexual Harassment Law

- 1964 – Federal anti-discrimination employment legislation passed (Civil Rights Act of 1964), included discrimination on the basis of [one's] sex (Title VII).
- 1972 – Federal anti-discrimination education legislation passed (Education Amendment of 1972), Title IX regarding gender equity in education.

- 1980 - Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) (enforcement agency for Title VII) issued Guidelines that defined sexual harassment in the workplace (influenced by feminist legal theorist Catharine MacKinnon).

- 1986 - U.S. Supreme Court ruled on *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, adopting MacKinnon's argument for including sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination protected by Title VII.

- 1992 - U.S. Supreme Court ruled on *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools.*
  - Students gain protection of Title IX regarding sexual harassment.
  - Students allowed the right to sue for money damages.

- 1992 - Office for Civil Rights (OCR) (U.S. Dept. of Education enforcement agency for Title IX) issued a Letter of Finding against Eden Prairie School (MN), identifying student peer hostile environment sexual harassment as legally actionable.

- 1997 - The OCR issued Guidance on student-to-student sexual harassment.

- 1998 - U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Gebser v. Lago Vista Independent School District*, establishing the standard of school liability for the sexual harassment of its students, when the school has had notice and has shown "deliberate indifference" to the complaint.

- 1999 - U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education* that peer sexual harassment is actionable so long as it is so severe, persistent and pervasive as to reasonably interfere with one's education.

- 2001 - The OCR reaffirmed its earlier Guidance on student-to-student sexual harassment, incorporating the standards of the *Gebser* and *Davis* U.S. Supreme Court rulings, but holds onto its own standard of notice as sexual harassment that is "known or should have known" in the course of school officials caring out their duties.

The Civil Rights Movement of the mid-twentieth century brought about the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The language of Title VII of that federal act very broadly protects people from employment discrimination on the basis of sex.

> It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer 1). . . to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or (2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees . . . in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status

> as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex or national origin. [Title VII § 703(a)]

This statute was not written to address sexual behavior. It was enacted to prohibit discriminatory employment practices.

Social reformers of the Women's Movement in the 1970s identified inequities in the workplace based on the gender of the employee. Women began to complain publicly about the sexual compromises that they were forced to make in order to keep their jobs (Farley, 1978). Feminist legal theorist Catharine MacKinnon (1979) argued for the inclusion of sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination.

In 1980 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the agency that enforces Title VII, issued its *Guidelines on Sexual Harassment*. These guidelines provide the following definition of sexual harassment to employers:

> Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature, constitute sexual harassment when
>
> 1. Submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment.
> 2. Submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as a basis for employment decisions affecting such individual.
> 3. Such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment. (29 CFR §1604.11)

The first two subsections constitute *quid pro quo* (or "this for that") sexual harassment, and the third condition describes hostile environment sexual harassment.

A separate federal agency oversees analogous protection for students. The U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) enforces Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972. Title IX includes the following language regarding sex discrimination of students:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. [Title IX § 901 (a)]

The OCR holds hearings on complaints filed with the agency. The investigation process and the time it takes for a Letter of Finding to be issued are lengthy. Functioning by its own procedures, the OCR conducts investigations and makes determinations of discrimination according to its own definitions and practices. Subsequent to receiving a Letter of Finding, a school has the opportunity to correct the infraction with no penalty.

The Eden Prairie School (OCR Letter of Finding #05-92-1194, 1992) in Minnesota was found to have "violated Title IX by failing to take prompt and effective corrective action to stop student-to-student harassment that created a hostile environment" (Tobias, 2000, p. 600/189). To institutions of higher education, violating this law can lead to the loss of financial aid funds to students, grants to faculty and building construction funds for campus projects.

As an alternative to this lengthy process, aggrieved students have pursued litigation through the court system. If trial judgments were appealed, the resulting appellate judicial decisions contributed both to the body of law that

governs its own jurisdiction, and to the public consciousness of the definition of sexual harassment. However, the evolution of law is not merely an arithmetic equation. There have been conflicting opinions[1] among the federal circuit courts of appeal, thus adding legitimacy to the public confusion as to the definition and circumstances that can constitute sexual harassment.

In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* that sexual harassment violates the statute protecting workers from sex discrimination. Yet not for another eight years was there consistent equal protection for students (*Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools*, 1992) throughout the country. The *Franklin* case not only provided for student inclusion for protection from sexual harassment under federal law, but it also allowed students to sue for money damages. This provided incentive for students to pursue claims of violations of their rights through the court system, despite their risk of public humiliation.

The U.S. Supreme Court heard a school case (*Gebser v. Lago Vista Independent School District*, 1998) that clarified educational institutions' responsibilities in matters of student sexual harassment. In *Gebser*, the High Court decided that institutions "could be liable for sexual harassment of a student only if an official 'with authority to institute corrective action' had

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[1] E.g., *Rowinsky v. Bryan Independent School District*, 80 F.3d 1006 (5th Cir., 1996) held that a school is not liable for peer sexual harassment unless officials responded differently to girls' complaints than to boys' complaints. In *Doe v. University of Illinois*, 138 F.3d 653 (7th Cir., 1998) the court held that an institution could be held liable for failing to take "prompt, appropriate action" when responding to student-on-student sexual harassment.

'actual notice' of the problem and was guilty of 'deliberate indifference' in failing to correct it" (Jost, 1999, p. 42).

Most recently, the Supreme Court decided that student-to-student sexual harassment was actionable under Title IX (*Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education*, 1999). Combining the OCR's *Eden Prairie School* (1992) and its own *Gebser* holdings, the institution was found liable, not for the sexual harassment itself, but for its "own decision to remain idle in the face of known student-on-student harassment" (Justice O'Connor's majority opinion, 119 S. Ct. 1661, 1670).

This decision opened the way for a significant increase of potential harassment complaints. The dissenting opinion of the Court's 5-to-4 decision in *Davis* showed great concern about the volume of court business this decision would invite, thus recognizing the pervasiveness of peer sexual harassment throughout contemporary society. The majority opinion was careful to word its ruling so as to invite only the most egregious violations of the person in combination with failed institutional responsibility. Given that the legal system both shapes and responds to cultural values, the next section of this review will examine the ways in which sexual harassment is supported within our cultural understanding of how males are permitted to treat females.

Perspectives and Theories that Inform This Research

Sexually harassing behaviors express manhood among men as well as expressing direct control of women by men. Underlying it all is the concept that as a culture people learn to discriminate on the basis of gender, that is, there is

not an assumption that people are equal. The culture instructs people how to exert power over one another. This section of the review examines our sexist culture as a context that teaches ways to regard one another, a prejudice reduction theory that can address sexism, social psychology theories (including principles of communication that contribute to changing engrained behavior patterns, social norms that support resistance to change, and an examination of the theory of bystander behavior), and concludes with a presentation of some successes of the peer education model of information delivery.

A Sexist Culture

Many researchers have considered the cultural context within which sexual harassment behavior functions. Speaking to the point of the cultural pervasiveness of the sex discrimination aspect of sexual harassment, Lott (1993) said

> It is a part of women's experience that we have taken for granted, accepted with little question, and learned to live with, adapt to, circumvent, ignore, or turn to positive advantage. . . . Sexual harassment is part of living in a sexist culture—that is, in a society in which women expect to be the targets of sexual jokes and innuendo as well as the receivers of positive sexual attention. Sexual harassment is deeply enmeshed in the relationships between women and men that we have been taught are natural. (p. 91)

Lott placed sexual harassment approximately at midpoint on a continuum of sexist responses to women, with one extreme identified as humor and the other extreme occupied with physical violence (abuse followed by murder).

The American Association of University Women 's Educational Foundation (AAUW, 1993) commissioned the Harris polling research group to conduct a nationwide study of students' experiences with sexual harassment . These students, in grades eight through eleven, were asked to recall their experiences with a list of fourteen behaviors throughout their entire school history. They were instructed to respond on the survey only to those behaviors that were unwelcome. The AAUW concluded that sexual harassment in public school is widespread, very upsetting to girls, a routine part of school culture and commonly happened in public areas. Shakeshaft et al. (1995) conducted a two-year study, also of secondary school students and found that the language both boys and girls find to be most offensive is that which casts them as degraded and female.

Prejudice Reduction Theory

Liberation theory, as discussed by Creighton and Kivel (1992), is a perspective that serves as a basis for improving group relations between social groups of differing levels of power. In this view, sexism is studied as a way of one gender oppressing another. The theory examines the socialization processes that transmit the messages of the culture, by identifying which group is empowered by the messages, which mechanisms perpetuate gender-related stereotypes and suggests a method for people to work their way out of believing the negative messages that have been learned.

In Harro's (2000b) view, educators can assist learners to identify power and nonpower groups. Then by examining media images and assumptions that are perpetuated through institutions (such as public education materials), learners begin to recognize how oppression is accomplished. Adherents to this view also recognize the impact of the nonpower group members' participation in their own oppression through the mechanisms of internalized oppression (believing the negative messages about one's own social group, thus further damaging one's self-esteem; feeling defeated by the stereotypes and losing hope of expressing other aspects of one's talents; going on the attack against members of one's own nonpowered group, so as to separate oneself from the stereotyped messages).

An atmosphere that invites inquiry, however, can be an inviting path to personal examination of the cycle and of one's own part in perpetuating the processes. Participating in education on the subject of equality in its many forms is evidence that students are breaking out of the cycles of their lives (D. Fordham, personal communication, February, 2000).

The message of hope from the liberation perspective is that alliances can be successfully formed between power and nonpower group members. This alliance is based on a group of premises that sexism can be unlearned. One of Creighton and Kivel's (1992) assumptions is that people will change their beliefs about deeply held convictions when they make sense of a new option, they trust

the person who is presenting the new position, and they feel safe from judgment regarding their past beliefs.

The creation of a sense of allegiance is also seen in the work of Goodman and Schapiro (1997). They recognized the need for women and men to be supportive and respectful of women, that more accurate information and dialogue are needed to "break old patterns of behavior and learn new ones" (p. 111). These educators worked with adults in workshops where they create safe spaces for people to explore their assumptions and became open to new perspectives, with the articulated goal of social change. Over the past several decades, colleges and universities have explored the resource of peer educators to facilitate student workshops (Ender & Newton, 2000).

Social Psychology Theories

"Social psychology is the scientific study of the thoughts, actions, and interactions of individuals as affected by the actual, implied, or imagined presence of others" (Tedeschi, Lindskold & Rosenfeld, 1985, pp. 4-5, quoting Allport). Three social psychology theories stand out as applicable to the present research. Persuasive communication theory is a learning theory that examines a sequence of processes that individuals experience while incorporating new information, deciding how the data fits with other information that is remembered and can lead to changes in behavior. Social norms theory provides a way to understand how an individual decides to behave in the context of people who are personally important. Helping behavior is understood through a lens

that was developed to explain witnesses' reluctance to intercede in emergencies. This bystander behavior theory not only explains passivity of witnesses, but it also offers a sequence of processes that serve to overcome passivity and appeal to people's altruism.

Persuasive Communication Theory

Reading the social psychology literature, one can follow the development of Fishbein and Ajzen's (1981) theory of behavior change that has been the basis of research for the past twenty-five years. Ajzen (1988) refined that theory of reasoned action and renamed it the theory of planned behavior.

Central to the theory of reasoned action is the assumption that the behavior under consideration is volitional (Ajzen, 1988). This theory has been applied to researching social issues, for example improving a community's rate of environmental recycling and to personal issues as in increasing students' practicing safe sex (I. Aizen, personal communication, February 12, 1998). Persuasive communication, in Ajzen's view, can change behavior in a desired direction by constructing a persuasive message that contains arguments with evidence to support them. He has said it is "the process of reasoning, the evaluation of the merits of arguments in favor and opposed to the advocated position, that is at the heart of persuasive communication" (Ajzen, 1992, p.15). This is most efficiently accomplished by the central route of processing information according to the elaboration likelihood model (Petty, Cacioppo, Strathman & Priester, 1994). The effectiveness is derived from the process of

associating the new information with ideas that are already known and accepted by individuals ("elaboration"). When one is favorably disposed (has a positive attitude) toward a message-related behavior, s/he is more likely to behave in accord with the persuasive message.

The process by which this occurs is that the persuasive message addresses a person's thinking about her/his intention to behave in a certain way.

> [I]ntentions are a function of two basic determinants, . . . the individual's attitude toward the behavior and [one's] subjective norm -- people intend to perform a behavior when they evaluate it positively and when they believe that important others think they should perform it. (Ajzen, 1988, p. 117)

In situations where an individual does not have complete volitional control, Ajzen (1988) considered internal and external factors that need to be addressed so as to persuade. Internal control factors include information, skills, abilities, emotions and compulsions, while external control factors include opportunity and the availability of others upon whom the person may be dependent.

To account for this continuum of control factors, Ajzen (1992) refined the theory of reasoned action to include a person's perceptions of the degree of control s/he has over performing the behavior. He referred to this refinement as the theory of planned behavior. "To be successful, the [persuasive] message may have to provide information that will enable the receiver to gain volitional control and overcome potential obstacles to performance of the behavior" (Ajzen, 1992, p. 21). See Figure 2 for a schematic view of this theory.

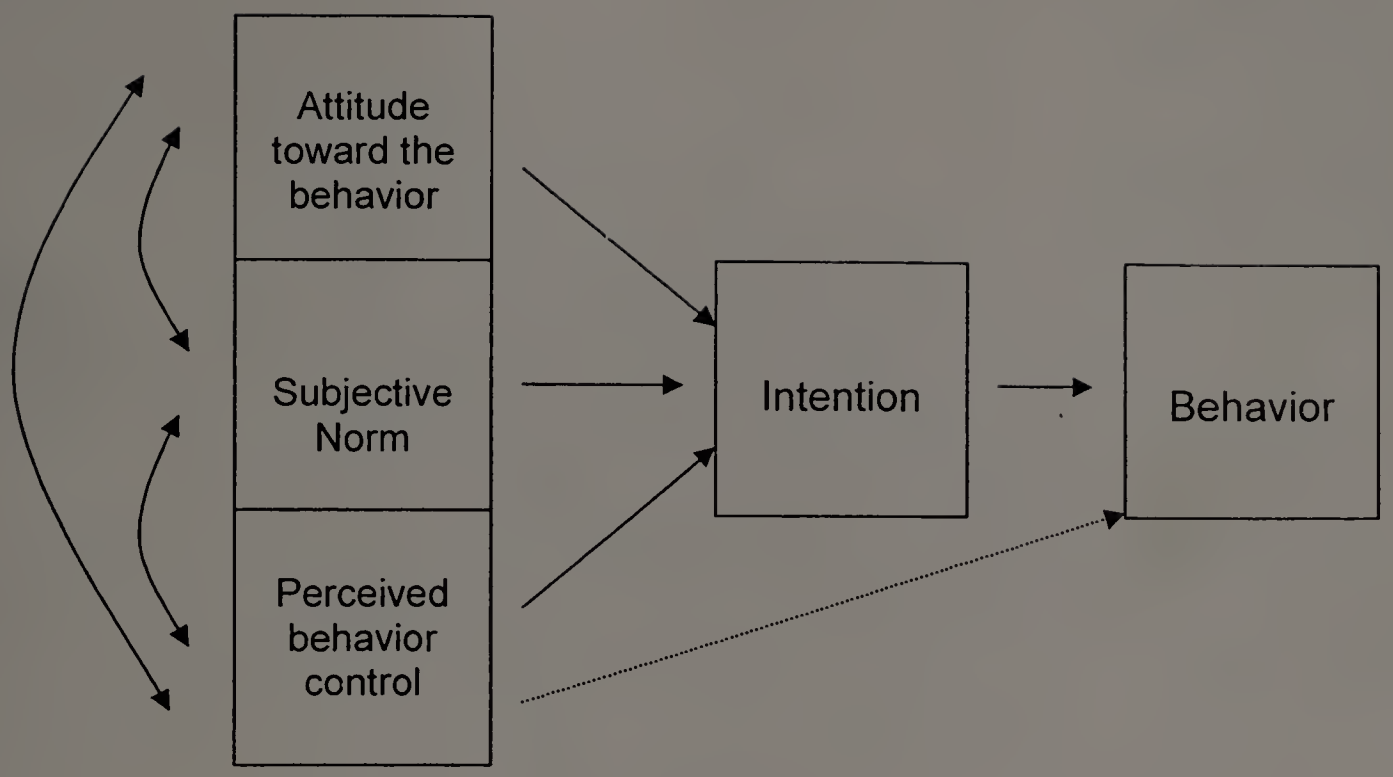

Figure 2 Theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1988)

Persuasion is a complex process that begins with the message intended to influence behavior. The content of the message must be carefully constructed to present arguments that challenge the receiver's beliefs that the target behavior leads to certain outcomes. The message must also provide supportive information as evidence of the position of the arguments. Once the communication is delivered, the individual then evaluates the evidence and arguments by filtering them through one's beliefs about how s/he will be viewed by those who are important to him/her regarding the performance of the behavior and how motivated the person is to comply with that perception of these important others. One's evaluation of the message leads to an examination of the person's disposition (attitude) regarding the behavior, while the examination of one's reference group's opinions forms one's subjective norm.

Combining these two processes with the person's assessment of her/his degree of behavioral control, one formulates his/her intention of how to behave.

The desire to conform to one's assessment of peer group norms can override an individual's perception of a situation (Fazio & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 1994). Social norms theory has become an integral part of recent research on bystander behavior (Berkowitz, 2000a).

Social Norms Theory

According to social norms theory, individuals tend to align their behavior so as to conform to their perception of the local norm. When they misperceive the norm (inaccurately "read" the attitude or intention of their peers) as being different from their own perspective, they contribute to a "pluralistic ignorance" (Miller & McFarland, 1987). Berkowitz (2000a, 2000b) attributed the reason that individuals refrain from confronting the problem behavior of others to their belief that their peer group accepts the behavior.

Prejudiced assumptions can be transmitted to a new generation as many people learn at an early age from limited sources or from those who have motivation to persuade us to believe what they are promoting. Until such time that individuals examine their beliefs, they may continue to behave as they have habitually in similar circumstances, disregarding the nuances of their current circumstances (Ajzen, 1988; Fazio & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 1994). An example of this phenomenon can be seen in Katz and Jhally's (1999) video presentation, *Tough Guise*. This video presents an examination of the power that the "masculine

image" has over men and boys to restrict their expressive behavior to aggression. Combining this theoretical framework with understanding bystander behavior, Berkowitz (1998) addressed ways to teach students to intervene in situations where they overhear sexist comments or witness improper sexual behavior. For a fuller comprehension of his approach, it is first necessary to focus on what is known about bystander behavior.

Bystander Behavior Theory

Most people want to respond to others in emergency situations, but in actuality they do not get involved at all (Latané & Nida, 1981). One of the reasons for bystander passivity is that those who feel inclined to intervene in a situation they observe think that they are the only ones who are so inclined (Berkowitz, 2000a). Rather than to defy what they imagine is the social norm, these individuals continue the cycle of passivity.

Latané and Darley (1970) initiated a series of studies about bystander behavior following the public dismay after the report of the inaction of thirty-eight eyewitnesses to Kitty Genovese's brutal murder in New York City. These researchers asked, "Why didn't someone help?" They identified three principles of bystander behavior that support bystander passivity to an emergency:

1. *audience inhibition* (risk of embarrassment for misreading the situation or responding and appearing inept),

2. *social influence* (bystander reads others' passivity as a clue that the observed ambiguous situation is not an emergency that requires action) and

3. *diffusion of responsibility* (psychological cost-sharing – i.e., guilt assessed by the individual as being shared among all observers).

As others added to the body of bystander literature the consensus was that bystanders tend toward assistive action more often when they think they are the only witness than when multiple people witness an event (Gaertner, 1975; Howard & Crano, 1974; Latané & Rodin, 1969).

Latané and Rodin (1969) found that a bystander among friends who witnessed an event was more likely to provide assistance than if the witness were among strangers. Yet, even among friends, subjects were more often passive than when they were alone to decide whether or not to respond. In a meta-analysis of bystander research from the previous decade, Latané and Nida (1981) found that sole observers of an incident that might require immediate action responded more than twice as often than when they were among others who they assessed were also available to act (50 percent/22 percent, respectively). This included both laboratory experiments and naturalistic settings experiments.

Much of the early research on bystander intervention, however, was conducted among strangers. Rutkowski, Gruder and Romer (1983) investigated the role of group cohesiveness to address that gap in the research base and found that in situations of high group cohesiveness, people intervened more often as the number of observers increased. Their study did not include a condition of

sole observer, however, and their group size condition only increased from a group size of two to a group size of four.

The ability to define a situation as one that calls for intervention is part of the "social influence" aspect of the theory of bystander behavior. Latané and Nida (1981) suggested that witnesses experience an avoidance-avoidance kind of conflict (fear of guilt for their inaction and fear of the cost of incompetence if they define the situation inaccurately). One way of coping with the discomfort of such a dilemma about helping or ignoring the situation is to define the situation as one that does not require help. In ambiguous situations, subjects tended to look for others' reactions for cues to guide their own decisions. If they observed other bystanders remaining passive, they tended to conform. In more well defined emergency situations, bystanders tended to intervene actively (Clark & Word, 1972; Darley, Teger & Lewis, 1973).

One's sense of competence to manage an intervention was found to factor into the decision to help. Peterson (1984) reported results of her study of the effect of simple task training on the willingness to help. She found that people with training stepped in to assist more often than did people who had not been trained.

Male subjects show a significantly higher probability of inaction than females in a multiple witness situation (Peterson, 1984). Katz's (1995) work with the Mentors in Violence Prevention Project (MVP) is based on the idea that college men want to feel socially competent. This need overrides the desire to act

in a helpful manner because taking this risk has a high cost associated with it in terms of meeting their image of masculinity.

Highly masculine subjects, whether biologically male or female, are less likely to take action in an emergency than are others (Tice & Baumeister, 1985). Highly masculine-identified bystanders assessed their potential embarrassment of intervening as an inhibitor to their action. The psychological cost to them outweighed the potential benefit to themselves or to the victim by their helping in an emergency.

Female victims were found to be more likely to receive assistance than males (Howard & Crano, 1974). The existing relationship between the bystander and the victim received some attention in Howard and Crano's research as well. They found that when victims had initiated a brief conversation with the subject prior to the emergency, the bystander was significantly more likely to intervene when needed. They suggested that the assessed "deservedness" of the victim is a variable that the bystander factors into the decision to provide assistance or not.

One investigator examined the role of a bystander's racial attitudes in the decision to help an emergency victim. Gaertner (1975) found no difference between high and low prejudiced subjects. Black victims were helped as frequently as White victims in situations of a sole observer of the incident, however in a public setting, with others also apparently available to help, Black victims received help less frequently than White victims. One possible

explanation offered by the investigator was the influence to conform to a White norm of nonintervention for Blacks in need of help.

Range of bystander reactions. Much of the early bystander research examined whether or not bystanders become involved in a medical or safety emergency situation. From a meta-analysis of studies conducted between 1969 and 1978, Latané and Nida (1981) found that in natural setting research, between 50% and 78% of the bystander to emergency subjects did not become involved in helping.

Hawks (1990) looked at the appropriateness of first aid interventions following first aid training. Some participants were given an additional unit (bystander education). The research centered on examining the impact of having been exposed to that additional unit.

However, there have been no published bystander studies of the range of responses to observing hostile environment sexual harassment behaviors. A range of possible reactions can be derived from related literature. One can find a variety of reactions that practitioners and researchers have documented by examining three genres of research: gang rape literature, sexual harassment practice materials and sexist humor research.

"The modal response to sexual harassment is to do nothing, to tell no one, and to endure the harassment in the hopes that it will end" (Budhos, 1995, quoting Fitzgerald, p. 32). To begin to grasp how people respond when they do respond, this review will continue with an examination of responses to the most

extreme form of sexual imposition – gang rape. Because of the inherent public nature of gang rape, researchers have considered its "brotherhood" quality.

Sanday (1990) studied campus fraternity gang rape activity, finding that the fraternity men in her study admired one another's manliness by watching each other perform sexual acts. Their social norm encouraged forcing sex on college women, cheering the sexual success (measured by "scoring"), and "pulling train" (waiting in line and observing, while fraternity brothers each took their turn raping a drugged woman).

Sexual harassment trainers place high value on assertive responses to experiencing harassment (Paludi & Barackman, 1992; Sandler, 1997; Tobias, 2000). An assertive response is a verbalized statement that includes the following elements: a description of the behavior of focus, a statement of the feeling that the speaker experiences as a result of that behavior, and a recommendation for what needs to change. These elements have been condensed into "an I statement" (e.g., "This makes me uncomfortable.") or a request for the offender to stop doing the behavior (Langelan, 1993; Sabella & Myrick, 1995; Weiss, 1994). Practitioners who value engaging the institutional complaint procedures in place, encourage observers as well as targets of sexual harassment to report incidents to people in the organization who have the authority to stop unacceptable behavior (Scollay & Bratt, 1997; Shoop, 1997).

Humor has received research attention as well. Among recent research, Ryan and Kanjorski (1998) correlated the enjoyment of sexist humor with

physical and psychological aggression against women. The Revised Conflict Tactics Scale was used to measure these aggressive behaviors, asking respondents to report their treatment of their partners (pushed or shoved, beat up, grabbed, slapped, kicked, etc.). Ryan and Kanjorski reiterated a theme that runs throughout the study of sexual harassment: males experience the positive sense of bonding among their social group through their sexist behavior. On the topic of sexist humor, these researchers raised the issue of audience response to joking, saying that laughing affirms the sexist perspective of the joke. Again group norms emerge as relevant, as Ryan and Kanjorski cited Fine's 1976 finding that obscene jokes can serve to reinforce the group norms.

Katz (1995) engaged male athletes in reconstructing the concept of masculinity in the Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) Program by focusing on their role as potential witnesses to sexual harassment and assault, rather than on their role as potential perpetrators. Katz recognized the power of the implied approval when bystanders do not object to (speak up or take action against) other men's abusive behavior. There is an echo of the social norm theory (Berkowitz, 2000a, 2000b; Haines, 1996) concern with the possible misinterpretation of silence in the face of a social problem. For fear of appearing unmanly, or socially inept, males were found to prefer to remain passive, even when they felt uncomfortable with the behavior of others around them, imaging that acting on their own discomfort would not meet with the social approval of their peers.

A review of the literature of responses to being sexually harassed yielded a wide range of options. The most valued responses are those that can be categorized as assertive, a direct and simple statement from the speaker's point of view. Next, practitioners prefer people to report the incident to an authority person who can do something to correct the matter. Less preferred by most practitioners is an aggressive counterattack, either verbal or physical. Finally, the least desirable response to witnessing sexual domination, either through sexist humor or through physical aggression, is to support the aggressor (by verbal encouragement or by following his/her lead).

Peer Education

Colleges and universities have identified motivated and talented students to invite into a variety of training programs on health education topics. Research demonstrates that topics with which students often have difficulty with limit-setting, such as alcohol and other drug use (Gould & Lomax, 1993), HIV and AIDS education (Bauman, 1993) and dating violence (Holcomb & Seehafer, 1995) are appropriate subjects for peer educators to play a significant role. This model was based on the premise that students would rather discuss their concerns and learn information from someone most like themselves.

College health educators began developing peer education programs at the University of Nebraska in 1957 (Gould & Lomax, 1993). Students' involvement has grown steadily since then. It is not surprising that this resource

has developed, as it is a cost effective method of disseminating information, by people that students presumably trust and admire, in low risk settings.

Holcomb and Seehafer (1995) designed a dating violence prevention program that provided mixed-gender teams of peer educators and delivered their program to mixed-gender audiences. They reasoned that discussion among the participants was a central component of the learning and that educator teams served to model interactions between the sexes. Further, these educators referred to the powerful degree of influence that peers have "for changing values, beliefs, and behaviors of adolescents and young adults . . . . These interpersonal approaches have often been exceedingly influential in shaping individual behavior" (p. 18).

Credibility by status does not appear to stop many other higher education professionals from seeking the assistance of students at a variety of institutions, on a variety of topics. Brown University's student life division conducted its SAPE (sexual assault peer education) program in the early 1990s. Students organized to provide support for survivors of sexual assault, and to teach other students about personal safety. Toby Simon (1993), dean of student life at Brown University, indicated that peer education is effective with problems that "involve a certain amount of peer pressure" (p. 289).

Four large state university health education professionals gathered to discuss the many advantages that peer educators provide for a student body (Gould & Lomax, 1993). These educators recognized the value of the level of

insight and sensitivity peer educators bring to problems that students are facing. They recognized that peer educators can assess student needs and they can change campus climates by "modeling health-enhancing behavior as the norm, rather than as the exception" (p. 301). This concept of social norms will receive closer examination in the following section, which is devoted to a review of literature related to social psychological theories.

Education to Address Sexual Harassment

Before considering what educational programming has been developed to address sexual harassment, it would be helpful to review the range of hostile environment behaviors that may be considered to be sexually harassing. Fitzgerald (1996b) developed a categorization of sexually harassing behaviors. The categories are as follows:

1. *gender harassment.* generalized sexist remarks and behavior designed not necessarily to elicit sexual cooperation, but to convey insulting, degrading, or sexist attitudes about women.

2. *seductive behavior.* inappropriate and offensive sexual advances. Although such behavior is unwanted and offensive, there is no penalty explicitly attached in the woman's negative response; nor does this category include sexual bribery.

3. *sexual bribery.* a solicitation of sexual activity or other sex-linked behavior (e. g., dating) by promise of rewards.

4. *sexual coercion.* coercion of sexual activity, or other sex-linked behavior by threat of punishment.

5. *sexual imposition.* for example, attempts to fondle, touch, kiss, or grab) or sexual assault. (pp. 36-37)

Fitzgerald, Swan and Magley (1997) refined this list to conform with legal vocabulary. Gender harassment and unwanted sexual attention (seductive and sexual imposition) constitute hostile environment sexual harassment, while sexual coercion and sexual bribery are considered *quid pro quo* sexual harassment.

The literature consistently points to three strategies for addressing and preventing sexual harassment: the focus is on policy, grievance procedure, and training (Allen, 1995; Grundmann, O'Donohue, & Peterson, 1997; Paludi,1997; Rapp, 1998; Riggs, Murrell, & Cutting, 1993; Webb, Hunnicutt, & Metha, 1997). A sexual harassment policy is typically a strong statement of the institution's distaste for sexual harassment, indicating the institution's broad response to its occurrence. A grievance procedure is a document that specifies the in-house process for responding to a complaint of sexual harassment. It usually includes the names of individuals within the institution to whom a complaint should be made as well as the route of investigation of the complaint, indicating the rules of a hearing and the possible penalties and protections involved. The content of training is largely unspecified in the literature, however there are many training packages available for administrators to adapt to their own institutions.

These strategies are said to lack effectiveness (Gutek, 1997; Mitchell, 1994). Yet these are the approaches that are articulated in the federal documents written to help employers and educational institutions prevent sexual harassment. The

problem with training in this recipe appears to be the limitations of its traditional content.

Grundmann et al. (1997) summarize Flynn's 1991 description of businesses' training efforts as attempts to educate people about the policies and procedures, providing information about how to confront a harasser, and how to report an incident of sexual harassment. Employers tend to limit workplace behavior, based on the idea that the organization is less likely to be held liable if it prohibits all social-sexual behavior in the workplace. Institutions of higher education (even though they too are employers), however, cannot respond to their concerns for liability in such a rigid manner because concerns about sexual harassment conflict with the highly valued concepts of academic freedom and freedom of expression.

Scolley and Bratt (1997) offered an analysis of some of the common elements of educational institutions' sexual harassment training programs. They are typically brief (one to three hour sessions) and do not attempt much more than rudimentary awareness raising. Generally no follow-up sessions are offered. Participation is not required. They concentrate on legal aspects, and are designed to frighten attendees into compliance. They do not address issues of culture, socialization, or sexism, targeting an audience of grievance procedure implementers rather than potential victims, harassers, or witnesses. It is for these reasons that these authors attribute "limited success of institutional efforts to eradicate academic sexual harassment" (p. 275).

Higher Education Programs on Peer Sexual Harassment

There are a few educational programs that were specifically designed to educate undergraduate students about peer sexual harassment. Most of these consider sexual harassment as part of a continuum of violence, and only give sexual harassment a portion of the curriculum. One university program devotes its programming focus to peer sexual harassment education through the course entitled Peer Education on Sexual Harassment. This campus was selected as the research site for the present study.

No program exists in isolation, therefore it is important to examine those that were functioning prior to the establishment of the focal program. They are: The University of Michigan's "Tell Someone," Northeastern University's Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP), Brown University's Sexual Assault Peer Education (SAPE), and the University of California at Berkeley's Sexual Harassment Advocacy and Peer Education (SHAPE). A brief description of each of these programs follows.

In 1980 when there was little incentive for targets of sexual harassment to made formal complaints, the University of Michigan began a "Tell Someone" program to encourage students to make their concerns known to university personnel (Beauvais, 1986).

The MVP Project has a unique goal: to redefine the qualities that constitute participants' understanding of masculinity (Katz, 1995). Using popular and positive athletic iconography, Katz' program trains college sports leaders to be

peer educators. The concept is not to encourage the inference that athletes are more likely to be offenders, but rather that sports heroes are more likely to encourage emulation among the general undergraduate population. As spokespersons for "healthier attitudes and behaviors towards women" (p. 163), the assumption is that men will step in more readily to intervene when they witness the sexual harassment of others without having their sense of masculine identity threatened. It is important to be aware that the emphasis is on men taking responsibility for their own discomfort, rather than to act out of a sense of protectiveness for women. That attitude would be a vestige of traditional masculinity.

Brown University's SAPE program began in 1990 in response to student dissatisfaction with the way that women's assault complaints were managed. Four women students (and the University) received national attention when these students publicized a "rape list" on bathroom walls, to warn other women of their experiences. The director of health education met with interested students and developed improvements in the services on the Brown campus (Simon, 1993).

The SAPE program grew from these discussions. Peer educators were selected and trained to present theatrical depictions of assault situations. These actors remained in character after the presentation and responded to audience questions. Then the audience was directed into gender caucus groups for further

discussion. The large group reconvened for final discussions led by the peer educators[2].

The Sexual Harassment and Sexual Assault Prevention Education and Services of the University of California at Berkeley developed the SHAPE program to assist students in need of services and to provide a mechanism for outreach to the campus. The program's goals include increasing awareness of the specific issues of sexual harassment, and encompass discussion of issues of gender discrimination and campus climate. The outreach component of SHAPE is accomplished by "dedicated and enthusiastic student interns" (N. Chu, personal communication, February 3, 2000) who go into residence halls, the freshman orientation classes, fraternities and sororities and other campus groups upon request. They deliver information about the campus sexual harassment policy and informal complaint procedure.

A second component of the program is a credit-bearing course titled The Politics of Sexual Harassment, which is taught by the student interns. This course examines the theoretical bases of the issues from political, economic and social perspectives.

An advocacy aspect is the third component of the program. Interns serve as support and provide assistance for students who wish to engage the administrative mechanisms to resolve their experiences with sexual harassment

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[2] This program is currently in transition and no information about its continuing is available (J. Joyce-Brady, personal communication, February 3, 2000).

or sexual assault. These student advocates work closely with the director of the Gender and Equity Resource Center (N. Chu, personal communication, October 22, 1999) in providing individual services to students on campus.

The early work of Latané and Darley (1970) still holds great promise for peer sexual harassment education for behavior change of bystanders. Given all the research that has focused on the factors that inhibit bystander intervention, these original researchers drew a five-stage plan to transform passivity into action. Their decision-making model appears in Figure 3.

1. The bystander has to *notice* that something is happening.

2. Once the person is aware of the event, he must *interpret* it as an emergency.

3. If the bystander concludes that something is indeed wrong, he must next decide that it is his personal *responsibility* to act.

4. If the person does decide that he should help, he must next consider what *form of assistance* he can give.

5. Finally, he must decide how to *implement* his action.

Figure 3 Latané and Darley (1970) Model of the Intervention Process (pp. 31-32)

Based on this model, Berkowitz (1998) developed a sexual harassment/sexual assault education program. He suggested workshop goals and objectives as shown in Table 2.

The glaring omission common to all of these programs is evaluative research (Brandenburg, 1997; Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1993; Wetzel & Brown, 2000). Among those few outcome studies uncovered by this review of the literature was the Gilbert and associates' study (1991) of a workshop intended to reduce sexual aggression-supportive attitudes in college men and found that these attitudes did change significantly as a result of a one hour educational intervention. These researchers not only tested attitudes, but also sought volunteers among participants for a woman's safety project. Although it was found that those who participated in the intervention were more receptive to the phone solicitation conversation (making more favorable comments) than control group members, there was no significant difference in their willingness to volunteer to work in the women's safety project. This element of the study was designed to evaluate behavior changes as a result of treatment.

Bonate and Jessell (1996) conducted research to determine the effects of training on students' perceptions of sexual harassment. They reported, "men and women tend to perceive more overt examples of sexual harassment as inappropriate and unacceptable; however, more subtle forms of harassment are not as readily recognized, especially by men" (p. 752).

Reading literature about sexual harassment was found to have a stronger impact on the perception of the negative effects of sexual harassment over viewing videotaped vignettes or participation in a placebo task (Bonate & Jessell, 1996). Also confirmed in that study was "the most ubiquitous finding in

Table 2

Sequence of Sexual Harassment Workshop Goals Designed for Bystanders to Achieve Social Change

1. Notice the event	Provide relevant definitions and examples of sexual harassment.
2. Perceive it as a problem	Develop exercises that personalize the experience.
3. Become part of the solution	Demonstrate how everyone is hurt by sexual harassment. Point out men's discomfort with women's fear of them (walking alone, in the dark).
4. Teach active intervention	Practice skills and role-playing. Provide appropriate responses.
5. Overcome the fear of retaliation	Explore participants' fears and provide examples of how their interventions will be supported.

Adapted from Berkowitz (1998)

the sexual harassment literature—namely, that women perceive sexual harassment more readily than their male counterparts" (p. 761). These researchers recognized that the results of their study offer limited generalizability because their "data were obtained in an experimental rather than in an applied setting" (p. 763).

A 1986 study stands out as an early contribution to the field. Beauvais considered sexual harassment attitude changes of undergraduate residence hall staff members two weeks after attending a two-hour training session on sexual harassment.

> The workshop program included viewing the trigger tapes [six scenarios], examining the problems presented by each video, discussing societal and personal values on the subject of sexual harassment, reviewing available alternatives and resources for victims, and learning the university policy. (p. 137)

The sexual harassment attitude survey instrument was designed by Beauvais (1996). It consisted of 19 items that were a combination of sexism attitude statements, opinion items, self-reports of sexual harassment experience, and general knowledge items about sexual harassment. Beauvais' sample was small (N = 53) and by her own assessment, not generalizable, however she identified a statistically significant change in attitude about sexual harassment behavior.

The University of Massachusetts Amherst has surveyed undergraduate students on a variety of sexual harassment issues, every three years since 1983 (G. Ingle, personal communication, December 21, 1999). At the beginning of this project (Project Pulse), questions were asked only about sexual harassment of students by university faculty and staff.

The second round of data collection of the study, in 1986, was the first time the institutional researchers inquired about students' experiences of sexual harassment by other students. When considering sexual harassment by peers, the most frequent forms were (in descending order of frequency): observing students making negative comments about women, observing displays of demeaning images to women, experiencing explicit sexual advances, and experiencing offers

of other favors for sexual favors (Project Pulse Sexual Harassment Survey # S89-C, 1989).

The comparison of the first two rounds of peer data collection (1986 and 1989) sounded an alarm in the Office of Human Rights at the university. While responses indicated that sexual harassment by faculty and staff dropped in all forms, during the same period sexual harassment perpetrated by other students showed a statistically significant increase (Williams, Lam & Shively, 1992). During the interval between data collection rounds, all university employees were required to attend training sessions. The content of these sessions included defining behaviors that constitute sexual harassment and the employees' responsibilities to abide by state and federal laws. Students had not been exposed to any organized university-sponsored education on the subject.

At the end of the spring semester in 1994, an undergraduate student Resident Assistant proposed a credit-bearing course for educating students to serve as workshop leaders on peer sexual harassment. The course proposal was accepted, co-sponsored by the Office of Human Rights and the Office of Residence Life, and implemented during the fall of 1994.

In subsequent rounds of Project Pulse, the frequency of peer sexual harassment has dropped with each survey (1992, 1995, and 1998), for all items, with statistically significant differences between 1992 and 1998 for some behaviors (demeaning images, sexual contact and sexual advances) (Kluge & Williams, 1998). The research question that motivated this dissertation study is:

What is the impact of attending a sexual harassment workshop on undergraduate students' peer intervention behaviors?

Student development professionals rely on research in generating programming on this topic. Do students who attend the one-hour workshops behave differently when subsequently witnessing others sexually harass their peers? Do students respond differently to different types of sexually harassing behaviors? Do students refrain from intervening in their peers' sexually harassing behaviors when they are among a number of observers, as is suggested by the literature regarding interventions in medical or safety emergencies? Do students vary in their intervention behavior as relates to other characteristics?

Summary

Legal and Social Background

Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination. From a legal perspective, individuals are protected from such discrimination at work (by Title VII, Civil Rights Act of 1964) and in educational settings (by Title IX, Education Amendments of 1972). In daily living, however, the protection constructed by the American system of law is not a shield from the experience of sexual harassment, but rather an authorization to seek redress after its occurrence. The legal system also requires that employers and educational institutions take responsibility for preventing sexual harassment in these settings.

Most institutions of higher education are guided by the U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights' (OCR) (1997, 2001) recommendation to

publish a strong anti-sexual harassment policy and clear grievance procedure. These locally generated documents and processes are supposed to deter and fairly respond to campus infractions. The OCR recommends training administrators and supervisors to learn how to recognize sexual harassment and how to implement the local adjudication process. Only when the local system fails, that is, when the institution shows "deliberate indifference" to the complaint of an aggrieved person, can one engage the court system (*Gebser v. Lago Vista Independent School District*, 1998).

Recently, the sexual harassment legal landscape changed dramatically. Following the U.S. Supreme Court *Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education* (1999) decision, educational institutions are responsible to respond to student complaints of other students' sexually harassing behaviors. Some universities take the call for prevention as a challenge to educate their students in not only how to recognize and report sexual harassment offenses, but also to take responsibility for improving their community learning climate by encouraging students to become involved when sexually harassing behaviors occur. Such an approach attempts to prevent sexual harassment by addressing students' behavior as it occurs, rather than relying on the traditional (and not satisfactorily adaptable) procedural approach of responding after someone is already greatly distressed.

Sexual harassment is a complex phenomenon. Student peer sexually harassing behaviors are generally considered those behaviors that create a hostile

environment (rather than the *quid pro quo* form of sexual harassment). A hostile environment is created by the presence of unwanted sexual attention. Carole Clark, an attorney who specializes in employment issues, describes the journey from sexually harassing behaviors to legal sexual harassment as follows: "It rises to the level of sexual harassment when this unwanted sexual attention is so severe, persistent or pervasive as to interfere with one's learning" (Whitlock, 1999).

Such behavior arises in a cultural context that supports sexism. Harro (2000a) expanded her description of socialization processes that serve to perpetuate oppressive cultural messages by examining the processes that support liberated learning. According to Harro, this cycle begins with self-empowerment, examining old assumptions, adding new information, dismantling former interpersonal power dynamics, and gaining skills. Although not necessarily done alone, these are intrapersonal tasks. One advances in the cycle by moving toward others, seeking experiences and opportunities to state her/his positions among others. The interpersonal phase moves along with the goal of building a network of like-minded people and eventually to build bridges with those from different perspectives. Working together, these communities begin to build the structures of new institutions and to change existing rules. This transformation increases its scope of influence, as people move from initiating local to cultural changes. The core of the cycle's structure relies on

individuals' strength and personal sense of security and mutual support. These qualities contribute to the cycle's maintenance.

Having changed lenses from the wide angle of the societal view to the community perspective, the journey toward specificity continues. Next, this summary will focus on research from the interpersonal perspective.

Social Psychology Research Foundation

This study adapts Fitzgerald's (1996b) typology of sexual harassment by highlighting the hostile environment categories: gender harassment (generalized sexist remarks and behavior designed not necessarily to elicit sexual cooperation, but to convey insulting, degrading, or sexist attitudes about women or men who are viewed as not fitting the masculine stereotype), sexually taunting behavior (inappropriate and offensive sexual advances) and sexual imposition (attempts to fondle, touch, kiss, grab or sexual assault).

A range of bystander responses to peers' sexually harassing behavior has been developed from social psychology research. Most bystanders do not intervene in social situations when help is needed (Berkowitz, 1998; 2000a; 2000b; Bogart & Stein, 1987; Brown, 1999; Clark & Word, 1972; Gaertner, 1975; Hawks, 1990; Horowitz, 1971; Howard & Crano, 1974; Huston, Ruggiero, Conner & Geis, 1981; Latané & Darley, 1970; Latané & Nida, 1981; Latané & Rodin, 1969; Miller & McFarland, 1987; Peterson, 1984; Stein, 1994; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Tice & Baumeister, 1985; Tisak & Tisak, 1996). Latané and Darley (1970) theorized that fear of embarrassment, social disapproval or appearing inept are some of the

inhibitory forces that oppose an individual's altruistic inclination to assist someone in trouble.

Bystanders who do respond have also been studied. Consistently the research has demonstrated that bystanders intervene when someone is in trouble far more often when a subject is the only bystander (Clark & Word, 1972; Howard & Crano ,1974; Latané & Darley, 1970; Latané & Nida, 1981; Latané & Rodin, 1969; Miller & McFarland, 1987). Bystander intervention arises more frequently while among friends than when bystanders are among strangers (Latané & Rodin, 1969).

The types of bystander assistance have been examined cursorily in the literature. One researcher focused on the appropriateness of the assistance (Hawks, 1990). Appropriate assistance was defined as the higher priority medical help that had been emphasized in a first aid training course (direct application of life-saving first aid, while sending someone else to call 911).

Little is known about bystander reactions to sexual harassment. Practitioners must infer from research on targets' reactions to being sexually harassed. The literature is replete with a range of responses to a wide range of sexually harassing behaviors.

Most college students deal with being sexually harassed by ignoring it in the hope that it will go away (Bremer, Moore & Bildersee, 1991). Subtlety, gentle persuasion or attempts at diversion are also part of some recommendations by sexual harassment trainers (Berkowitz, 1998; Powell, 1991; Tobias, 2000).

However, silence or hinting one's disapproval to an offender leaves room for misinterpretation by the aggressor and by other bystanders, thus contributing to the ambiguity of the situation (Kilmartin, Conway, Friedberg, McQuiod & Tschan, 1999).

The educational strategy that is most compatible with a behavior change approach to prevention of college student peer sexual harassment can be derived from the research and practice literature. Peer-facilitated workshop education is well suited to implement the principles that have been developed in analogous fields that seek to change undesirable forms of public behavior (Bauman, 1993; Gould & Lomax, 1993; Holcomb & Seehafer, 1995).

Employing principles of persuasive communication (Ajzen, 1988; Petty et al., 1994), workshop leaders endeavor to change participants' attitudes about sexual harassment by providing definitions and examples, focusing on the impressive statistics about how students' lives are affected by sexual harassment and engaging students in activities that raise their awareness of sexual harassment to the cognitive level. They provide participants with the clearly defined elements that courts review to determine the existence of a sexually harassing hostile environment. Thus, confusion about what constitutes sexual harassment can be minimized. Providing information about the impact of sexual harassment on the people in the environment serves to identify that sexually harassing behaviors are indeed a problem. By focusing on the community rather than completely on the individual target's perspective of sexually harassing

behaviors, workshop leaders address all participants. They draw on the concept that everyone who is exposed to it can take an active role to stop peer sexual harassment.

The above workshop description follows Latané and Darley's (1970) prescription for overcoming bystanders' passivity tendencies: 1) Notice the event, 2) Identify it as a problem, 3) take personal responsibility to do something to correct the problem, 4) possess the necessary skills to be effective, and 5) intervene. It also encourages participants to engage their capacity for reasoning (thus disengaging their habitual associations with familiar observations).

Innovation is required to bring these various aspects of social research together to assist campus educators in creating programming to address the institutional responsibility to prevent legal sexual harassment (severe, persistent or pervasive sexually harassing behaviors). In that endeavor, this study has given rise to an inventory instrument to be used to assess bystanders' responses when witnessing the sexually harassing behaviors of their peers.

Innovation Analysis of the Literature: Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory (SHBBII)

Because no such behavioral research has been conducted, this researcher used the review of the literature in this chapter as the basis for developing the Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory (SHBBII) (see Appendix A). The items describing specific sexually harassing behaviors were generated from the data collected in the 1993 American Association of University

Women (AAUW) study of secondary school students' experiences with peer sexually harassing behaviors. The SHBBII asks subjects to identify their own behaviors when they were in the presence of fourteen specific behaviors of their peers. The response categories were generated from the literature regarding both observers' behaviors and targets' behaviors to a range of offenses from sexist remarks through sexual assault.

The AAUW (1993) survey was designed to inquire as to respondents' experiences of being the target of each of 14 sexually harassing behaviors. The present study adapted eleven of these behaviors, with each forming the core of one item on the SHBBII. Three items were eliminated, either because they identified behaviors that did not represent examples of interaction between harasser and target (for example, seeing graffiti, and spying on someone while showering or dressing), or because they became combined with another item ("pulling at" and "pulling down" someone's clothing).

Response options to each of the items were developed from the legal and practice literature (desirable responses from a legal perspective to witnessing sexually harassing behaviors, such as reporting the incident to someone with the authority to do something about it or from the social justice literature, for example, intervening in the interaction at the time it occurred). Other response options resulted from the research literature -- doing nothing or joining in.

Latané and Nida's (1981) meta-analysis of the bystander research literature revealed that witnesses behave differently when they are the sole

observer in an emergency from when they are among others that they assume can also step in to help. The SHBBII also gathers data to determine if the same dynamic exists with peer sexually harassing incidents.

Scales of the Instrument

The SHBBII has been designed to generate three scales that have been conceptualized *a priori*, based on Fitzgerald's (1996b) typology of hostile environment sexually harassing behaviors (gender harassing behaviors, taunting sexually harassing behaviors, and intrusive sexually harassing behaviors) as well as a Total Intervention score. Gender harassing behaviors are generalized sexist remarks and behavior designed not necessarily to elicit sexual cooperation, but to convey insulting, degrading, or sexist attitudes about women (Fitzgerald, 1996b, p. 36) or men who are viewed as not fitting the masculine stereotype (Ackelsberg in Whitlock, 1999). Taunting behaviors are inappropriate and offensive sexual advances. Although such behavior is unwanted and offensive, there is no penalty explicitly attached to the target's negative response; nor does this category include sexual bribery (from Fitzgerald's, 1996b, p. 37 definition of *seductive behavior*). Intrusive sexually harassing behavior includes attempts to fondle, touch, kiss, grab or sexual assault (from Fitzgerald's, 1996b, p. 37 definition of *sexual imposition*). Table 3 shows the types and items identified with them.

The remaining three behaviors in the SHBBII (items numbered 4, 6, and 11) are interpersonal behaviors that express some degree of intimacy between the

participants, but lack the unwelcome element required by the sexual harassment definition. These distracter items were included to help to identify response set to the inventory.

Table 3

SHBBII Items and Types of Hostile Environment Sexually Harassing Behaviors

Type	Item #	Situation
Gender	1	A person made a sexual comment, joke, gesture or look.
	2	Someone showed or gave sexual pictures or messages.
	3	Someone was spreading sexual rumors about someone.
	5	A person called somebody a negative word regarding sexual orientation.
Taunting	7	Someone flashed or 'mooned.'
	9	Someone pulled at another person's clothing against his/her will.
	10	Someone intentionally brushed or pressed against a person.
Intrusive	8	Someone was unwillingly touched, grabbed, or pinched in a sexual way.
	12	Someone's path was blocked or was cornered in an intimidating way.
	13	A person forced a kiss on somebody.
	14	Someone forced a person to do something sexual, other than kissing.
Distracter Items	4	One teammate slapped another on the butt.
	6	Two people were hugging each other.
	11	Same-sex students huddled together while watching TV.

The response options included all categorical reactions one may have to witnessing behavior (I did nothing; I joined in; I told someone about it later; I tried to stop it.). Telling someone about an incident later could be regarded as a valuable response from an administrator's legal perspective, if the incident were reported to a person who had the authority to do something about the situation

(for example, to follow up with the target individual, to investigate the incident, or to charge the alleged perpetrator with an infraction of institutional policy).

However, telling a friend or family member could have a negative effect on the social atmosphere (for example, gossip or portrayal of a social norm of harassing behaviors without consequences). To distinguish between these opposing effects, two options of "telling" were included ("telling someone I'm close to" and "telling someone with the authority to do something about it").

Scoring the Instrument

The Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory (SHBBII) collects information from students about how they responded to each item of witnessed peer behavior within the current academic semester. For the purposes of this study, the only response of interest to the researcher was the "I tried to stop it" response. This response is the only option that indicates intervention. Only the 11 sexually harassing behaviors were considered in the scores of the instrument. There are 4 gender harassing items, 3 taunting sexually harassing behaviors and 4 intrusive sexually harassing behaviors on the inventory.

A simple tally of items in which the respondent intervened would not suffice for a score in three respects: a) respondents had not necessarily witnessed each of the eleven behaviors, b) there are different numbers of items among the three types of sexually harassing behavior items in the instrument, and c) the SHBBII asks for the student's most recent response during the current semester.

Scoring for each of the scales (Gender Intervention, Taunting Intervention and Intrusive Intervention) was therefore standardized as follows:

- No observations of such peer behaviors (receives a score of 0)
- No interventions in such observed peer behaviors (receives a score of 1)
- Some interventions in such peer behaviors observed (receives a score of 2)
- Intervened in all such peer behaviors observed (receives a score of 3).

A score is assigned to each category (Gender Intervention, Taunting Intervention and Intrusion Intervention) and then a Total Intervention score can be determined by adding the individual's category scores for those categories in which at least one of the behaviors was observed and dividing by the number of categories in which behaviors were observed by each respondent.

Thus far there have been very few empirical studies of the effectiveness of sexual harassment education efforts (Wetzel & Brown, 2000). The following chapter discusses the design of a behavioral impact study of the peer-facilitated workshop on sexual harassment at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. The study examined the response behavior of workshop participants when they were bystanders to sexually harassing behaviors of and by their peers.

CHAPTER 3

Research Design and Procedures

Introduction

Purpose of the Study

Government agencies at the federal and state levels encourage educational institutions to prevent sexual harassment, but neither the government nor research offers guidance as to the content of educational strategies that actually contribute to prevention. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled (*Davis*) that school districts could be held financially responsible for administrative inaction in situations of student-to-student sexual harassment. This decision also provides strong incentives for higher education institutions to examine their strategies for preventing student peer sexual harassment. Several universities have developed peer education programs on the topic of sexual harassment, designed to stop sexually harassing behaviors as they are witnessed, however, there are no studies of the behavioral outcomes of such programs.

The present study is an exploratory outcome study of a large public university's (University of Massachusetts Amherst) sexual harassment workshop sponsored by the course entitled, Peer Educators for Sexual Harassment. The study examined the intervention behavior of witnesses to their peers' sexually harassing behaviors before and following the workshop.

Research Questions

The main focus of this study was: What is the impact on undergraduate students of attending a sexual harassment workshop on their bystander behavior? Specific questions that emanate from this broad question are as follows:

1. Does attendance at a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop influence undergraduate students' intervention behavior when encountering sexually harassing behavior?
2. Does undergraduate bystander behavior differ depending on the different types of observed sexually harassing behavior?
3. Does undergraduate bystander behavior differ for sole witnesses of peer sexually harassing behavior from the behavior of witnesses who are among other observers?
4. Are students with different characteristics (gender, age, racial/ethnic identity, resident assistance status, previous sexual harassment training, academic class) affected differently by attendance at a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop?

Overview of the Chapter

The chapter begins with a description of the research design, pilot study and the sample, including the treatment used in the study. Data were collected using an instrument that was specially designed to measure students' self-report of the way they responded to having witnessed their peers' sexually harassing

behaviors. The chapter concludes with the hypotheses of the study, followed by the methods of analysis used to test them.

Research Design and Development of the Sample

Design

A panel design, or longitudinal study using the same individual respondents, was selected as the most appropriate research design for this study because following the same students over time allows the researcher to note changes in individuals and explore possible reasons why these individuals have changed (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996, p. 378). The design can also be regarded as quasi-experimental, as there were two groups, one of which was composed of residence undergraduate students who received no experimental treatment (control), and the other group was composed of students who attended a peer-led sexual harassment workshop during the target semester (workshop treatment).

Control group students were contacted by campus mail after they were systematically selected from the student directory. The sampling procedure was chosen as it approximates true randomization. Systematic selection is a sampling technique whereby members for a group can be chosen from a listing of the target population (Gall et al., 1996). The researcher determines the number of subjects to be selected (target sample size) and divides the total number of names listed by that number. This calculation determines the interval at which names

are to be selected from the list. The location of the first subject on the list is selected at random. Every subsequent *n*th name on the list is then selected.

All subjects were surveyed at two points in time. The pre-test for all subjects took place during the fall 2000 semester, between the 9th and the 15th weeks. Each workshop attendee (member of the treatment group) responded to a written survey just prior to the beginning of his/her workshop. Control subjects received the same written survey sent out through campus mail at the time in the semester that workshops began. These students returned their surveys to the experimenter in stamped envelopes, sent through the U.S. Postal Service.

The post-test for all subjects who identified themselves on the initial survey was conducted by telephone, six months later. The interval of six months was selected, based on previous research showing long-term behavioral effects of peer-led workshop training among college students (Brown & Mazza, 1991). A team of 6 trained callers administered the same response protocol used for the pre-test. Figure 4 graphically represents this design.

	Pre-Test	Post-Test
Control Group		
Workshop Participants		

Figure 4 Research Design

Sample

For clarity of group comparison, an attempt was made to develop a sample that would have equally sized treatment groups. The instructor of the peer educator course that would be teaching workshop leaders estimated fall semester workshop attendance to be 175 students. This number became the initial target for responses to the mailed survey to students who would serve as control subjects in the study. Historically, the highest student response rate for a mailed survey with a multiple mode follow-up plan on this campus was 50% (E. Williams, personal communication, April, 2000). Therefore, 350 survey packages were mailed to potential members of the control group.

Control Group

Three hundred and fifty names were systematically selected from the student directory published in the fall of 2000. The list was counted, and every 54th name was selected, beginning with the 23rd name listed. When the next name to be selected from the directory was found to be an off-campus undergraduate or a graduate student, the subsequent name on the list was selected for mailing. Due to minor problems with the accuracy of addresses, two survey packets were returned to the experimenter unopened. Of these 348 surveys, 160 were returned to the experimenter (a response rate of 46.0%).

Treatment Group (Workshop Attendees)

As this was a study of a workshop that was part of both an academic course assignment and the university's Residence Life educational programming

efforts, certain limitations of the setting affected the study's design. A true experimental design allows the experimenter to make assignments to each treatment group on a random basis. This feature ensures equal opportunity for any member of the undergraduate residence population to be assigned to either condition (attending a peer-led workshop or not attending). However, this study was conducted to determine the effects of an existing residential life education program on subsequent intervention behavior in situations of observed peer sexually harassing behaviors. The treatment segment of the sample selected all students who attended the workshops during the target semester. This purposive sampling technique (Boulmetis & Dutwin, 2000) maximized the size of the research sample among the participants in this residence life program.

During the process of data collection, the researcher observed that students attended the workshops for a variety of reasons. Some students indicated interest in learning one of the following: how to protect themselves, what to do should sexual harassment occur, or what the campus resources are. Students were motivated in less direct ways as well. For example, some indicated that they needed a study break; some were enticed to attend by the snacks that were promised; some came to do a favor for their resident assistant; some workshops were adopted as part of resident assistant on-going training (the residence area's staff was required to attend); and some attendees were told that they would receive sample birth control devices. Some students arrived knowing that they were about to attend a peer-led sexual harassment workshop, while

others were not aware of the workshop's topic. However, in no case did any of the participants leave after the topic was announced.

Workshop attendees completed the survey just before each workshop began. Of the 126 students who attended peer-led sexual harassment workshops during the fall semester 2000, only one student refused to participate in the survey. This resulted in a response rate of 99.2 % for this purposive sample.

Two control surveys were reassigned as pre-test treatment surveys when students subsequently attended workshops. The pre-test sample consisted of 158 control subjects and 125 workshop attendees (total pre-test response rate = 61.1%).

Instrument

Pilot Study

As this instrument had neither a reliability nor a validity history, it was necessary to gather data on its effectiveness to collect the intended information. Several sexual harassment experts reviewed the items and response options, and social science researchers reviewed the written layout. Their suggestions were incorporated into the final form of the protocol (see Appendix A).

In September 2000, the instrument was pilot tested with the students of the peer educator course (Education 395L). Fifteen students participated in the written pilot study. Students included their telephone numbers on the survey form to indicate their willingness to participate in a phone survey.

Eight students agreed to be contacted and of them, five responded to the telephone survey and met the following day with the experimenter for a focus group discussion. Their suggestions for improving the instrument included increasing the contrast of the separating striped lines of text and moving the class year to its own line on the written form. These students indicated that they had no confusion as to the meaning of the terms used in the survey in either the written or aural form.

Scale Development

Cronbach's reliability coefficients were calculated for the items identified with each construct, using the pre-test sample's (n=283) responses to each item (considering only those respondents who report having witnessed the peer behaviors). The reliability coefficients indicated moderate correlation among the items that constituted gender harassment items, stronger correlation among intrusive sexually harassing items and an even stronger relationship among all sexually harassing items. However the taunting sexually harassing items were rather weakly related. Table 4 presents these coefficient values.

Table 4

Cronbach's Reliability Coefficients of Hostile Environment Sexual Harassment Constructs (SHBBII)

Construct	**Reliability Coefficient (α)**
Gender	.63
Taunting	.36
Intrusive	.76
All Scorable Items*	.80

*Detractor items were not included in this analysis

Procedures

Research Site Background and Selection

Preliminary discussions with the University of Massachusetts Amherst's Director of the Office of Human Relations began during the year prior to this study's development. The Director indicated that he cosponsored (with the Office for Residence Life) an undergraduate credit-bearing course that prepared peer educators to deliver a workshop to undergraduate students on sexual harassment. The University of Massachusetts Amherst is the state's flagship public institution of higher education, with an undergraduate population of approximately 18,000.

The two-tiered student sexual harassment education program had been an outgrowth of the campus strategy to educate the campus population on the

topic. Several years before the program began, the Office of Human Relations oversaw faculty and staff training on this topic. The student component of the university's strategy for sexual harassment prevention required attention, as reflected in the Project Pulse incidence data collected by the Student Affairs Research, Information and Systems staff (Williams et al., 1992). This study showed that between 1986 and 1989, student peer sexually harassing behaviors increased by 5.4% on campus.

In 1995, an undergraduate resident assistant initiated a course proposal to develop a pool of peer educators on the topic of sexual harassment. Needing a faculty sponsor, a committee (composed of a faculty member from the School of Education, a member of the Residence Life staff and chaired by the Director of the Office of Human Relations) set the goals for the course. There was to be an educational focus that would address the information needs of students who were potential victims of harassment, students who were potential harassers, and students who witnessed sexually harassing behaviors. The University of Massachusetts Amherst course, Peer Educators on Sexual Harassment (EDUC395L), is a refinement of that undergraduate student's original concept.

This university's peer-led student sexual harassment workshop is part of the course requirements for EDUC 395L. Each enrolled peer educator is required to deliver at least three workshops as part of a co-facilitator team. The resident assistants in residence halls throughout the campus are solicited by their Residence Directors to arrange educational programming on various topics for

their residents each semester. One of the topics that Residence Directors promote is education on sexual harassment. Students of the Peer Educators course need to practice their new leadership skills and residence assistants are required to provide co-curricular education. This marriage of mutual needs gives rise to a continual pool of students to train on the subject.

This site was selected for the present study and then the experimenter observed the classroom activities for a year. The study was conducted during the second semester of observation (fall 2000), with follow-up data being collected at the end of the next semester (spring 2001).

Treatment: Peer-Facilitated Workshop

The Sexual Harassment workshop for delivery to undergraduate students was designed for the peer facilitators as part of their course material (Peer Educators on Sexual Harassment, EDUC 395L, a 3-credit undergraduate elective). All workshops took place in residence halls. Eleven of the twelve workshops were held in lounges during evening hours with participants seated in comfortable sofas or stuffed chairs. One workshop took place in the afternoon as part of a first-year program in a residence hall classroom, where students sat in classroom desk/chairs, arranged in rows. A residence assistant (R. A.) from the Residence Life staff sponsored each workshop, provided the advertising in the residence hall, was also in attendance, and served as the administrative contact for the peer co-facilitators. The only exception to this arrangement was that the first-year program workshop was initiated by the Assistant Residence

Director who taught the first-year program in his residence hall. In two instances, R. A.s also supplied refreshments for workshop participants.

Three students served as co-facilitators at each workshop that was designed to last approximately one hour. Briefly, the topics addressed by the standardized workshop were as follows: definition of sexual harassment, sexual harassment as part of a continuum of violence, national and local campus statistics of the incidence of violence and sexually harassing experiences. Co-facilitators role-played six scenes of offensive student behavior that stimulated discussion about whether the behaviors were sexually harassing or merely distasteful. Participants generated a list of effective ways to handle being treated in sexually harassing ways and how to intervene in situations that they witnessed. Each participant received a list of campus resources. For greater details on the workshop's content and process, see Appendix B.

Data Collection

Pre-test Control Group

The mail out survey packet. The following aspects of the mail survey packet were designed to maximize the response rate to the survey, while not adding to the existing risk of response bias. Particular attention was given to make the survey packet distinctive, attractive and inviting. The cover letter was printed on high quality ivory granite paper, (E. Williams, personal communication, April, 2000) requesting the student's voluntary participation in the study,

acknowledging safeguards for participants' anonymity in the final report and an offer to share the results.

The format of the cover letter was a typical letterhead, using the researcher's home address and telephone number. At the signature, the experimenter's academic department campus address was also provided (Groves, 1989). All cover letters were addressed as, "Dear Student," however each was individually signed in blue ink (Groves, 1989, citing Dillman, 1976). In the body of the letter, students' cooperation was solicited, indicating that their participation could help the researcher and eventually result in their enhanced college experience. This approach employed the concepts of presenting the purpose of the research as well as presenting a personal benefit associated with their participation (Paxson, 1995). See Appendix C for an example of the cover letter.

As indicated in the cover letter, a gel pen was enclosed to thank each student for participating in the study (Denton, Tsai, & Chevrette, 1987). The persuasive communication literature supports a reciprocity expectation with the use of enclosed incentives (Cialdini, 1993), as opposed to a promise of a reward upon returning a mailed survey (Church, 1993; Moser & Kalton, 1971). The pen was of middle range quality, with a distinctive design. Denton, Tsai, and Cheverette (1987, 1988) indicated that an inexpensive incentive item would not introduce response bias.

The survey instrument itself consisted of two sheets of solid cream-colored middle quality photocopy paper, stapled at the top left corner. The paper color coordinated with the cover letter (LaGarce, 1995). The first page asked for identifying information (name, email address, date of birth, major, racial/ethnic identity), whether the respondent had ever been a resident assistant at this campus, and whether the respondent had ever had sexual harassment training. The second page was the survey instrument (the Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory found in Appendix A).

A 9" by 12" bright white return enveloped was included in the packet. This envelope was preaddressed and stamped with self-adhesive postage stamps to be returned through the United States Postal Service (Moser & Kalton, 1971; Yammarino, Skinner & Childers, 1991).

Multiple mode follow-up plan. A multiple mode follow-up plan was also used to maximize the mail survey response rate (Denton et al., 1988; Dillman, 1978; Fox, Robinson & Boardley, 1998; Summers & Price, 1997). An initial follow up reminder was sent at the end of the first week by electronic mail to those students with university email accounts. A postcard (Fox et al., 1998) was sent at that time to those without email addresses listed in the electronic database of the university. A second reminder went out to all non-respondents at the end of two weeks following the initial mailing date.

Pre-Test Workshop Participant Surveys

The experimenter attended each of the 12 workshops and distributed the surveys to participants as they arrived in the room. These were collected within 15 minutes so as not to delay the start of the workshop any longer than necessary, while including late arrivers.

Post-Test Data Collection

It was planned that a professional research firm would conduct the telephone survey. The callers were to contact all students who identified themselves on the initial paper survey during the 14th week of the semester following the targeted workshops. The post-test survey contained the same questions as the initial survey. One hundred-sixty-three students completed the telephone survey ($n_{post\text{-}c}$= 98, $n_{post\text{-}w}$= 65). Eight students (n_c= 2, n_w= 6) had not indicated their names on the pre-test survey and 4 students (n_c= 1, n_w= 3) refused to participate in the post-test. Twenty-five students (n_c= 12, n_w= 13) were unreachable for post-test data collection due to their transferring institutions, moving off-campus, or changing to an unlisted telephone number. After 6 attempts over a two-week period, and an additional 75 students (n_c= 41, n_w= 34) were not available (not in their rooms) to participate when called. The response rate for the research sample was 59.3%.

Modifications to Plan

Due to unanticipated circumstances, two exceptions were made in executing the plans for conducting the data collection for this research. The first

exception involved the follow-up plan for gathering initial control group responses. The original design was reassessed once all of the workshops had been scheduled for the target semester. A second packet, containing a duplicate cover letter and survey had been planned to be mailed to all remaining non-respondents upon the students' return from Thanksgiving Recess. By that time, however, all workshops had been scheduled for the rest of the semester, and 7 workshops had already been delivered. The semester's experience to that point indicated that resident workshops averaged 8 participants each and staff training workshops yielded an average of 14 students. Four of the remaining five workshops were scheduled as resident workshops; therefore it became clear that the original estimate of 175 participants for the fall semester was generous. The researcher tried to gather control and treatment groups of approximately the same size. The apparent change in expected treatment group size dictated a revision in the follow-up plan for contacting the control non-respondents.

Based on attendance at workshops held prior to Thanksgiving Recess, the researcher determined to revise the estimate of the treatment group down from 175 to 125 students. At the time that the second packets would have been mailed, 156 control subjects had already returned responses. The plan for a second mailing was therefore abandoned.

The second modification to the data-gathering plan resulted from financial constraints. An alternative option was explored for selecting a group of telephone surveyors for the post-test data collection. The telephone survey

protocol had been pilot tested during the fall semester. A typical survey, including reading the initial paragraph containing statements about confidentiality and the value of the information gained through the survey, took 4 minutes to complete. Given the actual number of students to survey (n=283), it would take 19 hours to collect the post-test data. The original plan was to engage a professional marketing firm to make the telephone calls. In an attempt to conserve funds, the researcher asked for 6 volunteers among associates with previous interviewing experience and a target time period (evenings during the 14th week of the Spring semester) was selected for calls.

A week before calling began, a training session with all of the callers present was conducted to assure the following: standardization of procedures (including verbatim reading of the initial statement about the researcher, the purpose and the confidentiality of responses); non-leading utterances to student responses; uniform markings on the survey protocol; and conducting the survey in a friendly tone of voice. The training also included mock telephone calls with uncooperative respondents. Callers anticipated an array of problems that might arise during the calls (See Appendix D for Caller Training Guidelines.), and together they developed consistent responses. The goal of the session was to gain uniform responses by callers to conditions that might arise during their calls.

Limitations Considered

Internal Research Design Validity

Two different methods of subject selection were used. The control group was identified by systematic selection, using the student directory list. Every undergraduate resident student had an equal chance of being selected because the student directory is an inclusive list (barring printing omissions). The workshop group consisted of every student who attended the beginning of a workshop session. The entire population of those students had the opportunity to participate in the study. All except one workshop student willingly participated in the study. The difference in selection method for the two groups may have introduced an unknown degree of response bias.

Students who participated in this research were all undergraduate students at the same university. They were all presumably exposed to the events that occurred in the passage of time of the study. Similarly, any effect of respondents' maturation is also equated, as students in the control group and the workshop group were distributed among the four class years and were within the age range of traditional college students.

The issue of becoming "test-wise" is less clear. Students were asked to respond to the behaviors as they related to their observation during the current semester. At post-test they may have been familiar with the questions, but their pre-test responses and post-test responses would have referred to a different time period. The instrument was identical, however the administration mode

was different with each testing. During the pre-test, students responded to a written survey, while they responded orally to a survey that was read to them by the caller at post-test. Callers recorded the responses on a written survey, thus the callers served as trained surrogate writers. This may have reduced any test-retest threat to internal validity of the design.

Regression toward the mean ("the tendency for research participants who score either very high or very low on a measure to score nearer the mean when the measure is re-administered" [Gall et al., 1996, p. 771]) is a statistical phenomenon that can threaten the outcome in a test-retest design. In this particular study, this statistical tendency serves to add further credence to the pre-test to post-test change results, as statistically there is a tendency to mute the most extreme responses. Since positive change was demonstrated by the results, any regression toward the mean has been overcome by the strength of the effects of the treatment.

Attrition of the original pre-test sample certainly could have had undue influence on the outcome of the study, however only those participants who were also successfully contacted for post-test were included in the analysis. Some response bias is introduced by the fact that some students were unavailable, but the degree of bias is also unknown.

Experimental treatment diffusion (contamination of the original control group with students who attended the workshop) was easily controlled by adjusting the identification of original control group students as treatment group

members when these students appeared at a workshop presentation. This occurred in two cases.

The nature of the peer-educator course attempted to standardize the student leaders' training for their tasks (Light, Singer, & Willett, 1990). They all had access to the same lectures, discussions and workshop outlines to prepare them for leading their workshops. Not all workshop attendees were exposed to the same conditions, however. Different numbers of participants attended each workshop and each workshop took place at a different location on campus, although most were held on a Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday near 7:00 P.M.

External Research Design Validity

Two aspects of population validity are offered for consideration: generalizability of outcomes and personological variable interactions with treatment effects. The results of this study refer to a single educational program at one university during a single year. The analysis may be generalized to future semesters of the program, as taught by the same instructor, however generalizing beyond that limited scope should be cautiously undertaken. The findings from this study have limited generalizability due to the specific workshop that was assessed.

"The extent to which personological variables interact with treatment effects" (Gall et al., 1996) is an aspect of population validity that became an intentional feature of the results of this study. Because the causal model was constructed, student characteristics were under methodological control. A

caution may be added, in that five characteristics were selected based in the student development literature as potentially impacting programming effectiveness (Evans, Forney & Guido-DiBrito, 1998). Perhaps there are other characteristics (those not methodologically controlled) that were also important. These omitted variables can introduce bias.

Ecological validity is concerned with the extent to which results of a study can be applied generally, given the degree of control over conditions under which the study took place. Several considerations impact the generalizability of results (Gall et al., 1996), such as:

(1) Can the study be replicated?

(2) Do other treatments contaminate the results?

(3) Does being in a study effect participants' responses?

(4) Does the fact that the treatment is being studied interfere with its effectiveness, or would it be equally effective after peer-educators grow tired of leading the workshop?

(5) Does the experimenter's presence influence the results?

(6) Does exposure to the pre-test unduly influence attention to workshop content?

(7) What is the effect of time on outcome measurement?

(8) Does the measurement instrument pose bias? If other experimenters can replicate the study, then the process of validating the original results can begin. Procedures of selection, student contact and data

collection in the present study are described in detail in previous chapters, therefore other researchers could replicate the study. Each of these questions will be addressed in the remainder of this section.

Regarding the matter of interference of multiple treatments, the present study controlled for possible effects of other sexual harassment training during multiple regression analysis. This statistical procedure parcels out the effects of all independent variables, so that they do not contaminate each other. Collinearity of the independent variables was also conducted to assure the research community that independent variables were independent of each other.

Many experimental conditions pose a threat to the integrity of the results due to the subjects' awareness that an experiment is being conducted. This study was conducted in the natural setting of an ongoing educational program. Attending workshops in the residence halls is a routine part of residence life on this campus. When the experimenter asked for attendants' cooperation in responding to the survey, the specific purpose of the research was not disclosed. For these reasons, it is assessed that the Hawthorne effect was minimized. Pens were distributed to the control group as an incentive to respond to the written survey, and it was expected that the workshops would include refreshments. These enticements would not favorably dispose students to demonstrate increased reporting of intervention behavior on the post-test, as the salience of intervention was not known to the respondents.

Another similar matter that affects external validity is the effect of novelty and disruptive qualities of the study. Again, this study took place in the natural course of student life. The purposeful sampling of workshop students was similar to many other workshop evaluation processes, from the students' perspective. Less is known about the novelty factors regarding the control responses.

Experimenter effect is another factor that can influence the external validity of an experiment. In this particular study, the treatment was administered by peer-educators, and not the experimenter herself. The data were collected by direct face-to-face contact between this experimenter and workshop students at pre-test, and through written communication between this experimenter and control group members at pre-test. Post-test data were collected by one of seven callers (trained by the experimenter) via telephone contact. Even though these calls took place six months after the pre-test and treatment, students may have been influenced to report their responses to observing their peers' behaviors in a biased manner merely by receiving a follow-up telephone call.

Pre-test sensitization can occur when the pre-test itself interacts with the treatment (Gall et al., 1996; Light et al., 1990). This factor is an issue of concern in this study's design. The workshop participants submitted their surveys before the beginning of each workshop. It is possible that reading the situations may have peaked students' alertness to certain issues yet to be addressed in the

workshop content. This condition was not one that was shared by control subjects.

The interaction of time of measurement and treatment effects can also affect a study's validity. This study's design considered the value of allowing a semester to pass before post-testing. Post-testing immediately following treatment would not test for intervention behavior change, as it would not have allowed for any life experience to have taken place in which to apply the workshop learning. A semester's interval was selected as a reasonable period of time between treatment and post-test because workshops took place near the end of the fall semester, and students were asked at that time to respond to items considering their fall semester's experience with peer behaviors. A comparable unit of time to elapse was selected for post-testing.

The measurement instrument itself may be a source of concern with regard to external invalidity. The Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory will be examined in the next section.

Instrument Validity

The Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory (SHBBII) is a self-report instrument that asks respondents to identify their reaction to the most recently observed incident of each item of peer sexually harassing behavior. The inventory consists of 11 such items (4 Gender harassing behaviors, 3 Taunting sexually harassing behaviors, and 4 Intrusive sexually harassing behaviors) and 3 distracter items (items that indicate intimate behavior

but lack a quality of unwelcomeness). There are 5 check-off response options for each item.

Validity of a measurement instrument is concerned with the instrument's ability to measure what it says it is measuring. The Joint Committee on Educational and Psychological Tests of the American Educational Research Association, the American Psychological Association, and the National Council on Measurement in Education developed *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* (1985) and a definition of test validity as follows: "appropriateness, meaningfulness, and usefulness of the specific inferences made from test scores" (p. 9).

Criterion Validity

Concurrent criterion validity demonstrates that "a particular measure relates well (correlates) with another established measure of the same concept administered at the same time" (Weiss, 1998, p. 145). *Predictive* criterion validity is another type of criterion validity that correlates measurements with an unrelated future measurement of a phenomenon. This research study found moderate relationships ($p < .05$) between reported previous sexual harassment training and pre-test scores. This was the case for two of the three scales (Gender Intervention [$r = .22$] and Intrusive Intervention [$r = .22$]), and for the Total Intervention score ($r = .26$). These correlations provide concurrent evidence of criterion validity of the SHBBII. No attempt was made in this study to establish

predictive criterion validity. This would have added further weight to the criterion validity of the instrument.

Construct Validity

Construct validity of a measurement "assesses the underlying theoretical construct it is supposed to assess" (Light et al., 1990). The SHBBII items were adapted from the Harris Associates' items on the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation's national study of 8th to 11th grade students' experiences with sexually harassing behaviors (AAUW, 1993). The SHBBII's construct scales (Gender Intervention, Taunting Intervention, and Intrusion) grew from an adaptation of Fitzgerald's (1996b) evolving taxonomy of workplace and school sexual harassment. The adaptation was necessary due to the differences in population between the Fitzgerald work and the present study. Fitzgerald's education population included faculty-student sexual harassment experiences and therefore *quid pro quo* forms of sexual harassment (sexual bribery and sexual coercion) were included among her categories. The SHBBII only examines three categories of hostile environment sexually harassing behaviors, as students do not typically hold the power over one another for employment or academic decisions. Experts were consulted for item construction and item categorization.

Further, the response options of the SHBBII were derived from the practice literature. Response options included all categorical reactions one may have to witnessing behavior (I did nothing; I joined in; I told someone about it

later; I tried to stop it.). Telling someone about an incident later could be regarded as a valuable response from an administrator's legal perspective, if the incident were reported to a person who had the authority to do something about the situation (for example, to follow up with the target individual, to investigate the incident, or to charge the alleged perpetrator with an infraction of institutional policy). However, telling a friend or family member could have a negative effect on the social atmosphere (for example, gossip or portrayal of a social norm of harassing behaviors without consequences). To distinguish between these opposing effects, two options of "telling" were included ("telling someone I'm close to" and "telling someone with the authority to do something about it").

Those students in the study who were resident assistants tended to score higher on the Gender Intervention and Taunting Intervention pre-test scales than other students, indicating that students with front-line responsibility for the interpersonal well-being of the residence halls were likely to intervene in matters of peer sexist behavior and inappropriate sexual advances. Those students in the study who had had other sexual harassment training tended to intervene in all three of the types of sexually harassing behavior at pre-test. This corroborates the association between the concepts taught in typical sexual harassment training (examples of sexually harassing behavior) and behaviors reported by those who attended.

Content Validity

Content validity is concerned with capturing the full range of expressions of a concept. In this instance, hostile environment sexually harassing behaviors should be represented by the instrument. Care was given to include all behaviors from the Harris/AAUW (1993) survey and to include only those behaviors that an observer could try to stop as it was occurring. Response to graffiti was therefore eliminated from the Harris/AAUW item array. Three types of hostile environment sexually harassing behavior were included, which is consistent with the currently standard taxonomy (Fitzgerald, 1996b) of hostile environment sexually harassing behaviors.

Instrument Reliability

Reliability of an instrument is concerned with deriving the same information from respondents on repeated attempts to measure the same phenomenon (Weiss, 1998). The measurement tool's instructions ask students to respond to the most recent time that the item behaviors occurred during the semester in which the instrument was administered. Issues of respondent attention, ability to recall, intention to answer in a socially desirable manner, and wish to answer within the perception of the peer norm all play a role in her/his response to each item. These variables were not assessed in this study. Test-retest reliability is therefore impossible with the present instructions, as any passage of time offers an opportunity to report one's behavior to a different circumstance.

There was an alternative mode of administration, which can be regarded as an alternate form by which to test reliability of responses. This was not used in the present study as an alternative form of data collection at the same temporal administration. Therefore the results could not be compared. This could be done with a larger sample in the future.

However, Cronbach's coefficient alphas were calculated from pre-test data (n = 283) to test internal consistency of items on the three scales of sexually harassing behavior and on the Total scale of sexually harassing behaviors. After the "I did not witness this behavior" responses were removed, a moderate to high degree of internal consistency was found to exist among the items of the Gender, Intrusive, and Total sexually harassing behavior scales (Gender items: α = .63; Intrusive items: α = .76; Total sexually harassing items: α = .80). Taunting items showed less consistency (α = .36). Distracter items were excluded from the Cronbach analyses.

Distracter items served the purpose of demonstrating that respondents were not providing answers without giving them consideration. These items were consistently responded to with an appropriate response of either "I did nothing" or "I joined in" among the pre-test sample (96.3%) and among the post-test sample (96.6%).

Further Limitations

Several additional limitations of this study should be noted. This was an exploratory study that opens a new strain of research in the field of intervention

behavior, as it applies to sexual harassment concerns. An alpha level of significance of .10 was selected initially, so as to identify more independent variables in the multiple regression analysis. Future research should standardize the tools by selecting the more typical .05 level for alpha.

When using the intervention ratio factor, one is able to gauge the degree of intervention as it compares with the degree of sexually harassing behaviors observed. One additional layer of data would be very helpful to gain a sense of the sexually harassing climate of a campus. Students' experiences with being the target of sexually harassing behavior incidence data are collected every three years at this university. This data could provide a context within which to set the intervention ratio factors calculated in the present study. No current incidence data are available; therefore it is difficult to tell whether the increase in workshop attendees' interventions at the post-test data collection was the result of an increase in the number of opportunities to intervene. Control subjects did not significantly increase their interventions, whereas workshop students did. It could be argued that workshop students became more aware of what was transpiring in their presence. Increasing awareness of one's environment would serve as an additional value for the university to support such an educational program.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses that were tested in this study were derived directly from the research questions and are stated in the null form:

1. Attending a peer-led sexual harassment workshop makes no difference in college students' bystander intervention in their peers' sexually harassing behaviors.
2. There is no difference by type of sexually harassing behavior (Gender, Taunting, or Intrusive) in which college students intervene following attendance at a peer-led sexual harassment workshop.
3. College students' bystander intervention is no different among sole witnesses to peer sexually harassing behaviors from that of witnesses among other observers following attendance at a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop.
4. Individual characteristics (student gender, academic class, racial/ethnic identity, resident assistant status, and other sexual harassment training experience) do not influence the effectiveness of attending a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop on bystander intervention in peers' sexually harassing behaviors.

Analysis of Data

Before testing the hypotheses, it was necessary to become familiar with the initial data. Pre-test data served as the starting point for understanding the intervention behavior with which the students in the study arrived. It was necessary to examine the comparability of the two treatment groups, so that the workshop treatment under study might be considered as making a difference in the subsequent behavior of those who attended the peer-led workshop. The

question this inquiry was addressing was: Is it likely that these two groups come from the same population?

Hypothesis 1 was tested through descriptive statistics and mean comparisons, by performing a paired t-test comparing pre-test Total Intervention scores with post-test Total Intervention scores (pre-treatment and 6 months post-treatment) of workshop attendees. To account for maturation of the treatment sample, a comparable t-test was performed among control group scores.

Hypothesis 2 was tested by comparing each type of sexually harassing intervention (Gender, Taunting and Intrusive) pre-treatment score with its post-treatment score using paired t-test statistical analysis. To account for maturation of the treatment sample, comparable t-tests were performed among pre-test and post-test control group scores.

Preliminary analysis of the third hypothesis was conducted by observing the frequency data of subject interventions when they identified that they were the only witness. Further scrutiny was not necessary, as the low frequency of sole observer intervention did not warrant it.

The final hypothesis of this study required blocked hierarchical multiple regression analysis of the student demographic data (gender, academic class, racial/ethnic identity, resident assistant status, and other sexual harassment training experience), pre-test scores, and treatment condition serving as the independent variables while analyzing the post-test Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory (Gender Intervention, Taunting

Intervention, Intrusive Intervention and Total Intervention) scores. A causal model was constructed to account for direct, indirect and total effects of these variables.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter begins with a description of the research sample, including comparisons of the independent variables of the control and workshop segments. Measures of central tendency of the pre-test scores on the Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory (SHBBII) are then used to present a statistical picture of the dependent variables. This chapter then reports about students intervening when they are the only witness to their peers' sexually harassing behaviors and when among other observers. Correlations among the independent variables and the four scores of the inventory (Gender Intervention, Taunting Intervention, Intrusive Intervention, and Total Intervention) are then reported. This section is followed by a presentation of the results of the regression analyses of the data. At the conclusion of the chapter, a causal model is used to describe the relationship among student characteristics, intervening variables (pre-test scores and treatment condition) and post-test scores.

Development of Research Sample

The sample included 163 residential undergraduate students, 98 of whom were systematically selected from the student directory--every 54th name was selected--to serve as the control group (did not attend the target workshop), and 65 students participated in the one-hour peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop that is the focus of this study.

Ninety-six percent of the 160 control group pre-test inventories (154) were usable. Twenty-five students could not be contacted due to their leaving the university, taking a semester at another institution, or obtaining an unlisted telephone number. Two control group students did not supply their name on the pre-test, and 2 students refused to participate in the post-test telephone interview. Twenty-seven students were unavailable during the post-test calling period, resulting in a control group consisting of 98 students (response rate of 61. 25%). From among the 125 workshop participants who returned inventories to the experimenter, 121 were usable. However, 7 did not supply their name on the pre-test, 1 moved and did not have a listed telephone number, 3 refused to participate in the post-test, 3 post-test interviews were interrupted, and 42 were unavailable during the post-test calling period. The resultant workshop group consisted of 65 students (response rate of 52. 0%). The response rate was 59. 3% for the sample as a whole.

Four of the 10 workshops were conducted for resident assistants during the fall semester 2000 (n = 25), as part of their in-service training, and one workshop was conducted as part of a first-year orientation section curriculum unit (n = 11). The remaining 29 students attended the workshop as a choice activity in a residence hall (either their own building or one in their cluster), as a Residence Life education program. Table 5 shows the distribution of workshop participants who were part of this study.

Table 5

Workshop Participants in Sample

Type of Population	Date of the Workshop	# of Participants	# in Study Sample (both pre-test and post-test measures obtained)
1st Year Class	11/7/00	16	11
Residence Program	11/8/00	8	4
R A Staff Training	11/8/00	12	5
R A Staff Training	11/12/00	18	10
Residence Program	11/13/00	6	5
R A Staff Training	11/14/00	11	4
Residence Program	11/16/00	8	4
Residence Program	11/29/00	7	4
Residence Program	12/3/00	7	5
Residence Program	12/4/00	7	1
R A Staff Training	12/5/00	17	6
Residence Program	12/6/00	8	6
Total		125	65

Descriptive Analysis of the Data

Students in the Sample

Table 6 summarizes some characteristics of the students in the sample. This sample was drawn from the residential population at the flagship public

university in Massachusetts, a school with an undergraduate population of 17,949 during the study's target semester (Office of Institutional Research, 2001). Compared with the undergraduate resident population (N=10.524), the initial response group (control) was similar in gender proportions (52.8% female as compared with 51.2% female for the university), was similarly skewed toward lower division (70% of the sample as compared with 72% for the university), and drew responses from slightly more ALANA (the acronym this university uses for African, Latino/a, Asian and Native American) students (23.9% of the sample as compared with 22.1% of the resident undergraduate population).

A cursory review of the percentages of characteristics of each treatment condition in Table 6 highlights some apparent differences between the two groups in the sample. Nearly two-thirds of the control group was female and just over one half of the workshop group was female. A vast majority (nearly 79%) of the control group were lower division students (first-years or sophomores), while the relatively large percentage (38.5%) of resident assistants (who typically are older) in the workshop group tended to equalize the distribution among the academic classes. Nearly a third of workshop participants were ALANA students, while less than a fifth of the control group were ALANAs. Twice as many resident assistants had other sexual harassment training experience than did not in the treatment group. Only a third of the workshop attendees who were not resident assistants had other sexual harassment training experience.

Table 6

Sample Profile (reported as n and as %)

Indep. Variable	Variable Label	Control (n = 98)		Workshop (n = 65)		Total Sample (N=163)	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Gender	Male	32	32. 7	29	44. 6	61	37. 4
	Female	63	64. 3	36	55. 4	99	60. 7
	Unreported	3	3. 1	0	0. 0	3	1. 8
Academic Class	Lower division	77	78. 6	37	56. 9	114	70. 0
	Upper division	21	21. 2	28	43. 1	49	30. 1
Racial/Ethnic Identity	ALANA*	16	16. 3	23	35. 4	39	23. 9
	European	82	83. 7	42	64. 6	124	76. 1
R. A. -Other Training Interaction**	Non-R. A. , no other training	60	61. 2	30	46. 2	90	55. 2
	R. A. , no other training	2	2. 0	8	12. 3	10	6. 1
	Non-R. A. , with other training	33	33. 7	9	13. 8	42	25. 8
	R. A. , with other training	1	1. 0	17	26. 2	18	11. 0
	Unreported	2	2. 0	1	1. 5	3	1. 8

*ALANA is the acronym used at this university for African, Latino/a, Asian and Native American individuals.
** other sexual harassment training experience

Variables in the Study

Table 7 presents a brief description of each of the variables in this study and provides the coding for each.

Table 7

Variable Definitions

Variable Name	Definition
Student's gender	Single check-off item asking students to identify Their gender (1=male, 2=female)
Academic class	Single check-off item asking students to identify Their college year of study (1=lower division, 2= upper division)
Racial/Ethnic identity	Open-ended item asking students to describe their racial/ethnic identity (1=ALANA, 2=European-descent)
Resident assistant status	Single check-off item asking students to indicate if they had ever been a resident assistant on this campus (1=no, 2=yes)
Other sexual harassment training experience	Single check-off item asking student to indicate if they had any (other) sexual harassment training (1=no, 2=yes)
Gender intervention score	Score of 0 to 3 on a 4-item self-report scale of the SHBBII measuring interventions in peers' gender harassing behaviors. Score calculated as described in SHBBII scores section of text
Taunting intervention score	Score of 0 to 3 on a 3-item self-report scale of the SHBBII measuring interventions in peers' taunting sexually harassing behaviors. Score calculated as described in SHBBII scores section of text
Intrusive intervention score	Score of 0 to 3 on a 4-item self-report scale of the SHBBII measuring interventions in peers' intrusive sexually harassing behaviors. Score calculated as described in SHBBII scores section of text
Total intervention score	Score of 0 to 3 averaging the scores on the scales of the SHBBII where respondent witnessed any behaviors on the scales. Score calculated as described in SHBBII scores section of text
Treatment condition	Experimenter identification of either Systematically selected student or attendee at a Peer-led sexual harassment workshop (1=control, 2=workshop)

Bystander Intervention

This study focused on the behavior of witnesses to their peers' sexually harassing behavior. Residential college students were asked to provide a self-report of their own most recent responses during the current semester to items on a one-page inventory. They could have indicated that they did not witness a behavior; that they tried to stop the behavior; that they did nothing about it; that they joined in; or that they told someone about it later. Only peer behaviors that respondents tried to stop (intervened in) were tabulated for analysis.

Tables 8 and 9 show each sexually harassing behavior item and the samples' responses (reported in percentages) to the pre-test and post-test respectively. One of the questions in this study asked whether training had an effect on the students intervening as a sole witness of peer sexually harassing behaviors. This question grew from the early bystander research that indicated that people tended to intervene more often when they were the only witness to an emergency than when they were one of several witnesses. The respondents in this study did not mirror the results found in previous research. The data in this study showed a low incidence of intervention as a sole observer (no item yielded more than 6% sole observer-interveners) for all items on the inventory of sexually harassing behaviors (at both pre-test and post-test). The low frequency of reported sole observer-interventions presents methodological problems that make further analysis of this research question impossible. The low frequencies

result in analytical cell sizes that partition the variance to such a great extent that it prohibits appropriately powerful and reliable statistical analysis (J. B. Berger, personal communication, August 10, 2001). If tests are conducted with few cases among 7 independent variables, the number of cases in each condition is too small to produce meaningful statistical outcomes. A case-to-independent variable ratio of 20 was considered to be a desirable minimum cell size (J. B. Berger, personal communication, June 19, 2001). These data do not satisfy that standard, and therefore the decision was made to curtail further analysis for this question. Implications of this finding and suggestions for further research will be addressed in Chapter 5.

Table 8

Pre-test Intervening (N = 163)

What did you do when	% Intervening when Sole Observer	% Intervening when Among Other Witnesses	% Total Intervening	% Who Observed This Behavior
a person made a sexist comment, joke, gesture or look	0. 6	7. 0	7. 6	86. 7
someone displayed sexually explicit materials	0. 6	6. 3	6. 9	55. 3
someone was spreading sexual rumor about someone	1. 9	15. 1	17. 0	44. 7
a person called somebody a negative word relating to sexual orientation	5. 5	20. 6	26. 6	70. 2
someone flashed or mooned	0. 0	3. 1	3. 1	46. 6
someone was unwillingly touched, grabbed or pinched in a sexual way	0. 6	13. 5	14. 1	31. 5
someone pulled at another person's clothing against his/her will	0. 6	8. 6	9. 2	22. 7
someone brushed or pressed into a person against her/his will	3. 1	4. 3	7. 4	25. 2
someone's path was blocked or was cornered in an intimidating way	3. 1	8. 6	11. 9	15. 3
a person forced a kiss on somebody	3. 7	5. 0	8. 7	12. 4
someone forced a person to do something sexual other than kissing	1. 2	3. 1	4. 3	9. 2

Table 9

Post-Test Intervening (N = 163)

What did you do when	% Intervening when Sole Observer	% Intervening when Among Other Witnesses	% Intervening	% Observed This Behavior
a person made a sexist comment, joke, gesture or look	0. 0	18. 6	18. 6	72. 2
someone displayed sexually explicit materials	2. 1	4. 1	6. 2	54. 6
someone was spreading sexual rumor about someone	3. 1	12. 4	15. 5	46. 4
a person called somebody a negative word relating to sexual orientation	6. 2	26. 8	33. 0	73. 2
someone flashed or mooned	0. 0	2. 1	2. 1	41. 7
someone was unwillingly touched, grabbed or pinched in a sexual way	3. 1	15. 5	18. 6	37. 1
someone pulled at another person's clothing against his/her will	3. 1	11. 3	14. 4	33. 0
someone brushed or pressed into a person against her/his will	5. 2	7. 2	12. 4	38. 1
someone's path was blocked or was cornered in an intimidating way	4. 1	16. 5	20. 6	25. 8
a person forced a kiss on somebody	1. 0	12. 4	13. 4	22. 7
someone forced a person to do something sexual other than kissing	1. 0	5. 2	6. 2	7. 2

SHBBII Scales (Dependent Variables)

Data analysis was conducted using the hostile environment sexual harassment taxonomy of Fitzgerald (1996b). Scales were developed in the inventory instrument used to collect the data in this study (Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory) (SHBBII) based on Fitzgerald's research. These scales (Gender Intervention, Taunting Intervention, and Intrusive Sexually Harassing Behaviors) are discussed in this section.

As described in Chapter 2, the SHBBII yields 3 scores, each comprised of either 3 or 4 items on the inventory and a fourth score that averages interventions across the items on the inventory. Gender harassing behaviors are those that are generalized sexist remarks and behavior; Taunting sexually harassing behaviors are inappropriate and offensive sexual advances, with neither penalty attached, nor with sexual bribery; Intrusive sexually harassing behaviors are attempts to fondle, touch, kiss or grab. Scores range from 0 to 3 on each of the scales. A score is calculated by tallying the number of interventions within the scale and comparing that tally with the number of items on the scale that were witnessed during the semester. A score of 0 represents none of the scale's items were witnessed; a score of 1 indicates that at least one of the items on the scale was witnessed, but the respondent did not intervene in any of those behaviors; a score of 2 indicates that some intervention(s) were made with items in the scale; and the score of 3 represents that the respondent tried to stop all items on the scale that were witnessed during the semester.

Workshop attendee pre-test scores and control pre-test scores were statistically compared to determine if they were similar. Means and standard deviations for each group are displayed in Table 10.

Table 10

Pre-test Scores on SHBBII by Treatment Group: Means, Standard Deviations

SHBBII Score	CONTROL (n = 98) Mean and standard deviation	WORKSHOP (n = 65) Mean and standard deviation	TOTAL SAMPLE (n = 163) Mean and standard deviation
Gender Intervention	m = 1. 37 s. d. = 0. 71	m = 1. 42 s. d. = 0. 75	m = 1. 39 s. d. = 0. 72
Taunting Intervention	m = 0. 76 s. d. = 0. 89	m = 0. 82 s. d. = 0. 79	m = 0. 78 s. d. = 0. 85
Intrusive Intervention	m = 0. 74 s. d. = 1. 16	m = 0. 83 s. d. = 1. 14	m = 0. 78 s. d. = 1. 15
Total Intervention	m = 1. 43 s. d. = 0. 68	m = 1. 44 s. d. = 0. 72	m = 1. 44 s. d. = 0. 70

Before addressing the data analysis directed by the remaining research questions of this study, it is important to know more about this sample. Independent sample *t*-tests were conducted on the pre-test scores to address the inquiry, "Do those who attend a peer-led sexual harassment workshop behave

differently when they have witnessed their peers' sexually harassing behaviors from control group undergraduate resident students *prior* to being exposed to the workshop content?" None of the differences between the pre-test scores for the two experimental conditions were found to be statistically significant (Gender Intervention t = .41; Taunting Intervention t = .44; Intrusion Intervention t = .47; and Total Intervention t = .08) at an alpha (α) level of .05. These statistical test results indicate that the scores do not differ enough to consider any reason for the difference other than a 5% chance of occurrence. To say this another way, although the characteristics of the students in the control group and the workshop group differ in a number of ways (see Table 6), their SHBBII scores were essentially the same before the workshop.

To address the question, "Did those who attended the peer-led workshop on sexual harassment differ in their intervention behavior from those who did not?" another series of t-tests was conducted on scores of the two treatment conditions (Workshop attendees and control subjects). For the control group, no significant differences between pre-test scores and post-test scores were found, using a paired means t-test analysis of the scores. However, for those who attended the workshop, there were statistically significant differences between pre-workshop scores and post-workshop scores on three of the four measures (Gender Intervention, Intrusive Intervention and Total Intervention scores). Table 11 provides the details of this analysis, showing t statistics and their corresponding 2-tailed significance levels.

Table 11

Pre-/Post-test Scores t-Tests by Treatment Condition

Score	Control *t* value	Pre-test Mean	Post-test Mean	Work-shop *t* value	Pre-test Mean	Post-test Mean
Gender Intervention	-.44	1.37	1.33	2.03**	1.42	1.62
Taunting Intervention	1.04	.76	.86	1.56	.82	1.03
Intrusion Intervention	.35	.74	.80	2.78***	.83	1.32
Total Intervention	-.64	1.43	1.38	2.20**	1.44	1.68

** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$

These results indicate when comparing the control group's pre-test scores to their post-test scores on each of the SHBBII scales that there are no statistically significant differences throughout the measurement instrument. However, for those students who participated in the workshop, there were statistically significant increases in their interventions overall (Total Intervention scores: $t = 2.20$, $p < .05$), and on two of the three scales (Gender Intervention scores: $t = 2.03$, $p < .05$) and Intrusive Intervention scores: $t = 2.78$, $p < .01$). These comparisons indicate that those who attended the workshop reported after six months that they made somewhat more interventions in sexually harassing behaviors of their peers in general and specifically in gender harassing matters. In matters of intrusive sexually harassing behaviors, their increased intervention activity was

even greater. That is to say that the pre- to post-test increase was so great for workshop attendees' Intrusive intervention score that the probability of such a difference occurring by chance alone is 1%, and the probability of such increases in Gender intervention scores and Total intervention scores occurring by chance alone is 5%. Since control students showed no statistically significant increases in intervention in the same period on any of the SHBBII scales, these results suggest that there is a positive effect on the subsequent intervention behavior for those who attended the workshop.

Another way to describe the data offers a view of the three types of hostile environment sexually harassing behaviors that considers the proportion of students who intervened as compared with the proportion of the sample that observed these types of behaviors. Table 12 presents the numerical factors and Figure 5 represents the three dimensions as building blocks, with four points along the top surfaces to indicate the treatment condition and the test period. The factor scale along the left and back walls of the three-dimensional graph was calculated by the following formula: $\sum$(% intervening ÷ % witnessing) of each item on a sexually harassing behavior dimension (Gender Intervention, Taunting intervention or Intrusive) ÷ # of items in that dimension.

Clearly from viewing Figure 5, the Intrusive dimension (yellow block) has the highest intervention factor of the three dimensions. It far exceeds the other two for both treatment groups, at both testing times. The Gender Intervention score (blue block) and the Taunting Intervention score (red block) show

improvement at post-test for the workshop attendees. The control group improved only slightly after 6 months elapsed on the Gender Intervention scale, while Taunting Intervention shows a decline in the control group during the same period. Intrusive Intervention factors improved for the workshop group in one semester's time, while control group interventions show a sharp decline.

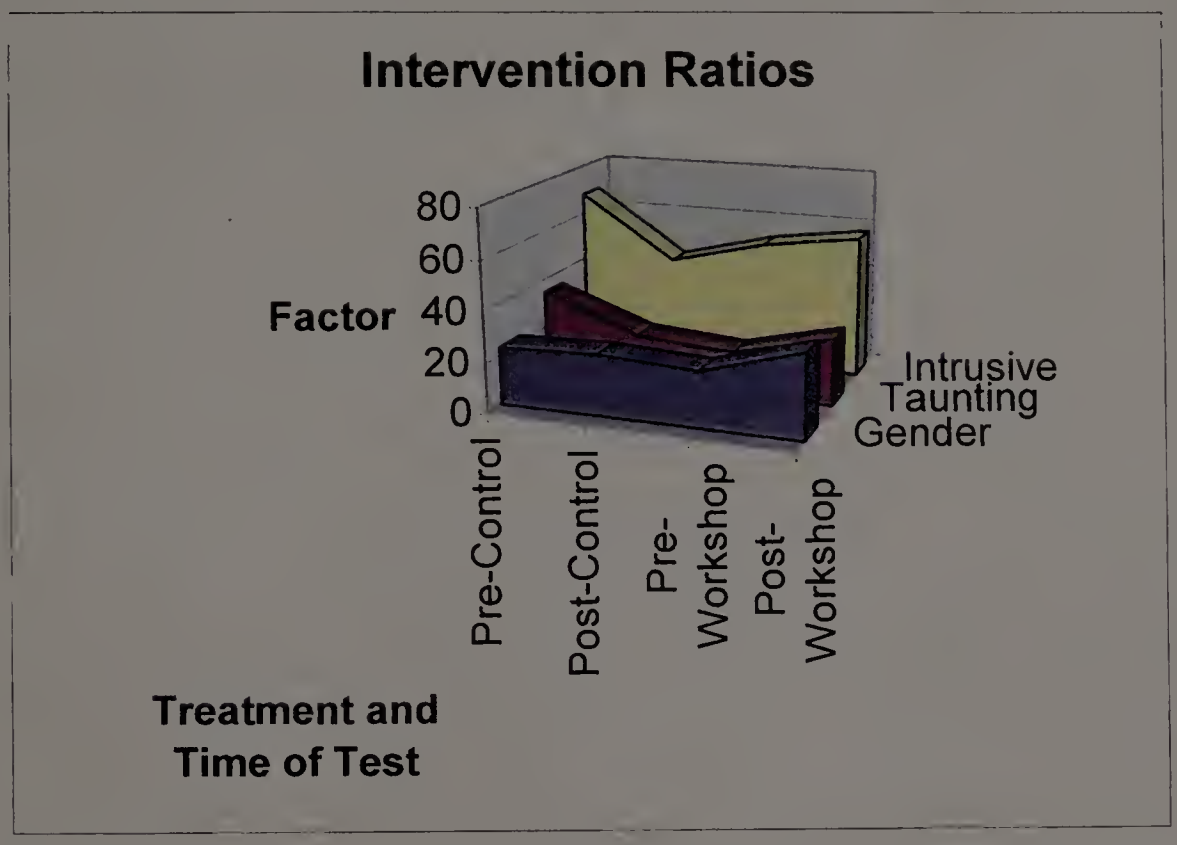


Figure 5 Intervention Ratios by Sexually Harassing Behavior and Treatment Condition

Table 12

Intervention Ratio Factors

Scale	Pre-test Control	Post-test Control	Pre-test Workshop	Post-test Workshop
Gender Intervention	23.0	24.4	22.4	33.8
Taunting Intervention	34.7	20.4	17.5	27.1
Intrusive Intervention	68.2	42.2	52.1	57.6

Relationship Analysis

Correlations were calculated among the independent and pre-test dependent variables to determine the degree of relationships that existed among the variables. The results of the Pearson Product Moment Correlations are found in Table 13.

Statistically significant relationships were found to exist between the Gender Intervention pre-test score and some independent variables: resident assistant status, other sexual harassment training experience ($p < .01$) and racial/ethnic identity ($p < .05$). European Americans, resident assistants, and students with other sexual harassment training experiences tended to intervene more often in the gender harassing behaviors of their peers. Taunting Intervention pre-test score did not significantly correlate with any of the independent variables, while Intrusive Intervention pre-test score correlated significantly with only other sexual harassment training experience ($p < .05$). The

indication is that students with other sexual harassment training experience tended to intervene more than those without prior training in more intrusive sexually harassing behaviors of their peers prior to this workshop. Total Intervention pre-test score correlated significantly with both resident assistant status ($p < .05$) and other sexual harassment training experience ($p < .01$). Resident assistants and those with other sexual harassment training experience tended to intervene on the average in more sexually harassing behaviors of their peers before treatment than did non-resident assistants and those with no other sexual harassment training.

Table 13

Correlations (σ) among Pre-Test Scores and Independent Variables

Variable	G	T	I	Tot	Trmt	Gender	Class	R. A.	Trng	R/E ID
G	1.00									
T	.20**	1.00								
I	.18**	.38***	1.00							
Tot	.84***	36***	.47***	1.00						
Trmt	.03	.04	.04	.01	1.00					
Gender	.02	.09	.08	.02	-.11	1.00				
Class	.09	.03	.00	.12	.23***	-.22***	1.00			
R. A.	.21***	-.07	.00	.17**	.51***	-.15	.52***	1.00		
Trng	.22***	.10	.22**	.26***	.05	-.09	.26***	.36***	1.00	
R/E ID	.16**	-.08	.00	.11	-.22***	.06	-.22***	-.27***	-.04	1.00

** $p < .05$ (2 tailed) *** $p < .01$ (2-tailed)

Variables are: Gender Intervention pre-test score (G), Taunting Intervention pre-test score (T), Intrusive Intervention pre-test score (I), Total Intervention pre-test score (Tot), Treatment Condition (Trmt), Student's gender (Gender), Academic class (Class), R. A. Status (R. A.), Other sexual harassment training experience (Trng), Racial/ethnic identity (R/E ID)

Among the dependent variables, there were significant correlations as well. Each SHBBII category pre-test score correlated significantly with the Total Intervention score ($p < .01$) and correlated among one another at the $p < .05$ level of significance. There was yet a stronger relationship between Taunting Intervention scores and Intrusive Intervention scores ($p < .01$).

A different set of relationships exist among the independent variables and post-test scores than among independent variables and pre-test scores as Table 14 shows.

Table 14

Correlations (σ) among Post-test Scores and Independent Variables

Variables	G	T	I	Tot	Trmt	Gender	Class	R. A.	Trng	R/E ID
G	1.00				.19**	.20***	-.01	.23***	.15	.04
T	.25***	1.00			.10	.12	.07	.08	.04	-.09
I	.24***	.42***	1.00		.22***	.00	.06	.17**	.13	-.07
Tot	.80***	.45***	.49***	1.00	.22***	.16**	.04	.21***	.10	-.03

** $p < .05$ (2-tailed) *** $p < .01$ (2-tailed)

Variables are: Gender Intervention post-test score (G), Taunting Intervention post-test score (T), Intrusive Intervention post-test score (I), Total Intervention post-test score (Tot), Treatment Condition (Trmt), Student's gender (Gender), Academic class (Class), R. A. Status (R. A.), Other sexual harassment training experience (Trng), Racial/ethnic identity (R/E ID)

In the post-test data analysis, Table 14 shows that the Gender Intervention score correlated significantly with treatment condition ($p < .05$), student's gender and resident assistant status ($p < .01$). Again, the Taunting Intervention score correlated with no other independent variable significantly, and the Intrusive Intervention score correlated with treatment condition ($p < .01$) and with resident

assistant status ($p < .05$). The Total Intervention score had a significant relationship with treatment condition, resident assistant status ($p < .01$) and student's gender ($p < .05$). The vast majority of resident assistants in the sample attended the workshop (90.6%). Resident assistants tended to positively change their intervention behavior after attending. Female students who attended the workshop indicated that they intervened more in gender harassing behaviors they witnessed the semester following the training than did those who did not attend the workshop. Taunting sexually harassing behaviors received on the average no additional intervention attention, but intervention in intrusive sexually harassing behavior increased for those who attended the workshop.

The post-test scores remain significantly correlated among one another, however the degree of relationship has increased in the post-test when compared with the pre-test relationships. In the post-test analysis, all three measures correlate at a significance level of $p < .01$. The relationship between Total Intervention score and Taunting Intervention score and between Total Interventions and Intrusive Interventions increased in strength over that of their relationship with the pre-test scores, however the Gender Intervention score and Total Intervention score decreased slightly. The degree of the relationship, however, remains quite high ($\sigma = .80$).

The pre-test correlation analysis (see Table 13) also amplifies the descriptive analysis of the characteristics of students in the sample, as seen in Table 6. The treatment group and control group differed in a number of ways.

There were a great deal more resident assistants among the workshop segment of the sample than among control students. Resident assistants tended to have prior sexual harassment training and included more ALANA students than did the control segment of the sample. Resident assistants are older than many of the residents they supervise. This fact is also reflected in the significant correlation of academic class with resident assistant status.

Multivariate Analysis

The last of the research questions inquired about any difference in effect of the peer-led workshop for students of various characteristics. To address this question, a blocked hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to predict post-test scores on the Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystanders' Intervention Inventory (SHBBII) from: (1) student characteristics that were presumed to have an impact (gender, academic class, racial/ethnic identity, resident assistant status, and other sexual harassment training experience), (2) pre-test scores on the SHBBII, and (3) treatment condition (peer-led sexual harassment workshop attendance or control). Each of these three blocks produced an ordered regression model that accounts for post-test variance after controlling for each of the other blocks of variables. The resulting beta (β) values are referred to as Direct Effect values.

Direct Effects

The results of this analysis for Gender Intervention (found in Table 15) indicated that student characteristics accounted for a significant amount of the

post-test variability, $R^2 = .137$, $F(5,152) = 4.83$, $p = .001$. This suggests that younger students, females, resident assistants, students with other sexual harassment training experience, and those of European descent tended to have higher post-test Gender Intervention scores. Pre-test scores accounted for a statistically significant amount of variance after controlling for student characteristics as well, R^2 change = .044, $F(1,151) = 8.10$, $p = .005$. This indicates that Gender Intervention pre-test scores were highly predictive of Gender Intervention post-test scores among otherwise similar students (regarding gender, academic class, resident assistant status, race, and other sexual harassment training experience). Further, those students who attended the target workshop, who were otherwise similar (as indicated above), scored marginally (yet significantly) higher on the Gender Intervention post-test, R^2 change = .015, $F(1,150) = 2.84$, $p = .094$], indicating that attending the workshop may have made a difference in intervention behavior in matters of Gender harassment.

For Taunting Intervention score, analyses (as shown in Table 15) indicated that student characteristics did not account for post-test variability. However pre-test scores accounted for a highly significant amount of variance after controlling for student characteristics, R^2 change = .080, $F(1, 151) = 13.68$, $p = .001$. This finding indicates that Taunting Intervention pre-test scores were highly predictive of Taunting Intervention post-test scores among otherwise similar students (regarding gender, academic class, resident assistant status, racial/ethnic identity, and other sexual harassment training experience). For

those students who attended the target workshop, who were otherwise similar (as indicated above), no significantly higher scores were predicted on the Taunting Intervention post-test.

The Intrusive Intervention post-test scores had a different result from the other two measures. The results of the analyses of these scores (also shown in Table 15) indicated that student characteristics did not account for a significant amount of the post-test variability, however pre-test scores accounted for a significant amount of variance after controlling for student characteristics, R^2 change = .038, F (1, 151) = 6.24, p = .014, indicating that Intrusive Intervention pre-test scores were predictive of Intrusive Intervention post-test scores among otherwise similar students (regarding gender, academic class, resident assistant status, racial/ethnic identity, and other sexual harassment training experience). Further, those students who attended the target workshop, who were otherwise similar (as to gender, academic class, resident assistant status, racial/ethnic identity and other sexual harassment training experience), scored significantly higher on the Intrusive Intervention post-test, R^2 change = .025, F(1, 150) = 4.13, p = .044.

Blocked hierarchical regression analysis indicated significant predictability of the Total Intervention post-test scores from all 3 blocks. Student characteristics accounted for a significant amount of the post-test variability, R^2 = .088, F(5, 152) = 2.94, p = .015, indicating that younger students, females, resident assistants, students with other sexual harassment training experience, and those

of European descent tended to have higher post-test Total Intervention scores. Pre-test scores accounted for a significant amount of variance after controlling for student characteristics, R^2 change = .024, $F(1, 151) = 4.02$, $p = .047$ indicating that Total Intervention pre-test scores were predictive of Total Intervention post-test scores among otherwise similar students (regarding gender, academic class, resident assistant status, race, and other sexual harassment training experience). Further, those students who attended the target workshop, who were otherwise similar (as indicated above), scored significantly higher on the Total Intervention post-test, R^2 change = .023, $F(1,150) = 3.96$, $p = .048$.

Analyzing the data in three blocks yields the direct effect of each variable on the outcome by accounting for a portion of the variance of the post-test score. The Gender Intervention post-test score is related to the student characteristics in that 13.7% of the variance in the Gender Intervention post-test score is accounted for by these five variables. An additional 4.4% of the variance is accounted for when the pre-test score is included in the analysis while controlling for student characteristics, and another 1.5% of the variance in the post-test scores is associated with the treatment condition while controlling for both student characteristics and pre-test score. This analysis provides 19.6% predictability of the Gender Intervention post-test score, given these three blocks of variables.

Table 15

Summary of Standardized Coefficients (β) Predicting Post-test Scores

VARIABLES	**DEPENDENT VARIABLES**			
	Gender Intervention Post-test Score	Taunting Intervention Post-test Score	Intrusive Intervention Post-test Score	Total Intervention Post-test Score
Gender	.22***	.12	.01	.19**
Academic class	-.13	.04	-.02	.07
Racial/Ethnic Identity	.05	-.05	-.01	.01
R. A. Status	.20*	.07	.06	.15
Other sexual harassment training experience	.05	-.02	.04	.01
R^2 for block	**.137****	**.034**	**.030**	**.088****
Gender Intervention pre-test score	.23***	--	--	--
Taunting intervention pre-test score	--	.29****	--	--
Intrusive intervention pre-test score	--	--	.19**	--
Total intervention pre-test score	--	--	--	.17**
R^2 for block	**.044*****	**.080******	**.038*****	**.024****
Treatment condition	. 14*	. 05	.19**	.18**
R^2 for block	**. 015***	**. 002**	**.025****	**.023****
R^2	**.196******	**. 116*****	**.093****	**.135*****

*p<.10 ** p<.05 *** p< .01 **** p< .001

As Table 15 also shows, a student's gender, Gender Intervention pre-test and treatment condition each make a significant contribution to predicting the Gender Intervention post-test score (β = .22, .23, and .14, respectively). Only the Taunting Intervention pre-test score makes a significant contribution to predicting Taunting Intervention post-test score (β = .29), while Intrusive Intervention post-test score is predicted by Intrusive Intervention pre-test score (β = .19) and treatment condition (β = .19). A Total Intervention post-test score can be predicted by student's gender (β = .19), Total Intervention pre-test score (β = .17) and treatment condition (β = .18).

While simple regression analysis yields the direct predictive quality of each of the independent variables, it does not present an explanation of how the variables relate to one another (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Further levels of multiple regression analysis were conducted to predict pre-test scores from student characteristics and to predict treatment condition from pre-test scores and from student characteristics.

These additional analyses add depth to the causal model constructed to show the relationships among the variables (Figure 6). A separate model is presented for each of the instrument's scales: Gender Intervention, Taunting Intervention, Intrusive Intervention, and Total Intervention scores.

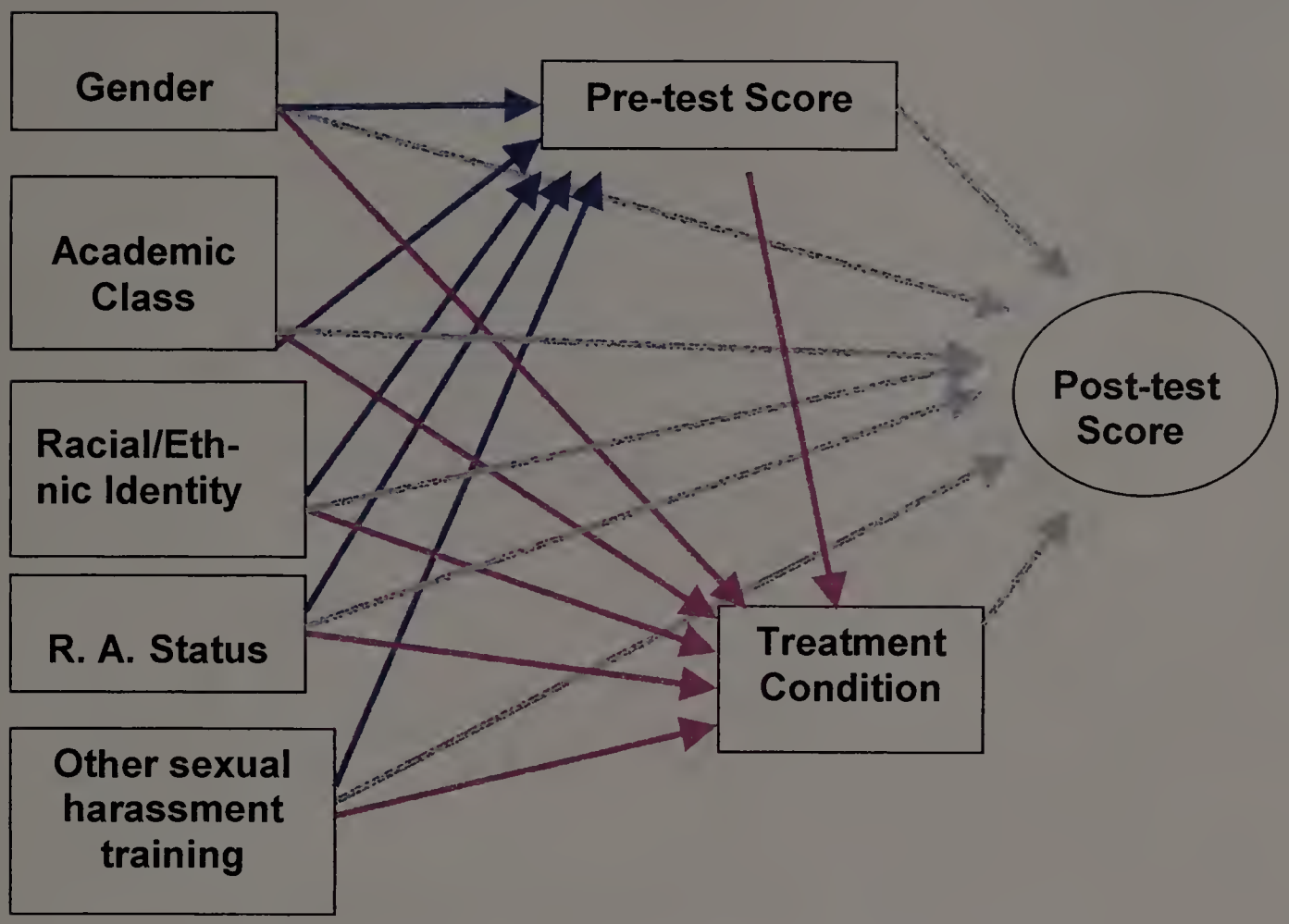


Figure 6 Causal Model – Direct Effects

Explanation of the Model

The five variables on the left of the model (Figure 6) represent five aspects of student characteristics in this sample that were ascertained from the initial survey. These variables were selected because "such characteristics may be the most powerful predictors of many higher education outcomes"(Light et al., 1990, p. 75). Situated between these student characteristics and the post-test score are the intervening variables of pre-test score and treatment condition (control group or workshop attendance).

Direct Effects on Outcome Measures

The multiple regression analysis yielded beta (β) values (the standardized coefficients found in Table 15) for each of the characteristics as they relate directly to the outcome (post-test score). Gray arrows (pointing from student characteristics to post-test score and from intervening variables [pre-test score and treatment condition] to post-test score) are associated with these β values in Figure 6.

The β values are expressed in decimals, ranging from 0.0 to 1.00 to represent no influence at all to perfect identity. Beta values are reported as positive or negative depending on which of the coded responses has a greater influence. A negative β coefficient means there was a greater influence exerted by the first coded option ("1") over the response that was coded as "2" of a variable. The Variable Definition Table (Table 7) indicates the coding that produces the beta value signs. For example, with these data, if male, or lower division (younger), or ALANA, or non-resident assistant, or students without other sexual harassment training experience (each coded as "1") have greater influence than the other option of the dichotomous independent variable (coded as "2") on the post-test score, the coding order would yield a negative beta.

Direct Effects on Intervening Variables

A causal model improves on a multiple regression analysis by providing indirect effects through intervening variables (those variables with which other variables interact) in the research design. See Table 16 and 17 for these β values.

Interaction of variables can be seen in an example of student characteristics' influence on the pre-test score: those students with prior sexual harassment training experience may already intervene more at the beginning of the study than those who do not have prior training experience. The blue arrows (pointing from student characteristics toward pre-test score) in the model (Figure 6) represent this modifying influence and represent the β values found in Table 16.

As Table 16 shows, the Gender Intervention pre-test score can be predicted by racial/ethnic identity, resident assistant status and other sexual harassment training experience (statistically significant β values of .21, .23, & .14, respectively). Non-resident assistants (β = -.18) and those who had other sexual harassment training experience (β = .14) were found to be significant predictors of the Taunting Intervention pre-test score. Only other sexual harassment training experience significantly predicted the Intrusive Intervention pre-test score (β = .27), while racial/ethnic identity (β = .16) and other sexual harassment training experience (β = .20) predicted the Total Intervention pre-test score.

The β values in Table 17 indicate the degree to which various student characteristics and pre-existing propensities to intervene in peers' sexually harassing behaviors influence which students attend the peer-led sexual harassment workshop. Since this study was conducted under typical residence life education programming conditions, some residents attended voluntarily while some resident assistant staff members were required to attend as part of their in-service training. In this example, being a resident assistant increases the

Table 16

Summary of Standardized Coefficients (β) Predicting Pre-Test Scores

VARIABLES	DEPENDENT VARIABLES			
	Gender Intervention Pre-test Score	Taunting Intervention Pre-test Score	Intrusive Intervention Pre-test Score	Total Intervention Pre-test Score
Gender	.06	.10	.10	.06
Academic class	.00	.08	.01	.04
Racial/Ethnic Identity	.21***	-.11	-.01	.16*
R. A. Status	.23**	-.18*	-.10	.14
Other sexual harassment training	.14*	.15*	.27***	.20**
R^2	.12***	.05	.07**	.10***

* p< .10 ** p< .05 *** p< .01

likelihood of being in the workshop segment of the sample. These influences are represented in the model (Figure 6) as pink arrows (pointing from student characteristics and from pre-test scores toward Treatment Condition).

Pre-test scores (representing a student's characteristic intervention behavior) could also predict whether a student attends a workshop on sexual harassment, but in this study there was no statistically significant difference for this relationship. Most obviously there is an expectation that treatment condition will predict post-test score. All of these solid-lined arrows in Figure 6 represent the direct effects shown numerically as β values in Table 15, 16 and 17. These β coefficients show the predictive strength of each variable on the outcome.

Table 17

Summary of Standardized Coefficients (β) Predicting Treatment Condition

VARIABLES	DEPENDENT VARIABLE			
	Treatment	Treatment	Treatment	Treatment
Gender	-.04	-.05	-.05	- .04
Academic class	-.05	-.06	-.05	-.05
Racial/Ethnic Identity	-.07	-.07	-.08	-.07
R. A. Status	.56****	.57****	.56****	.56****
Other sexual harassment training experience	-.13*	-.15**	-.16**	-.13*
R^2 for block	.28****	.28****	.28****	.28****
Gender Intervention pre-test score	-.03	--	--	--
Taunting Intervention pre-test score	--	.10	--	--
Intrusive Intervention pre-test score	--	--	.08	--
Total Intervention pre-test score	--	--	--	-.04
R^2 for block	.00	. 01	.01	.00
R^2	.28****	.29****	.29****	.28****

* p < .10 ** p< .05 **** p < .001

Calculating Indirect and Total Effects

The causal model partitions the variance further by allowing the researcher to calculate a value for indirect effects of these variables. To calculate

indirect effects, the researcher multiplies the β value of a variable's direct effect on an intervening variable (for example by regressing student characteristics on the Pre-test score) and the β value of that intervening variable regressed on the outcome (in this case, the post-test score) (Pascarella & Teranzini, 1991). In this sample's data, for example, to find the *indirect* effect of racial/ethnic identity on the post-test score, through the treatment variable and through the pre-test score, one would multiply the β value of racial/ethnic identity's pink arrow (the direct effect on the Treatment Condition) by the β value of the Treatment Condition's gray arrow (the direct effect on the post-test score) and add that product (since there are two intervening variables) to that of the β value of the racial/ethnic identity's β value of the blue arrow (the direct effect on the pre-test score) times the β value of the pre-test score's gray arrow (the direct effect on the post-test score).

These arithmetic products are found in Tables 18 through 21 in the Indirect Effect columns (one table for each post-test measure). The Total Effect is the sum of the direct effect and the cumulative indirect effects for each variable.

Table 18

Direct, Indirect and Total Effects on Post-test Gender Intervention Score

VARIABLE	DIRECT EFFECT	INDIRECT EFFECT	TOTAL EFFECT
Gender	.22***	.02	.22***
Academic class	-.13*	-.01	-.14*
Racial/Ethnic Identity	.05	.04	.09
Resident Assistant Status	.20**	.13*	.33****
Other Sexual Harassment Training	.05	.05	.10
Gender Intervention Pre-test Score	.23***	.00	.23***
Treatment Condition	.14*	--	.14*

* p< .10 ** p< .05 *** p< .01 **** p< .0001

Table 19

Direct, Indirect and Total Effects on Post-test Taunting Intervention Score

VARIABLE	DIRECT EFFECT	INDIRECT EFFECT	TOTAL EFFECT
Gender	.12	.03	.15*
Academic class	.04	.02	.06
Racial/Ethnic Identity	-.05	-.03	-.08
Resident Assistant Status	.07	.08	.15*
Other Sexual Harassment Training	-.02	.03	-.01
Taunting intervention Pre-test Score	.29****	.00	.29****
Treatment Condition	.05	--	.05

* p< .10 ****p< .001

Table 20

Direct, Indirect and Total Effects on Post-test Intrusive Intervention Score

VARIABLE	DIRECT EFFECT	INDIRECT EFFECT	TOTAL EFFECT
Gender	.01	.01	.02
Academic class	-.02	-.01	-.03
Racial/Ethnic Identity	-.01	-.02	-.03
Resident Assistant Status	.06	.09	.15*
Other Sexual Harassment Training	.04	.02	.06
Intrusive intervention Pre-test Score	.19**	.02	.21***
Treatment Condition	.19**	--	.19**

* p< .10 ** p< .05 *** p< .01

Table 21

Direct, Indirect and Total Effects on Post-test Total Intervention Score

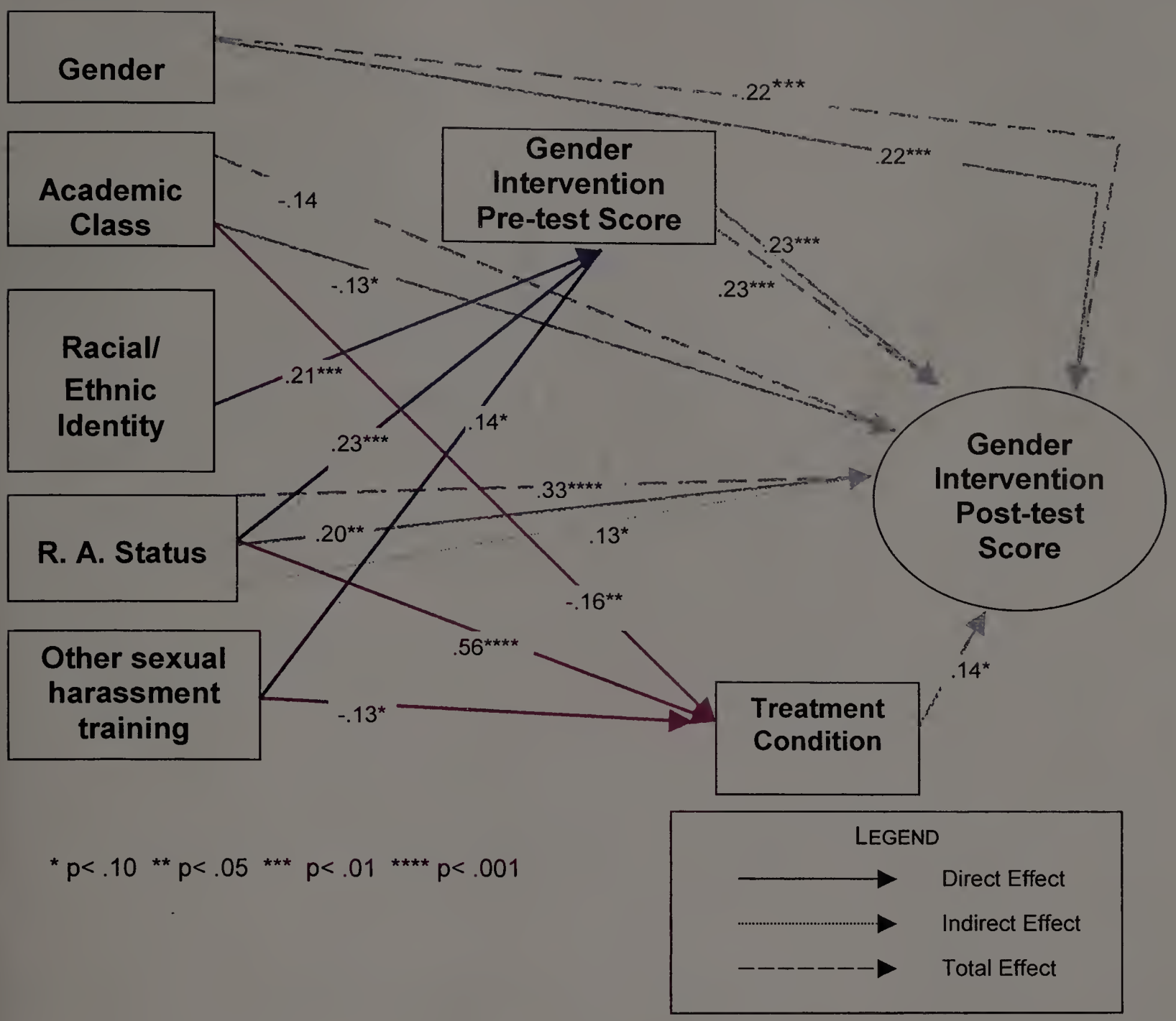
VARIABLE	DIRECT EFFECT	INDIRECT EFFECT	TOTAL EFFECT
Gender	.19**	. 00	.19**
Academic class	-.07	. 00	-.07
Racial/Ethnic Identity	.01	. 00	.01
Resident Assistant Status	.15*	. 12	.27***
Other Sexual Harassment Training	.01	. 01	.02
Total intervention Pre-test Score	.17**	-. 01	.16*
Treatment Condition	.18**	--	.18**

* p< .10 ** p< .05 *** p< .01

Depicting the Direct, Indirect and Total Effects

Figures 7 through 10 show the direct, indirect and total effects that are statistically significant only. Each figure is accompanied by a description of the statistically significant values found in Tables 18 through 21.

The only indirect effect that was statistically significant in its own right was for the resident assistant status in the Gender Intervention post-test model (Figure 7). In this model, resident assistant status exerted a direct effect on the outcome with a degree of certainty that such a β value could arise by chance with a 5% probability. However, since the model attributes indirect effects as well to resident assistant status, the total effect of resident assistant status becomes statistically significant with a probability of the β value occurring by chance of one in one hundred. The treatment has a statistically significant direct effect with a probability of less than 10% of chance occurrence. Female students and those in the first half of their college years tended to score higher than male students and those in the latter half of their undergraduate careers. Those who scored higher on the pre-test tended to score higher also on the post-test in this Gender Intervention dimension.



* p< .10 ** p< .05 *** p< .01 **** p< .001

Figure 7 Causal Model—Summary of Effects on Gender Intervention Post-test Score

The causal model's capability of identifying the influence of indirect effects emphasizes the value this training has especially for resident assistants. Their interventions increased for all three of the conceptual types of sexually harassing behaviors following this training (note R. A. Status' gray arrows in Figures 7, 8, and 9).

From the Taunting Intervention version of the model (Figure 8), it can be seen that there was no significant treatment effect for this type of sexually harassing behavior. No student characteristic influenced the outcome score directly, however the cumulative indirect effects of student gender and resident assistant status did demonstrate minimally significant influence ($p < .10$) on the post-test score. Those who reported intervening in taunting behaviors during the fall 2000 semester (pre-test score) continued to report intervention in the spring 2001 semester (post-test score). The significance of this relationship is at the level of 1 in 1000 that such a value could have occurred by mere chance.

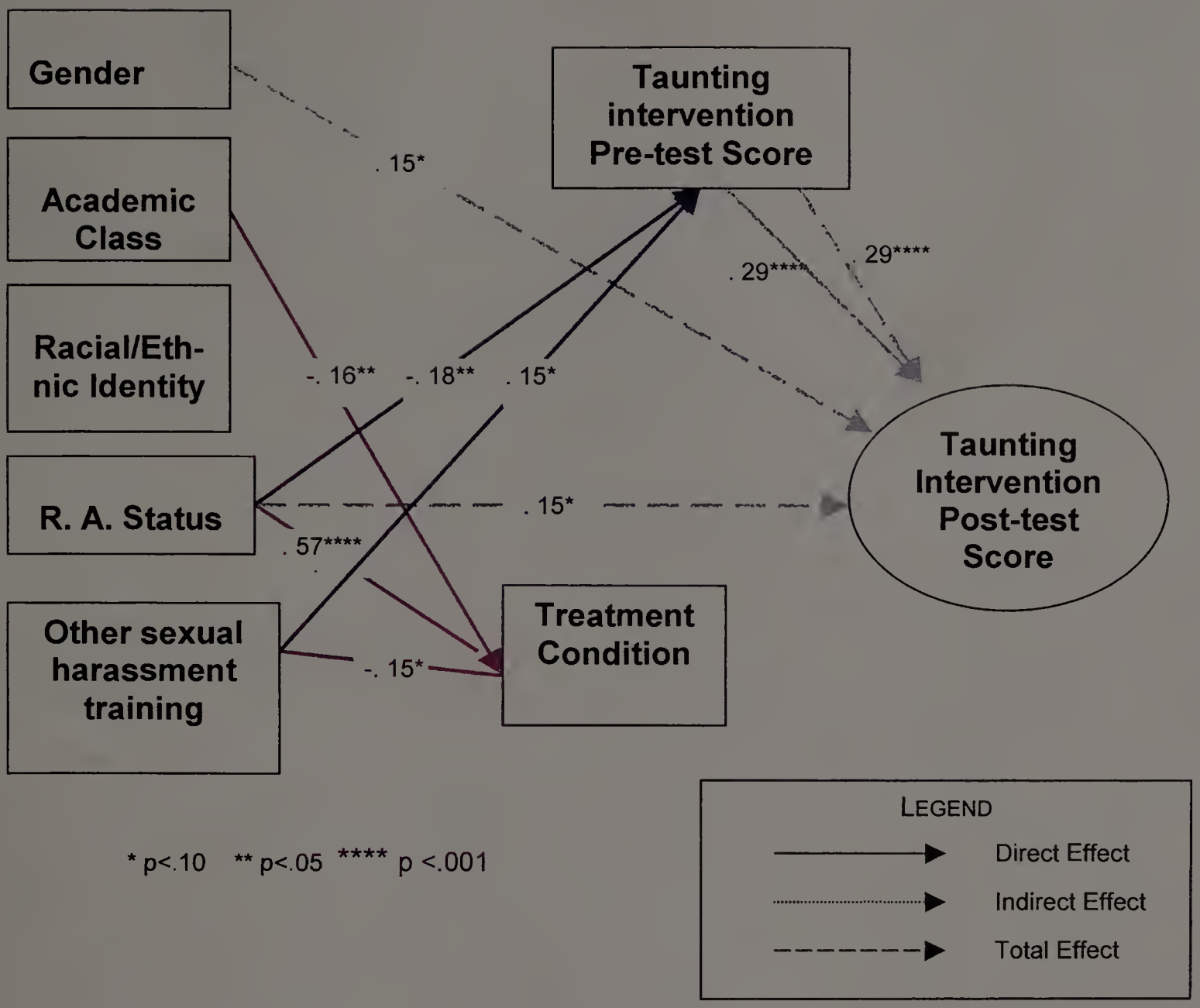


Figure 8 Causal Model—Summary of Effects on Taunting Intervention Post-test Scores

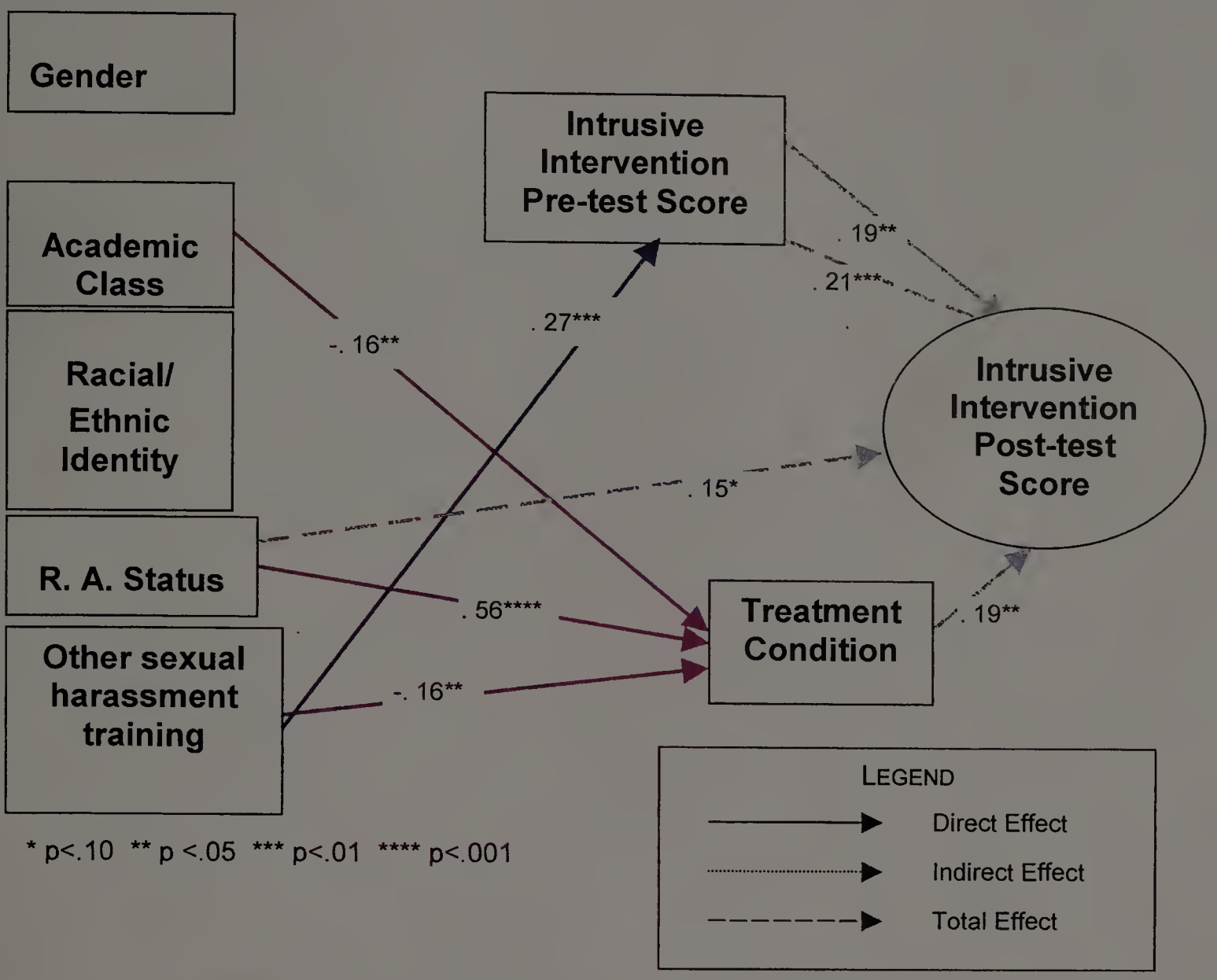


Figure 9 Causal Model—Summary of Effects on Intrusive Intervention Post-test Score

Figure 9 illustrates the effects of the variables on Intrusive Intervention post-test scores. Resident assistant status does not have a significant direct effect on Intrusive Intervention post-test scores, however resident assistants who went through the target training workshop (additive effect of resident assistant status *plus* training) did intervene in significantly more intrusive sexually harassing behavior of their peers.

If one only looked at the Total Intervention scores (Figure 10), nearly the same relationships among the variables would be found as exist among the variables and the Gender Intervention scores (Figure 7). Women and resident assistants do significantly more intervening following training than men and non-resident assistants. Students with no other sexual harassment training tended to attend the workshop and those who attend the workshop reported increased interventions on the post-test.

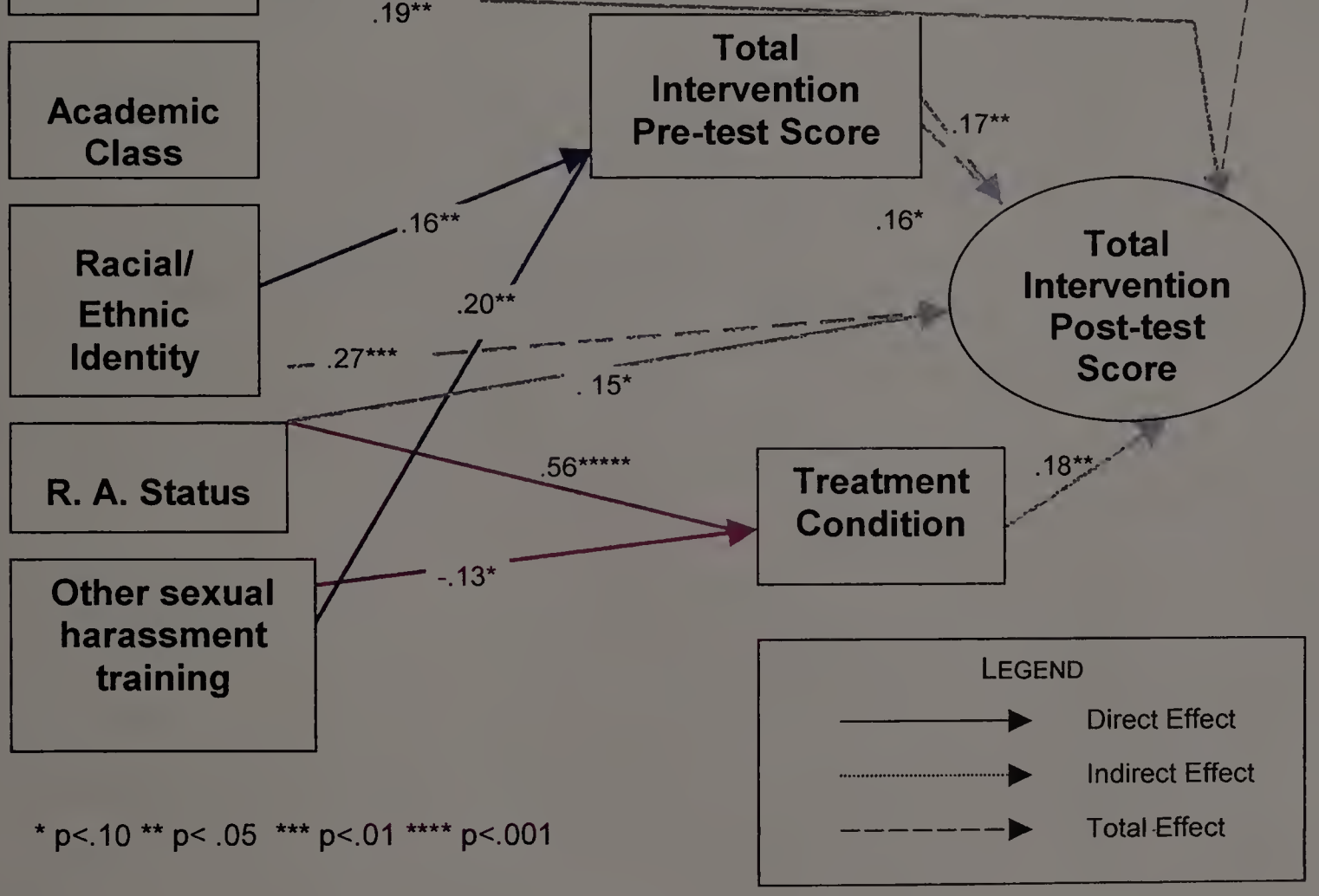


Figure 10 Causal Model—Summary of Effects on Total Intervention Post-test Score

The treatment had a positive effect on interventions in Gender harassing behaviors, Intrusive sexually harassing behaviors and Total Intervention scores, but not on Taunting Intervention. The model is able to distinguish qualities that would not have been noticeable by looking only at direct effects.

Effect Sizes

Estimates of effect sizes for statistically significant relationships between independent variables and post-test scores in these data ranged from Small ($\beta \geq .10$) to Medium ($\beta \geq .30$) (Light et al., 1990) based on total effect beta values. Figure 11 displays the range of effect sizes among all the independent variables (located on the X axis) and the four scales on the SHBBII (identified in the legend by color).

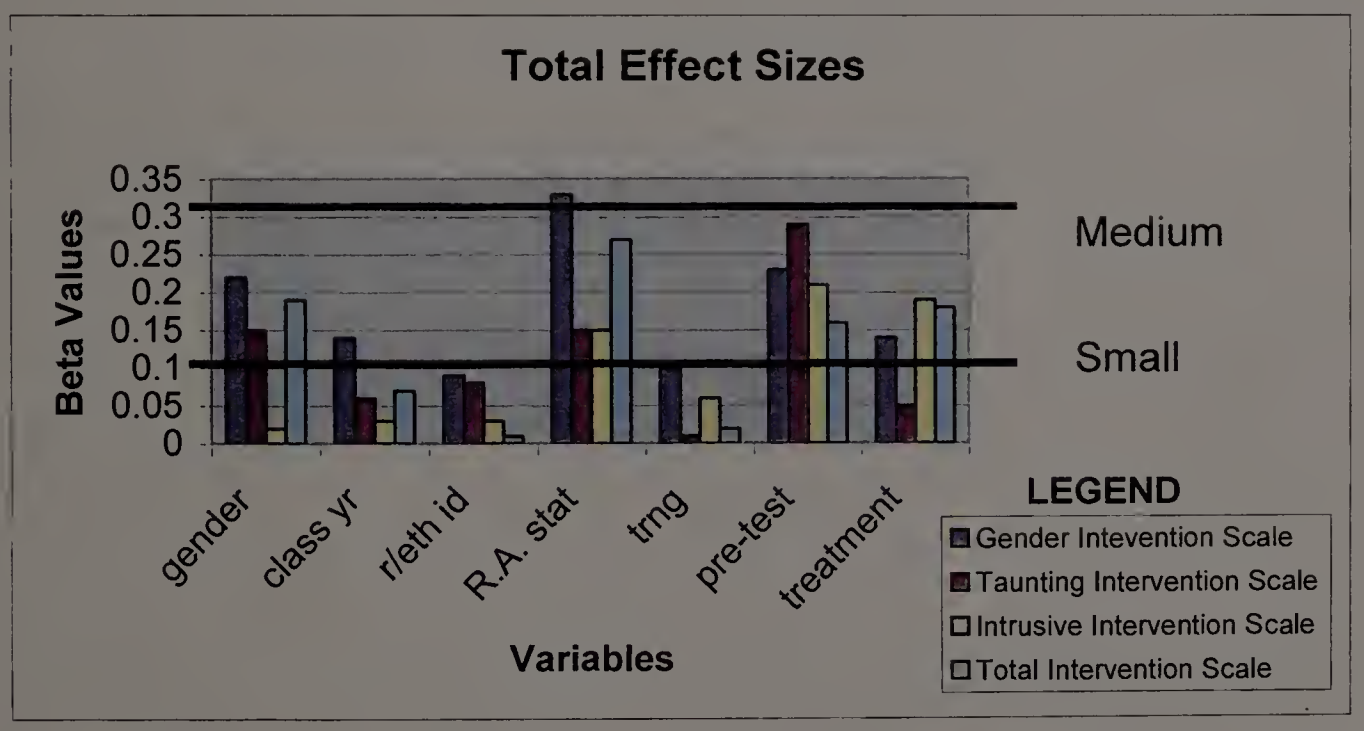


Figure 11 Effect Sizes of Total Effects of Variables on Post-test Scores

Note: Variables are Student gender (gender), Academic class (class), racial/ethnic identity (r/eth id), Resident assistant status (R.A. stat), Other sexual harassment training experience (trng), Pre-test score (pre-test) and Treatment condition (treatment)

Figure 11 illustrates the relative size of the effects of all of the Total Effects of this multiple regression analysis. Blue bars representing students' gender, academic class, pre-test score and treatment all show a Small effect on the Gender Intervention post-test score, while resident assistant status shows a Medium effect size on the Gender Intervention post-test score. Red bars representing students' gender and resident assistant status showed a Small effect, while pre-test score nearly reached the Medium effect size on the Taunting Intervention post-test score. Yellow bars representing resident assistant status, pre-test score and treatment display a Small effect on the Intrusive Intervention post-test score. Light blue bars representing students' gender, resident assistant status, pre-test score and treatment show a Small effect on the Total Intervention post-test score.

Summary of the Results: The Hypotheses

Observer intervention in peer sexually harassing behavior was examined in this study. The study was conducted in a large public university and focused on an existing education program on sexual harassment, which had been designed for delivery to resident undergraduate students. The study evaluated the effect of that training program on participants self-reported intervention activities when observing peers engaged in sexually harassing behaviors. The Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory (SHBBII) was specifically developed for this study and was used in a pre-/post-test design with control (n= 98) and treatment (n = 65) groups.

Data analysis consisted of a variety of statistical approaches. Descriptive and inferential statistical analyses revealed that the control and treatment groups were statistically similar on pre-test Total Intervention scores on the SHBBII and that the control group mirrored the characteristics under study of the resident undergraduate population of this university. One hypothesis was tested to determine if intervention in peer sexually harassing behaviors follows the same pattern of previous research in bystander behavior, and three hypotheses were tested to determine the effect of attending the one-hour peer-led workshop.

The review of literature led to the conclusion that there have been no published studies on bystander intervention with sexually harassing behavior. Previous research on bystander behavior focused on medical emergencies (simulated and actual) and simulated theft situations. These settings gave rise to the theoretical principle that bystanders intervene more often in situations when they are the only witness to the event. The present study tested whether that principle applies to witnessing peer sexually harassing behaviors as well. More specifically, the following hypothesis was tested:

> **College students' bystander intervention is no different among sole witnesses to peer sexually harassing behaviors from that of witnesses among other observers following attendance at a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop.**

The findings from this study suggest that very few college students tried to stop their peers' sexually harassing behaviors when they were the sole witness (responses to individual items on both the pre-test and the post-test ranged

between 0% and 6.2% for interventions by sole observers). Prior research (Latané and Nida, 1981) strongly suggests that people intervene more readily in situations as sole observers than in situations observed by many. This study's data is so unlike the expected response pattern in this regard that a separate study is suggested to understand the group observation phenomenon in the residential undergraduate population in depth.

The other three hypotheses related directly to the effectiveness of the educational program at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. The first hypothesis, stated in the null form, was

> **Attending a peer-led sexual harassment workshop makes no difference in college students' bystander intervention in their peers' sexually harassing behaviors.**

To test this hypothesis, an independent samples *t*-test was performed using the SHBBII Total Intervention post-test scores of each experimental condition. The mean Total Intervention post-test score of the group that attended the workshop was significantly higher than the mean of the control group's Total Intervention post-test scores, with a statistical probability of $p < .01$. The hypothesis of no difference was therefore rejected.

A second hypothesis about the effectiveness of the training, examined the three different types of sexually harassing behaviors that students observed among their peers. This hypothesis was as much about the effectiveness of the measurement instrument as it was about students' intervention behaviors. Stated in the null form, this hypothesis was

There is no difference by type of sexually harassing behavior (Gender, Taunting, or Intrusive) in which college students intervene following attendance at a peer-led sexual harassment workshop.

This hypothesis was tested by using *t*-tests to compare the scores of the SHBBII's scales (Gender Intervention, Taunting Intervention, and Intrusive Intervention) of the control group and treatment group. Results of this analysis revealed that there is a statistically significant increase from Gender Intervention pre-to-post-test scores for attendees at the peer-led workshop; there is no statistically significant difference in Taunting Intervention scores; and there is a statistically significant increase in pre-test and post-test scores on the Intrusive Intervention scale for those who attended the workshop. To account for the effect of time and maturity as a possible explanation of such increases, comparable paired *t*-tests were conducted using control group's scores on these scales. These results revealed that scores on these scales of the SHBBII for those who did not attend the workshop did not change in the same six-month period (with an $\alpha = .05$ level of statistical significance). Therefore, this null hypothesis is also rejected.

The third hypothesis about the effectiveness of training focused on student characteristics of those who attended the workshop. Stated in the null form it reads

Individual characteristics (student gender, academic class, racial/ethnic identity, resident assistant status, and other sexual harassment training experience) do not influence the effectiveness of attending a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop on bystander intervention in peers' sexually harassing behaviors.

A causal model, based on the review of literature, was tested using blocked hierarchical multiple regression analyses. This model identified that workshop attendees who are younger, those who are female, those who are resident assistants, those who scored high on Gender Interventions on the pre-test, and those who attended the peer-led sexual harassment workshop have higher Gender Intervention post-test scores on the SHBBII. Female students, resident assistants and students who scored high on Taunting Intervention at pre-test scored higher on Taunting Intervention at post-test regardless of whether they attended the workshop. Workshop attendees, resident assistants and those who scored high on Intrusive Interventions on the pre-test had higher Intrusive Intervention post-test scores. The Total Intervention post-test score on the SHBBII, as shown in the causal model, is higher for workshop participants, those who were female, resident assistants, and those who scored high on the Total Intervention pre-test. The last hypothesis is therefore rejected, as the causal model is capable of distinguishing the likelihood of students with certain characteristics increasing their interventions as a result of attending the workshop.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Introduction

Violence in its many forms has been and continues to be a common occurrence throughout the world. Since September 11, 2001, Americans have become intimately aware of what the rest of the world has experienced as a regular part of daily existence: people can be cruel, inflicting pain directly and personally, as seen in domestic violence, where the violator and victim know each other intimately, or indirectly yet no less personally, as seen in drive-by shootings, road rage, or terrorist attacks. At this moment in history we are witnessing global tragedies of war and terrorism.

There is a continuum of violent acts (Lott, 1993) that ends with war and global terrorism, but begins with individual acts of thoughtless disregard. Individually we may feel helpless to stop violence at its most tragically observable end of this continuum. We may even feel paralyzed by the awesome significance of murder, assault, or rape, but I believe there are things that individuals can do to reduce the atmosphere of violence in our daily and ordinary lives.

By viewing physical and psychological violence as part of a ripple effect that emanates from the individual's inability or unwillingness to manage an evil inclination (Baumeister, 1999; Staub, 1999), we can begin to address violence at the interpersonal unit of analysis. Sexually harassing behavior, the type of

violence that served as the focus of the intervention and research described in this study, is a form of violence that can be addressed and thwarted as it occurs. Perhaps such intervention will lead to less frequent occurrence. Perhaps less frequent occurrence of sexually harassing behavior will reduce the ripples in the worldwide pond of violence.

How do we approach this task? The Hebrew sage, Rabbi Hillel (*Pirkei Avot*, 1:14), is quoted in the *Mishnah* as saying, "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? If I am for myself alone, what am I? If not now, when?" The time is now to accept the responsibilities as members of a global community.

Civil law provides recourse to those who have already been harmed by sexual harassment. Student peer sexual harassment case law developed in response to the failure of educational institutions to respond appropriately and in a timely manner to an atmosphere that interferes with students' learning. The next phase of progress focuses on prevention of sexual harassment. The noble mission of higher education is compatible with taking a proactive stance in this regard. Institutions of higher education have a vital role in shaping society by articulating social ideas, and graduating responsible citizens, leaders, neighbors, and family members. Educators create opportunities for students to learn to act responsibly through classroom and co-curricular experiences across the campus. This research moves us closer to implementing effective educational programs toward these noble ends.

This chapter reviews the concepts of sexual harassment, sexual harassment prevention and sexual harassment education designed for prevention. The study and its findings are summarized and then this chapter discusses the implications for theory. Recommendations, based on the findings of this study, are made for program evaluation, educational policy, future legal directions and further development of theory.

Sexual Harassment versus Sexually Harassing Behaviors

A distinction between sexual harassment and sexually harassing behaviors has been maintained throughout this study. Sexual harassment is a legal term for a type of sex discrimination that relies on case law definitions and refinements over the past 25 years. This study focused on sexually harassing behaviors that contribute to a hostile environment, which the law recognizes to exist when unwelcome behavior of a sexual nature is severe, persistent and/or pervasive and interferes with one's educational opportunities (Clark in Whitlock, 1999). Sexually harassing behavior is a unit of such an environment. Any one incident of sexually harassing behavior, unless characterized as severe, would typically not qualify as sexual harassment. Administrators of higher education should be aware of the cumulative effect of incidents of sexually harassing behaviors as they contribute to an atmosphere of hostile environment sexual harassment. A student norm that is accepting of sexist remarks, displays of explicit material that is demeaning to women, unwanted touching, exhibitionism, or repeated advances invites accusations of hostile environment

sexual harassment for which institutions of higher education can be held legally responsible (*Davis v. Monroe County Board of Education,* 1999).

Sexual Harassment Prevention

Since the *Davis* decision, there is a heightened need for ways postsecondary institutions can demonstrate compliance with the law. Courts have looked at lack of speed or lack of appropriateness of administrative response to complaints of sexual harassment as a way to attach culpability. This is a reactive approach to legal compliance, which serves to prevent institutional liability rather than to demonstrate that the institution is attempting to maintain an atmosphere safe from becoming a hostile environment. The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Education re-affirmed its 1997 position in a recently Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance by saying, "Preventing and remedying sexual harassment in schools is essential to ensuring a safe environment in which students can learn" (p. 2).

It has been the contention of this researcher that prevention of peer sexual harassment can be addressed by encouraging students to interrupt individual incidents of sexually harassing behavior. As more students interrupt the sexually harassing behavior of their peers, the interpersonal norms of acceptable behavior can change (Berkowitz, 1998; Creighton & Kivel, 1992). In a milieu of a sexist culture of long standing, the change can be expected to be slow (Kilmartin, 1994; Scollay & Bratt, 1997; Shein, 1992). On a residential campus, where peer approval is important to many students, there is hope that with awakened awareness,

previous cycles can be broken (Harro, 2000a). It follows that new behaviors can be influenced by students' intentions to include their new peer group in their subjective norm (Ajzen, 1988).

The training literature in the fields of employment and education regarding sexual harassment prevention (Petrocelli & Repa, 1998; Tobias, 2000) has focused on a common formula:

Policy + Procedures + Training = Prevention

The above formula indicates that an institution must have a strong anti-sexual harassment policy (Sandler, 1997) and grievance procedures in place (Cole, 1997; Ehrlich, 1997; Rowe, 1997; Traux, 1997), of which administrators, employees and students are aware. These elements are supposed to serve as a warning to potential harassers of the consequences of inappropriate behavior. It should also serve as a guide to administrators to insure that parties not only receive a fair hearing of the evidence, but also guide adjudicators in designing appropriate punitive measures (Tobias, 2000). The purpose of this approach is to have local problems solved at the local level. When the formula fails, parties can engage either the Office for Civil Rights procedures or the court system.

The practice literature uses the term "training," but a close reading of the training materials reveals that the authors are referring to "publicity" of the institution's policy and grievance procedures. Prevention in the above formula relies on having a policy and grievance procedures in place, and making people aware that they exist. Not many education programs uncovered in this review of

the literature (with one notable exception, Sabella & Myrick's 1995 book, *Confronting Sexual Harassment: Learning Activities for Teens*) focus on the role of bystanders to troublesome interactions of a sexual harassment nature. It is the belief of this researcher that training is the appropriate word in the formula and that there is much to explore about the curriculum of training beyond what *currently* exists. Since hostile environment sexual harassment has been characterized as consisting of repetitive sexually offensive behavior, this study focused on the offensive units of behavior from which to build its line of reasoning.

Sexual Harassment Education

The University of Massachusetts Amherst has a 6-year history of offering sexual harassment education to undergraduate students through workshops that were held in the residence halls each semester. Peer educators were trained to facilitate these workshops through a credit-bearing course offered through the School of Education and funded jointly by the Office of Human Relations and the Residence Life division of the University. Prior to this study, the behavioral impact of the workshop had not been evaluated.

Summary of the Study

Design and Methods

During the fall semester 2000, 163 undergraduate students at the University of Massachusetts Amherst participated in a study (control group n = 93, workshop group n = 65) of an evaluation of a peer-facilitated workshop on

peer sexual harassment. The research design consisted of a pre-test/post-test with a control group. The post-test was administered 6 months following attendance at the workshop. This peer-led workshop was a practicum experience for undergraduate students enrolled in the course Peer Educators for Sexual Harassment, a 3-credit course that was co-sponsored by the Office of Human Relations and Residence Life Office and supervised by the School of Education. The workshops took place in residence halls throughout the campus during the last six weeks of the semester and were available to anyone who wished to attend. Twenty-five students in the sample were resident assistant staff members, who attended the workshop as part of their in-service training.

Participants in the study returned a written survey (control group returned by pre-paid mailer and workshop group returned directly to the experimenter prior to the start of the workshop) at pre-test and answered a telephone survey of the same instrument at post-test. The instrument was designed for this study and measured self-reports of the respondents' behavior when witnessing the most recent incident of each of 11 sexually harassing behaviors of their peers during the current semester. There were 6 optional responses ("I did nothing"; "I joined in"; "I told someone I know about it later"; "I told someone with the authority to do something about it later"; "I tried to stop it"; or "I did not witness this behavior."). For the purposes of this study, only the "I tried to stop it" and the "I did not witness this behavior" responses were tallied. The 11 items were assigned to each of 3 sexually harassing behavior

categories (gender harassing behaviors, taunting sexually harassing behaviors, or intrusive sexually harassing behaviors). The instrument (Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory) (SHBBII) also included 3 distracter items, which were not included in the scoring. For each behavior that the respondent tried to stop, an additional question was asked concerning whether the respondent was the only witness or among others who also saw it occur.

Scores for each category of sexually harassing behavior ranged from 0 to 3 and a Total Intervention score was calculated as an average of the scores for the categories in which at least one sexually harassing behavior was witnessed.

Findings

Four research questions were tested.

1. Does attendance at a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop influence undergraduate students' intervention behavior when encountering sexually harassing behavior?
2. Does undergraduate bystander behavior differ depending on the different types of observed sexually harassing behavior?
3. Does undergraduate bystander behavior differ for sole witnesses of peer sexually harassing behavior from the behavior of witnesses who are among other observers?
4. Are students with different characteristics (gender, age, racial/ethnic identity, resident assistance status, previous sexual harassment training,

academic class) affected differently by attendance at a peer-facilitated sexual harassment workshop?

The first and second research questions were answered using *t* test statistical analysis. The first question asked if the workshop made a difference in participants' intervention behavior. The analysis yielded a statistically significant probability that students who attended the peer-led workshop were more likely to increase their interventions (that is, their Total Intervention scores were statistically compared with those of the control group). It should be noted that the participants in the entire sample scored similarly before attending the workshop.

The second question asked if there is a difference in intervention among the three types of sexually harassing behavior that were identified in this study (gender harassing behaviors, taunting sexually harassing behaviors and intrusive sexually harassing behaviors). To address this question, again *t* tests were performed comparing workshop participants and control participants on the individual scales (Gender Interventions, Taunting Interventions and Intrusive Interventions). The results of the statistical analysis were that Gender Interventions and Intrusive Interventions increased significantly for workshop participants, while Taunting Interventions did not.

The third research question was asked to discover if undergraduate students intervene more often in peer sexually harassing behavior situations when they are the only observer, or how observing such behavior among others

is different after attending a peer-led workshop on sexual harassment. This study found that very few (between 0% and 6.2%) of the students who took part in the study reported that they intervened when they were the only witness to their peers' sexually harassing behavior. With such a low incidence of sole intervention, further analysis of this inquiry will be left for another study.

The last research question asked about the different effects on intervention scores for students when taking various characteristics into consideration (student's gender, academic class, racial/ethnic identity, resident assistant status, other sexual harassment training experience, pre-test scores and treatment condition). A causal model was constructed for each post-test score, incorporating direct, indirect and total effects in the model. The analysis was developed from a blocked hierarchical regression analysis of the data.

The findings on this question amplified the findings of the first two questions by identifying more precisely the types of students who increased their intervention scores. Those who attended the workshop increased their Gender Intervention, Intrusive Intervention and Total Intervention scores. Female students increased their Gender Intervention, Taunting Intervention and Total Intervention scores more than males. Students in the lower division classes (first-year and sophomores) improved their Gender Intervention and were more likely to attend the peer-led sexual harassment workshop than students in the upper division (juniors and seniors). European-origin students were more likely to have higher pre-test Gender Intervention and Total Intervention scores than ALANA

(African, Latino/a, Asian, Native American) students, but there was no statistical difference between these two groups of students on any of the post-test scores. Resident assistants scored higher on pre-test and post-test Gender Intervention, Intrusive Intervention and Total Intervention, while non-resident assistants scored higher on Taunting Intervention on the pre-test. Those students who had other sexual harassment training experience scored higher on all pre-test scores, but in general, no better than those without other sexual harassment training experience on any of the post-tests.

The findings on this last question are the most revealing aspect of the study because they not only demonstrate how the variables relate with one another but they also indicate influence of one characteristic on another. In some cases (those where statistical significance was found to exist in indirect effects) a combination of characteristics were indicated as increasing the likelihood of affecting the outcome of increased intervention scores.

These results will assist administrators in marketing such a workshop to students with specific characteristics (for example, residence life staff, or those with no other sexual harassment training experience). They also will demonstrate the immediate value of the peer-led sexual harassment workshop to funding agencies. The next step will be to increase the undergraduate exposure to this workshop and then track the incidence of peer sexually harassing behavior over time on this campus.

In addition, multiple regression analysis revealed that students differ by gender and resident assistant status in the likelihood of their increasing their interventions in peers' sexually harassing behaviors after attending this workshop. Women and resident assistants were more likely to benefit from this workshop than men and non-resident assistants. There was no significant difference in this dimension of behavioral outcome by racial/ethnic identity, previous sexual harassment training or academic class (age).

Intervention behavior in this population does not follow the findings of the research conducted on bystander behavior in the 1970s. It was expected that students would intervene more in situations where the bystander was the only observer. The data showed instead that very few students intervened as sole observers to their peers' sexually harassing behaviors.

Implications for Theory

The results of this research can be implemented in a variety of ways. The pragmatic and policy implications will be dealt with in the Recommendations section. There is an impact on a range of theories that are discussed below.

Prejudice Reduction Theory

Self-examination is at the center of prejudice reduction theory. Behaving as one has habitually behaved in similar situations is a hallmark of the unexamined life (Ajzen, 1988; Creighton & Kivel, 1992; Fazio & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 1994). Education, especially training for social change, can provide opportunities for students to confront their assumptions about themselves and

others by providing "emotional safety—space and time to notice and express the feelings in order to move beyond them" (Creighton & Kivel, 1992, p. 20). This attention to heightening interpersonal awareness is a key factor to creating social change as described by Harro (2000a). She demonstrated the potential impact of interrupting one's own habitual responses to incidents of social ills.

The results of the present study lend credence to this aspect of the prejudice reduction model. Students have attended the workshop with presumably a variety of motivations, but their attendance indicated that they wished to make some changes in their lives. The findings indicate that those who attended do indeed behave differently afterward: they tended to report that they intervened in more Gender and Intrusive types of sexually harassing behaviors.

Persuasive Communication Theory and Social Norms Theory

A number of important elements of persuasive communication theory have been incorporated into the workshop curriculum. The persuasive messages (women are victims of assault on college campuses and sexually harassing behaviors occur on this campus) were substantiated by data (Ajzen, 1992) that were gathered by credible research organizations (the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Student Affairs Research and Institutional Systems office of the University), delivered by students who were likable and friendly, who modeled appropriate behavior, and presented in a manner that emphasized the personal relevance of the facts to those who attended the workshop (Cialdini, 1994).

Exercises in the workshop provided opportunities for participants to practice empowering behaviors, which emphasized the voluntary nature of social behavior (Ajzen, 1988). Ajzen proposed that there are internal and external factors that can strengthen one's perceived behavioral control. The workshop activities capitalized on these factors by drawing students into discussions and by having participants generate the ideas for effective ways to handle sexual harassment when they see it. The elaboration likelihood model of persuasion to change behavior (Petty et al., 1994) relies on people being favorably disposed to new ideas by their making associations between what they already know and what is newly presented by people who they see as much like themselves. The peer facilitator format along with discussions encourages students to form such associations. Conformity to peer group norms is more likely to arise when peers meet to address topics of common interest (Fazio & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 1994).

Berkowitz (2000a) applied social norms theory to college students in social situations where the discomfort level of other observers was difficult to assess. He found that potential interveners in objectionable peer behavior refrained from intervening based on interpreting others' silence as acceptance of the behavior in question (Miller & McFarland, 1991). Reducing ambiguity of the social norms (that is, in corroborating that one's discomfort level is similar to that of those around him/her) leads to increased willingness to intervene. As more students step forward to intervene, an individual bystander's sense of social responsibility is more clearly supported by his/her social group.

Bystander intervention overtly identifies the offensive nature not only to a perpetrator of sexually harassing behavior but also to other witnesses (thus reducing ambiguity). Ajzen (1988) theorized that behavior is a product of a decision-making process that includes one's evaluation of the normative behavior of those who are important to the individual. Chickering and Reisser (1993) have identified that residence hall students form a community with "shared standards and rules for conduct . . . . Once a student identifies with a particular group, it becomes both an anchor and a reference point" (p. 394).

These aspects of persuasive communication theory and social norms theory provide a strong foundation for peer-led workshop education in which students can make a positive impact on their living and learning environment. Students' response to witnessing sexually harassing behaviors can change (become overt) to create a more positive social climate after their attending a one-hour workshop. The data show that they interrupt more gender and intrusive harassing behaviors six months after training.

Bystander Behavior Theory

The results of this study add to the body of knowledge about bystander behavior in a number of ways. (1) This study has demonstrated through the multiple regression analysis that certain student characteristics are associated with greater degrees of intervention in peer sexually harassing behavior *prior* to attending the target workshop: students of European descent, resident assistants and those who have had other sexual harassment training report that they

intervened more in gender harassing behaviors. Non-resident assistants and those with other sexual harassment training report that they intervened more in taunting sexually harassing behaviors and those students with other sexual harassment training also scored significantly higher on the Intrusive Intervention scale. Clearly, other sexual harassment training sets students apart in terms of their making overt interventions (and perhaps in the ability to identify a variety of sexually harassing behaviors). What seems curious is that resident assistants, despite their regulatory responsibilities and authorization to intervene in interpersonal disputes in the residence halls, do not stand out as model interveners in the areas of taunting and intrusive sexually harassing behaviors prior to participating in this peer-led sexual harassment workshop.

(2) Six months following the workshop, female students and resident assistants reported intervening in gender harassing behaviors significantly more than males and non-resident assistants. Racial/ethnic identity and other sexual harassment training made no significant difference in the Gender Intervention post-test scores. ALANA (African, Latino/a, Asian, and Native American) students increased their degree of intervention such that there was no significant difference between theirs and their European-descent counterparts following training.

(3) Attending the workshop had a significant effect on self-reported increases in gender and intrusive sexually harassing behaviors.

Practitioners can now say that certain training has a positive effect on bystander intervention in peer sexually harassing behaviors. Will bystander intervention have an effect on reducing sexual harassment on campus? Is a successful program in one university capable of being transported to other educational environments? More questions arise and more research is needed.

The predominant view of bystander behavior research of the 1970s indicated that sole bystanders tend to intervene in situations requiring help more than bystanders in groups do. This is not the case with the present sample. Rutkowski et al. (1983), however, recognized that the prior research consisted primarily of stranger bystanders. These researchers combined the concept of group cohesiveness with intervention and found that in those groups that were more cohesive, the bystander inhibition was reversed. That is, among those groups composed of more cohesive members, a norm of social-responsibility overrode the inhibitory effects of groups cited by Latané and Darley (1970) of audience inhibition, social influence and diffusion of responsibility. Among resident college undergraduate students who live in a close community, sharing dining facilities, and often study spaces, it is not surprising that the present study found more intervention when students were among other observers of sexually harassing behavior than when they witnessed such behavior alone.

Legal Theory

Hostile Environment Sexual Harassment Theory

Fitzgerald (1996b) proposed that there were 5 types of sexually harassing behaviors (gender harassment, seductive behavior, sexual bribery, sexual coercion and sexual imposition). In 1997, Fitzgerald et al. offered a presentation of these types in a way that conformed with the legal definitions of hostile environment (including gender harassment, seductive behavior and sexual imposition) and *quid pro quo* (including sexual bribery and sexual coercion) forms of sexual harassment. Since Fitzgerald's studies were conducted in workplace settings or in educational settings around issues of faculty-student sexual harassment, inclusion of the *quid pro quo* was appropriate. The present study was conducted among student peers where it was conceptualized that peers generally lacked the interpersonal power with one another to warrant the inclusion of *quid pro quo* forms of sexual harassment in the analysis. The present study, however, demonstrated that dissection of hostile environment sexually harassing behaviors is warranted.

Considering the nature of the particular items selected for the SHBBII, Fitzgerald's hostile environment sexual harassment constructs were renamed as Gender harassing behaviors, Taunting sexually harassing behaviors and Intrusive sexually harassing behaviors. Students respond to the types of sexually harassing behaviors with different degrees of intervention. The work of Fitzgerald and her associates is therefore corroborated in part with the use of the

Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory as a way of measuring intervention in these constructs.

Recommendations for Practice

Based on the results of this study, the following recommendations are offered in four categories: program evaluation, policy recommendations, legal future and further research.

Program Evaluation

- **Include a discussion of the three types of college student peer sexually harassing behavior (Gender, Taunting and Intrusive).** This may help students to recognize the wide variety of behaviors that could be considered sexually harassing. Sexual harassment taxonomies have attempted to categorize sexually harassing behaviors as either verbal or non-verbal (Gruber, 1992); as gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion (Till, 1980); or as *quid pro quo* or hostile environment (legal interpretations), all in an attempt to include both workplace and educational setting sexual harassment. None of these ways of identifying sexually harassing behaviors focuses exclusively on student peer sexually harassing behaviors. According to the largest incidence study in the area of student peer sexual harassment (AAUW, 1993), peers perpetrate most of the sexually harassing behaviors that students experience.

- **Use the findings from the causal model to evaluate the workshop content.** The *taunting* sexually harassing behaviors are perhaps the most difficult for observers to identify. Often they are subtle behaviors that can be interpreted as mistakes or clumsiness, attempts at humor or playfulness. The U.S. Supreme Court referred to the context of alleged sexual harassment as part of the identification of the event in the *Davis* case. The minority opinion (Justice Kennedy) cautioned against playful peer interactions becoming accusations of sexual harassment with "a teenager's romantic overtures to a classmate (even when persistent and unwelcome) are an inescapable part of adolescence" (119 S.Ct. 1661, 1686). Often, the target herself/himself may not realize that a behavior is rude until s/he assesses it in the context of the setting along with other interactions. These subtleties should be articulated as part of the curriculum of the workshop. When does such behavior as flipping a shirt or skirt, or "pantsing" someone (pulling down a person's pants and running away) move from humor to offense? How many repetitions of some behavior that is barely tolerable cross the line and turn into something that is unacceptable? Small group, mixed-gender discussions can provide new awareness of how others feel about such treatment.
- **Include a curriculum unit on the impact of bystander intervention.** Currently, the workshop begins with a brief reference to the escalation

of sexually harassing activities if individual behaviors are ignored. Discussion or activity focused on the inhibitors to bystander intervention and the positive effects of moving beyond them (Harro, 2000b) could serve to empower students to take responsibility for the atmosphere in which their higher education takes place (Berkowitz, 1998; Latané & Darley, 1970).

- **Peer facilitators should include both male and female leaders and ALANA and European-origin leaders.** Solidarity will be demonstrated in this way and students will recognize that sexual harassment is a problem that concerns everyone (Berkowitz, 1998; Latané & Darley, 1970).

- **Examine workshop effect by co-facilitator team.** Perform multiple regression analysis with facilitators as independent variables to identify additional factors that may be important in workshop success along the dimension of increasing bystander interventions.

Policy Recommendations

- **Use the findings of the study's causal model to demonstrate the need to recruit more peer educators of color.** ALANA students demonstrated a lower pre-test intervention level to Gender harassing behaviors than their European-descent counterpart students. The ALANA peer educators will serve as role models to students (Ender & Newton, 2000).

- **Recruit more male peer educators.** The findings suggest that males intervene significantly less than females in peers' Gender harassing behaviors. Male peer educators will serve as role models to students (Katz, 1995). Male witnesses to sexually harassing behaviors would benefit from peer support (Peterson, 1984).
- **Male and female instructors should co-teach the peer-educator course.** By pairing a male and female as course instructors, the sponsoring organization would demonstrate its value of mutual respect and equality. Griffin (1997) recommends co-facilitators for social justice education in the area of sexism to be male and female as representative of the agent and target groups of sexism. Role modeling is important to demonstrate problem-solving.
- **Promote attendance at the workshop with increased marketing efforts.** Encourage M.B.A. students to adopt a project to increase attendance at these programs. It is also possible to examine a successful program of non-credit student education, such as the "Not Ready for Bedtime Players," which students appear to look forward to attending, to develop ideas of mixing humor with education. As more people receive this training, it will be likely that more intervention will take place across the campus. This could lead to a change in the social norm of intervention, which could lead eventually to improving the way students treat one another.

- **Residence life staff should attend this workshop as a regular part of their pre-service training.** They have shown to be highly receptive to the concepts, demonstrate a high level of responsibility to their community, and serve as role models in their daily functioning.
- **The University should consider making this workshop a part of new student orientation on a regular basis.** The findings indicate that there is a greater effect among younger students who attend the workshop than among older students. New students would gain a shared vocabulary and raised awareness about sexually harassing behaviors and ways to step forward when witnessing them. Such a policy would provide communities of trained students with whom incoming students would live. According to Harro's (2000a) reasoning, these residence communities would serve to counteract some of the sexist forces of the larger community and therefore would be supportive of intervention behavior within the residence halls.
- **The University should compare students' increased level of intervention in peers' sexually harassing behavior with Project Pulse incidence data to be collected again in November 2001.** The intervention ratio concept will gain greater meaning when it is set in a context of current incidence data. If the incidence of sexually harassing behaviors continues to decline, as it has over the past 10 years (Kluge & Williams, 1998), greater weight can be given to the effectiveness of

this university's educational strategy for reducing sexual harassment among students (including this workshop).

Future Legal Directions

- **Institutions will be better able to demonstrate that they are taking an affirmative approach to preventing sexual harassment among their students by evaluating educational programming effectiveness with the SHBBII**. The traditional reactive approach to legal compliance, can be replaced with a prophylactic perspective to address the institution's legal duties implied by the courts and the Office for Civil Rights regarding prevention. Stopping individual behaviors before the climate rises to the level of legal sexual harassment can save a great deal of harm to individuals and can save a great deal of financial cost to an institution.
- **Make periodic reports of behavioral outcomes of educational programming.** This could become a positive standard for institutions to attain and to maintain. Eventually, successful outcome reports might replace the present (negative) standard established by the *Gebser* decision of adequate response to actual notice of an infraction of the institution's anti-sexual harassment policy.
- **The Sexually Harassing Behaviors Bystander Intervention Inventory can be used to assess institutional climate.** When looking at institutional accountability, expert witnesses now have a tool by which

to measure a community's on-going intervention behavior. In a time study, one would be able to attest to changes or lack of change in the degree of community involvement in dealing with unacceptable behavior of its members.

Further Research

- **Collect and analyze data to address the question: Is there a difference between the effects of the training for those who attend the workshop voluntarily as compared with those who are required to attend?** Some students in this study were required to attend the target workshop as a designated in-service training module for some resident assistants or as a curricular unit of a first-year orientation program. It is important to know for future requirements if voluntariness is a prerequisite motivation for program effectiveness.
- **Further investigation is needed regarding the Taunting Intervention scale of the SHBBII.** The reliability coefficient ($\alpha = .36$) indicates that there is less cohesiveness among these items than among the other scales' items. Careful selection of behaviors that involve similar degrees of interaction, for example, flashing and mooning could be witnessed at a distance, while witnessing someone pressing against another person requires being at closer range to an offender. That kind of difference in items could account for different degrees of interaction

with an offender. Greater attention to detail could provide a more coherent scale.

- **Further investigation is warranted regarding the interpersonal cohesiveness concept as it exists on a college campus and how it affects intervention in sexually harassing behaviors.** Rutkowski et al. (1983) posed the question of a sense of community as having an effect on the likelihood of intervention. It will be valuable to confirm this concept with further research inquiry as the nature of shared identity regarding one's institution may hold depth of understanding about the importance of encouraging community climate on college campuses.
- **Compare pre-test to post-test scores on the SHBBII of one sexual harassment training curriculum with another.** Many sexual harassment training programs familiarize participants with their institutions policies and grievance procedures. It will be important to confirm the value of such an approach in terms of the behavioral changes one can expect.
- **Conduct the study at the same university, obtaining the control group by true random selection.** Each student living on campus would have an equal chance of being selected for the study. Random samples increase the generalizability of the results to the population because a random sample is required to satisfy "the logic by which a null hypothesis is tested using inferential statistics" (Gall et al., 1996, p.

223). In this case, research results could be more confidently stated as representing undergraduate residents of this campus.

- **Conduct the study at the same university, using a split-half design with an alternate mode of data collection at both the pre-test and the post-test administrations.** The reliability of the measurement instrument needs to be confirmed. This could be accomplished by giving half the control group and half the workshop participants a telephone survey at pre-test and the other half of the sample a written survey. Use the same mode of administration for each student in the sample at post-test. Scores could then be statistically compared between administration modes to see if students responded consistently.
- **Conduct the study collecting post-test data on an internet form.** The process of post-test data collection can become more cost effective and less labor intensive. Sending an e- mail letter to all students in the study with a hyperlink to a special web site that is designed for electronic submission to the researcher. The cost of a staff to make telephone contact with each student would be reduced to the cost of printing the submitted forms.
- **Conduct the study with one-half the workshop students providing pre-test data.** This will identify any significant pre-test sensitivity to the SHBBII and therefore increase the instrument's reliability.

- **Extend this study to a time-series design.** A time-series design takes measurements at periodic intervals. In addition to the pre-test and post-test already described in the present study, additional post-tests would be administered to the same students to detect how long the effects of attending the workshop last.
- **Further work is needed regarding the use of the SHBBII with different populations.** This study was conducted with residence undergraduate students at a public university in a suburban setting. To expand knowledge of bystander intervention in different contexts, it would be valuable to obtain data from students of different ages and settings (for example, a commuter population of college students, high school students, middle school students, elementary students, Greek-letter association students, students at privately-funded colleges, single-sex college students).
- **More needs to be known about the phenomenological aspects of intervening.** A line of qualitative study should begin to understand from the bystander's perspective, what s/he considers when deciding whether to act, how to intervene, past experiences with feelings of success in these endeavors, and inhibiting forces.

Conclusion

Prevention of, rather than mere reaction to, sexual harassment is the goal and the spirit of the law. While it is generally individuals who perpetrate acts of

sexually harassing behavior, the law makes it clear that institutions hold the responsibility to be proactive rather than reactive in providing an atmosphere that is free of sexual harassment. Institutions can typically promote an appropriately harassment free atmosphere among employees through the existence of and consistent enforcement of strict policies and procedures prohibiting sexual harassment on campus by employees. When an employee sexually harasses a student or another employee, there are generally well-established routes of employment discipline. In their role as employers, institutions of higher education most likely already have an adequate anti-sexual harassment policy and grievance procedures printed in their employee handbooks. Higher education administrators thus have reason to believe that their responsibilities are satisfied in this area.

However, these traditional components of prevention may be inadequate when considering the complexities of student peer sexual harassment. While it is relatively simple to put policies in place that prohibit peer sexual harassment, these are typically difficult to enforce. Further, it is problematic for the institution to influence student social behavior without interfering with constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of expression. One solution lies with individuals learning to take responsibility for the atmosphere in which they live and learn.

While proactive approaches are more challenging to implement than reactive responses, institutions ultimately have the responsibility to be proactive in preventing peer sexual harassment as part of the educational mission of the

institution. The institution that provides living/learning opportunities can attend more genuinely to its responsibility to prevent student-to-student sexual harassment with an educational strategy that includes programming based on a combination of sound theory and empirical evidence.

This study was designed to provide campus leaders with improved theoretical understandings of peer sexual harassment and empirical data about how educational programming can be used proactively to influence student responses in situations of peer sexually harassing behavior. Taking prevention of sexual harassment among students seriously can also be viewed as an opportunity for higher education to strengthen its traditional role of preparing good citizens to assume leadership roles for an improved society.

This study provides a means for assessing and enhancing the effectiveness of educational programming aimed at reducing sexual harassment among undergraduates. Through programs such as the one that was evaluated in this study and other related efforts, institutions of higher education and their students could form a partnership in pursuit of the goal of preventing sexual harassment. By fine-tuning their educational programming with the assessment tool and research methods used in this study, institutions can attend to their promise to prepare future generations of leaders for a more ethically evolved society.

APPENDIX A

SEXUALLY HARASSING BEHAVIORS BYSTANDER INTERVENTION INVENTORY

Below you will find some behaviors that students might engage in, from time to time. Think about your response(s) to these activities when you witnessed the following situations <u>this semester.</u>

Complete each of the sentences below to describe your <u>most recent</u> experience with the situations in each **item**.

(a) Begin each descriptive sentence by checking either the first or second column.
(b) Finish the sentence by checking one (or more, if appropriate) of the 5 options on the right of each item.
(c) If you did not witness an item, check the box on the far left and go on to the next item.

I did not see this during this semester	I was the only witness	There were others present	Items	did nothing	joined in	told **someone I am close to** about it later	told **someone with the authority to do something about it** later	tried to stop it
☐	☐	☐	when a person made a sexual comment, joke, gesture or look, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when someone displayed sexually explicit materials, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when someone was spreading sexual rumors about someone, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when one teammate slapped another on the butt, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when a person called somebody a negative word relating to sexual orientation, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when two people were hugging each other, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when someone flashed or "mooned," and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when someone was unwillingly touched, grabbed or pinched in a sexual way, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when someone pulled at another person's clothing against his/her will, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when someone brushed or pressed into a person against her/his will, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when same-sex students huddled together while watching TV, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when someone's path was blocked or was cornered in an intimidating way, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when a person forced a kiss on somebody, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
☐	☐	☐	when someone forced a person to do something sexual, other than kissing, and then I	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX B

WORKSHOP DESCRIPTION

TYPICAL WORKSHOP SETTING: STUDENT LOUNGE DURATION: 1 HOUR

The peer educator course instructor designed the workshop that was delivered by three student co-facilitators. The student leaders began by introducing themselves to the workshop participants. As part of this introduction, the facilitators explained their own reasons for leading the workshop. They then explained that harassment worsens when it is ignored, and then provided the historical development of the course that sponsored the workshop.

Participants were asked to introduce themselves as a way to set the tone for everyone to participate. The ROPES acronym (respect, openness, participation, education and sensitivity) was provided to introduce the ground rules of communication during the workshop. Facilitators invited additions to the list of ground rules, and made a request that participants not engage in "sidebars" (private comments with those seated around them), as that is both disrespectful and distracting to the activities being presented.

The initial exercise asked the men in the room to call out their responses to the question: "What do you do on a daily basis to prevent yourself from being sexually assaulted?" The brainstormed responses were recorded by one of the facilitators on a display that was visible to everyone in the room (either on a newsprint pad or on a chalkboard, depending on what was available in the

workshop location). In a separate column on the written record, the women's responses were then recorded. The group was asked to compare the lists and to comment on the similarities and differences. The women's list typically was longer and more detailed. The group was then asked to guess from whom the women are protecting themselves. After the participants had a chance to respond, Federal Bureau of Investigation statistics were provided about campus rapes (90% are committed by men), campus assaults (80-90% of women who are assaulted on campus are assaulted by men they know), and campus violent crimes (90-93% committed by men).

The workshop leaders then provided the transition from violence and assault to the main topic of sexual harassment. They stated that there is a continuum of violence, on which various types of sexual harassment occupy space, ranging from sexist jokes to forced sexual intercourse.

Participants were next divided into equal-sized convenience groups, with one half writing down their descriptions of flirting behavior and the other half of the participants writing down what they thought constituted hurting (sexually harassing behaviors). These lists were then compared among the entire group, looking for similarities and distinctions. It was expected that there would be many overlapping descriptors between the two lists, and that served as the cue for the workshop leaders to provide the following definition of sexual harassment:

Sexual harassment is unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature which interfere with an individual's school or work performance, or create a hostile, intimidating, or offensive environment. (Fordham, 1999, p. 2)

This definition served as the definition of common understanding for the remainder of the workshop.

Facilitators then presented local statistics, derived from the Project Pulse Survey (Kluge & Williams, 1998).

- Nearly two-thirds of the women reported having personally experienced other students 'making unwanted physical contact' with them at UMass.
- Three-fifths of the women reported being aware that the University has a policy that prohibits sexual harassment.
- But only one-third of the students were aware that the University has a Sexual Harassment Grievance Procedure.
- Only slightly more than two-fifths of the women said they would be 'very likely' to report an incident of sexual harassment.

(Fordham, p. 2)

Facilitators role-played several scenes for participants to determine if the situations constituted sexual harassment. This aspect of the workshop usually generated much discussion, as opinions varied, even though everyone was working with the same definition of sexual harassment.

The final exercise was another one where the participants are divided into two convenience groups, where one subgroup was asked to "write statements describing effective ways of handling sexual harassment; ways to intervene" (Fordham, 1999, p. 3) while the other subgroup "list[ed] resources" (p. 3). The facilitators then drew the participants back into one large group for a review of these most recent productions, emphasizing several things that victims and bystanders of sexually harassing behavior can do to improve their situations.

A prepared list of campus and community resources was then handed out to participants, along with an evaluation form for the workshop. They were thanked and invited to speak privately with the facilitators if they wished to discuss anything that they were uncomfortable speaking about in the more public forum.

APPENDIX C

COVER LETTER FOR CONTROL GROUP MAIL-OUT PACKAGE

Elaine R. Whitlock
P O Box 822
Northampton, MA 01061-0822
(413) 586-8173 • elainew@educ.umass.edu

Dear Student:

You have been randomly selected from the entire population of on-campus undergraduate students to participate in an educational research project. Your participation is completely voluntary, very valuable and entirely appreciated. I will hold your responses in strict confidence. Your individual responses will be completely anonymous in the research report. If you wish to read a copy of the report, feel free to contact me after the fall of 2001.

As part of my dissertation work at the University, I am studying student peer behavior. To do this, I am requesting that you respond to a few questions on the following two pages. It should take less than 5 minutes of your time.

Your informed consent to participate in this study under the conditions described is assumed by your completing the survey and returning it to me. Do not return it if you do not understand or agree to these conditions. I have enclosed a gel pen for you as a gift of my appreciation for your participation. Please take a few moments to complete the survey and mail it in the stamped, addressed envelope enclosed within the next few days. Thank you very much!

Sincerely,

Elaine Whitlock

Elaine Whitlock
Doctoral Candidate
School of Education
Higher Education Program
University of Massachusetts

APPENDIX D

CALLER TRAINING GUIDELINES

CALLER INSTRUCTIONS

- A script is printed on each response form. Student's name and on-campus phone number is handwritten on each form. **The campus telephone exchange is 546- for residence halls.**
- If you are calling from a phone with a **call waiting** feature, dial ***70** before each time you dial, so that your interview calls will not be interrupted by an incoming call.
- Ask for the named student and read the introductory paragraph on the form.
- *If student Refuses to participate, assess the firmness of refusal:*
    - *Unwilling to participate:* **Mark "R" in upper right corner of form, say "Thank you. Good-bye."**
    - *Inconvenient time for call:* **Offer to call back later in the week (next week) Mark preferred callback day in right upper corner of form.**
    - *General uncertainty: Remind student that s/he has already participated in this research and we are "**merely following up**" this semester. Or **"Honestly, this is short. Just a couple of minutes of your time. Your responses are very valuable to this graduate student's research."***

When you get to the **arrow [read them]** begin to read the list of options:

I did nothing.

I joined in.

I told someone I am close to about it later.

I told someone in authority about it later.

I tried to stop it.

I did not witness this behavior.

Begin to ask the survey questions:

Repeat the stem for each item: **"What did you do....?"**

(Use Black Flair pen to record responses [checkmark or X, your preference] in appropriate columns.)

Whenever respondent says "I tried to stop it." Ask:

"Were you the only witness or were there others also present?"

Then mark **"Only Witness"** or **"Among Others"** for those items only.

Respond to each answer in a noncommittal tone with "**Okay...**" or "**Unh-huh...**" and move on to next question.

Mark the time and date of the call and sign each form with your initials.

Be sure to read the questions and mark the responses to the few questions at the bottom of the survey page (They are in full sentence format).

Thank the student for participating in the research.

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