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EXAMINATION OF PERCEIVED NORMS AND MASCULINITY THREAT AS PREDICTORS OF COLLEGE MEN'S BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS AS BYSTANDERS IN A PARTY GANG RAPE SITUATION

by

DOYANNE A. DARNELL

Under the Direction of Sarah Cook

ABSTRACT

Sexual assault of women is a well-documented phenomenon in U.S. samples, particularly on college campuses. Innovative approaches to prevention encourage men and women to intervene as bystanders in sexual assault situations; however, bystander behavior is notoriously inhibited by various situational factors. This study used a mixed-method approach to better understand the role of situational factors in college men's bystander behavioral intentions in a party gang rape situation. The first aim was to develop an experimental paradigm using vignette methodology to manipulate the amount of masculinity threat present in a party gang rape situation, which could then be used to explore the effect of masculinity threat on men's bystander behavioral intentions. Although I was unable to heighten masculinity threat, findings indicate that a previous relationship with the offenders results in men expecting a typical male college bystander to experience less negative affect in the situation. The second aim was to use the vignettes to examine whether men's perception of the rape-supportive and traditional masculine gender role

norms among the offenders involved, as well as indicators of masculinity threat, would predict men's bystander behavioral intentions. Boding well for bystander intervention programs, the majority (98%) of men reported intention to intervene to stop the assault to some degree, although this intention was lower for men who perceived the party gang rape situation to result in more negative affect for a typical college male bystander. Data depicts the party gang rape situation as one in which masculine norms and masculinity threat are salient; however, these aspects did not play a role in intentions to intervene. Eighteen percent of men reported some intention to join in the assault, which was predicted by perceived masculine norms and men's demographic characteristics. Findings point to the importance of culturally competent programming and the utility of incorporating a social norms approach in bystander intervention programs. Programs may benefit from addressing concerns about retaliation, particularly as a function of men's relationships to the offenders. A limitation is the exclusion of individual difference variables to explore whether men's own attitudes interact with situational factors to predict bystander behavioral intentions.

INDEX WORDS: Sexual assault, Party gang rape, Masculinity, Social norms, Bystander intervention, Prevention

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by

DOYANNE A. DARNELL

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2011

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May 2011

DEDICATION

For all bystanders who have intervened and will intervene to prevent sexual assault.

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Introduction

Sexual assault of women is a well documented phenomenon in U.S. samples, particularly on college campuses (Cook & Koss, 2005; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987). Three percent of a nationally representative sample of college women reported an attempted or completed rape since the beginning of the academic year (an average of 7 months), with 90% committed by someone known to the victim (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000). Sexual assault leads to numerous mental and physical health consequences (Cloutier, Martin, & Poole, 2002; Resick, 1993; Sugar, Fine, & Eckert, 2004; Ullman & Siegel, 1996) even if women themselves do not identify the experience as rape or assault (Littleton & Henderson, 2009). Family and friends are affected by victimizations (Resick, 1993), as well as the larger community by increasing women's fear of assault in general (Gordon & Riger, 1989), thereby limiting access to public space and resources (Pain, 1997), and taxing government resources to pay for costs incurred due to sexual assault crimes (Post, Mezey, Maxwell & Wibert, 2002).

A variety of prevention programs and initiatives to reduce sexual assault have developed over the past 20 years with varying success (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Brecklin & Forde, 2001; Breitenbecher, 2000; Lonsway, 1996). Historically, these programs have focused on changing rape-supportive attitudes among men to prevent perpetration or teaching women how to avoid victimization. Recently, innovative approaches, termed bystander intervention approaches, encourage all men and women to intervene in situations that could lead to sexual assault. Early empirical research on bystander interventions is promising, but researchers in the field have yet to identify factors that inhibit or promote bystander behavior in sexual assault situations so that program developers can directly address such barriers and encourage facilitative factors. The purposes of this study are to 1) attempt to develop an experimental

paradigm using vignette methodology to heighten masculinity threat in a party gang rape situation, a type of rape known to occur among the college-age population and one in which bystanders necessarily are present, which could then be used to explore the effect of masculinity threat on men's bystander behavioral intentions and 2) to explore situational predictors of men's bystander behavioral intentions in the party gang rape situation, including masculinity threat and perceived masculine and rape-supportive norms.

First, I will briefly review the sexual assault prevention literature, focusing on the nature of educational prevention programs and the unique contribution of bystander intervention approaches to such programs. I then review what is known about men's bystander behavior in sexual assault situations and the factors that may inhibit men from intervening to prevent sexual assault, emphasizing the roles of peer norms and masculinity in sexual assault situations. I end this section by specifying the research aims and hypotheses of this study, noting the importance to the advancement of bystander intervention approaches for sexual assault prevention.

Traditional Sexual Assault Prevention Educational Programs

Historically, rape prevention has focused on individual change. Spearheaded in the 1970s by rape crisis centers (Campbell & Martin, 2001; Koss & Harvey, 1991), efforts consisted of educational programs that attempted to raise awareness about the problem of rape and change distorted belief systems among the general population that diminish the problem and blame victims for assaults (Koss & Harvey, 1991).

In response to the growing awareness of rape on campus, universities began routinely incorporating such programming in the late 1980s to the present (National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, 1994). Programs have varied considerably in terms of content, techniques, and audiences and outcomes targeted for change. For example, programs may use

videos, lecture, group discussions, role plays, and dramatic performances with men, women, or mixed gender groups, that are delivered by professionals, students, peers, or trained facilitators, to increase empathy for victims, decrease rape-supportive beliefs and attitudes, increase rape knowledge, improve dating communication and behaviors, improve skills for assisting victims, and decrease the incidence of sexual assault. Many programs are effective at increasing knowledge about sexual assault and decreasing rape-supportive attitudes immediately following programs, although very few studies document long-term changes or examine behavior, making it hard to discern whether attitude changes are sustained or result in reduced perpetration (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Brecklin & Forde, 2001; Breitenbenbecher, 2000; Lonsway, 1996).

The field of prevention continues to be dominated by educational approaches, stalling progress due to limitations of relying on individual-level change (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009). Although important in an ecological approach to prevention (Dahlberg & Krug, 2002), approaches that rely on individuals to either not assault or avoid assault are labor intensive and limited in scope of impact. Further, approaching men solely as perpetrators limits the appeal and potential impact of such programs as they are likely to elicit defensiveness from men who do not want to be considered a potential perpetrator. Also limited are programs that target women to reduce risk of victimization. Although an important goal, risk reduction programs may help some women avoid being victims but do not prevent assaults from occurring.

Bystander Intervention Approaches to Sexual Assault Prevention

Interest is growing in innovative approaches, such as bystander intervention programs, that encourage both men and women to intervene to stop sexual assault from taking place and to challenge sexual assault-supportive attitudes. These approaches are built on decades of sociological, psychological, and sexual assault prevention research that point to the importance

of peer behavior and social norms on sexually assaultive behavior (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante's, 2007; Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003; DeKeseredy, Schwartz, & Alvi, 2000). In effect, programming goes beyond changing individual attitudes to changing the way peers relate to each other around sexually aggressive behavior (affecting the interpersonal-relational level of the ecological model) and increasing the presence of antiviolence social norms (affecting the community level of the ecological model).

Bystander approaches stemming from sociological work identify the patriarchal social structure, reinforced by gender-based inequality and anti-femininity, as causing men's violence against women. Related prevention programs encourage men to take responsibility for the problem of sexual assault and engage in active efforts to challenge the patriarchal social structure (Berkowitz, 2004; DeKeseredy, et al., 2000). Psychological approaches attempt to raise awareness about the problem of sexual assault and importantly, teach people how to intervene in situations that could lead to sexual assault. The opportunity to practice bystander intervention skills as well as discuss and explore beliefs that might inhibit bystander behavior (e.g., that violence against women is a women's issue with no place for men; the extent of violence against women has been exaggerated) are emphasized (Crooks, Goodall, Hughes, Jaffe, & Baker, 2007).

Two bystander intervention programs have been empirically evaluated. Banyard et al. (2007) pioneered the application of social psychological research on the bystander effect and prosocial behavior to sexual assault prevention. The intervention attempts to increase empathy for victims, raise awareness about sexual violence, and teach men and women skills for intervening in a variety of sexual assault situations. In an experimental evaluation of the program with 389 undergraduates (90% White, 70% women), the intervention was efficacious in

increasing bystander behaviors, a sense of efficacy in carrying out these behaviors, and the perceived rewards versus costs of intervening (Banyard, et al., 2007).

Foubert & Perry (2007) developed a program to teach men skills to assist friends who have been assaulted and increase empathy for victims through the use of a male-on male sexual assault story. The program appears to result in long-term (7 months) changes among diverse groups of college men in rape-supportive attitudes and behaviors such as rape-myth acceptance and telling jokes about rape (Foubert, 2000; Foubert & Cremedy, 2007). A more recent version of the program added a component in which college men were invited to visualize an alcohol-facilitated assault as a bystander and come up with ways to intervene. Qualitative follow-up with 184 of the men (majority white) two years after the intervention demonstrated anti-rape attitude and behavioral change that participants tied directly to the intervention (Foubert, Godin, & Tatum, 2009).

These evaluations are promising and point to the importance pursuing and improving upon such approaches. However, improvement is limited by the fact that little research has specifically examined factors that influence bystander behavior in sexual assault situations. The purpose of this study is to better understand factors that predict men's decisions to intervene as bystanders in a specific sexual assault situation known as party gang rape, using theory and research on bystander intervention, models of prosocial behavior, and findings from the sexual assault literature to guide my aims and hypotheses. Before reviewing potential factors involved in men's decisions to intervene, I review findings on men's bystander intervention behavior and behavioral intentions in sexual assault situations.

Men's Bystander Behavior in Sexual Assault Situations

Many men will intervene to prevent an assault. In a unique observational study with college men, the majority of participants intervened in a stranger rape simulation (Harari, Harari, & White, 1985). Specifically, 80 Caucasian male undergraduate students were observed walking on the university campus near a parking garage where a rape scene was staged to reflect a clear stranger rape, with the stranger grabbing the woman unexpectedly and her yelling "help, rape!" Sixty-five percent of the men walking alone to the parking lot intervened and 85% of the men walking in groups intervened. Eighty percent of participants directly intervened to assist the victim. Although encouraging, these findings for stranger rape may not generalize to other types of sexual assault situations. For instance, acquaintance rape situations, such as the one examined in the present study, are often perceived as ambiguous situations (Shotland & Goodstein, 1983), making it potentially unclear whether intervention is needed. Further, victims are often perceived to be more responsible for and less harmed by acquaintance rape than stranger rape (Johnson & Jackson, 1988), again making bystander intervention potentially less likely.

Given the difficulties in conducting observational research for sexual assault, some studies ask men to report on their past bystander behavior. In their evaluation of a bystander intervention program, Banyard et al. (2007) inquired about 51 different bystander behaviors such as, "…walk a friend who has had too much to drink home from a party" and "When I hear a sexist comment, I indicate my displeasure," and asked participants to indicate whether they actually had done the behaviors in the previous 2 months. On average, men reported engaging in 8 different bystander behaviors before receiving the educational intervention, with a statistically significant increase to 11.5 behaviors 2 months after the intervention. In a separate study to explore correlates of bystander behavior among college students, researchers asked male

participants to report on their general bystander behavior with items such as “To keep my friends out of trouble, I stop them from doing things that might meet the definition of sexual assault” and “I say something if I hear a stranger or acquaintance talking about taking sexual advantage of someone’s intoxicated state.” Men reported more agreement than disagreement with such statements (Burn, 2009).

A number of studies inquire about men’s intention to intervene in sexual assault situations. In the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), behavioral intentions are influenced by subjective norms for the behavior, a person’s attitudes about the behavior, and a person’s perceived control over being able to engage in the behavior (Ajzen, 1991). Intention to engage in a behavior directly leads to the behavior (Webb & Sheeran, 2006). In Banyard’s analysis of intervention evaluation data (2008), self-reported willingness to engage in the behaviors (i.e. intention to intervene) predicted participants’ reports of actual engagement in the behaviors.

Men frequently report that they are willing to intervene to prevent assault. In one study, undergraduate men reported they were more willing than not (just above the midpoint for the scale) to intervene in several different behaviors such as “When I hear sexist comments, I indicate my disapproval,” “I am willing to educate other men about rape and sexual assault prevention,” and “If a friend planned to give a woman alcohol or drugs in order to have sex with her, I would stop him” (Stein, 2007). In an unrelated study, on average, men reported they are “sometimes” willing and generally “agree” that they are willing to intervene in similar situations (Fabiano, et al., 2003). A sample of 395 undergraduate men (95% White) reported, on average, across 10 different behaviors, they would “strongly agree” to intervene to stop a peer from committing sexual assault (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010).

While these findings are promising for bystander intervention, not all men report intervening or an intention to intervene, underscoring the importance of identifying factors that might inhibit such behavior. As described below, research from the social psychology field points to such factors that may also be relevant in sexual assault situations.

Factors Influencing Men's Bystander Intervention in Sexual Assault Situations

The role of social norms in men's bystander behavior in sexual assault situations. Bystander behavior in emergency situations is known to be both inhibited and motivated by a variety of situational and individual factors (Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, & Schroeder, 2005). Two models that attempt to explain bystander behavior are Latane and Darley's (1970) decision-making model of bystander intervention and Piliavin et al.'s (1981) arousal: cost-reward model of prosocial behavior (i.e. behavior that is beneficial or helpful to others). Both models contend that bystanders engage in a rational decision-making process that is influenced by various situational and individual factors. The decision-making model emphasizes factors that inhibit behavior, whereas the arousal: cost-reward model emphasizes motivating factors. Both of these models point to the importance of social norms as both inhibiting and facilitating bystander intervention, depending on the norm and the behavior.

Social norms are common attitudes and behaviors among groups of people that provide rules or guides as to how to act in social situations. Generally, people feel pressure to fit in with a social group, particularly if the group is important to their identity (Levine & Thompson, 2004) and look to two types of norms to guide their behavior: descriptive norms, or common behaviors exhibited by a group in a given social situation, and injunctive norms, commonly shared beliefs among group members about how people should behave in certain situations. One's perception of the group norm influences behavior, regardless of what the actual norm may be among the

group. The perception of injunctive norms, or attitudinal support for a behavior, has a stronger effect on an individual's behavior than the descriptive norms (Borsari & Carey, 2003). A bystander's perception of the norm regarding intervening behavior suggests to him the appropriate action to take. The perceived norm also provides motivation for conforming behavior because of the cost of social disapproval for not adhering to the norm. Using these models, one would expect men to conform to what they perceive the norm to be among the other men involved in a sexual assault situation. Two types of norms routinely implicated in sexual assault that may be relevant to bystander intervention are rape-supportive and masculine gender role norms.

The role of rape-supportive norms in men's behavior in sexual assault situations. Men's perception of their peers' acceptance of and support for sexual assault (i.e. the perceived rape-supportive norm) influences their own rape-supportive attitudes and assaultive behavior (Berkowitz, 2004; Boswell & Spade, 1996; Bohner, Siebler, & Schmelcher, 2006; DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995; Kanin, 1967; Kanin, 1985; Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 1997). These rape-supportive attitudes and beliefs are most commonly captured in rape myths.

Rape myths are shared cultural beliefs about the nature of sexual assault, which are untrue but nevertheless justify and support the behavior (Burt, 1980; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Examples of rape myths, include "In any rape case one would have to question whether the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation" and "When a woman allows petting to get to a certain point, she is implicitly agreeing to have sex" and "If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was a rape" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). These myths define sexual assault narrowly (e.g., as one in which a chaste woman is attacked by a stranger and fights physically with the attacker during the assault, making her lack of consent physically visible),

allowing many types of assault to go unrecognized. In fact, research conducted largely with undergraduates using written vignettes or scenarios of sexual assaults demonstrates that adherence to rape myths is related to perceptions of whether an assault has occurred and the attribution of blame to the victim for the assault (Frese, Moya, & Megías, 2004; Kopper, 1996; Mason, Riger, & Foley, 2004; Newcombe, van den Eynde, Hafner, & Jolly, 2008; Stormo, Lang, Stritzke, 1997). Victims are blamed more for assaults when assaults are depicted in a rape-myth consistent manner, such as when the victim is wearing sexy clothing (Johnson & Jackson, 1988; Maurer & Robinson, 2007; Shotland & Goodstein, 1983).

Unique experiments conducted with 264 German male college students showed a causal relationship between the rape myth acceptance of a peer reference group and men's own rape myth acceptance and proclivity to rape (Bohner, et al., 2006). Men who were told that their fellow students have high rape myth acceptance reported higher rape myth acceptance and self-reported willingness to rape than men who were told that their fellow students have low rape myth acceptance. In another study with undergraduate men comparing 71 self-reported date rapists with 227 non-rapists, date rapists more often indicated that their reputation would be enhanced by sexually coercing certain types of women fitting rape myth stereotypes, such as those perceived to be 'teasers' or after men's money (Kanin, 1985). In a national probability survey of Canadian male college students, men's assaultive behavior in dating relationships was predicted by their report of verbal guidance and advice they receive from friends to sexually assault their female partners and their perception that their male friends actually do sexually assault women (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1995).

Extending these findings to bystander behavior suggests men may feel pressure to behave in accordance with the perceived norm for assaultive behavior, resulting in lower intention to

intervene when the perception of peer support for rape appears high. A recent study found evidence for this relation. In the Brown & Messman-Moore (2010) study referenced earlier, college men reported on their own and their peers' support for sexual aggression using a three-item measure developed for the study. Questions included "I/Most of my peers think sexual assault is wrong," "I/Most of my peers think sexual assault is justified under some circumstances," and "I/Most of my peers would commit sexual assault if I/they know I/they would not be punished." After controlling for demographic variables, peer support for sexual aggression strongly predicted ($sr^2 = .10$) men's own willingness to intervene to stop a peer from committing sexual assault (greater peer support resulted in less willingness). Men's own support using the same measure had no effect on willingness to intervene after controlling for peer support.

The role of masculine gender role norms in men's behavior in sexual assault situations. Masculinity is a set of role behaviors that most men are encouraged to perform (Kilmartin, 2000). These behaviors, some of which relate to biology or biological processes (e.g., men's greater muscularity compared to women may result in men being considered physically stronger than women) are largely socially constructed and suggest how men should be (e.g., one must be physically strong to be considered manly). Masculine ideology refers to the set of injunctive male role norms that articulate the behavior men should do and characteristics they should have to be considered masculine (Thompson, Pleck, & Ferrera, 1992). Essential elements of masculine ideology vary among researchers, but these masculine norms have historically and traditionally reflected the valuation of toughness, being non-feminine, and achieving status (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). These norms vary across cultures, although endorsement of traditional masculine ideology exists across ethnicities in the U.S. (Abreu, Goodyear, Campos,

Newcomb, 2000). The status norm reflects beliefs that men should work to achieve status and gain the respect of others. The toughness norm refers to beliefs that men should be emotionally and physically strong, never showing vulnerability or weakness, and the antifemininity norm reflects beliefs that men should be unlike women. Endorsement of these beliefs is theoretically and empirically distinct from gender role orientation (i.e., an identity as masculine based on personality traits) and attitudes toward women (Sinn, 1997; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). For example some men may believe that men should be tough, but not see themselves as tough, and have no particular belief about how tough women should be.

Research indicates that the pressure to conform to these norms influences men's behavior. Perceiving one's self to be highly masculine (e.g., hypermasculinity) and adhering to a traditional masculine ideology are both related to violence against women and sexual assault perpetration (Locke & Mahalik, 2005; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss, and Tanaka, 1991; Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002; Parrott & Zeichner, 2003; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). This may be due to a traditional masculine role that values expression of dominance, particularly in relation to women, as well as the expression of heterosexuality that calls for aggressive pursuance of sex with women. Research suggests the pressure to conform to the masculine role is stressful for some men and may motivate some men to be violent against women in an effort to sustain a masculine image. Male bystanders to sexual assault situations may be concerned about adhering to the masculine gender role, particularly if it appears the other men involved value traditional masculinity. Such concern may result in decreased intention to intervene and greater intention to go along with the apparently masculine behavior.

Masculine gender role stress (MGRS; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987) is the cognitive appraisal of specific situations as stressful because of concerns about adhering to an idealized and

dominant version of masculinity. Five factors reflecting this stress include 1) physical inadequacy (stress related to being competitive, physically), 2) emotional inexpressiveness (stress related to expressing emotions or feelings), 3) subordination to women (stress related to competitive threat from women), 4) intellectual inferiority (stress related to being sufficiently smart and rational), and 5) performance failure (stress related to being able to perform sufficiently at work or sexually; Eisler & Blalock, 1991).

Studies indicate that MGRS predicts violence against women. Using total scores that sum across subscales of the MGRS scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987), greater MGRS predicted intimate partner violence in a sample of substance abusing men (Copenhaver, Lash, & Eisler, 2000) and intimate partner violence during the previous year for men with greater adherence to masculine role norms in a undergraduate, Caucasian, sample (N = 167; Jakupcak, Lisak, & Roemer, 2002). In a study examining the unique contribution of each MGRS subscale on intimate partner violence against women in a sample of men (70% Caucasian, 13% African America, 9% Hispanic) court-referred to batterer intervention programs demonstrated that greater stress related to performance failure predicted psychological aggression, greater stress related to physical inadequacy predicted sexual coercion, greater stress related to intellectual inferiority predicted partner injury, and the MGRS total score predicted physical aggression (Moore, Stuart, McNulty, Addis, Cordova, & Temple, 2008). These findings suggest male batterer's sexually coercive behavior with intimate partners is predicted by their experience of stress related to adhering to masculine standards that demand men be non-feminine, physically competitive, and capable of finding a sexual partner.

The role of masculine gender role threat in men's behavior in sexual assault situations. MGRS reflects an individual-difference variable, describing men as more or less

stressed, in general, by situations considered threatening to traditional masculinity. Situations themselves, however, can vary by how challenging or threatening to traditional masculinity they are generally perceived to be. Common situations include those calling for masculine behavior (e.g., competitive sports), receiving the message that one is not masculine enough or is behaving too feminine (e.g., told he "throws a ball like a girl"), or those that blur the distinction between masculinity and femininity (e.g., working alongside women doing traditionally masculine jobs). A variety of methods have been used in the research literature to explore the impact of threat to masculinity on men's behavior. Highlighting the importance of the situation on individual behavior, greater total scores on the MGRS scale predicted the use of verbal aggression against female dating partners only under conditions of experimentally manipulated masculinity threat (e.g., men imagined themselves in an audio-taped vignette situation that depicted an interaction between a male and female dating partner in which the female threatened the man's control and authority) in diverse samples of college undergraduates (Franchina, Eisler, & Moore, 2001; Moore & Stuart, 2004).

Men may also exaggerate the expression of the masculine gender role, a phenomenon known as compensatory masculinity, to cope with anxiety they feel when their gender-role is threatened. In an experimental study of compensatory masculinity in response to gender-role threat, 72 undergraduate masculine and androgynous (equally masculine and feminine) men completed questionnaires about their affect, antisocial and prosocial behaviors, and masculinity and femininity after listening to audiotapes designed to either validate, threaten, or be unrelated to (i.e. neutral condition) masculinity (Babl, 1979). The audiotapes consisted of fake reports of sociocultural research findings showing over time that American men were either becoming less masculine (masculinity threat condition), or that masculinity among American men had not

changed (masculinity validated condition), or were presented with a gender-irrelevant research study (control condition). Gender-typed (i.e., masculine) men became more anxious in response to gender-role threat and reported higher levels of masculinity and antisocial behavior compared to androgynous men. Androgynous males did not react to sex-role threat by exaggerating masculinity.

Studies using a computer harassment paradigm show that some men engage in sexually harassing behaviors to cope with masculinity threat. In the computer harassment paradigm, participants are brought into a laboratory with a computer and use the computer to engage in a faux game or interaction with a confederate woman using another computer in a separate laboratory space. Researchers can manipulate the type of woman, content of the game or interaction, and manner of the woman, to observe men's behavior toward the confederate woman. Men are given opportunities to engage in what would be considered sexual harassment, such as sending the woman sexist jokes or pornographic pictures. Researchers can observe men's harassing behavior, relating it directly to experimental manipulations. In these studies conducted with largely undergraduate men, men more often sexually harassed (i.e., sent the confederate pornographic pictures) non-traditional or feminist women, which are situations and interactions believed to threaten men's masculine identity (Dall'A ra & Maass, 1999; Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003; Siebler, Sabelus, & Bohner, 2008).

In case studies exploring the pathway towards sexual violence, two White, teenage boys articulate how challenges to their masculinity resulted in using sexual violence as a means to establish a more masculine sense of self (Messerschmidt, 2000). Both boys had internalized a dominant masculine identity that required them to be powerful and have control over others, but that they had, for various reasons, felt that they did not meet that requirement. One of the boys

was physically less developed than his peers, not achieving sexually with women, and was teased by peers for these characteristics, leading to feeling un-masculine. The other boy had been raped by a male relative, which led to him questioning his sexuality and feeling fearful about whether he was sufficiently masculine. The two adolescents had sexually assaulted girls or women they knew and described feeling entitled to their victims because of their maleness and that sexually assaulting the girls made them feel masculine and powerful.

A recent qualitative study supports the role of masculinity on men's decision-making as bystanders in a party gang rape situation (Carlson, 2008). In interviews with 20 college men (85% Caucasian), participants were asked how masculinity plays a role in bystander decision-making among three situations: witnessing a fight between two young men on the street, witnessing a fight between a young man and woman on the street, and witnessing a gang rape (a woman is unconscious on a table while one guy has sex with her and other guys are watching). Participants consistently identified the themes of appearing sufficiently masculine and not weak in front of other men as paramount in the bystander's behavior.

While the physical violence in public appeared to evoke men's sense of responsibility and protection for women, participants indicated that men in the gang rape scenario would not be as likely to intervene because intervening in the gang rape would cause a male bystander to lose respect, the bystander would appear unmasculine, or would be stepping on the toes of the men involved in the scenario. One participant claimed that intervening in the gang rape would be "desecrating his territory" (pg. 10). One man commented on a potential bystander's behavior in the party gang rape situation saying, "They're not going to leave; they're not going to do anything about it. 'Cuz they're too scared to look like a pussy leaving the room" (pg. 10). This comment reflects that men's intervening may be inhibited by concerns about appearing

sufficiently masculine and would potentially rather stay and watch or participate. While participants generally agreed that they would intervene in the physical aggression against a woman in public, they were mixed in whether they themselves would intervene in the gang rape scenario. I am not aware of any other published study that has specifically examined men's bystander behavioral intentions in party gang rape.

Summary

Bystander approaches to sexual assault prevention recognize that peer attitudes and behaviors and the perception of rape-supportive social norms influence men's sexual assault behavior. These approaches encourage men to change the way they interact with peers to stop assaults from occurring and to promote anti-assaultive social norms (Baynard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2004). Some of these programs have demonstrated empirical support in their ability to increase empathy for victims, decrease endorsement of rape-supportive attitudes, and promote a range of bystander behaviors. Although some lessons learned from the social psychological literature on why people intervene in emergency situations can be used to encourage bystander intervention, little research has been done to explore how these factors apply to sexual assault situations. Bystander prevention programs would benefit from increased understanding of such factors so that they may directly address factors that inhibit or facilitate intervening behavior. For instance, it may be necessary for bystander intervention programs to not only teach bystander skills, but to also challenge the accuracy of perceived rape-supportive norms and/or incorporate discussions about masculine identity and patriarchy in the programming.

Aims & Hypotheses

Previous quantitative research demonstrates that college men are more willing than not to intervene as bystanders across different types of situations, or to stop sexual assault in general. However, given the powerful role of social norms and masculinity threat indicated in men's behavior in sexual assault situations, the purpose of this study is to quantitatively and simultaneously examine these factors on college men's bystander behavioral intentions in a sexual assault situation known as party gang rape. Party gang rape occurs when a woman is coerced or forced to have sex, typically due to incapacitation through alcohol or drugs (which may have been taken voluntarily or involuntarily), with men she is acquainted with through attendance at a party (Ehrhart & Sandler, 1985). I sought to examine these factors in party gang rape because, although no prevalence estimates exist, the college party setting is an environment in which party gang rape is known to occur and in which bystanders are necessarily present (Ehrhart, & Sandler, 1985; Gidycz & Koss, 1990; Sanday, 1990).

Aim 1. The first aim of this study was to develop an experimental paradigm using vignette methodology to manipulate the degree of masculinity threat present in a party gang rape situation, which could then be used to examine the relation between masculinity threat and men's bystander behavioral intentions. Vignettes, short descriptions of social situations, are frequently used to examine attitudes, judgments, and decision-making by providing participants with a description of real-life situations or experiences to which they can respond. Vignettes can be manipulated to gain a better understanding of variables involved in attitudes, judgments, and decision-making in social situations. They are useful to examine phenomenon difficult to observe in reality, such as sexual assault, improve external validity by presenting scenarios

reflecting real-life experiences, and allow for indirect observation of participant attitudes, reducing social desirability bias (Alexander & Becker, 1978).

The development of the vignettes is described in the method section. I developed four vignettes that depicted a party gang rape situation that varied by the presence of masculinity threat cues (present, not present) and men's relationship to the offenders (known, unknown) and examined men's reactions to the party gang rape vignettes on indicators of masculinity threat, predicting that the presence of threat cues would result in greater indication of masculinity threat (see Figure 1.1). I had no hypothesis about how men's relation to the offenders would affect masculinity threat.

Aim 2. The second aim of this study was to use the vignettes of party gang rape situations to examine men's perception of the rape-supportive and masculine gender role norms among the offenders in the vignettes, as well as indicators of masculinity threat, as predictors of men's bystander behavioral intentions in a party gang rape situation (see Figure 1.2).

Specifically, I hypothesized that

1) Greater perceived adherence to rape-supportive and masculine gender role norms among the offenders as well as greater indication of threat to masculinity would result in lower self-reported intention to intervene in the assault.
2) Greater perceived adherence to rape-supportive and masculine gender role norms among the offenders as well as greater indication of threat to masculinity would result in greater self-reported intention to join in the assault.

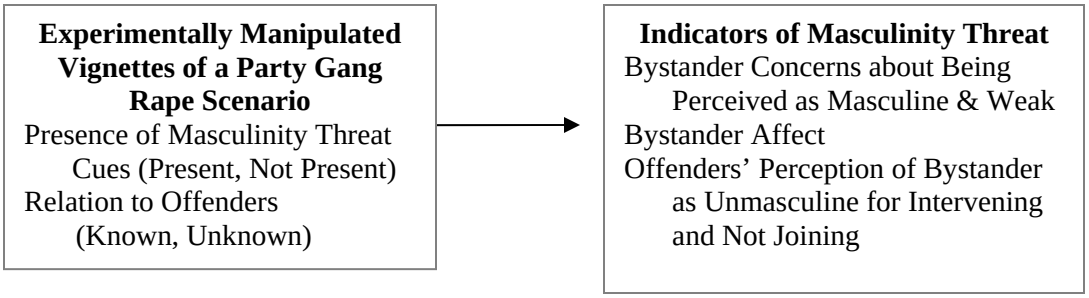

Figure 1.1. Aim 1: Exploration of Effects of Experimental Conditions on Indicators of Masculinity Threat

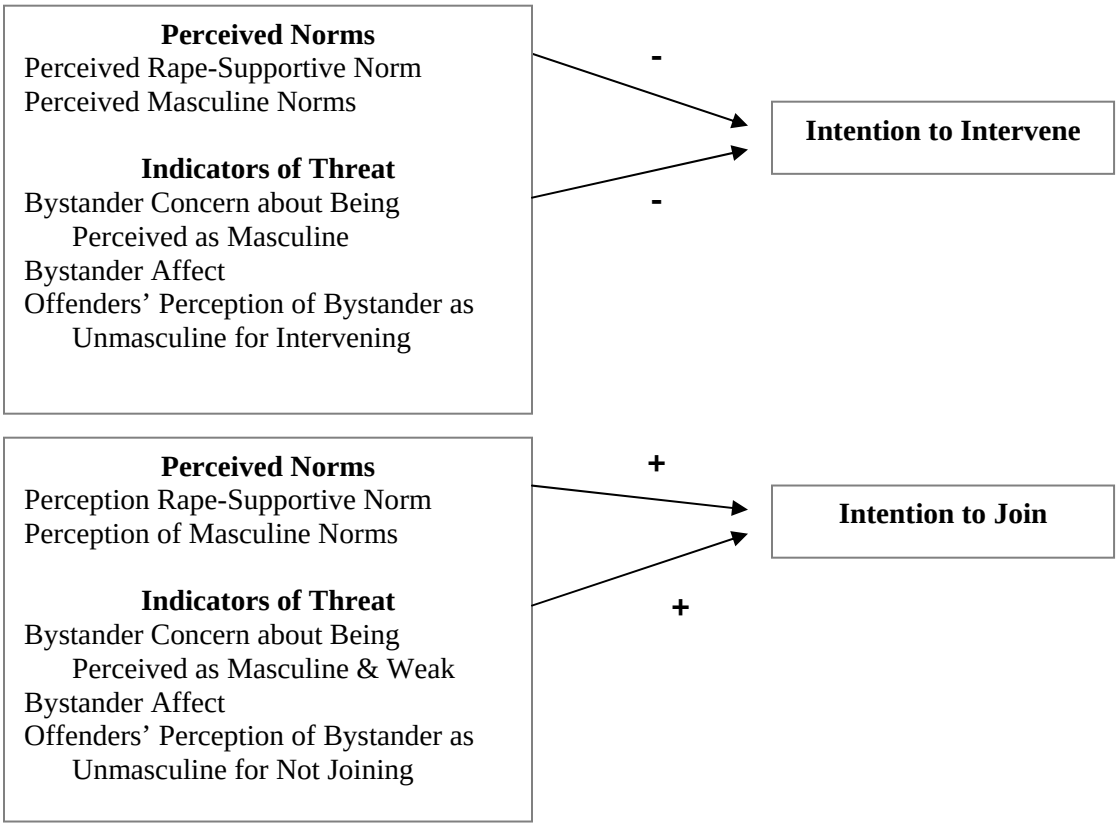

Figure 1.2. Aim 2: Hypothesized Relations between Perceived Norms, Indicators of Threat, and Bystander Behavioral Intentions

Method

Participants

Participants were 189 college men enrolled in an introductory psychology course at Georgia State University (GSU). They were on average 20.60 years old (*SD* = 4.11; minimum 18, maximum 47). Seven percent of participants endorsed more than one racial/ethnic identity. Of those endorsing one race/ethnicity, 44% endorsed Caucasian/White, 30% African-American/Black, 8% Hispanic/Latino, 8% South Asian, 6% East Asian, 3% Other, and 1% Middle Eastern. Ninety-four percent of participants endorsed a heterosexual orientation. Four percent endorsed a homosexual, and two percent a bisexual, orientation. Sexual orientation, or the enduring pattern of emotional, romantic, and/or sexual attractions to men, women, or both sexes (American Psychological Association, 2008) is distinct from how masculine men may perceive themselves to be (i.e. masculine gender role orientation) and how masculine they believe men should be in general (i.e. masculine gender role norms). I retained homosexual men in my sample because I expected peer pressure in the party gang rape situation and the normative expectations for masculine behavior to be present for all men, regardless of sexual orientation.

Design

This study used a mixed-method design with experimental and survey components to collect quantitative and qualitative data. To accomplish Aim 1, I used an experimental design to randomly assign men to read one of four party gang rape vignettes that varied by the presence of masculinity threat cues (present, not present) and the relation of the bystander in the vignette to the offenders (known, unknown). Men then responded to survey questions designed to assess masculinity threat. To accomplish Aim 2, I asked men to answer survey questions referencing the party gang rape vignettes used in Aim 1. Specifically, I asked men about their perception of

the offenders in the scenario, their bystander behavioral intentions, and the experience of a typical college male bystander in the situation.

Variables and Measures

Experimental conditions. I created four scenarios that varied by the presence of masculine gender role threat cues (present versus not present) and relation to the offenders (known versus unknown; see Table 2.2 & Appendix A, Table 6.1). To create the scenarios, I began with the definition of party gang rape presented in the introduction that could apply broadly to the male college student population. To create conditions of masculinity threat, I added situational events into the scenario that fit threatening elements including 1) physical adequacy 2) being in a subordinate position to women, 3) sexual performance (Eisler & Skidmore, 1991), and 4) concerns about maintaining status (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). I also utilized findings from the social psychological literature on bystander intervention to articulate aspects known to predict bystander intervention to increase clarity in the interpretation of study findings and reduce error in the statistical model (i.e., perceptions of articulated scenario characteristics would be more uniform).

Development and description of vignettes. Each scenario in the study begins with the participant imagining himself at a party he has been invited to by some men he knows from school (see Table 2.1). He considers leaving the party and goes upstairs to find the bathroom. This is intended to create conditions in which he may perceive himself equally as likely to stay at as leave the party, and sets him up to come across the assault by accident. The participant then comes upon a bedroom while looking for the bathroom in which three men are assaulting a woman. The number of men involved including the bystander is four since findings suggest diffusion of responsibility (i.e. feeling less responsibility to intervene when more people are

present in the situation; Latane & Darley, 1968; Latane & Nida, 1981), plateaus at a group size of four (Morgan, 1978). Participants were informed that they know the victim from class, which indicates that the woman is an acquaintance the participant may see again in the future. In previous research, expectations of seeing the victim again increases bystander intervention (Gottlieb & Carver, 1980) and men endorsed being more likely to intervene to prevent sexual assault if they know the victim (Burn, 2009). As it is a common condition to such assaults, and necessarily defines the event as a rape, one of the men is "having sex" with the victim who is clearly incapacitated. A victim becoming intoxicated on her own accord before an assault occurs predicts bystanders assigning more responsibility for the assault to the victim (Maurer & Robinson, 2008), which may result in less willingness to intervene (McMahon, 2010). However, how the woman came to be "passed out" is left ambiguous since it is irrelevant to whether the sexual contact is considered consensual and such ambiguity is likely to be encountered in real-life situations.

Differences among the scenarios begin at this point. First, it is unclear what impact knowing the men would have on intervening in the situation. Previous research indicates that group cohesiveness can increase bystander intervention in emergency situations (Rutkowski, Cruder, & Romer, 1983) and that men think they would be more likely to intervene to prevent sexual assault if they know the perpetrator (Burn, 2009). To experimentally examine the relation of the bystander to the offenders, I created scenarios in which the men involved are those that invited the participant to the party versus a scenario in which he does not know the men for both the control and experimental conditions. The second divergence among the scenarios is the inclusion of the masculinity threat cues. In all versions of the scenario, the participant is invited to come in the room when he stumbles upon the assault. However, the masculinity threat version

contains threat cues. Specifically, the threat cues target the concerns about maintaining status in the group, appearing sufficiently dominant and not weak, and engaging in a heterosexual display. The invitation in the threat condition includes one of the other men telling the participant he has been looking for him to get him to join in the assault. Having a friend looking for the bystander was intended to increase concerns about maintaining status with the group. However, this line is omitted in the condition in which the participant does not know the men since it does not make sense for an unknown man to be looking for the participant. The invitation also includes a verbal insult from one of the men involved when he tells the participant to not be a "pussy," overtly threatening the man's masculinity by suggesting he is weak if he does not join. This suggestion of weakness also calls for the participant to display his dominance and maintain status. Further, the threatening invitation from this same man includes the phrase "come in and get some," which calls for dominance of the victim sexually.

Participants' perceptions of their relation to the offenders. I asked participants "How well do you think you know the other men involved in the scenario?" I provided the response options "do not know at all," "know somewhat/an acquaintance," and "know very well/a good friend" as a check on the relation to offenders manipulation.

Demographics. Participants completed a brief demographic questionnaire at the beginning of the survey asking them to report their age, race/ethnicity (African-American/Black, Hispanic/Latino/a, Caucasian/White, Native American, Middle Eastern, East Asian, South Asian, and other) and sexual orientation (heterosexual/straight, bisexual, homosexual/gay/lesbian, or other). Participants could select multiple race/ethnicities but only one sexual orientation.

Bystander behavioral intentions. I assessed bystander behavioral intentions by adopting the method used to assess bystander willingness and likelihood to engage in bystander behaviors used in the Banyard et al. (2007) study. The measure was originally used to assesses how willing or likely a bystander is to engage in a variety of behaviors across a variety of sexual assault-related situations on a 5 point Likert-type scale (1 = not at all likely, 5 = extremely likely; higher scores indicate more likelihood of intervening as a bystander). I used the same method, asking participants how likely they would be to engage in eight bystander behaviors that referenced the party gang rape scenarios presented specifically. Items included five behaviors reflecting direct (i.e. those that required the participant to confront the perpetrators directly) and indirect (i.e., those that did not include direct confrontation with the perpetrators) intervention, two behaviors reflecting joining in the assault, and one item assessing the likelihood to neither intervene nor join in the assault (items are available in Appendix A).

Intention to intervene. I measured participants' intention to intervene by calculating the average of the five items reflecting intervening behaviors. Higher scores reflect greater intention to intervene (α = .77).

Intention to join. I asked two items about joining in the assault: whether men would join by watching the assault or join by assaulting the victim themselves. Given the high positive skew of each variable, I combined responses from these two items to create one variable representing being likely to join in the assault in either way. Specifically, I classified men who endorsed being at all likely (response of >/= 2) of either joining in the assault by watching the other men or joining in the assault by "having sex" with the victim as joining in the assault. I assigned these men a value of one on a dichotomous intention to join variable and a value of zero to all other men (i.e. men reporting no intention to join in the assault).

Other bystander behaviors suggested by participants. Following the bystander behavioral intention items, I inquired about other potential bystander behaviors the participant and other men might be likely to engage in by asking two open-ended questions: “Is there something else you would be likely to do that is not listed here?” and “Is there something else not listed here that you think other men coming across this situation would be likely to do?” I observed responses to identify unique behaviors not offered in the bystander behavioral intentions measure that may be useful in future research.

Perceived masculine gender role norms. Participants’ perceptions of the degree to which the men in the scenario adhere to traditional beliefs about the masculine gender role was assessed using a modified version of the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS; Thompson & Pleck’s 1986). The MRNS consists of three subscales to assess men’s adherence to prescriptive and proscriptive norms for the male gender role. The three subscales include norms for status (e.g., “A man should always try to project an air of confidence even if he really doesn’t feel confident inside;” “It is essential for a man to always have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows him”), toughness (e.g., “I think a young man should try to become physically tough, even if he’s not big;” “A real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then”), and antifemininity (e.g., “It bothers me when a man does something that I consider ‘feminine’;” “It is embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman”). The MRNS does not include items that compare men to women or beliefs about gender in general, making this scale specific to beliefs about how men should be. A confirmatory factor analysis found support for the factor structure of the MRNS and evidence for the discriminative and predictive validity of the scale in a primarily Caucasian sample of undergraduates (Sinn, 2002).

Participants read the instructions, “How much do you think the men in the scenario would agree or disagree with the following statements?” and items were reworded as needed to refer to beliefs the men in the scenario would have, rather than the participant’s beliefs (e.g., instead of “I always like a man who’s totally sure of himself” the item read “They always like a man who’s totally sure of himself”). Participants rated their agreement with the 26 items (status = 11; toughness = 8, antifemininity = 7) on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = very strongly disagree; 7 = very strongly agree). Higher scores indicated more perceived adherence to traditional male role norms (α = .88 for status, .86 for toughness, and .87 for antifemininity).

Perceived rape-supportive norms. Men’s perception of the rape-supportive attitudes of the men in the sexual assault scenario was assessed by modifying instructions to the Rape Myth Scale (RMS; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995), which was created by revising Burt’s (1980) Rape Myth Acceptance Scale to better reflect “attitudes and generally false beliefs about rape that are widely and persistently held, and that function to deny and justify male sexual aggression” (pg. 706). Lonsway & Fitzgerald used a sample of 200 undergraduate students (100 men, 100 women) to determine the psychometric properties of the 19-item scale. Items reflect myths about the following constructs: victim precipitation, definition of rape, male intention, victim desire-enjoyment, false charges, trivialization of the crime, and deviance of the act, and include statements such as “In some rape cases, the woman actually wanted it to happen” and “When a woman is raped, she usually did something careless to put herself in that situation.” Instructions for this study read: “How much do you think the men in the scenario would agree or disagree with the following statements?” Participants indicated their agreement on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Items were positively scored such that higher scores indicate more perceived support for rape myths (α = .97). One item was added that

reflects support for the idea that a woman "passed out" at a party is fair game to have sex with to have an item that reflect support for the behavior in the presented vignettes.

Indicators of threat to masculinity. To reduce socially desirable responses in participants, I assessed the threatening nature of the party gang rape scenarios indirectly by asking participants to report on perceptions the offenders and a typical college male bystander might have rather than their own.

Offenders' perceptions of a bystander. To assess participants' expectations of how a bystander would be perceived by the offenders and to determine if these perceptions included reference to the bystander as unmasculine, I asked participants to respond to two open-ended questions that read "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who did not join them?" and "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who tried to stop them?" Responses were reviewed for content that indicated the offenders would perceive a bystander as unmasculine, which I interpreted as reflecting that a typical college man would expect his masculinity to be threatened by the offenders in the situation. I created a variable for each of the open-ended questions to capture the presence of reference to the bystander as unnmasculine. For each variable, a response that included reference to the bystander as unmasculine was coded as one. Responses left blank by participants or lacking reference to the bystander as unmasculine were coded as zero.

Concern about weakness. I asked participants to indicate on a scale from 1 (not at all concerned) to 5 (extremely concerned), "How concerned do you think a typical college man would be about being perceived as weak if they do not join the men in the vignette?"

Concern about masculinity. I asked participants to indicate on a scale from 1 (not at all concerned) to 5 (extremely concerned), "How much do you think a typical college man would be concerned about being perceived as masculine by the other men involved in the vignette?" I assessed concerns about being perceived as masculine in reference to a bystander in general, rather than based on a specific bystander behavior.

Bystander affect. I used the positive and negative subscales of the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS-X), each consisting of 10 items (Watson & Clark, 1992), to assess the perceived affect of a typical college male bystander in the party gang rape situation. The PANAS-X is widely used in psychological research and has solid psychometric properties (Bagozzi, 1993). I asked participants to "Indicate to what extent you imagine a typical college man would feel if he came across the scenario as it was described to you" on a scale with 1 = very slightly or not at all, 2 = a little, 3 = moderately, 4 = quite a bit, and 5 = extremely. Scores reflect an average of the ten subscale items with higher scores indicating greater negative or positive affect than lower scores (α = .81 for negative and .75 for positive affect).

Procedure

Procedures for protecting human subjects were approved by the GSU Institutional Review Board prior to data collection. I recruited college men age 18 and over using the GSU Psychology Department participant pool. Participants received course credit for participating. Participants could select to participate in this study from among numerous other studies offered or opt to complete an alternative assignment for course credit. Participants could sign up for the study at any point during the semester and had to complete the online survey anytime, from their own or a university library computer, before the end of the semester. Participants followed a link from the participant pool management website to a survey set up through PsychData, a web-

based survey tool designed specifically for use in the social sciences. At that point they were presented with the consent form. The consent form explained the purpose of the study was to pilot test vignettes for use in future research about bystander behavior in social situations and that they would be asked to read a brief vignette about a sexual situation at a party and asked a number of questions about the situation. To demonstrate consent, they typed their name into text boxes provided on the page. Consent information was downloaded into a separate spreadsheet from their survey data and was used to document consent as well as assign course credit. Participants received credit for the study if they signed the consent form, regardless of how much of the survey they completed. The consent form also offered a place for participants to type in their email address to which I could send a copy of the consent and debriefing information (also provided at the end of the survey). Participants were informed they could print the consent form before moving on to the survey if they preferred. Once the consent form was signed and participants selected to continue with the survey, they were taken to an instructions page for the survey. All data were collected using PsychData and downloaded into statistical software for analysis.

Participants were randomly assigned to complete the anonymously online survey consisting of one of the party gang rape scenarios, all other measures, and demographic questions. As a feature of the PsychData software, random assignment was determined by the web-based program itself. All participants took identical surveys, with the exception of the differences in the scenarios provided. The order of presentation was the same for each participant and participants were not allowed to skip or return to sections. A copy of the scenario was provided on each page with questions referencing the scenario. The order of measures/variables was as follows: 1) demographic questions, 2) bystander behavioral intentions, 3) perceived

adherence of offenders to masculine norms 4) perceived adherence of offenders to rape-supportive norms, 5) perception of relation to the offenders, 6) perception of what offenders think of a bystander 6) concerns about masculinity for a typical college man, and 7) affect of a typical college man. The entire study took less than an hour. To reduce demand characteristics and priming of participants I did not refer to the scenario as a rape or sexual assault and the offenders were referred to as "the other men involved in the scenario."

Handling of Missing Data

I omitted four cases, one from each experimental condition, from the dataset due to large amounts of missing data within one or more of the measures (i.e. over 50%). Thirty-four percent of the remaining cases contained missing data for one or more of the 78 quantitative items. The majority (63%) of these cases were missing one item. Per Little's Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) test the data appeared to be missing completely at random, $\chi^2(4082) = 4093.27$, $p = .45$. I imputed missing data using Maximum Likelihood Imputation in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for 189 cases. I used the expectation-maximization algorithm in SPSS with 25 iterations to estimate the value for all missing datapoints (Allison, 2002). The means and standard errors for imputed and non-imputed data for all study variables were nearly identical (see Appendix A, Figure 6.1).

Planned Statistical Analyses

Statistical power.

Aim 1: Recruitment was based on needing 45 men per experimental condition to obtain power of .80 estimating a medium effect size ($R^2 = .06$) for four ANOVA groups. I obtained this sample size for all but one condition (threat cues not present, unknown men).

Aim 2: Models with no more than four predictor variables would have sufficient power (.80) to observe statistical significance of medium effects with the sample size obtained (N = 189).

Type I error inflation. The inflation of type I error (finding a statistically significant result when the null hypothesis is actually true) is a concern when conducting multiple hypothesis tests. According to statistical probability, if an α of .05 (allowing for a 5% chance of rejecting the null when the null is true) is used for each of N hypothesis tests conducted, the chance of at least one of the hypothesis tests resulting in a significant effect when the null is actually true is equal to $1 - (1 - \alpha)^N$. Inflating type I error is less of a concern for exploratory than confirmatory hypotheses since exploratory findings are used to suggest potential relationships and directions for future research rather than provide evidence for particular relationships. It is suggested to predetermine which hypotheses are exploratory versus confirmatory and control type I error inflation for the latter rather than the former to preserve statistical power in exploratory studies (Schochet, 2009). Further, it is prudent to control for type I error inflation within rather than across theoretically distinct groupings of significance tests.

Analyses. I downloaded the raw data from the online survey system directly into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, 2003). I analyzed all data using SPSS.

Aim 1: Analyses of experimental conditions on indicators of masculinity threat. I explored main and interaction effects of the experimental conditions on reports of a typical college man's affective reactions to and concerns about appearing masculine in the party gang rape scenario using between-subjects 2 X 2 factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA). Although sample sizes for each group were unequal, this was due to randomization and so threats to the

validity of the analysis often present when using unequal sample sizes were not a concern. Given the exploratory nature of these analyses I did not correct for type I error.

For each analysis, I reviewed assumptions necessary for accurate ANOVA results, correcting for deviations when possible. Accurate significance tests with ANOVA rely on the use of normally distributed dependent variables to obtain normally distributed residuals. When significantly skewed (see Table 3.1), I used the natural log transformation to correct for skew (for negatively skewed variables, data were transformed after subtracting the observed score from the highest possible score +1). An accurate significance test also relies on meeting the assumption of having equal variances for the dependent variable across experimental conditions. For all ANOVAs I reviewed Levene's test for homogeneity of variance and examined a plot of the model Studentized residuals by standardized predicted values. I used Studentized residuals as these scores represent the residual divided by its estimated standard error rather than divided by its standard deviation and account for potentially unequal variances among the residuals. I also used the residual by predicted plots to observe outliers (standardized scores </= -3 or >/= 3), along with the influence statistics Cook's D (>1 indicated influential score) and Leverage (>.5 indicating influential score).

I explored effects of the experimental conditions on offenders' perceptions of the bystander using logistic regression. Specifically, I regressed the natural log of the odds of the unmasculine theme occurring or not on the predictors, using maximum likelihood estimation to estimate the odds of the unmasculine theme occurring. I reviewed statistical significance of the Wald statistics and odds ratios from the final model to observe unique effects of each predictor.

Aim 2: Predicting bystander behavioral intentions from perceived rape-supportive and masculine gender role norms and indicators of masculinity threat. I used multiple regression analysis to examine predictors of intention to intervene. Accurate regression analyses rely on a number of assumptions. For each analysis, I reviewed assumptions, correcting for deviations when possible.

Proper model specification is necessary to obtain accurate estimates of the regression coefficients. Model specification is defined as observation of the relationship between the predictors and criterion as linear, as well as the inclusion of relevant and the exclusion of irrelevant variables in the model. I examined partial regression plots to observe the linearity of relationships and included only those covariates that appeared relevant to the model. Regression assumes the error term is not correlated with the predictors, which would indicate relevant explanatory variables have not been included in the model. Significant correlations between demographic characteristics and the predictor variables suggest such explanatory variables have been left out. Therefore, I examined demographic variables, including only those race/ethnicity variables for which at least 10% of participants endorsed identifying, and included them in the model when correlations with any of the predictors were statistically significant. Men could select more than one race/ethnicity. For use in analyses, I dummy coded each race/ethnicity variable so that zero reflected that the participant did not endorse the given race/ethnicity and one reflected that the participant did endorse the given race/ethnicity. I examined effects of the overall model using R^2 and unique effects of each predictor by observing the size and statistical significance of the regression coefficients. Given the large number of statistical tests carried out in the full model, I reviewed significance of the predictors using both $p < .05$ and a Bonferroni-corrected $\alpha = .006$ (.05/number of predictors not including the covariates).

Accurate significance tests of estimated effects with regression rely on a variety of assumptions about the data. First, the model should result in a normally distributed error term (difference between the criterion values and the values predicted by the regression equation). The use of normally distributed predictor and criterion variables helps meet this assumption. Therefore, I used natural log transformations to correct for skew on relevant continuous predictors and the criterion variable (see Table 3.1; for negatively skewed variables, data were transformed after subtracting the observed score from the highest possible score +1) and observed Studentized residuals for each model.

Accurate regression significance tests also rely on homoscedasticity (error variance being the same across values of the predictor variables). For each analysis I reviewed a plot of the model Studentized residuals by standardized predicted values to check this assumption. I used influence statistics (Cook's D scores >1 and Leverage scores >.5 indicated potentially influential cases) along with the residuals plot against the predicted values to examine the data for outliers (standardized scores </= -3, >/= 3) requiring closer examination. Highly correlated predictor variables can result in increased standard errors of the regression coefficient making it difficult to determine the statistical significance of findings. For each analysis, I reviewed correlations between predictor variables, with concern about multicollinearity increasing at *r* greater than .80. I also reviewed Tolerance statistics, with Tolerance less than .20 suggesting the removal of a predictor variable from the model.

I examined effects of predictors on intention to join using logistic regression. Specifically, I regressed the natural log of the odds of being likely to join or not on the predictors, using maximum likelihood estimation to estimate the odds of being likely to join. Correct model specification is essential for proper estimation of effects in logistic regression;

however, as opposed to linear regression, linearity is not expected between the criterion and predictor variables but rather between the log odds of the criterion and predictors. To test this assumption, I added terms to the regression model consisting of each predictor multiplied by the natural log of the predictor to the equation and observed the regression coefficients for statistical significance (Box-Tidwell Transformation test*;* Menard, 2002). Statistical significance of those terms indicated deviation from linearity for the corresponding predictor. Deviations from linearity reduce power of the statistical test and make a type II error more likely. For proper model specification, I also entered relevant covariates. I examined influence statistics (Cook's D scores >1 and Leverage scores >.5 indicated potentially influential cases) and the model Studentized residuals (Studentized scores </= -3, >/= 3 indicated outliers) to identify outliers requiring closer examination. Normality of residuals and homoscedasticity are not assumptions of logistic regression.

I observed unique effects of predictors by reviewing statistical significance of the Wald statistics and odds ratios associated with each predictor variable from the final model. Given the large number of statistical tests carried out in the full model, I reviewed significance of the predictors using both $p < .05$ and a Bonferroni-corrected $\alpha = .006$ (.05/number of predictors not including the covariates).

Table 2.1

Party Gang Rape Vignettes

You are at a party that you were invited to by some guys you know through school. The party seems to be picking up and more of your friends have arrived. You are considering going home but as it gets later in the evening, people have turned up the music and have started dancing and you consider staying a little longer. You have to go to the bathroom and head upstairs to go find it. While looking for the bathroom you open up one of the upstairs doors and see…

No Threat	**Unknown Offenders**	…3 guys you do not know. One of the guys is having sex with a girl who is clearly passed out. You recognize her from one of your classes. The other guys are watching and appear to be waiting to take their turn to have sex with her. They see you come in and turn towards the door. The guy closest to the door says to you, "Come in and shut the door."
	Known Offenders	…3 of the guys that invited you to the party standing around a bed. One of the guys is having sex with a girl who is clearly passed out. You recognize her from one of your classes. The other guys are standing around watching and appear to be waiting to take their turn to have sex with her. They see you come in and turn towards the door. A guy closest to the door says, "Come in and shut the door."
Threat	**Unknown Offenders**	…3 guys you do not know standing around a bed. One of the guys is having sex with a girl who is clearly passed out. You recognize her from one of your classes. The other guys are standing around watching and appear to be waiting to take their turn to have sex with her. They see you come in and turn towards the door. One of them says, "Hey, You got to come in and check this out." The guy closest to the door looks you over and says, "Don't be a pussy, come in and get some and shut the door."
	Known Offenders	…3 of the guys that invited you to the party standing around a bed. One of the guys is having sex with a girl who is clearly passed out. You recognize her from one of your classes. The other guys are standing around watching and appear to be waiting to take their turn to have sex with her. They see you come in and turn towards the door. One of them says, "Hey, I've been looking all over for you. You got to come in and check this out." The guy closest to the door looks you over and says, "Don't be a pussy, come in and get some and shut the door."

Table 2.2

Final Sample Size per Experimental Condition

Relation to Offenders	Threat Cues: Not Present	Threat Cues: Present
Unknown	40	46
Known	51	52

Note. *N* = 189. Four cases of the original 193 were were omitted from analyses due to missing data.

Results

I first present descriptive statistics for variables included in both study aims, followed by the results of analyses for each aim (see Table 3.1).

Descriptive Statistics

Bystander behavioral intentions. Means and 95% confidence intervals for each bystander behavioral intention item is presented in Figure 3.1. On average, men reported they had more intention than not to intervene in the party gang rape scenario presented (above the midpoint, M = 3.62, SD = .93), reported low intention to join in the assault (either assaulting the victim, M = 1.18, SD = .64, or watching the assault, M = 1.21, SD = .57) and low intention to do nothing (M = 2.06, SD = 1.22). Histograms of each item demonstrate the highly skewed nature of most items, with the majority of men reporting some intention to intervene and no intention to join (see Figure 6.2 and Table 6.1 in Appendix A). Ninety-eight percent of men reported some intention to intervene to stop the assault. Eighteen percent reported some intention to join in the assault (half of these men reported some intention to join by watching but not assaulting the victim themselves, and half of these men reported some intention to assault the victim themselves). Some men reported intention to both intervene and join in the assault.

Other bystander behaviors suggested by participants. Seventy-seven men answered the question "Is there something else you would be likely to do that is not listed here?" Forty-four percent reported there was nothing they would add. Others added that men may 1) help the victim directly (e.g., waking her up, getting her out of the room, asking her if she is okay), 2) reason with the offenders to convince them what they are doing is wrong, 3) pretend that the assault is okay in front of the offenders but leave the room to go and get help, 4) put on a condom before joining the assault, 5) visually record with camera/video phone for evidence, 6)

do nothing and leave the party, 7) physically assault the offenders, and 8) express disapproval to the offenders and leave the party. Most of these responses were mentioned by one or two participants, but assisting the victim directly was mentioned by six men.

In response to, “Is there something else not listed here that you think other men coming across this situation would be likely to do?” Fifty percent of the 70 men who answered reported that there was nothing they would add. Others added that men may 1) help the victim directly (e.g., wake her up, get her out of the room, ask her if she is okay), 2) physically assault the offenders, 3) record the situation, 4) find more party attendees/friends to participate in the assault, 5) find more victims to assault, 6) join in by watching and masturbating, and 7) pretend not to have seen the assault and return to the party. Most of these responses were mentioned by one or two participants. However, assisting the victim directly was mentioned by three men and recording the situation was mentioned by six men.

Perceived norms.

Perceived rape-supportive norms. On average, participants perceived the offending men to endorse rape-supportive norms (above the midpoint, M = 5.20, SD = 1.34). Each item was endorsed to a similar degree (means and 95% confidence intervals for each item are in Appendix A, Figure 6.4 and Table 6.3).

Perceived masculine gender role norms. On average, participants perceived the offending men to be somewhat adherent to the status norm (at the midpoint, M = 4.07, SD = 1.21), adherent to the toughness norm (above the midpoint, M = 5.30, SD = 1.08), and adherent to the antifemininity norm (above the midpoint, M = 5.59, SD = 1.11). Means for items within the status subscale were more variable than the toughness or antifemininity scales (means and 95% confidence intervals for each item are in Appendix A, Figure 6.3 and Table 6.2).

Indicators of masculinity threat.

Negative and positive affect experienced by a typical college male bystander. On average, participants indicated that a typical college man would experience a moderate amount of both negative (just above the midpoint, M = 3.16, SD = .70) and positive (just below the midpoint, M = 2.76, SD = .61) affect. The means and 95% confidence intervals for all PANAS-X negative and positive affect items are presented in Appendix A, Figure 6.5. The highest means are for items reflecting negative affect as well as items reflecting increased attention and focus (e.g., "attentive"). Means of the positive affect items that might reflect enjoyment of the situation (e.g., proud, enthusiastic) were the lowest of all affect items, with reports in the "a little" to "moderate" range. Means of the negative affect that might reflect the situation as stressful (e.g., jittery, nervous, distressed) were in the "moderately" to "quite a bit" range.

Masculinity concerns experienced by a typical college male bystander. On average, participants rated a typical college man's concern for appearing both masculine in the situation and weak if they did not join in the assault, near or at the midpoint of the scales (M = 2.86, SD = 1.18 and M = 3.14, SD = 1.21, respectively; see Table 3.1).

Offenders' perception of the bystander. Content analysis of the open-ended questions indicated that 66% of all participants (77% of those that responded to the question) reported the offenders would perceive the bystander to be unmasculine in some way if he did not join in the assault. Twenty-three percent of all participants (27% of those that responded to the question) reported the offenders would perceive the bystander to be unmasculine in some way if he tried to stop the offenders. A complete description and review of findings from the content analysis of the open-ended questions is presented in a section to follow.

Hypothesis Testing

Aim 1: Did manipulations of vignettes affect men's reports on indicators of masculinity threat?

Four conditions represented two experimentally manipulated variables: masculinity threat cues and relation to offenders (see Table 2.1). Two of four conditions contained masculinity threat cues. The threat cues targeted concerns about maintaining status in the group (i.e. the invitation in the threat condition includes one of the other men telling the participant he has been looking for him to get him to join in the assault), appearing sufficiently dominant and not weak (i.e. verbal insult from one of the men involved when he tells the participant to not be a "pussy," overtly threatening the men's masculinity by suggesting he is weak if he does not join) and engaging in heterosexual behavior (i.e. the invitation includes the phrase "come in and get some"). Two of four conditions stated that the participant knew the offenders from school and that the offenders were "the guys that invited you to the party." Two of four conditions stated that the participants did not know the offenders (i.e. "guys you do not know").

A review of demographic characteristics among the experimental conditions revealed a slightly greater percentage of participants endorsing a racial/ethnic identity of African American/Black in the threat cues present versus not present condition (38% versus 23%; $\chi^2(1) = 4.78$, $p = .03$). Therefore, I ran all factorial ANOVAs both controlling and not controlling for the effect of African American/Black endorsement. All effects of African American/Black endorsement were small (η^2 <= .03) and did not change substantive findings; I present results without controlling for this variable to preserve statistical power.

Studentized residuals for each ANOVA model were normally distributed. Examinations of the plots of the Studentized residuals by standardized predicted values and observations of

Levene's tests for homogeneity of variance suggested the homogeneity of variance assumption was met for each analysis. A review of influence statistics revealed no highly influential cases.

The check on the manipulation for the relation to offenders variable indicated that many men did not perceive the manipulation as intended. Twenty seven percent of participants in the "unknown offenders" condition reported not knowing the offenders. Twenty nine percent of men in the "known offenders" condition reported that they knew the offenders (either somewhat or very well). This may result in error in models of effects of experimental conditions. To remove this error, I performed all analyses of experimental conditions on indicators of threat on the sub-sample of participants that accurately perceived the manipulation as well. All findings using the sub-sample were substantively the same as the full sample. Only findings for the full sample are reported.

Do threats to masculinity and the relationship to offenders result in differential reports of how negative and positive a typical college man would feel in the party gang rape situation?

Negative affect. A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA revealed a small statistically significant main effect of the relation to the offenders on the negative affect subscale, $M = 3.28$ ($\sigma_M = .07$) in the offenders unknown, $M = 3.06$ ($\sigma_M = .07$) in the offenders known condition (see Table 3.2). I examined each item of the negative affect subscale to explore which items appear to be responsible for the observed effect. Comparing means and 95% confidence intervals by relation to offenders condition demonstrated that knowing the offenders resulted reports of a slightly less fearful, distressing, hostility-inducing, and guilt-inducing experience for a typical college man (Figure 3.2).

Positive affect. A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA revealed no effect of the experimental conditions on the positive affect subscale (see Table 3.2).

Do experimental conditions result in differential reports of how concerned a typical college man would be about being perceived as masculine and weak in the party gang rape situation? The dependent variables and residuals for each model were moderately kurtotic and I was unable to improve normality of the distributions with transformations, making tests of statistical significance potentially inaccurate. However, ANOVA can be robust in spite of moderate kurtosis, provided the analysis includes large sample size within groups ($n > 30$) as is present in my study.

Concern about being perceived as masculine by the offenders. A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA revealed no effect of the experimental conditions on men's report of how concerned a typical college man would be about being perceived as masculine by the offenders in the situation (see Table 3.3).

Concern about being perceived as weak by the offenders. A 2 x 2 factorial ANOVA revealed no effect of the experimental conditions on men's report of how concerned a typical college man would be about being perceived as weak by the offenders if he did not join in the assault (see Table 3.3).

Do experimental conditions result in differential reports of whether the offenders would perceive the bystander as unmasculine? Spontaneous reports that the offenders would perceive a bystander as unmasculine *if he intervened* did not vary by experimental condition (see Table 3.4). Spontaneous reports that the offenders would perceive a bystander as unmasculine *if he did not join* in the assault did not vary by experimental condition (see Table 3.4).

Summary of Aim 1.The experimental manipulation of masculinity threat (presence of threat cues versus no threat cues) did not result in greater endorsement that a typical college man would experience masculinity threat in situation. The condition in which the offenders were known to the bystander resulted in reports that a typical college man would experience the situation as slightly less negative than in the unknown offenders condition.

Aim 2: Do perceived rape-supportive and masculine gender role norms and indicators of masculinity threat predict men's bystander behavioral intentions?

Predicting intention to intervene in the assault. For all analyses predicting intention to intervene, residuals were normally distributed. Scatterplots of each predictor by intention to intervene indicated the adequacy of linear regression to estimate all relationships. None of the predictor variables were correlated at concerning levels, and Tolerance values did not suggest dropping any of the independent variables from the model. Scatterplots of the Studentized residuals with standardized predicted values suggested sufficient homoscedasticity. Based on correlations with the predictor variables, proper model specification indicated inclusion of the experimental condition relation to offenders and race/ethnicity variables reflecting endorsement of an African-American/Black, Caucasian/White, or Hispanic/Latino identity.

Analysis of the full theoretical model. I first examined the full theoretical model with relevant covariates included (see Tables 3.5 and 3.6). Two outliers were noticeable, one with an extremely large positive residual (Studentized residual = 2.95) and one with an extremely low predicted value (-3.56). Although the influence statistics did not indicate these were influential cases, I ran the analysis without the outliers included. The results were substantively the same. I present findings from the full sample. Results of the analysis revealed statistically significant unique effects at $p < .05$, but not at the Bonferonni corrected α, of both the negative and positive

affect on intention to intervene. For each affect subscale, an increase in one standard deviation on the affect subscale resulted in a decrease of .18 standard deviation of the natural log of likelihood to intervene.

Exploratory analyses. Statistical power was low for the full model given the large number of predictor variables (k = 12). I engaged in post-hoc analyses to explore effects further with greater statistical power. Specifically, I removed the covariates, as they contributed little to the model, as well as concern about masculinity and offenders perception of the bystander as unmasculine as they also demonstrated little contribution to the model, which resulted in a model with perceived norms and affect of a typical college male bystander. One outlier was noticeable, with a predicted score of -3.65. Again, influence statistics did not indicate it was an influential case, but I did run the analysis without the outlier included. The results were substantively the same so I present findings from the full sample (see Table 3.7). Results revealed a statistically significant effect at p <.05 for the negative, but not positive, affect subscale. A model with only affect demonstrated a similar effect.

To examine effects of individual negative affect items, I ran a regression analysis with all 10 items predicting intention to intervene. I then examined a model with items showing standardized regression coefficients greater than .10 to narrow down where effects appear to be greatest. Results of the analyses indicate that scared and hostile affect items significantly predicted intention to intervene. An increase in one standard deviation on the scared item resulted in a decrease of .29 standard deviations of the natural log of likelihood to intervene. An increase in one standard deviation on the scared item resulted in a decrease of .25 standard deviations of the natural log of likelihood to intervene.

Predicting intention to join in the assault.

Analysis of the full theoretical model. I first examined the full theoretical logistic regression model, with relevant covariates included, to predict the odds of men endorsing an intention to join in the assault (see Tables 3.8 and 3.9). Tests of linearity revealed that the relationship between the antifemininity norm and the logit of intention to join was not linear; therefore, potentially increasing type II error for that regression coefficient. I observed no influential cases. Hosmer and Lemeshow Test for the full model indicated adequate fit, $\chi^2(8)$, = 9.31, p = .32. Findings for the full model indicated a statistically significant effect of the status norm at the p <.05, but not the Bonferroni-corrected α of .006, with greater perceived adherence of the offenders to the status norm predicting men's intention to join.

Exploratory analyses. Statistical power was low for the full model given the large number of predictor variables (k = 13). I engaged in post-hoc analyses to explore effects further with greater statistical power. Regression coefficients indicated covariates were relevant to the full model so I included covariates in two separate analyses, one observing the effects of perceived norms and the other, indicators of masculinity threat. I observed models without covariates as well, although removing covariates did not change findings regarding statistical significance of predictors. I present models with covariates included. Hosmer and Lemeshow Test for the perceived norms model indicated good fit, $\chi^2(8)$, = 2.79, p = .95. Participants' perception of the offenders' adherence to the masculine gender role norms of status and antifemininity predicted intention to join (see Table 3.10). Specifically, a one unit increase in the status norm (i.e. the participant's perception of the offenders' endorsement of the status norm) resulted in men being 58% more likely to report some intention to join in the assault. A one unit increase in the antifemininity norm resulted in men being about half (.55) as likely to report an

intention to join in the assault. The Hosmer and Lemeshow Test for the model with indicators of masculinity threat indicated good fit, $\chi^2(8)$, = 4.82, p = .77. However, individual predictors (i.e. concern about appearing masculine and weak, positive and negative affect, and reports of offenders' perceptions of the bystander as unmasculine) did not demonstrate unique statistically significant relations with intention to join in the assault at $p < .05$.

Summary Aim 2. Perceived masculine norms and one indicator of masculinity threat predicted bystander behavioral intentions. In exploratory analyses, as men reported that a typical college man would experience more negative affect in the party gang rape situation, men reported less intention to intervene to stop the assault. Greater perceived adherence of offenders to the status norm resulted in men being 1.6 times more likely to report an intention to join in the assault. Lower perceived adherence of offenders to the antifemininity norm resulted in men being half as likely to report an intention to join in the assault.

What Do Bystanders Expect the Offenders to be Thinking About Them? Content Analysis of Open-Ended Questions

The questions "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who did not join them?" and "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who tried to stop them?" were designed to better understand the context of party gang rape by exploring what a college male bystander expects the offenders committing the rape to be thinking about him or a typical bystander in the situation. I asked questions about intervening and joining separately since these represent the two types of behavioral intentions assessed in the study and I expected perceptions of the bystander to depend on his behavior in the situation.

I coded men's responses to each question for the presence (yes or no) of a variety of themes. The first theme I intended to code was reference to the bystander as unmasculine for

either deciding not to join in the assault or intervening to stop the assault. I selected other themes to code based on a review of men's responses. All themes selected are described in the codebooks for each question provided in Appendix B. I employed the assistance of a second coder to check my selection of themes and the reliability of the codes applied.

Inter-Rater Reliability. There is no standard for calculating reliability for the method I used to assess the presence (yes or no) of themes in men's responses to open-ended questions. Statistics computed to estimate inter-rater reliability in content analysis apply to coding schemes in which raters select a code for each characteristic identified as relevant to a particular segment of text. For instance, if the content of a focus group interaction was being coded for the characteristic of "gender," the rater might have the option of coding a speaker's gender for "male," "female," or "cannot determine." Every characteristic identified would have a relevant code that would vary from codable text segment to codable text segment. An inter-rater reliability statistic is computed for each coded characteristic.

To assess the inter-rater reliability for the coding scheme with my data, I calculated percent agreement for each theme in the codebook, as well as Cohen's Kappa for those themes without 100% agreement. This was done for a random sample of 16 (10%) responses to each question (Tables 3.11, 3.12, and 3.13). I served as a coder and trained a second coder in the two initial coding schemes for responses to the two open-ended responses. The coder was a woman with a bachelor's degree in psychology and with at least 1 year of experience as a psychology research assistant. We practiced on a selection of 11 items for each question (10 selected randomly and one extra response selected to demonstrate complexities in coding not provided in the 10 randomly selected). Practice items allowed us to clarify the coding schemes, but no changes to the coding scheme were made.

Both the second coder and I then coded a different set of 16 randomly selected items per question for the reliability sample. When we met to discuss our codes, we came to a consensus on any disagreements we had for each response and those codes were used as the final codes. During the discussion of codes, one change was made to each coding scheme. This change was made because it was difficult to determine whether certain disparaging terms reflected the offenders identifying the bystander as either inferior or as contemptuous in the "tried to stop them" coding scheme. The "inferior" and "contemptuous" categories were combined into "disparaging terms" in the "tried to stop them" coding scheme. To mirror this change in the "did not join" coding scheme, I changed the name of the "inferior" category to "disparaging terms" in the coding scheme for the bystander that did not join in the assault. This change resulted in 100% agreement between coders for those categories. Seventy-five percent of the responses were coded identically, for the "did not join" question and 88% of the responses were coded identically for the "tried to stop them" question.

Final codes. I coded 160 responses to the open-ended question, "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who did not join them?" and 163 responses to "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who tried to stop them?" A comprehensive list of verbatim responses is not included in this document to preserve confidentiality; however, examples of codes can be seen in Appendix B.

Responses to the question referencing a bystander who did not join. Men reported a large variety of bystander characteristics. Fifteen of the 21 themes were reported by less than ten percent of the men. The percent of respondents reporting each of the coded themes for the question referencing a bystander who did not join is provided in Figure 6.6 of Appendix B. The majority (86%) of participant responses included a reference to the bystander in disparaging

terms (as unmasculine or otherwise). The most frequent response to the question included reference to the bystander as unmasculine, followed by other disparaging comments about the bystander and indication that the bystander is a threat of some kind (77%, 21%, and 17% of participants, respectively). Frequency of reference to the bystander as unmasculine, in disparaging terms, and as a threat did not vary by experimental condition (χ^2 (3, N = 160) = 2.11, p = .55, χ^2 (3, N = 160) = 4.46, p = .22, χ^2 (3, N = 160) = 6.31, p = .10, respectively).

Responses to the question referencing a bystander who tried to stop the offenders. Men reported a large variety of bystander characteristics as well as characteristics of the offenders to the question. Twenty six of the 29 themes were reported by less than ten percent of the men. The percent of respondents reporting each of the coded themes for the question referencing a bystander who did not join is provided in Figures 6.7 and 6.8 of Appendix B. Most responses included more than one code (50%). About half (47%) of participant responses included reference to the bystander in disparaging terms (as unmasculine or otherwise). The most frequent responses about the bystander included the bystander as unmasculine and in other disparaging terms, followed by indication that the he is a threat of some kind (27%, 27%, and 26% of participants, respectively). Reporting of unmasculine, disparaging terms, and bystander as threat themes did not vary by experimental condition, χ^2 (3, N = 163) = 1.27, p = .74, χ^2 (3, N = 163) = 4.55, p = .21, χ^2 (3, N = 163) = 5.09, p = .17, respectively.

Although the question was initially intended to assess the offenders' perception of the bystander, participants so frequently (37% of participants) reported on aspects of the offenders that I also coded these responses. The most common theme with regards to the offenders was that the offenders would retaliate in some way against the bystander (28% of participants). Reporting of this theme did not vary based on condition, χ^2 (3, N = 163) = 2.17, p = .54.

Summary of the content analysis. Regardless of which party gang rape vignette men received, men frequently reported that the offenders would perceive a bystander to be unmasculine if he did not join or tried to intervene in the assault; however, the unmasculine theme was more common in reference to a man who did not join in the assault versus a man who tried to intervene. Other (i.e. not masculinity-related) disparaging perceptions of the bystander were also common. Men frequently reported that an intervening bystander would be at-risk for retaliation from the offenders.

Table 3.1

Descriptive Statistics for Continuous Study Variables

				Range			
Variable	***M***	***SD***	**α**	**Potential**	**Actual**	**Skew**	**Kurtosis**
Intention to Intervene	3.62	.93	.77	1, 5	1.00, 5.00	-.59*	<.01
Perception of Status Norm	4.07	1.21	.88	1, 7	1.00, 6.82	-.23	-.04
Perception of Toughness Norm	5.30	1.08	.86	1, 7	1.75, 7.00	-.55*	-.33
Perception of Antifemininity Norm	5.59	1.11	.87	1, 7	2.00, 7.00	-.72*	-.22
Perception of Rape-Supportive Norm	5.20	1.34	.97	1, 7	1.00, 7.00	-.98*	.65
Negative Affect	3.16	.70	.81	1, 5	1.50, 4.80	-.07	-.33
Positive Affect	2.76	.61	.75	1, 5	1.60, 4.50	.39*	-.29
Concern about Masculinity	2.86	1.18	--	1, 5	1.00, 5.00	-.06	-.96*
Concern about Weakness if Did Not Join	3.14	1.21	--	1, 5	1.00, 5.00	-.33	-.90*

Note. N = 189. Intention to join in the assault is a dichotomous variable with 18% endorsement and was correlated with intention to intervene at r = -.33, p <.05.
* p < .05.

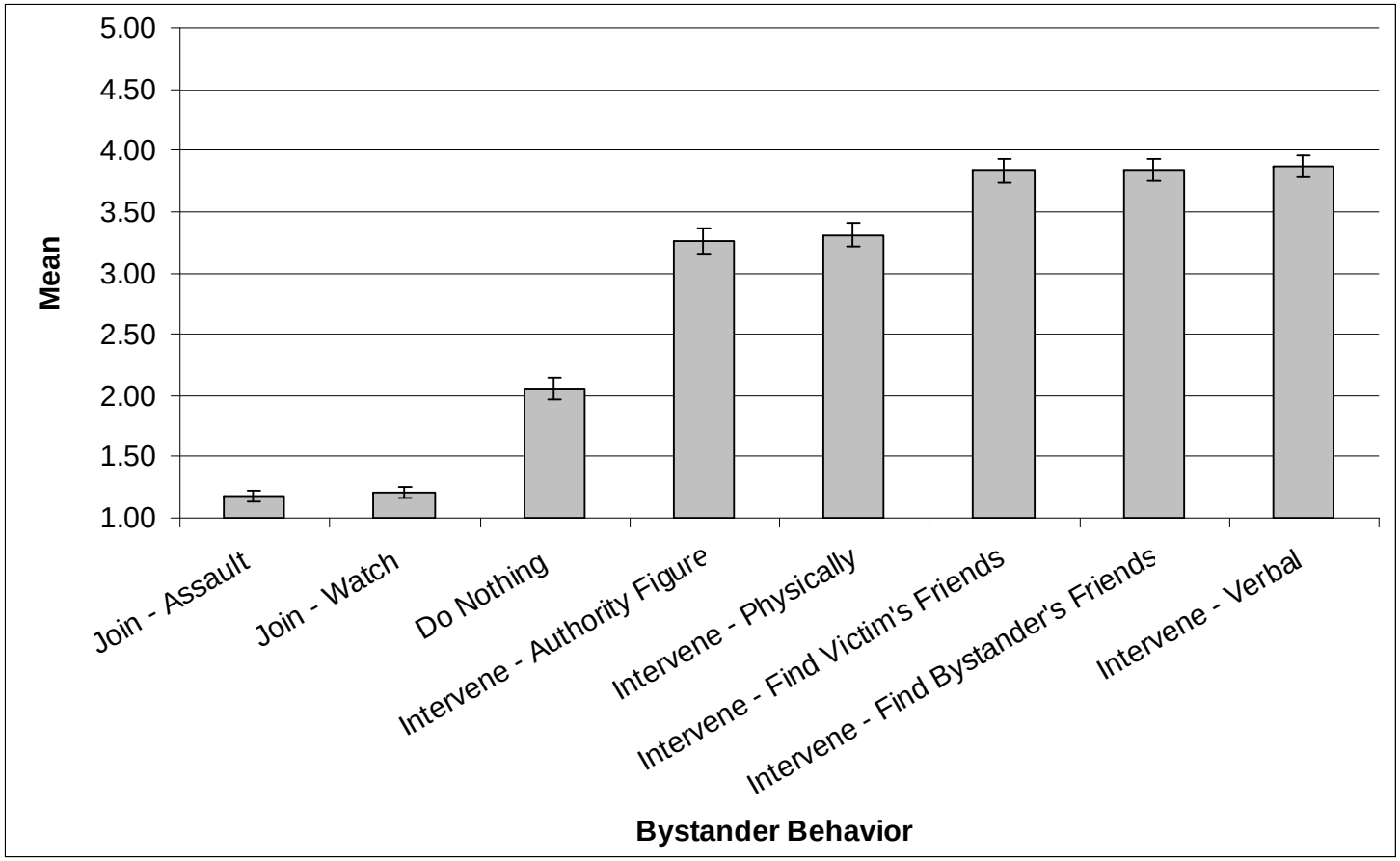

Figure 3.1. Means and 95% Confidence Intervals for Self-Reported Intention to Engage in each Bystander Behavior. *N* = 189.

Table 3.2

Results of 2 x 2 Factorial ANOVAs Testing the Effect of Experimental Conditions on Bystander Affect

Source	df	F	η^2	*p*	R^2	*Adjusted* R^2
Model for Negative Affect				.08	.04	.02
Presence of threat cues (T)	1	1.72	.01	.19		
Relation to offenders (R)	1	5.24*	.03	.02		
T X R	1	<.01	<.01	.99		
Error	185	(.48)				
Model for Positive Affect[a]				.87	<.01	<.01
Presence of threat cues (T)	1	.01	<.01	.94		
Relation to offenders (R)	1	.11	<.01	.74		
T X R	1	.62	<.01	.43		
Error	185	(.05)				

Note. N = 189. Value in parenthesis represents mean square error. Levene's tests for homogeneity of variance were $F(3, 185) = .21$, $p = .89$ for negative and $F(3, 185) = 1.34$, $p = .26$ for positive affect.
[a]Natural log transformation of variable.
*$p < .05$.

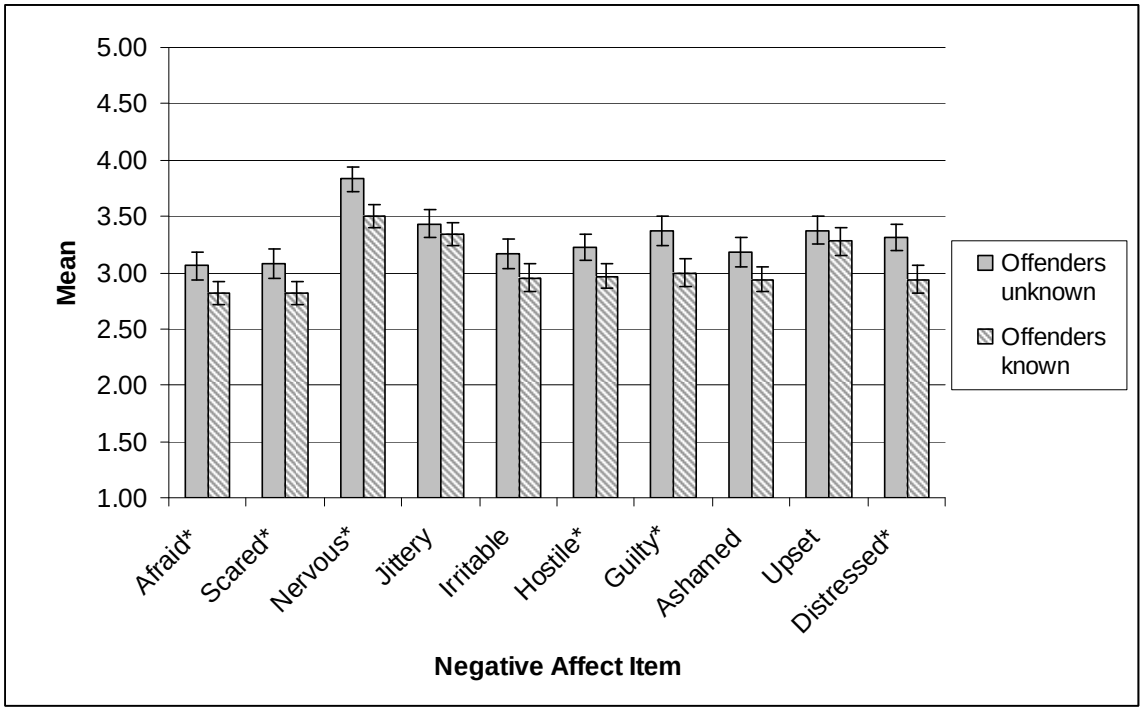

Figure 3.2. Means and 95% Confidence Intervals for Negative Affect Items, by Relation to Offenders Experimental Condition. *N* = 189. Confidence intervals were calculated using non-pooled variance.
*Confidence intervals for the means between groups do not overlap.

Table 3.3

Results of 2 x 2 Factorial ANOVAs Testing the Effect of Experimental Conditions on Concern about Being Perceived as Masculine and Weak

Source	df	F	η^2	*p*	R^2	*Adjusted* R^2
Model for Concern about Masculinity				.72	.01	<.01
Presence of threat cues (T)	1	.16	<.01	.69		
Relation to offenders (R)	1	.04	<.01	.84		
T X R	1	1.17	<.01	.28		
Error	185	(1.41)				
Model for Concern about Weak				.46	.01	<.01
Presence of threat cues (T)	1	.25	<.01	.62		
Relation to offenders (R)	1	.01	<.01	.94		
T X R	1	2.48	.01	.12		
Error	185	(1.48)				

Note. N = 189. Value in parenthesis represents mean square error. Levene's tests for homogeneity of variance were $F(3, 185) = 1.20$, $p = .31$ for concern about masculinity and $F(3, 185) = .50$, $p = .68$ for concern about weakness.

Table 3.4

Predictors of Endorsement that the Offenders Would Perceive the Bystander as Unmasculine if He Intervened and Did Not Join

						95% CI for Odds Ratio	
Model & Variable	β	*SE*	Wald χ^2 Test	*p*	Odds Ratio	Lower	Upper
Model for Bystander Who Intervened							
Endorsement of African American[a]	-.09	.38	.06	.81	.91	.43	1.93
Threat Cues Condition[a]	.16	.35	.20	.65	1.17	.59	2.33
Relation to Offenders Condition[a]	.12	.35	.13	.72	1.13	.57	2.24
Model for Bystander Who Did Not Join							
Endorsement of African American[a]	-.30	.33	.83	.36	.74	.39	1.41
Threat Cues Condition[a]	.07	.31	.05	.82	1.08	.58	1.97
Relation to Offenders Condition[a]	.18	.31	.33	.56	1.19	.65	2.17

Note. *N* = 189. CI = Confidence interval.
[a]Dummy coded variables with 1 = endorsement of African American/Black identity, presence of threat cues, and known offenders.

Table 3.5

Intercorrelations between Covariates and Predictors of Intention to Intervene

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Intention to Intervene[a]	--	.09	.00	-.13	.08	.06	.04	.16*	.20*	.02	-.23*	-.09	-.03
2. Relation to Offenders[b]		--	-.04	-.06	.02	-.03	.01	-.02	-.03	.02	-.16*	.02	.03
3. Endorsement of African American[b]			--	-.56*	-.11	-.11	.16*	.11	.15*	-.04	-.15*	-.08	-.01
4. Endorsement of Caucasian[b]				--	-.27*	.04	-.16*	-.15*	-.22*	-.07	.30*	-.16*	.03
5. Endorsement of Hispanic[b]					--	-.03	-.01	-.04	-.07	.05	-.06	.18*	.07
6. Perception of Status Norm						--	-.28*	-.07	.11	.06	-.09	.17*	-.12
7. Perception of Toughness Norm[a]							--	.69*	.46*	-.14*	-.03	.06	-.15*
8. Perception of AntiFemininity Norm[a]								--	.64*	-.05	-.14	.11	-.20*
9. Perception of Rape-Supportive Norm[a]									--	-.17*	-.21*	-.06	-.23*
10. Concern about Masculinity										--	-.06	.26*	.12
11. Negative Affect											--	-.14	.10
12. Positive Affect[a]												--	.01
13. Bystander as Unmasculine if Intervened[b]													--

Note. $N = 189$.
[a]Natural log transformation of variable.
[b]Dummy coded variable with 1 = known offenders, endorsement of racial/ethnic identity, and report of bystander as unmasculine.
* $p < .05$.

Table 3.6

Predictors of Self-Reported Intention to Intervene[a]

Model & Variable	β	*b*	95% CI		*p*	R^2	*Adjusted* R^2
All Covariates & Predictors Model					.02	.13*	.07
Relation to Offenders[b]	.06	.05	-.07	.16	.45		
Endorsement of African American[b]	-.10	-.09	-.25	.07	.27		
Endorsement of Caucasian[b]	-.10	-.09	-.25	.08	.30		
Endorsement of Hispanic[b]	.07	.09	-.12	.30	.40		
Perception of Status Norm	.04	.02	-.04	.07	.58		
Perception of Toughness Norm[a]	-.09	-.09	-.29	.11	.39		
Perception of AntiFemininity Norm[a]	.16	.14	-.06	.34	.16		
Perception of Rape-Supportive Norm[a]	.10	.08	-.09	.26	.34		
Concern about Masculinity	.05	.02	-.03	.07	.51		
Negative Affect	-.18*	-.11	-.20	-.02	.02		
Positive Affect[a]	-.18*	-.32	-.61	-.04	.03		
Bystander as Unmasculine if Intervened[b]	.02	.02	-.12	.16	.76		
Perceived Norms & Affect Model					<.01	.10*	.07
Perception of Status Norm	.04	.01	-.04	.06	.65		
Perception of Toughness Norm[a]	-.10	-.10	-.30	.10	.32		
Perception of AntiFemininity Norm[a]	.16	.14	-.06	.33	.17		
Perception of Rape-Supportive Norm[a]	.09	.08	-.09	.25	.35		
Negative Affect	-.21*	-.12	-.21	-.04	<.01		
Positive Affect[a]	-.13	-.23	-.50	.04	.09		
Affect Model					<.01	.07*	.06
Negative Affect	-.25*	-.15	-.23	-.06	<.01		
Positive Affect[a]	-.12	-.22	-.48	.04	.09		

Note. N = 189. CI = confidence interval. Regression coefficients are from the final models.
[a]Natural log transformation of variable.
[b]Dummy coded variable with 1 = known offenders, endorsement of racial/ethnic identity, and report of bystander as unmasculine.
*p < .05.

Table 3.7

Negative Affect Items Predicting Self-Reported Intention to Intervene[a]

Model & Variable	β	b	95% CI		p	R^2	*Adjusted* R^2
All Negative Affect Items					<.01	.16*	.11
Afraid	.18	.07	-.03	.17	.16		
Scared	-.31*	-.11	-.21	-.02	.02		
Nervous	.03	.01	-.06	.08	.77		
Jittery	-.01	<.01	-.07	.07	.94		
Irritable	-.05	-.02	-.07	.03	.50		
Hostile	-.22*	-.08	-.14	-.02	.01		
Guilty	.07	.02	-.03	.08	.41		
Ashamed	.05	.02	-.04	.07	.58		
Upset	-.15	-.05	-.11	.01	.08		
Distressed	.03	.01	-.05	.07	.74		
Select Negative Affect Items					<.01	.15*	.13
Afraid	.21	.08	-.01	.17	.09		
Scared	-.29*	-.11	-.20	-.02	.02		
Hostile	-.25*	-.09	-.15	-.03	<.01		
Upset	-.14	-.05	-.10	.01	.10		
Distressed	.03	.01	-.04	.06	.67		

Note. N = 189. CI = confidence interval. Regression coefficients are from the final model.
[a]Natural log transformation of variable.
*p < .05.

Table 3.8

Intercorrelations between Predictors and Intention to Join in the Assault

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Intention to Join in the Assault[a]	--	-.01	-.01	-.18*	.16*	.19*	-.05	-.17*	-.16*	.20*	.17*	-.11	.19*	-.03
2. Relation to Offenders[a]		--	-.04	-.06	.02	-.03	-.03	.01	.02	.02	.01	-.16*	.04	.04
3. Endorsement of African American[a]			--	-.56*	-.11	-.11	-.19*	-.14	-.16*	-.04	-.10	-.15*	-.08	-.07
4. Endorsement of Caucasian[a]				--	-.27*	.04	.15*	.14	.20*	-.06	-.02	.30*	-.16*	.02
5. Endorsement of Hispanic/Latino[a]					--	-.03	.05	.06	.06	.05	.03	-.06	.19*	.02
6. Perception of Status Norm						--	.29*	.09	-.13	.06	.10	-.09	.15*	-.09
7. Perception of Toughness Norm							--	.70*	.43*	.14	.13	.02	-.07	.26*
8. Perception of AntiFemininity Norm								--	.59*	.08	.09	.12	-.11	31*
9. Perception of Rape-Supportive Norm									--	.19*	.21*	.17*	.08	.34*
10. Concern about Masculinity										--	.67*	-06	.25*	.20*
11. Concern about Weakness											--	-.12	.26*	.17*
12. Negative Affect												--	-.16*	.02
13. Positive Affect													--	-.06
14. Bystander as Unmasculine if Did Not Join														--

Note. N = 189.
[a]Dummy coded variable with 1 = Intended to join; known offenders and endorsement of referenced racial/ethnic identity.
* $p < .05$.

Table 3.9

Predictors of Intention to Join in the Assault

Model & Variable	b	S.E.	Wald χ^2 Test	*p*	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio Lower	95% CI for Odds Ratio Upper
Full Model							
Relation to Offenders[a]	-.41	.44	.84	.36	.67	.28	1.58
Endorsement of African American[a]	-.51	.55	.88	.35	.60	.21	1.75
Endorsement of Caucasian[a]	-.90	.57	2.56	.11	.41	.13	1.23
Endorsement of Hispanic/Latino[a]	.91	.67	1.84	.17	2.48	.67	9.23
Perception of Status Norm	.44	.20	4.72	.03	1.55*	1.04	2.30
Perception of Toughness Norm	.06	.32	.04	.85	1.06	.57	1.98
Perception of AntiFemininity Norm	-.54	.32	2.88	.09	.58	.31	1.09
Perception of Rape-Supportive Norm	-.23	.20	1.25	.26	.80	.54	1.19
Concern about Masculinity	.44	.26	2.99	.08	1.56	.94	2.58
Concern about Weakness if Did Not Join	.18	.26	.47	.49	1.20	.72	2.00
Negative Affect	-.18	.32	.31	.58	.84	.45	1.57
Positive Affect	.20	.41	.25	.62	1.23	.55	2.74
Bystander as Unmasculine if Did Not Join	.23	.49	.22	.64	1.26	.48	3.31

Note. N = 189. CI = Confidence interval. S.E. = Standard error for the regression coefficient. Joining refers to joining by either watching or assaulting the victim.

[a]Dummy coded variable with 1 = known offenders; endorsement of referenced racial/ethnic identity endorsement.

*$p < .05$.

Table 3.10

Predictors of Intention to Join in the Assault

Model & Variable	b	S.E.	Wald χ^2 Test	*p*	Odds Ratio	95% CI for Odds Ratio Lower	95% CI for Odds Ratio Upper
Model with Covariates and Perceived Norms							
Relation to Offenders[a]	-.22	.41	.29	.59	.80	.35	1.80
Endorsement of African American[a]	-.63	.52	1.48	.22	.53	.19	1.47
Endorsement of Caucasian[a]	-1.10	.53	4.34	.04	.33*	.12	.94
Endorsement of Hispanic/Latino[a]	.85	.64	1.78	.18	2.34	.67	8.12
Perception of Status Norm	.45	.19	5.55	.02	1.58*	1.08	2.30
Perception of Toughness Norm	.21	.31	.46	.50	1.23	.67	2.25
Perception of AntiFemininity Norm	-.59	.29	4.01	.05	.55*	.31	.99
Perception of Rape-Supportive Norm	-.06	.18	.09	.76	.95	.66	1.35
Model with Covariates and Indicators of Masculinity Threat							
Relation to Offenders[a]	-.27	.42	.41	.52	.77	.34	1.73
Endorsement of African American[a]	-.50	.52	.94	.33	.60	.22	1.67
Endorsement of Caucasian[a]	-1.01	.53	3.60	.06	.36	.13	1.03
Endorsement of Hispanic/Latino[a]	.50	.61	.69	.41	1.65	.50	5.45
Concern about Masculinity	.32	.23	1.81	.18	1.37	.87	2.17
Concern about Weakness if Did Not Join	.14	.23	.38	.54	1.15	.73	1.82
Negative Affect	-.20	.30	.44	.51	.82	.45	1.48
Positive Affect	.35	.35	.97	.32	1.42	.71	2.83
Bystander as Unmasculine if Did Not Join	-.37	.43	.76	.38	.69	.30	1.59

Note. *N* = 189. CI = Confidence interval. S.E. = Standard error for the regression coefficient. Joining refers to either watching or assaulting the victim.
[a]Dummy coded variable with 1 = known offenders, endorsement of referenced racial/ethnic identity.
*$p < .05$.

Table 3.11

Indicators of Inter-Rater Reliability for Coded Themes for "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who did not join them?"

	% Agreement	Cohen's Kappa
Unmasculine category	94	.85
Unmasculine, general	88	.67
Coward, general	88	--
Coward, weak	100	1
Coward, afraid	100	1
Feminine	100	1
Not a playboy	94	--
Not heterosexual	100	1
Gay	100	1
Chaste	100	1
Disparaging terms	94	.64
Outsider	100	1
Moral, general	100	1
Overly moral	100	1
Respectable	100	1
Threat category	100	1
Threat, general	100	1
Tell on	100	1
Traitor	100	1
Ruining offenders' fun	100	1
Reprehensible	100	1
Psychologically disturbed	100	1
Irrelevant	100	1

Note. Inter-rater agreements were calculated for 16 responses (10% of sample). Dashes (--) indicate that Kappa could not be calculated as at least one of the raters' codes were constant across all responses.

Table 3.12

Indicators of Inter-Rater Reliability for Coded Themes for Perception of the Bystander in response to "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who tried to stop them?"

	% Agreement	Cohen's Kappa
Masculine category	100	1
Masculine, general	100	1
Macho	100	1
Chivalrous	100	1
Unmasculine category	100	1
Unmasculine, general	100	1
Coward, general	100	1
Coward, weak	100	1
Coward, afraid	100	1
Feminine	100	1
Not a playboy	100	1
Not heterosexual	100	1
Gay	100	1
Chaste	100	1
Disparaging terms	100	1
Inferior	94	.81
Contemptible	94	.64
Outsider	100	1
Moral, general	100	1
Overly moral	100	1
Respectable	100	1
Hero	100	1
Nuisance	100	1
Threat category	100	1
Threat, general	100	1
Tell on	94	.64
Traitor	100	1
Enemy	100	1
Ruining offenders' fun	100	1
Covetous	100	1
Feelings for victims	100	1
Reprehensible	100	1
Psychologically disturbed	100	1
Irrelevant	100	1

Note. Inter-rater agreements were calculated for 16 responses (10% of sample). Dashes (--) indicate that Kappa could not be calculated as at least one of the raters' codes were constant across all responses.

Table 3.13

Indicators of Inter-Rater Reliability for Coded Themes for Offenders in response to "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who tried to stop them?"

	% Agreement	Cohen's Kappa
Aware they are wrong	100	1
Hostile towards/upset with bystander	100	1
Defensive about their behavior	100	1
Would retaliate	94	.85
Would stop	100	1

Note. Inter-rater agreements were calculated for 16 responses (10% of sample). Dashes (--) indicate that Kappa could not be calculated as at least one of the raters' codes were constant across all responses.

Discussion

This is the first study to quantitatively explore predictors of men's bystander behavioral intentions in a party gang rape situation. Findings from a diverse sample of college men bode well for bystander intervention programs, as nearly all of the men (98%) reported some intention to intervene to stop the party gang rape assault. Findings corroborate qualitative studies' depictions of party gang rape as one in which masculine norms and masculinity threat are salient (Carlson, 2008; Franklin, 2004), however, counter to my hypothesis, neither perceived norms nor masculinity threat predicted men's intention to intervene. A significant minority of men (18%) reported some intention to join in the assault, by either watching the assault or assaulting the victim themselves, indicating a possible proclivity of some men toward participating in party gang rape. This proclivity appears to be influenced by perceived masculine gender role norms among the offenders. Qualitative data from open-ended questions corroborated and enhanced quantitative data, underscoring the utility of mixed-method approaches. These data suggest bystanders are at-risk for being considered unmasculine if they do not go along with the assault, and at-risk for retaliation if they attempt to intervene.

Aim 1: Did Manipulations of Vignettes Affect Men's Reports on Indicators of Masculinity Threat?

Previous qualitative research suggests men go along with party gang rape to avoid appearing unmasculine to the other men involved (Carlson, 2008; Franklin, 2004; Sanday, 1990). The first aim of this study was to determine whether I could experimentally induce differential amounts of masculinity threat in a party gang rape situation using vignette methodology, which could then be used to quantitatively examine the relation between masculinity threat and bystander behavioral intentions. Although differences in masculinity threat between vignettes did

not emerge, reports on indicators of masculinity threat suggest this it is present in a party gang rape situation. Men perceived the party gang rape situations to result in some concern about appearing weak and masculine, and as more negative than positive for a typical college male bystander. Further, 66% and 23% of men reported a non-joining and intervening bystander, respectively, would be perceived as unmasculine.

One explanation for the absence of an effect of the threat manipulations may be the vignette content. Specifically, the descriptions of the party gang rape situation stopped after the bystander is invited into the room, leaving it open for men to respond as to how they would proceed in the situation. However, the content analysis suggests the extent of masculinity threat depends on the bystander's behavior. When asked about a non-joining bystander, the majority of men reported the offenders would perceive the bystander to be unmasculine; however, when asked about an intervening bystander, considerably fewer men reported the bystander would be perceived as unmasculine. The perceptions of an intervening bystander included frequent references to the bystander as a threat to the offenders (e.g., "ruining their fun" or "will tell on them") and that the offenders would retaliate against him. Findings suggest that a bystander may perceive greater masculinity threat when he is considering not joining than when he is considering intervening.

I experimentally manipulated the bystander's relation to the offenders to explore the impact of knowing the men on masculinity threat. The relationship between the bystander and offenders who knew each other reflected an acquaintance-type relationship, defined through the school environment (i.e. as "some guys you know through school"). Under these conditions, men indicated that a typical college male bystander would experience slightly less negative affect than if they were in the conditions in which they were told the offenders were "guys you do not

know." A prior relationship with the offenders makes the situation a slightly less fearful, distressing, hostility-inducing, and guilt-inducing experience for a typical college man. Given that other indicators of masculinity threat did not differ by relation to the offenders and concerns about appearing masculine and weak were not correlated with negative affect, it cannot be assumed that the lower negative affect reflects less masculinity threat. Rather, I interpret these findings to mean that men expect a typical bystander to be less uncomfortable with the situation when the bystander knows the other men involved. Implications of affect on bystander behavioral intentions are discussed in reference to Aim 2 findings.

Men's relationship to the offenders is an aspect of party gang rape that warrants further exploration as it seems to change the nature of the situation for men, and may be related to behavioral intentions. Qualitative explorations point to the importance of cohesion among men in facilitating rape. For instance, Sanday (1990) depicts fraternities on college campuses as inducing a bond of secrecy between fraternity brothers that protects the interests of the brothers who perpetrate rape rather than the interests of victims. In a recent naturalistic observation study of college party environments, researchers noted that men were very supportive of and encouraging to other men in their attempts to interact sexually with women, but only when the men were friends (Argiero, Dyrdahl, Fernandez, Whitney, & Woodring, 2010). The researchers did not observe such approval and support between men who were strangers. It may be that close friendships or friendships defined through groups known to value cohesion (e.g., sports teams; fraternities; Boeringer, 1999) would result in the situation being perceived as even less uncomfortable for a typical college male bystander than the situations presented in this study, or otherwise affect men's experience of the situation.

College Men's Bystander Behavioral Intentions in the Party Gang Rape Situation

Reports were encouraging for bystander intervention. On average, men reported being more likely than not to intervene in the assault. This is consistent with previous research examining men's intention to intervene to stop sexual assault in general (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010) and across a variety of sexual assault and assault-supportive behaviors (Fabiano et al., 2003; Stein, 2007). While it is encouraging that many men report being willing to intervene, I cannot rule out that these reports are influenced by demand characteristics in the study or a bias toward responding in a socially desirable manner. However, elements of the design were intended to minimize such effects, including the anonymous online nature of the study and having not explicitly identified the situation as a rape or assault. Although the behavioral intention items may be impacted by demand characteristics or social desirability, I would expect the relations between intention, social norms, and indicators of masculinity threat, as explored in Aim 2, to be less influenced by these threats.

Eighteen percent of men reported some intention to join in the assault, with half of these men reporting an intention to watch the assault and half reporting an intention to assault the victim. Some men, therefore, indicated that they would be likely to both intervene and join, suggesting these intentions are disparate categories and not mutually exclusive. Men may consider multiple behavioral options when placed in the situation, although, necessarily, at a given point in time a bystander actually engages in one behavior over others (e.g., if intervening, he is necessarily not joining the assault at that moment). Bystander behavior likely falls on a continuum with intervening on one end of the continuum, assaulting the victim on the other end, and neither intervening nor joining in the middle. A bystander may move fluidly along this continuum in any given sexual assault situation. For instance, he may first choose to watch the

assault take place and then at some point while watching decide to challenge the offenders' behavior.

The behavioral intentions measure used in this study was modeled after Banyard et al.'s (2007) measure of bystander intervention with items added to reflect non-intervening behaviors. The joining items, particularly, "Go in the room and wait my turn to have sex with the woman," are similar to measures of men's rape and sexual harassment proclivities (Malamuth, 1981; Pryor, 1987). Eighteen percent of my sample, therefore, can be considered to have a proclivity toward participating in party gang rape. Although a benefit of bystander intervention programs is that they do not approach men as potential perpetrators, but rather potential allies in prevention, some men involved in programming may have a proclivity toward sexual assault behavior. Prevention interventions may need programming uniquely directed toward rape prone men. An experimental, longitudinal evaluation of a one-hour rape prevention program that incorporated Foubert's (2000) bystander approach, supports this idea (Stephen & George, 2009). Specifically, in a predominantly White (97%) sample of college men, men identified as at-risk by indicating high intention to rape, demonstrated less reduction in rape-supportive attitudes than low-risk men. Further, high risk men who participated in the rape prevention program were more likely to report engaging in sexually coercive behavior at a 5-week follow-up than high risk men in the control condition, suggesting a possible backlash against the program.

Men identified two other behaviors that may be useful to include in a future measure of behavioral intentions in a party gang rape situation. Specifically, items men suggested were: assist the victim directly by asking her if she needs assistance and visually record the event, both for use as evidence against the offenders and as a way to join in the assault. Taking pictures of or filming the assault is an increasing possibility given the widespread availability of cameras on

cell phones. While the recording of the event may be useful in prosecuting a crime, the recording of the event can also be used to further victimize the woman (Hughes, 2002). Technology now allows cell phone users to immediately post pictures and videos to the internet (Horrigan, 2009), where they may remain indefinitely.

Aim 2: Did Perceived Rape-Supportive and Masculine Gender Role Norms, and Indicators of Masculinity Threat, Predict Men's Bystander Behavioral Intentions?

The second aim of this study was to explore the impact of perceived masculine and rape-supportive norms and indicators of masculinity threat on bystander behavioral intentions using the party gang rape vignettes created for Aim 1.

Predictors of college men's bystander behavioral intentions in the party gang rape situation.

The role of masculine gender role norms in bystander behavioral intentions. On average, men perceived the offenders to adhere somewhat to traditional masculine gender role norms. Counter to my hypothesis, men's perception that the offenders believe men should be tough, achieve status, and be unlike women did not play a role in men's intention to intervene. However, men's intention to join in the assault was influenced by men's perception of offenders' masculine gender role adherence. This finding fits with previous research demonstrating a relation between masculine gender role norms and men's sexual assault behavior (Murnen, et al., 2002). However, my study examined perceived traditional masculine gender role norms among other men, whereas previous studies examined men's own beliefs about masculinity. Combined with previous studies, my findings highlight the import that prescriptions and proscriptions about how men should behave in order to be perceived as masculine have in men's behavior in sexual assault situations.

A one point increase in the perception of the offenders as adherent to the status norm resulted in men being 1.6 times more likely to report an intention to join in the assault. Previous experimental research on sexual harassment perpetration established a cause and effect relationship between threats to men's masculine status and engaging in sexually harassing behavior (Berdahl, 2007). It may be that perceiving status achievement as important to the offenders results in male bystanders feeling more compelled to go along with the men to maintain their own status within the group. Surprisingly, a one point increase in the perception of the offenders as adherent to the antifemininity norm resulted in men being .55 times as likely to report an intention to join. The antifemininty norm reflects beliefs that men should be unlike women and not take on feminine roles. Theoretically, I expected the presence of the antifeminity norm to result in men feeling pressured to not appear weak or unmasculine in any way in front of the offenders. However, the presence of this norm seems to affect men such that they are motivated to not join in the assault.

One possible explanation for the observed relationship may have to do with what Sanday (1990) calls the homoerotic nature of gang rape. From a psychoanalytic perspective, Sanday contends that men simultaneously have a natural homoerotic desire for each other but also greatly fear being perceived as homosexual. She suggests party gang rape provides them an opportunity to engage with each other in a sexual and homoerotic way, while demonstrating an exaggerated heterosexual masculinity by assaulting the woman. In traditional masculinity, homosexual behavior is considered taking on a feminine role (Franklin, 2004). Using her framework to interpret the relation between the antifemininity norm and joining in the assault, it is possible that the more bystanders perceive the other men involved to believe that men should

not appear feminine in any way, the less likely they would be to engage in any behavior that may potentially be considered homoerotic.

It would be useful to explore perceived masculine norms along with data about men's own adherence to a traditional masculinity and/or their concern about appearing masculine. It would be useful to know, for instance, if it is the bystander's or the other men's adherence that is more important in behavioral intentions. It may be that the most effective bystander intervention programs would not only build skills for intervening, but also address men's own beliefs about masculinity as well as the pressure some men may feel to be masculine in response to other men. Social marketing approaches that correct misperceptions in social norms may be particularly important for the latter issue (Berkowitz, 2004).

Characteristics of the masculine gender role not tapped by the MRNS would be useful to explore in future research on bystander behavioral intentions. A study using an expanded measure of masculine gender role norms (Conformity to Masculine Norms Index; CMNI; Mahalik, J. R., Locke, B. D., Ludlow, L. H., Diemer, M. A., Scott, R. P. J., Gottfried, M., et al., 2003) with a predominantly White sample of college men, identified the valuation of power over women, dominance, being a playboy (i.e. the idea that men should be "up for a good time"), and disdain for homosexuals as predictors of sexual aggression (Locke & Mahalik, 2005). In fact, offenders' perceptions of bystanders provided by men in my study reflect characteristics tapped by both the MRNS and CMNI. Men reported the offenders would perceive the bystander to be cowardly (i.e., weak and/or afraid), feminine, not fun, and gay/not heterosexual. These themes reflect the role norms of toughness and antifemininity that were measured using the MRNS. However, the norms of "playboy," and "disdain for homosexuality," from the CMNI are also reflected.

Other characteristics of the masculine gender role that warrant more exploration in bystander behavioral intentions are those known as positive masculinity norms. Although research on the masculine gender role has predominantly focused on problematic aspects of masculinity (Smiler, 2004), recently, some men's organizations are pushing for adherence to what is known as positive masculinity (MensCraft, 2009). Positive masculinity refers to the strengths and virtues characteristic of a traditional masculinity (Kiselica & Englar-Carlson, 2010). For instance, the prescription for men to be courageous and willing to take risks can be associated with positive behaviors such as increased willingness to protect others in need.

Some organizations target positive masculinity to promote a rape prevention message (Masters, 2010). For instance the MyStrength Campaign (California Department of Health Services and the California Coalition Against Sexual Assault, 2010) distributes posters of heterosexual couples with captions reading "My strength is not for hurting," approaching strength as a potentially positive rather than potentially harmful masculine characteristic. Men are encouraged to employ the masculine characteristic of courageousness to take responsibility for their own assaultive behavior and stand up to the rape-supportive attitudes and behavior of other men. In my study, a few participant responses indicated that the offenders would perceive an intervening bystander to be exhibiting masculine rather than unmasculine behavior (e.g., chivalrous, macho). These approaches are not without their critics, who contend these approaches maintain a dominant form of masculinity rather than challenge it, perpetuating inequality and power differences between genders (Murphy, 2009). Future research could help determine whether aspects of the traditional masculine gender role actually facilitate intention to intervene and inhibit intention to join in the assault.

***The role of rape-supportive norms in bystander behavioral intentions*.** On average, men perceived the offenders to be somewhat supportive of rape. Perceived rape-supportive norms, however, did not predict bystander behavioral intentions as I hypothesized. These findings do not fit with previous research demonstrating effects of peer rape-supportive norms on men's intention to intervene to prevent rape (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010) and men's intention to rape (Bohner, et al., 2006). However, my measure of bystander behavioral intention to intervene is unique among studies. Most studies examine men's bystander intentions to intervene either across numerous situations (Banyard et al., 2007; Fabiano et al., 2003) or in reference to sexual assault in general (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010), or both (Burn, 2009; Stein, 2007). In my study, men indicated their intention to intervene in response to the specific party gang rape situation presented. It may be that perceived rape-supportive norms among offenders do not play a role in party gang rape. However, there are other differences between my studies and previous work that might also account for divergent findings.

First, researchers routinely inquire about the attitudes of a peer reference group, whereas in my study I inquire about the attitudes of the offenders, who may or may not serve that purpose. A reference group is defined as "that group whose perspective is assumed [taken on] by the actor as the frame of reference for the organization of his perceptual experience" (Shibutani, 1955, p. 569). The reference group specified varies considerably in the literature on men's bystander behavioral intentions. Examples include asking participants "how much pressure do your friends exert on one another to seek premarital sex experience?" (Kanin, 1967), to state whether "most of my peers think sexual assault is wrong" (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010), and to report on their "best friends" (Kanin 1985). Another study provided participants with normative information based on other "male students" (Bohner et al., 2006). All of these peer

groups demonstrate a relationship to bystander behavioral intentions to prevent sexual assault; but the diversity in definitions makes it difficult to compare findings across studies. It would be useful to know who the most relevant peer group is in men's behavior in a party gang rape situation.

Although no study has systematically examined the effect of the degree of closeness in men's relationships on men's bystander behavioral intentions to stop rape, a study examining peer influence on students' alcohol and drug use points to the importance of the degree of closeness among men in the influence they have on each other. Specifically, researchers asked participants to reflect on the alcohol and drug use of three different types of peers: other students of the same-age, their "friends" and their "best friend" (Morgan & Grube, 1991). Findings indicated that the behavior of the best friend was the best predictor of students' alcohol and drug use, followed by friends. Same-aged students had the least effect.

Differential Association Theory suggests that men's friends are the relevant reference group in criminal behavior (Burgess & Akers, 1966). In this theory, people learn delinquent behavior through their association with a delinquent reference group that holds attitudes supportive of crime and engages in criminal behavior. Criminal behaviors are modeled and reinforced by delinquent friends, making the friend group a strong predictor of behavior across situations. The effectiveness of bystander intervention programs may be stymied if men see sexually assaultive behavior modeled and reinforced in their reference group.

My sample is also unique relative to previous studies. Less than half of my participants reported identifying as White, whereas other samples are predominantly White. My findings indicate that racial/ethnic identity plays a role in bystander behavioral intentions. Men reporting a White racial/ethnic identity were a third as likely to report joining as those not reporting this

identity. These findings should be interpreted with caution, as it is unclear what accounts for this relation. While it is possible that White men have less intention to join in an assault, it may alternatively be the case that this difference reflects a tendency for White participants to respond in a more socially desirable manner. Adding a social desirability scale to the study could assist in exploring this possibility. The finding does point to the importance of demographic variables and the possible impact of racial/ethnic culture on reports of behavioral intentions in a party gang rape situation. Future research exploring how party gang rape experiences may vary for men of different races/ethnicities would be useful in helping to develop culturally competent prevention programming.

No research has examined how sexual orientation may influence bystander behavior in a party gang rape situation. However, 6% of men in my sample reported a non-heterosexual orientation. Due to the small percent reporting homosexual and bisexual identities, and the theoretical contention that gender identity is unique from sexual orientation, I did not control for this variable in statistical models. However, it is possible that sexual orientation affects how study constructs affect bystander behavior. It is possible that concerns about appearing unmasculine are pronounced for men whose sexual behavior is considered feminine to traditional masculinity. It is also possible that men who feel strongly identified as homosexual are less concerned about appearing masculine to heterosexual men. More in-depth research with non-hetereosexual samples is needed.

The role of masculinity threat in bystander behavioral intentions. I hypothesized that indicators of masculinity threat would predict lower intention to intervene and greater likelihood of intention to join in the assault. As mentioned in Aim 1, descriptive statistics of the indicators suggests threat to masculinity is present in the party gang rape scenarios depicted. However, the

only relation I observed between the indicators and behavioral intentions was for the negative affect subscale of the PANAS-X. Specifically, reports that a typical college male bystander would likely be more scared and hostile in the situation predicted lower intention to intervene among men in the study.

The relation between the negative affect subscale and intention to intervene suggests that threat of some kind is playing a role. It may be that men feel threatened by possible retaliation from the offenders, inhibiting their intention to intervene. In fact, twenty-eight percent of men reported the offenders would retaliate against an intervening bystander in some way. Examples of such retaliatory comments included “they would most likely gang up on him,” “this fool was about to get beat up,” and “they would ridicule him…” A recent national news story suggests bystanders have concerns about retaliation in party gang rape. A party gang rape of a female high school student at a homecoming dance in California made headlines for the lack of bystander involvement to stop the assault (Chen, 2009). A number of students knew the assault was taking place but did nothing to intervene. Rather, a number of them remained for part of the attack to watch. They reported fear of being considered a “snitch” and retaliation from the offenders as inhibiting their behavior. Snitching, a concept found primarily in the criminology literature, refers to being an informant for the authorities against fellow criminals. A snitch is seen as a traitor to his group. Several men in my study reported that the offenders would consider the bystander a “snitch” and/or “traitor,” corroborating that fear of snitching is relevant to bystander intervention.

Certain communities may be more affected by risks related to snitching. A recent article reviews a hip-hop culture campaign called “stop snitchin’” (Woldoff & Weiss, 2010) that apparently serves to inhibit informant behavior, particularly among urban Black men, and may

be a reaction to unwanted police presence in Black, urban communities. The authors contend that anti-snitching campaign messages can be found in hip-hop music lyrics and clothing. They also point out that anti-snitching messages are not limited to hip-hop culture but are routinely found in subcultures that value group identity and cohesion, such as the military and fraternities. It would be important to consider a culture of anti-snitching in some men's behavioral intentions and to address concerns about being considered a snitch in bystander intervention programming. Behavioral options that provide anonymity, such as making an anonymous call to police, could be discussed. The system around bystanders needs to help provide a sense of security for those that do come forward.

The absence of relations between other indicators of masculinity threat and men's intention to join in the assault does not fit with previous experimental research identifying a causal relation between masculinity threat and undergraduate men's sexually victimizing behavior (Dall'A ra & Maass, 1999; Maass, et al., 2003). These studies, however, differ considerably from the present study. First, both studies used Italian undergraduates. My sample is demographically different from theirs, and as previously noted, demographic variables played a strong role in men's intention to join in my study. The source of the masculinity threat also varies from my study. In these previous studies, threat to men's masculine identity was induced by placing them in a computer-based interaction with a woman who was either traditionally feminine or reflected a woman with egalitarian/feminist values. The threat came directly from the interaction with the woman, whereas in my study, the threat came from the other men involved in the assault. It may be that masculinity threat coming from a woman is more predictive of sexually victimizing behavior than masculinity threat coming from other men.

An experimental study to explore the effect of the gender of the source of masculinity threat on men's bystander behavior would be beneficial. For example, a man could be placed in a situation in which he is randomly assigned to either interact with a man or woman via computer in a task designed specifically to be challenging to traditional masculinity. Knowing whether and how the source of masculinity threat affects men's behavior could further elucidate the nature of masculinity threat and may have implications for prevention programming. For instance, if threats coming from other men affect bystanders less than threats coming from a woman, issues of gender and sexism will need to play a central role in prevention education discussions.

A final difference between the present study and others experimentally examining masculinity threat, is the inclusion of individual difference variables in previous studies that moderated the effect of threat on behavior. The most relevant individual-difference variable in predicting behavior was having a high propensity toward sexual harassment in general and having a strong masculine identity. It is possible that indicators of masculinity threat are related to intention to join, but only for some men.

Men's Reports of How Offenders' Would Perceive a Bystander in the Party Gang Rape Situation

Although men's reports that the offenders would perceive the bystander as unmasculine did not predict behavioral intentions in the present study, participant responses to the open-ended questions suggest the party gang rape vignettes were perceived as threatening to bystanders in various ways. Many men reported that the offenders would endorse derogatory perceptions of the bystander's masculinity for not going along with the assault, and to a lesser degree for trying to stop the assault. Men frequently reported other derogatory perceptions about the bystander's character, such as the bystander would be considered a "loser." Many men reported a bystander

could expect retaliation from the offenders when trying to intervene. Further exploration of how offenders' perceptions of a bystander may influence bystander behavioral intentions is warranted.

Summary of Findings

The vignettes created for the study appeared to be useful in exploring men's behavioral intentions, and data collected using the vignettes corroborate qualitative studies' depictions of party gang rape as one in which masculine norms and masculinity threat are salient (Carlson, 2008; Franklin, 2004). Findings were encouraging for bystander intervention, with nearly all men reporting some intention to intervene. However, a population of men with a proclivity toward party gang rape was identified. Demographic characteristics and perceived masculine norms predicted categorization as intending to join in the assault, pointing to the relevance of sociocultural factors on party gang rape behavioral intentions. The data also suggest that men's intention to intervene and intention to join are unique constructs and not necessarily on a continuum. Specifically, some men endorsed both intention to intervene and join, and each construct was predicted by different factors. The behaviors also elicited different responses from men regarding how offenders might perceive a bystander. Conflicting intentions and ambivalence toward intervening may need to be specifically addressed in prevention programming.

A fruitful area of future research is in men's relationship with the offenders. In this study, responding to vignettes in which offenders were described as "some guys you know through school," resulted in reports that a typical college man would experience less negative affect in the situation. In turn, lower negative affect subscale scores predicted greater intention to intervene to stop the assault. Together, this implies men may actually feel less uncomfortable and

more able to intervene when in a party gang rape situation with men they know. Previous self-research supports this possibility (Burn, 2009).

Limitations & Future Directions

In addition to those described in preceding sections, other limitations to the study design suggest areas for improvement in future research.

Theoretical and statistical models. A considerable limitation to this study is the exclusion of individual difference variables in the model. The Theory of Planned Behavior posits that intention to engage in a behavior is predicted by the interaction between three constructs: one's attitude toward the behavior, the subjective norm for the behavior, and one's perceived control for effectively carrying out the behavior (Ajzen, 1991). Had I included a measure of men's own attitudes toward rape, an effect of perceived rape-supportive norms may have surfaced. Men who are already supportive of rape may be more likely to respond to normative pressure, for instance. Findings from an experimental study of the effect of rape norms on rape proclivity with German undergraduate men support this idea (Bohner, et al., 2006). Specifically, men who received fictitious feedback indicating that the rape myth acceptance of a group of students assessed during the previous year was high, reported higher rape myth acceptance and rape proclivity than men told the students' rape myth acceptance was low. The effect was particularly strong for those men with high pre-existing support for rape.

It would be equally valuable to assess men's own adherence to a traditional masculine gender role or the amount of stress associated with situations calling for masculine behavior. Effects of indicators of masculinity threat may only surface for those men that are particularly concerned with appearing masculine, for instance. In the computer harassment paradigm study

by Maass et al. (2003), men who self identified as highly masculine were most likely to sexually harass the female they interacted with under conditions of masculinity threat.

Besides the individual difference variables mentioned above, the Theory of Planned Behavior indicates bystander confidence in being able to carry out behavior as predictive of behavioral intentions. The bystander intervention literature suggests other relevant variables to include in a model of behavioral intention to intervene (Latane & Darley, 1970). Constructs previously shown to predict intervening in sexual assault situations include perceiving the situation as one in which the victim is harmed and needs assistance (i.e. empathy) and perceiving responsibility for intervening (Burn, 2009). The exclusion of relevant variables in the model can also result in inaccurate effect sizes, so findings from this study should be interpreted with caution. Increasing the number of variables in the model would also require increasing the sample size, particularly since I observed significance at the traditional $p < .05$ level for a number of analyses but not at the Bonferroni-corrected alpha level.

Methods used. The vignettes used in this study provided useful stimuli to which men could respond. However, the manipulations created for Aim 1 of the study were not sufficiently strong to warrant use of the vignettes to induce masculinity threat or accurately depict the relation to offenders. Further, the threat scenarios included calling the bystander a name that directly challenges the bystander's masculinity, however, future research would also benefit from including a condition to determine if an insult in general, unrelated to masculinity, would have an effect on the bystander's behavior.

It is unclear how masculinity threat cues could be made stronger in the written vignettes. However, the fact that many men misperceived the relation to offenders manipulation suggests the relationship with offenders could be better clarified. Describing the offenders in the known

condition as “some guys you know through school” may lead some men to believe the offenders are barely acquaintances he met briefly in a class. Even though many men misperceived the relation to offenders manipulation, there was still an observable effect of that variable on negative affect, implicating relation to offenders as an important variable for further exploration.

Alternatives to written vignettes, such as the use of virtual reality technology to create conditions, may result in improved masculinity threat manipulations and present other benefits to the research. Virtual reality is a computer-simulated, multi-sensory environment that can be useful in research to heighten the intensity of experimental stimuli relative to written vignettes and increase both the internal and external validity of a study by giving the researcher more control and potential to increase the real-world likeness of the stimuli (Pierce & Aguinis, 1997). Participants could be experimentally assigned to experience each of the scenarios described in this study using virtual technology. The immersive experience may provide a more potent threat manipulation. Further, participants could be allowed to carry out various bystander behaviors in the virtual environment (within reasonable, ethical limits), providing an alternative, and perhaps more ecologically valid, measure of bystander behavior. Assessing participants while they are in the virtual environment may provide a more accurate picture of men’s reactions to self-report following the reading of written vignettes. Although self-report measures of affect could be used, techniques such as the reading of muscle contractions in the face (i.e. electromyographic activity over facial muscle regions; Cacioppo, Petty, Losch, & Kim, 1986) may be particularly useful alongside virtual reality technology as reading facial muscle activity can be used to assess the intensity and valence (positive versus negative) of emotional reactions outside of participant’s awareness and control.

A limitation in the design used in this study was the absence of counterbalancing to control for order effects of measures. All participants were given measures in the same order. Of particular concern is the placement of indicators of masculinity threat. These items followed the perceived masculine and rape-supportive norms measured and may have been primed by responses to previous questions. Further, responses to the item inquiring about an intervening bystander may have been influenced by responses about a bystander that did not join.

Although I employed multiple measures of masculinity threat, some of the measures used could be improved upon. Specifically, as no measure to assess masculinity threat in the party gang rape context exists, I created single items to assess concern about appearing masculine in general and concern about appearing weak for not joining. The use of multiple items over a single item to measure a construct is generally preferred, as multiple item measures tend to have greater reliability. A scale to assess concern about appearing masculine could inquire about multiple elements of the masculine gender role, rather than inquire about masculinity, in general, as was done in this study.

Although masculinity threat is a salient construct in the perpetration literature, I found no measure or manipulation check to assess threat associated with specific situations. The closest measures to this construct are those that assess stress or conflict associated with conforming to the masculine gender role in general (Eisler & Blalock, 1991; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). However, these measures reflect individual difference variables that men carry with them from situation to situation. There is a need for a measure to assess the experience of threat in response to a specific situation. Better articulation of what masculinity threat looks like cognitively and affectively can assist in such development. Future work would benefit from qualitative work with men to better understand men’s experience of masculinity threat.

All indicators of masculinity threat, with exception of the open-ended questions, specifically referred to how a typical college man would react rather than the participant himself. This was intended to decrease social desirability effects and gain clarity on how normative any perceived threat is expected to be for college men. However, not asking about men's own reaction may make findings with regards to indicators of masculinity threat less relevant to men's own bystander behavioral intentions. It is possible that men perceive the situations as concerning for a typical college man but not experience this concern themselves.

The measure of bystander behavioral intentions was developed specifically for this study using a method similar to Banyard et al.'s (2007). All items were considerably skewed. The intention to intervene scale had to be transformed to correct for negative skew before being used in linear regression. Given the highly skewed nature of the two items included in the measure that reflected intention to join, I created a dichotomous variable for use in logistic regression that categorized men as having either any intention or no intention to join. The addition of more joining items could improve the measurement of this construct. Further, I did not have sufficient sample size to more closely examine how men reporting intention to join in the assault by watching might differ from those men reporting an intention to join by assaulting the victim. However, it is reasonable to expect bystanders to perceive these as unique behaviors and for each to be predicted by unique factors. For instance, it may be that men are influenced by social norms to stay and watch the assault but that men who assault the victim have characteristics more similar to perpetrators.

Intention to do nothing (i.e. neither intervene nor join) is a third type of behavior not specifically examined in this study. To provide exhaustive behavioral options to participants I inquired about the intention to "close the door and return to the party," essentially neither

intervening nor joining. Many men endorsed the item, indicating that it is also a unique behavioral option for bystanders. It is not entirely clear what it means to bystanders to neither intervene nor join in the assault, or what variables might predict this behavioral intention. Of course, one aspect of the behavior includes intention to not join in the assault, which this study suggests can be influenced by demographic factors and perceived norms. However, the behavioral option to "do nothing" also includes the intention to not intervene alongside the option of not joining. In that sense, the option is a combination of two constructs. The item may identify a unique group of men who neither have a proclivity towards rape nor represent potential intervening bystanders. It would be useful to explore if doing nothing presents as a unique construct for men and what might predict intention to do nothing. Of course, doing nothing is functionally the same as not intervening, an undesirable outcome for bystander intervention programs.

Implications for Bystander Intervention Prevention Programs

Bystander intervention approaches use a strengths-based, non-confrontational approach to promote social change. The fact that the majority of men in this study reported they would be willing to intervene to stop a party gang rape supports approaching men as potential allies in prevention. The import of the present study is largely in identifying future research directions specified in previous sections; however, some implications for bystander intervention prevention programs are warranted. Specifically, men's bystander behavioral intentions, a likely predictor of their actual behavior, appear to be influenced by situational and sociocultural factors.

Pressure to conform to a masculine gender role may increase men's intention to join in a party gang rape situation. In his discussion of fostering men's responsibility for sexual assault prevention, Berkowitz (2002) points out that when men hear and see the behavior of their peers,

they believe it is indicative of these men's true adherence to an idealized version of masculinity; however, these men may actually be uncomfortable with their behavior and struggling to sustain a masculine image. Interventions that integrate a social norms approach may be useful to address possible misinterpretation of norms as more supportive of a traditional masculinity than the norms actually are (Fabiano et al., 2003). Interventions may also benefit from discussion with men about how men define their own masculinity and how it may impact their behavior (Berkowitz, 2002).

Cultural competence of programs cannot be ignored. Alongside discussions of masculinity, findings indicate that racial/ethnic variables are important to consider. In this study, race/ethnicity predicted men's intention to go along with the assault. Social pressures, including the importance of conforming to a masculine gender role, are likely distinct across cultural groups. Concerns about retaliation are indicated by my findings, but concerns about retaliation may not function similarly across groups. For instance, anti-snitching campaigns may result in more concern about retaliation among African American students than Caucasian students.

Findings suggest retaliation may be a concern for an intervening bystander. Bystander intervention programs may need to address these concerns directly and teach men how to cope with the various types of retaliation they may experience. These concerns may be less present when men know the offenders involved. Discussions may need to address the unique concerns about intervening with friends versus strangers.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to better understand the effect of situational factors on college men's bystander behavioral intentions in a party gang rape situation; given that college students are at-risk for sexual assault and are frequent recipients of sexual assault prevention

programming. Findings are encouraging for bystander intervention, identifying most men as willing to intervene; however, situational and sociocultural barriers to intervention appear to exist. The work of bystander intervention programs is invaluable in addressing these barriers and advancing the prevention of sexual assault.

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Appendices

Appendix A

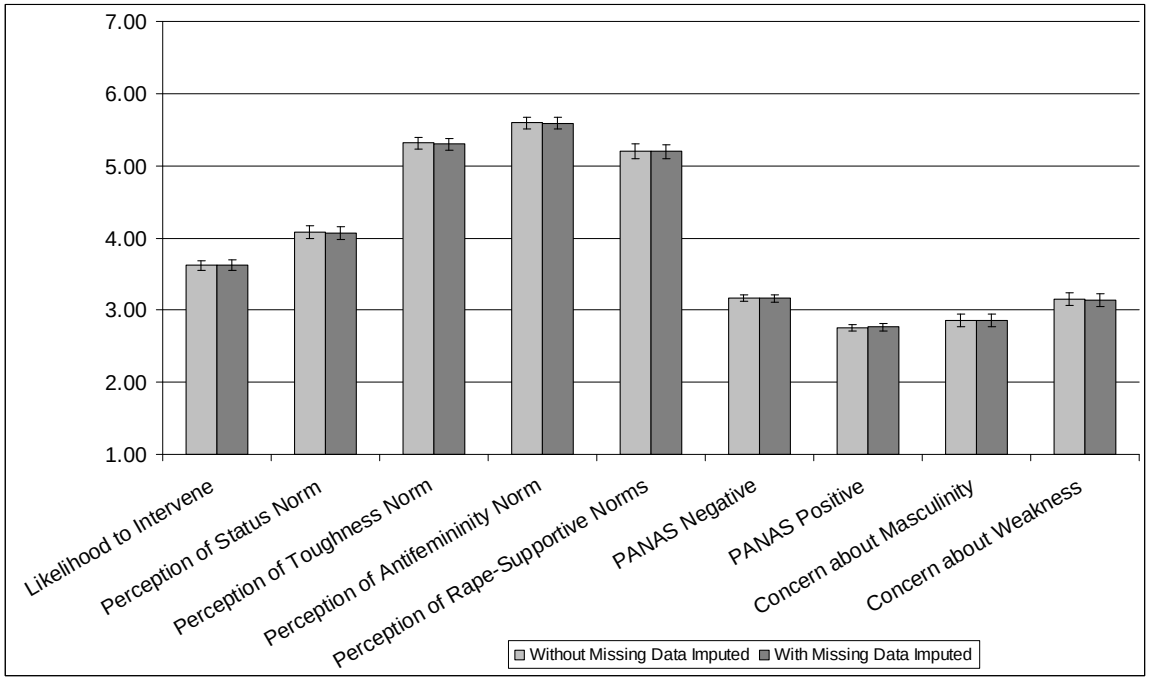
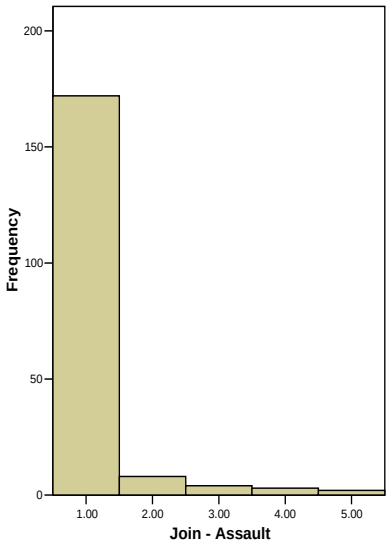


Figure 6.1. Means and 95% Confidence Intervals for Quantitative Variables with and without Missing Data Imputed. *N* = 189.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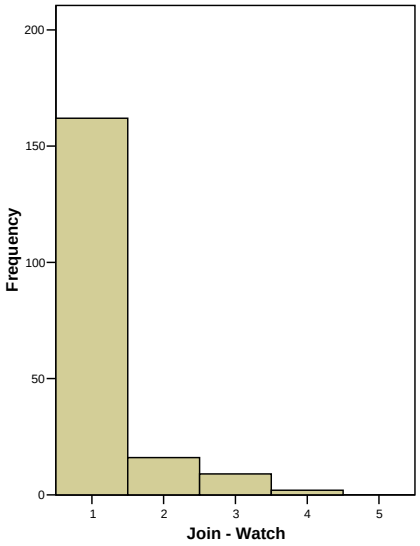
Join - Assault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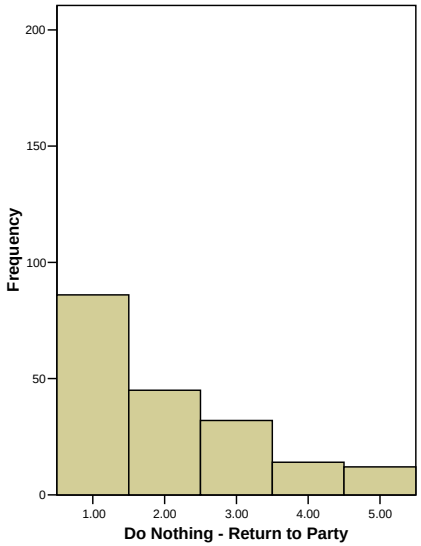
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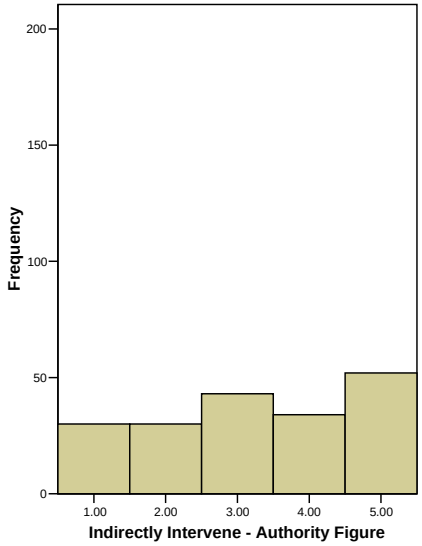
Do Nothing - Return to Party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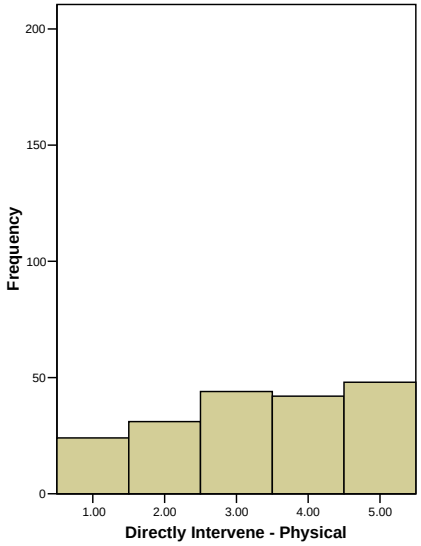
Indirectly Intervene - Authority Figure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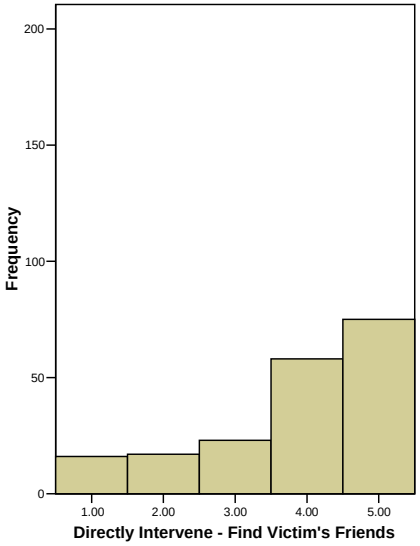
Directly Intervene - Physical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Directly Intervene - Find Victim's Friends

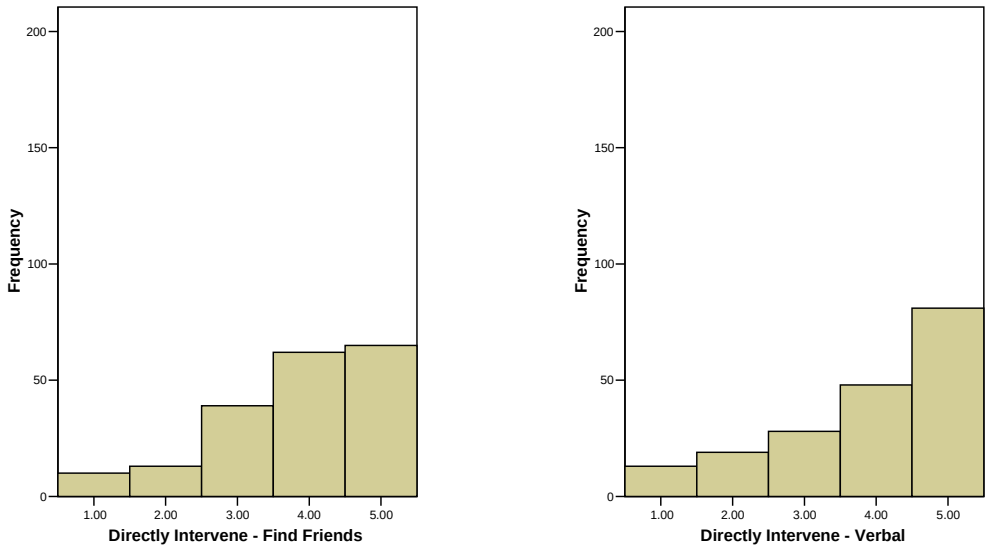

Figure 6.2. Histograms of Each Bystander Behavioral Intention Item. *N* = 189.

Table 6.1

Bystander Behavioral Intentions Items

	Variable Name	Item
1	Directly Intervene-Verbal	Go in the room and tell the guys to stop what they are doing.
2	Indirect Intervene-Find Victim's Friends	Go back to the party and find the woman's friends and tell them what is happening.
3	Join-Assault	Go in the room and wait my turn to have sex with the woman.
4	Directly Intervene-Physical	Go in the room and try to physically stop what is going on.
5	Join-Watch	Go in the room and watch the other guys have sex with the woman.
6	Indirect Intervene-Authority Figure	Close the door and call an authority figure to let them know what is happening (e.g., the police or dorm rep).
7	Do Nothing – Return to Party	Close the door and return to the party.
8	Directly Intervene-Find Friends	Go back to the party and find a friend or friends to help me stop what is happening.

Note. Instructions read, "Please read the following list of things you might do next. Circle the number corresponding to how likely you would be to do each of these things." 1 = Not at all likely, 5 = Extremely likely.

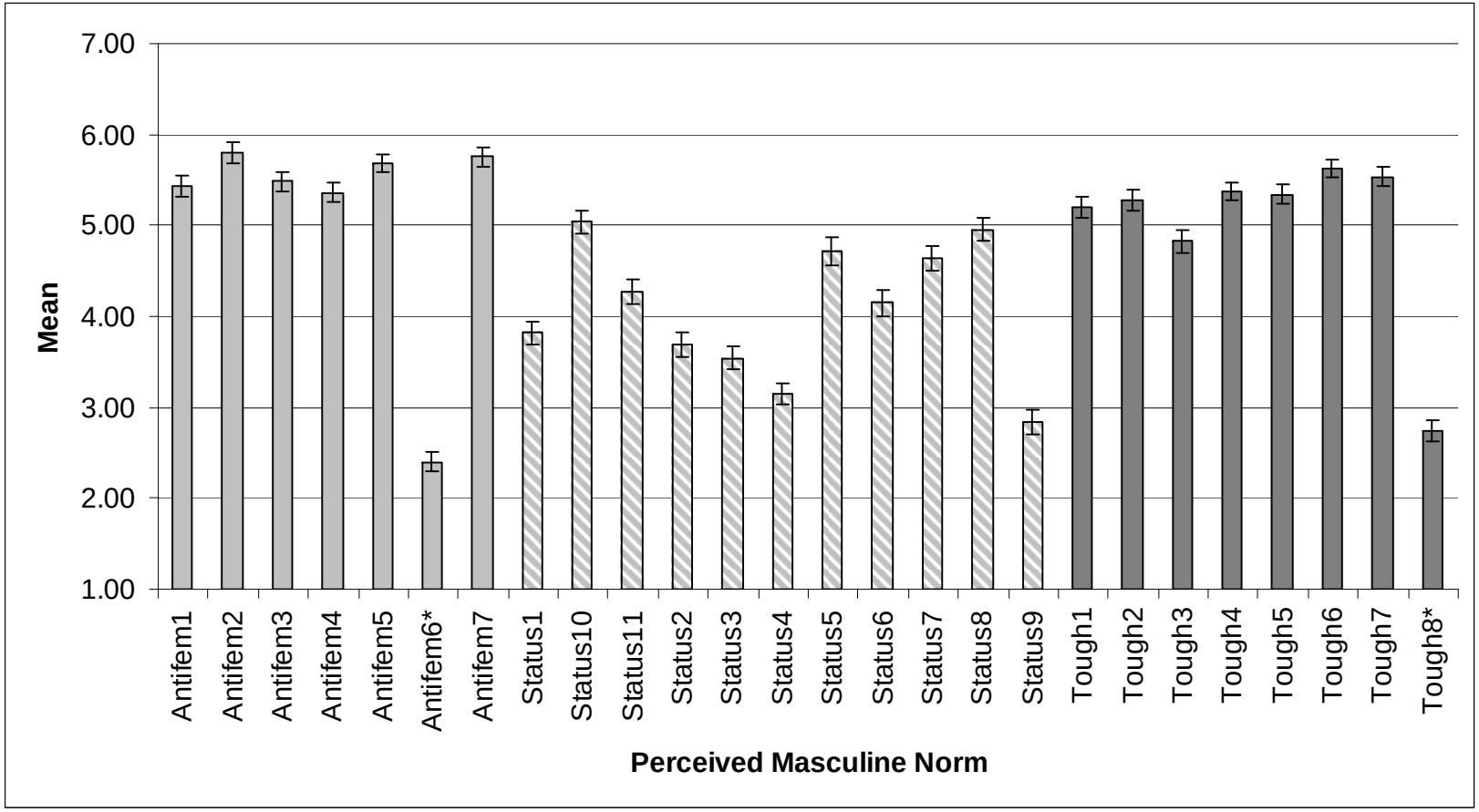

Figure 6.3. Means and 95% Confidence Intervals for Perceived Adherence to Masculine Norms Items. *N* = 189. 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree. *Items are reverse scored when calculating scales.

Table 6.2

Perceived Adherence to Masculine Norms Items

	Antifemininity Scale
Antifem1	It bothers them when a man does something that they consider "feminine."
Antifem2	A man whose hobbies are cooking, sewing, and going to the ballet probably wouldn't appeal to them.
Antifem3	It is a bit embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman.
Antifem4	Unless he was really desperate, they would probably advise a man to keep looking rather than accept a job as a secretary.
Antifem5	If they heard about a man who was a hairdresser and a gourmet cook, they might wonder how masculine he was.
Antifem6*	They think it is extremely good for a boy to be taught to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of younger children.
Antifem7	They might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie.
	Status Scale
Status1	Success in his work has to be a man's central goal in this life.
Status2	The best way for a young man to get the respect of other people is to get a job, take it seriously and do it well.
Status3	A man owes it to his family to work at the best-paying job he can get.
Status4	A man should generally work overtime to make more money whenever he has the chance.
Status5	A man always deserves the respect of his wife and children.
Status6	It is essential for a man to always have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows him.
Status7	A man should never back down in the face of trouble.
Status8	They always like a man who's totally sure of himself.
Status9	A man should always think everything out coolly and logically, and have rational reasons for everything he does.
Status10	A man should always try to project an air of confidence even if he really doesn't feel confident inside.
Status11	A man must stand on his own two feet and never depend on other people to help him do things.
	Toughness Scale
Tough1	When a man is feeling a little pain he should try not to let it show very much.
Tough2	Nobody respects a man very much who frequently talks about his worries, fears, and problems.

Tough3	A good motto for a man would be "when the going gets tough, the tough get going."
Tough4	They think a young man should try to become physically tough, even if he is not big.
Tough5	Fists are sometimes the only way to get out of a bad situation.
Tough6	A real man enjoys a bit of danger now and then.
Tough7	In some kinds of situations, a man should be ready to use his fists, even if his wife or his girlfriend would object.
Tough8*	A man should always refuse to get into a fight, even if there seems to be no way to avoid it.

*Items are reverse scored when calculating scales.

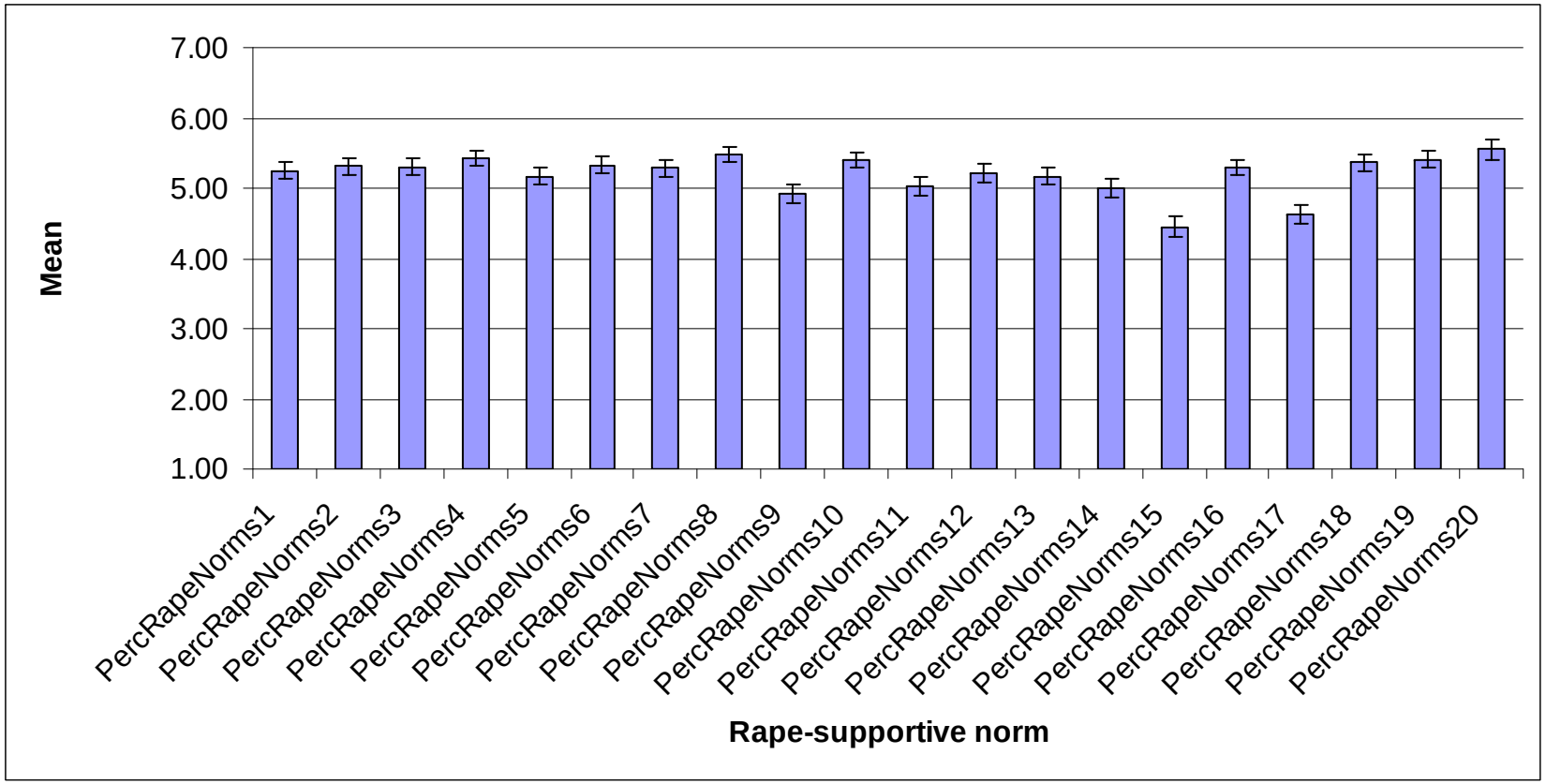

Figure 6.4. Means and 95% Confidence Intervals for Perceived Adherence to Rape-Supportive Norms. *N* = 189. 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree.

Table 6.3

Perceived Adherence to Rape-Supportive Norms Items.

PercRapeNorms1	When women talk and act sexy, they are inviting rape.
PercRapeNorms2	When a woman is raped, she usually did something careless to put herself in that situation.
PercRapeNorms3	Any woman who teases a man sexually and doesn't finish what she started realistically deserves anything she gets.
PercRapeNorms4	Many rapes happen because women lead men on.
PercRapeNorms5	Men don't usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away.
PercRapeNorms6	In some rape cases, the woman actually wanted it to happen.
PercRapeNorms7	Even though the woman may call it rape, she probably enjoyed it.
PercRapeNorms8	If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was a rape.
PercRapeNorms9	A rape probably didn't happen if the woman has no bruises or marks.
PercRapeNorms10	When a woman allows petting to get to a certain point, she is implicitly agreeing to have sex.
PercRapeNorms11	If a woman is raped, often it's because she didn't say "no" clearly enough.
PercRapeNorms12	Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them.
PercRapeNorms13	When men rape, it is because of their strong desire for sex.
PercRapeNorms14	It is just part of human nature for men to take sex from women who let their guard down.
PercRapeNorms15	A rapist is more likely to be Black or Hispanic than White.
PercRapeNorms16	In any rape case one would have to question whether the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.
PercRapeNorms17	Rape mainly occurs on the "bad" side of town.
PercRapeNorms18	Many so-called rape victims are actually women who had sex and "changed their minds" afterwards.
PercRapeNorms19	If a husband pays all the bills, he has the right to sex with his wife whenever he wants.
PercRapeNorms20*	A woman that is passed out at a party is fair game to have sex with.

Note. 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree.
*Item added to the original scale for this study.

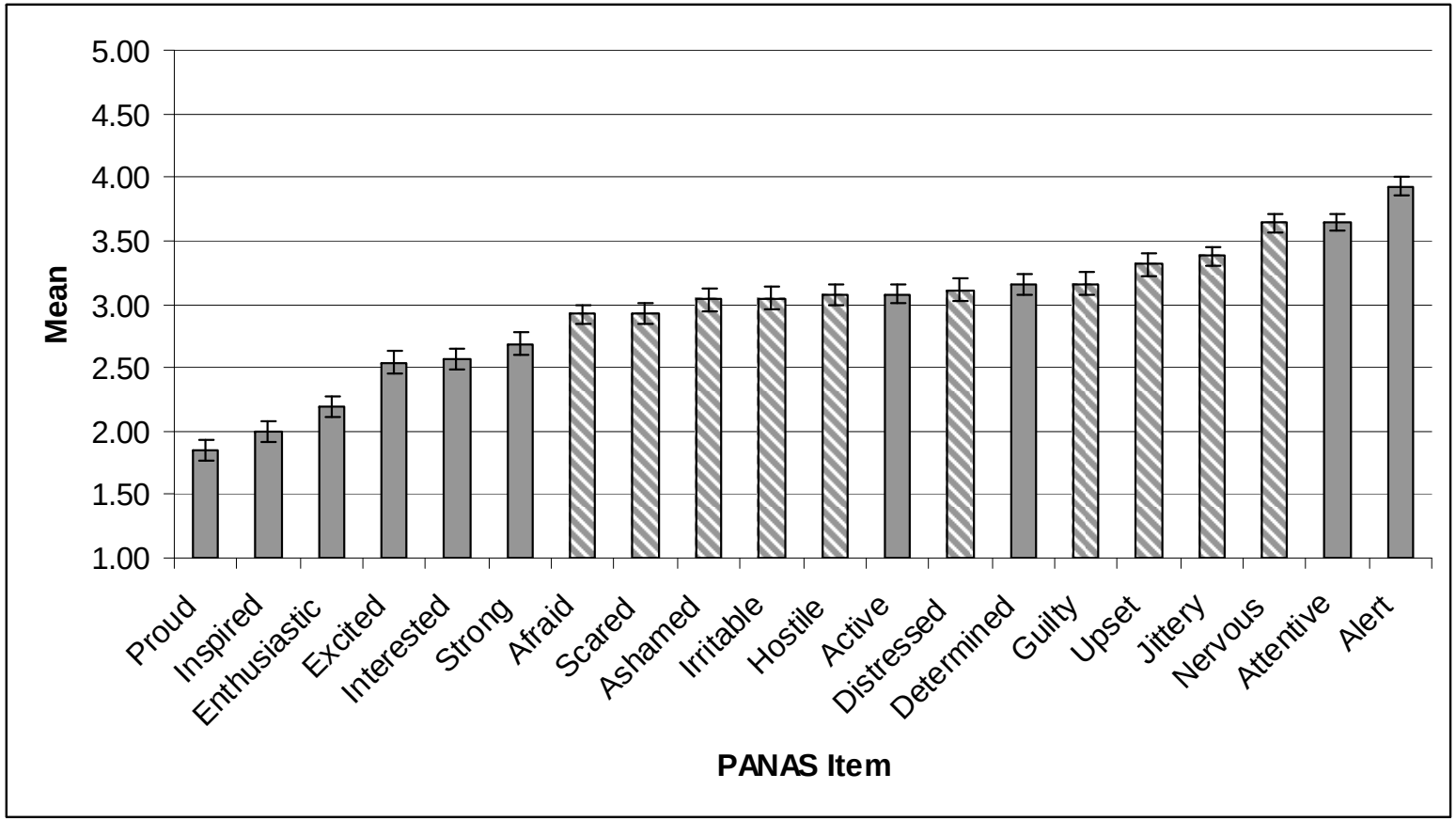

Figure 6.5. Means and 95% Confidence Intervals for Positive and Negative Affect Items. *N* = 189. Solid bars represent positive affect items; striped bars represent negative affect items. 1 = very slightly or not at all, 2 = a little, 3 = moderately, 4 = quite a bit, and 5 = extremely.

Appendix B

Codebook for Responses to:

"What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who did not join them?"

The purpose of this question is to better understand what a bystander (college man) expects the offenders committing the party gang rape to be thinking about him if he did not participate.

Purpose of coding:
To identify themes that reflect the offenders' perceptions of a bystander that does not join in the assault.
Keep in mind as you code that I am interested in characteristics assigned to the bystander by the offending men and not the other actions or thoughts of the offending men. I am also not interested in the personal beliefs or thoughts of the participant other than the participant's beliefs about what the offending men are thinking about the bystander.

The Nature of the Themes:

- The themes reflect perceptions of the bystander. The only theme that does not reflect the other men's perception off the bystander himself is "irrelevant," which signifies that the other men do not care about the bystander at all.
- The themes are placed into hierarchical categories designed to identify distinct characteristics of the bystander that are mentioned.
    - The subcategories under the "Unmasculine" category are expected to be related since they refer to aspects of masculinity. For instance, being like females does often mean that a man is considered "weak," but in this coding scheme, you want to code based on what the participant actually said. You should code the aspect of the bystander that is explicitly mentioned. If the participant reports the offending men think the bystander is feminine, then code based on that explicit reference to femininity. If the participant mentions weakness, code under coward.
- You should not infer perceptions based on the other men's behavior or other thoughts. E.g. "They would probably start to get angry towards him" cannot be coded in this coding scheme as there is no indication of what exactly their perception of the bystander would be.
    - The exception to this rule is when the participant indicates that the offenders would verbalize something that indicates how they see the bystander. For example, "they would demean him" or "they would call him a pussy" can be coded because these verbalizations indicate a perception of the bystander (in this case, as inferior and weak, respectively).
- One response may include multiple themes. Code all that are present.

Instructions:
The following are the categories of themes identified in the responses. Each response is reviewed for the presence of each theme. Use the codes below to indicate that a theme is present. Do not add a code for themes that are not present.

Example Response and Code:
Response: "They would think he was a wimp and afraid to get caught"
Code(s): Unmasculine-coward-weak
Unmasculine-coward-afraid

Themes to Code & Definitions for Each:

Themes			
Bystander as:			
Unmasculine			This category includes perceptions of the bystander as not masculine.
	General		This category includes reference to the bystander as unmasculine or unmanly. References to the bystander as a pansy should go here since a pansy means a generally unmanly man and incorporates many of the features below. E.g., "They would think he is unmanly."
	Coward		This category includes references to the bystander as cowardly. A coward is "a person who lacks courage in facing danger, difficulty, opposition, pain, etc.; a timid or easily intimidated person."
		General	This category includes reference to the bystander as a coward E.g., "They would think he is a coward."
		weak	This category includes specific reference to the bystander as weak. This includes references to him as a pussy, sissy, wimp, etc. E.g. "They would most likely view the man as a sissy."
		afraid	This category includes specific reference to the bystander as afraid or fearful. E.g., "That he is scared."
	Feminine		This category includes explicit reference to the bystander as like females or feminine. E.g., "That he was feminine and…"
	Not Playboy		This category includes reference to the bystander as not fun or not interested in having a good time. E.g., "They are missing out on a good time." E.g., "He is no fun"
	Not Heterosexual		This category includes reference to the bystander as not heterosexual or "straight." Sexual orientation is distinct from sexual activity. Sexual activity-related responses have a separate code.
		not-hetero/general	This category includes specific reference to the bystander as not heterosexual (does not indicate an alternative orientation). This also includes

			references to the other men “questioning” the bystander’s heterosexuality. E.g., “…he wasn’t a heterosexual guy.”
		gay	This category includes specific reference to the bystander as homosexual or gay. Include derogatory references to homosexuality here as well. E.g., “That he was gay.”
	Chaste	This category includes reference to the bystander as not sexually experienced, active or not interested in sex. E.g., “They would think he was a virgin.”	
Disparaging terms	This category includes disparaging references to the bystander’s character, not otherwise captured by other categories, such as that he is of lesser status or worth and/or unlikable or “bad” person. This category include references to the bystander such as “loser,” “punk,” “nerd,” or “uncool” as well as general comments that the other men would think less of the bystander. This category also includes general references to the bystander as unlikable or hateful, including slang terms that characterize him as unlikable (e.g., a “jerk”). Some terms used by participants may cover both of these concepts. E.g., “They would look down upon him” E.g., “I think they would think of him to be lame.” E.g., “Wouldn't like him.” Previously the “inferior” category and was broadened to include ideas of contempt.		
Outsider	This category includes reference to the bystander as an outsider to the group, does not belong, or is different from the offenders. This is distinct from considering him “unmanly” as it is a direct reference to the group in the room and not men in general (which would fit in “unmasculine”). E.g., “They would think he was not one of them”		
Respectable	This category includes reference to the bystander as gaining the respect of the offenders or as respectable. E.g., “They would probably respect him.”		
Moral	This category includes reference to the bystander as moral, attempting to be virtuous, or concerned with doing the right thing.		
	Moral in general/do-gooder	This category includes references to the bystanders as a moral or a do-gooder and someone who abides the rules, does not want to commit a crime, and who is motivated to do the right thing. E.g., “They would think he has morals.”	
	overly moral	This category includes specific reference to the bystander as overly moral, or one who sees themselves as superior because of their morality. The bystander is a “goody two-shoes” E.g., “That he was holier than thou”	
Threatening		This category includes reference to the bystander as a threat. Usually it is indicated that the bystander will tell	

		on the offenders. This category also includes reference to the bystander as a “snitch.”
	General	This category includes a general reference to the bystander as a threat. E.g., “They would see him as a threat.”
	Tell on	This category reflects statements that the bystander will tell on the offending men. E.g., “That he might bring the cops.” E.g., “That he is a snitch”
	Traitor	This category includes reference to the bystander as a traitor. E.g., “… is a traitor.”
Reprehensible		This category includes references to the bystander as deserving of punishment. E.g., “That he should get his ass kicked.”
Psychologically Disturbed		This category includes references to the bystander as disturbed, crazy, or that something is wrong with him. E.g., “They would think he was crazy.”
Irrelevant		This category includes references to the bystander is irrelevant to the other men, or that they do not care about his presence or would ignore him. E.g., “The men probably wouldn't care much about the other guy who saw them. They would continue on what they were doing.”

Codebook for Responses to:

"What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who tried to stop them?"

The purpose of this question is to better understand what a bystander (college man) expects the offenders committing the party gang rape to be thinking about him if he tries to intervene.

Purpose of coding:

1. To identify themes that reflect the offenders' perceptions of a bystander that tries to intervene to stop the assault.
   For this purpose, I am interested in characteristics assigned to the bystander by the offending men and not the other actions or thoughts of the offending men. I am also not interested in the personal beliefs or thoughts of the participant other than the participant's beliefs about what the offending men are thinking about the bystander.
2. Capture other salient aspects of the offending men's reaction to the bystander that emerged.

The Nature of the Themes:

There are two types of themes coded for:

1. Themes reflecting perceptions of the bystander.
2. Themes reflecting the offending men's reactions to the bystander.

- There is one theme to reflect that the bystander himself is "irrelevant," which signifies that the other men do not care about the bystander at all.
- The themes are placed into hierarchical categories designed to identify distinct characteristics or attitudes mentioned. Subcategories are expected to be related.
- The subcategories under the "Unmasculine" category are expected to be related since they refer to aspects of masculinity. For instance, being like females does often mean that a man is considered "weak," but in this coding scheme, you want to code based on what the participant actually said. You should code the aspect of the bystander that is explicitly mentioned. If the participant reports the offending men think the bystander is feminine, then code based on that explicit reference to femininity. If the participant mentions weakness, code under coward.
- For theme type 1, you should not infer perceptions based on the other men's behavior or other thoughts. E.g. "They would probably start to get angry towards him" cannot be coded in this coding scheme as there is no indication of what exactly their perception of the bystander would be.
  - The exception to this rule is when the participant indicates that the offenders would verbalize something that indicates how they see the bystander. For example, "they would demean him" or "they would call him a pussy" can

be coded because these verbalizations indicate a perception of the bystander (in this case, as inferior and weak, respectively).

- One response may include multiple themes. Code all that are present.

Instructions:
The following are the categories of themes identified in the responses. Each response is reviewed for the presence of each theme. Use the codes below to indicate that a theme is present. Do not add a code for themes that are not present.

Example Response and Code:
Response: "They would think he was a wimp and afraid to get caught"
Code(s): Unmasculine-coward-weak
Unmasculine-coward-afraid

Themes to Code & Definitions for Each:

Themes		
Bystander as:		
Masculine		This category includes reference to the bystander as behaving in a masculine way or as manly.
	General	This category includes reference to the bystander as behaving in a masculine way or as manly in general. E.g., "They would think he was being a man."
	Macho	This category includes reference to the bystander as behaving in a macho or hypermasculine fashion. E.g., "That he is trying to be macho."

	Chivalrous		This category includes reference to the bystander as behaving in being chivalrous or protecting of women. E.g., "…thinks he is better than the others because he respects women and stuff." E.g., "That he is trying to be chivalrous."
Unmasculine			This category includes perceptions of the bystander as not masculine.
	General		This category includes reference to the bystander as unmasculine or unmanly. References to the bystander as a pansy should go here since a pansy means a generally unmanly man and incorporates many of the features below. E.g., "They would think he is unmanly."
	Coward		This category includes references to the bystander as cowardly. A coward is "a person who lacks courage in facing danger, difficulty, opposition, pain, etc.; a timid or easily intimidated person."
		General	This category includes reference to the bystander as a coward E.g., "They would think he is a coward."
		weak	This category includes specific reference to the bystander as weak. This includes references to him as a pussy, sissy, wimp, etc. E.g. "They would most likely view the man as a sissy."
		afraid	This category includes specific reference to the bystander as afraid or fearful. E.g., "That he is scared."
	Feminine		This category includes explicit reference to the bystander as like females or feminine. E.g., "That he was feminine and…"
	Not playboy		This category includes reference to the bystander as not fun or not interested in having a good time. E.g., "They are missing out on a good time." E.g., "He is no fun."
	Not Heterosexual		This category includes reference to the bystander as not heterosexual or "straight." Sexual orientation is distinct from sexual activity. Sexual activity-related responses have a separate code.

<table>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>not-hetero/general</td><td>This category includes specific reference to the bystander as not heterosexual (does not indicate an alternative orientation). This also includes references to the other men “questioning” the bystander’s heterosexuality.
E.g., “…he wasn’t a heterosexual guy.”</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>gay</td><td>This category includes specific reference to the bystander as homosexual or gay. Include derogatory references to homosexuality here as well.
E.g., “That he was gay.”</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Chaste</td><td colspan="2">This category includes reference to the bystander as not sexually experienced, active or not interested in sex.
E.g., “They would think he was a virgin.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>Disparaging terms</td><td colspan="3">This category includes disparaging references to the bystander’s character, not otherwise captured by other categories, such as that he is of lesser status or worth and/or unlikable or “bad” person. This category include references to the bystander such as “loser,” “punk,” “nerd,” or “uncool” as well as general comments that the other men would think less of the bystander. This category also includes general references to the bystander as unlikable or hateful, including slang terms that characterize him as unlikable (e.g., a “jerk”). Some terms used by participants may cover both of these concepts.
E.g., “They would look down upon him.”
E.g., “I think they would think of him to be lame.”
E.g., “Wouldn't like him.”
This category used to be two categories. “Inferior” and “Contemptible” were difficult to tell apart and became one category.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Outsider</td><td colspan="3">This category includes reference to the bystander as an outsider to the group, does not belong, or is different from the offenders. This is distinct from considering him “unmanly” as it is a direct reference to the group in the room and not men in general (which would fit in “unmasculine”).
E.g., “They would think he was not one of them.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>Respectable</td><td colspan="3">This category includes reference to the bystander as gaining the respect of the offenders or as respectable.
E.g., “They would probably respect him.”</td></tr>
<tr><td>Moral</td><td colspan="3">This category includes reference to the bystander as moral, attempting to be virtuous, or concerned with doing the right thing.</td></tr>
</table>

	Moral in general/do-gooder	This category includes references to the bystanders as a moral or a do-gooder and someone who abides the rules, does not want to commit a crime, and who is motivated to do the right thing. E.g., “They would think he has morals.”
	overly moral	This category includes specific reference to the bystander as overly moral, or one who sees themselves as superior because of their morality. The bystander is a “goody two-shoes.” E.g., “That he was holier than thou.”
Trying to be a hero		This category includes reference to the bystander as trying to be a hero. E.g., “They would probably think he's trying to be a hero.”
Nuisance		This category includes reference to the bystander as a nuisance or annoying, or that they offenders are annoyed by the bystander. E.g., “That he is annoying.”
Threatening		This category includes reference to the bystander as a threat to the offenders or the assault.
	General	This category includes a general reference to the bystander as a threat or to be feared. E.g., “They would see him as a threat.”
	Tell on	This category reflects statements that the bystander will tell on the offending men. E.g., “That he might bring the cops.” E.g., “That he is a snitch”
	Traitor	This category includes reference to the bystander as a traitor. E.g., “… is a traitor.”
	Enemy	This category includes reference to the bystander as an enemy
	Ruining Fun	This category includes references to the bystander as ruining the offenders’ fun or getting in the way of a good time. E.g., “A buzz kill” E.g, “…wants to ruin their fun.”
Covetous		This category includes reference to the bystander as jealous of the offenders or as wanting the victim for himself. E.g., “He is a hater and mad that he didn't find her first.”

Feelings for victim	This category includes references to the bystander as caring for or wanting to protect the victim. E.g., “That he probably had a thing for the victim.”
Reprehensible	This category includes references to the bystander as deserving of punishment. E.g., “That he should get his ass kicked.”
Psychologically Disturbed	This category includes references to the bystander as disturbed, crazy, or that something is wrong with him. E.g., “They would think he was crazy.”
Irrelevant	This category includes references to the bystander is irrelevant to the other men, or that they do not care about his presence or would ignore him. E.g., “The men probably wouldn't care much about the other guy who saw them. They would continue on what they were doing.”

Themes	
Offenders as	
Aware they are wrong	This category includes reference to the offenders knowing they are in the wrong or should not be doing what they are doing. This also includes reference to the bystander as right. E.g., “As they know what they are doing is technically wrong, they would try to defend it.”
Hostile	This category includes reference to the offenders as hostile or angry with the bystander. E.g., “The would be mad at him.”
Defensive	This category includes reference to the offenders as becoming defensive. E.g., “They would become defensive.”
Retaliatory	This category includes references to the offenders retaliating against the bystander. This can be general, physical, or verbal. E.g., “They would most likely gang up on him.” (it is unclear *how* they will gang up on him) E.g., “That this fool was about to get beat up.” E.g., “They would ridicule him and…”
Cease	This category includes specific reference to the offenders as stopping the assault. E.g., “…they may panic and get out.”

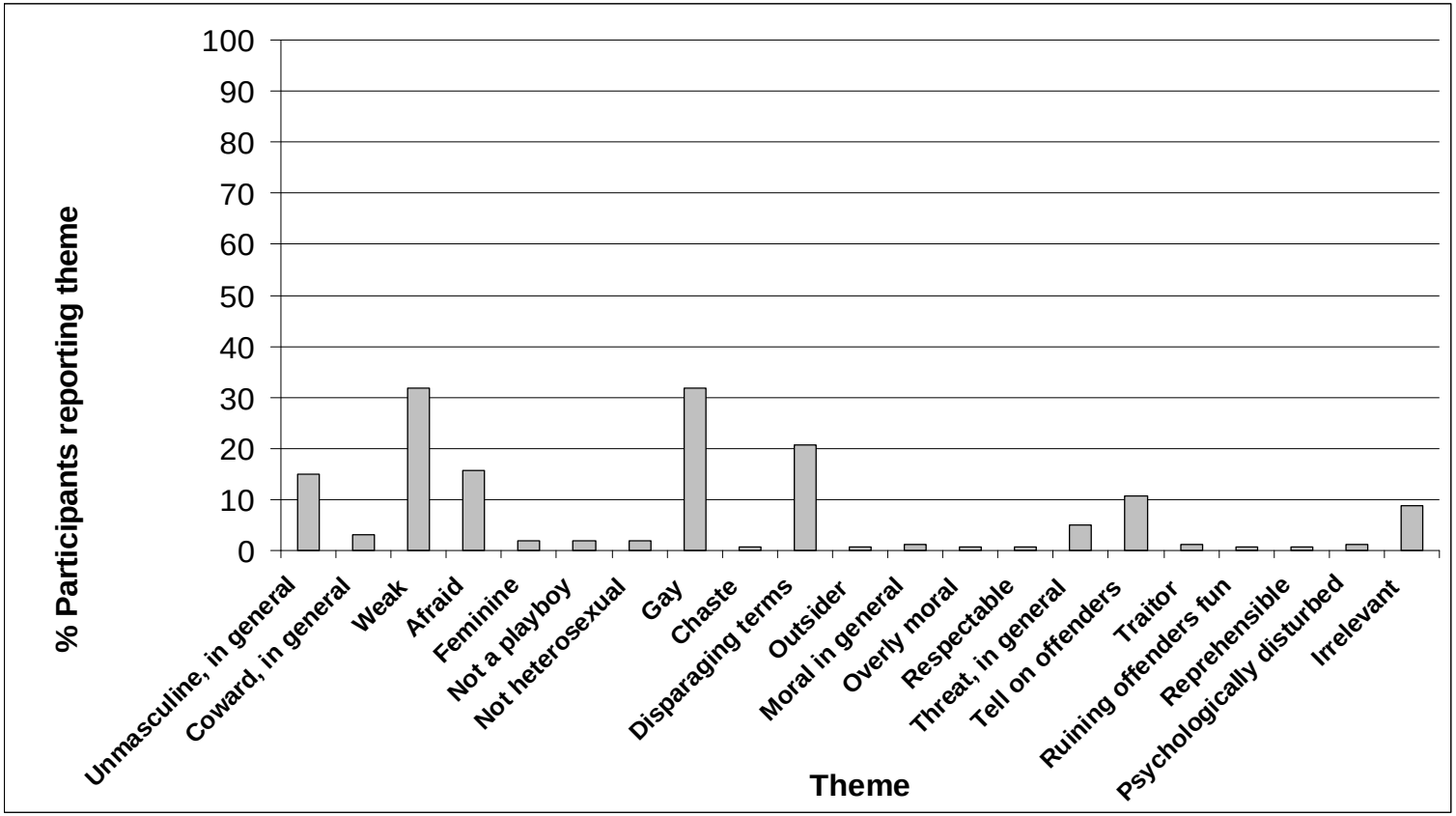

Figure 6.6. Percent of Participants reporting each Theme in Responses to "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who did not join them?" $N = 160$.

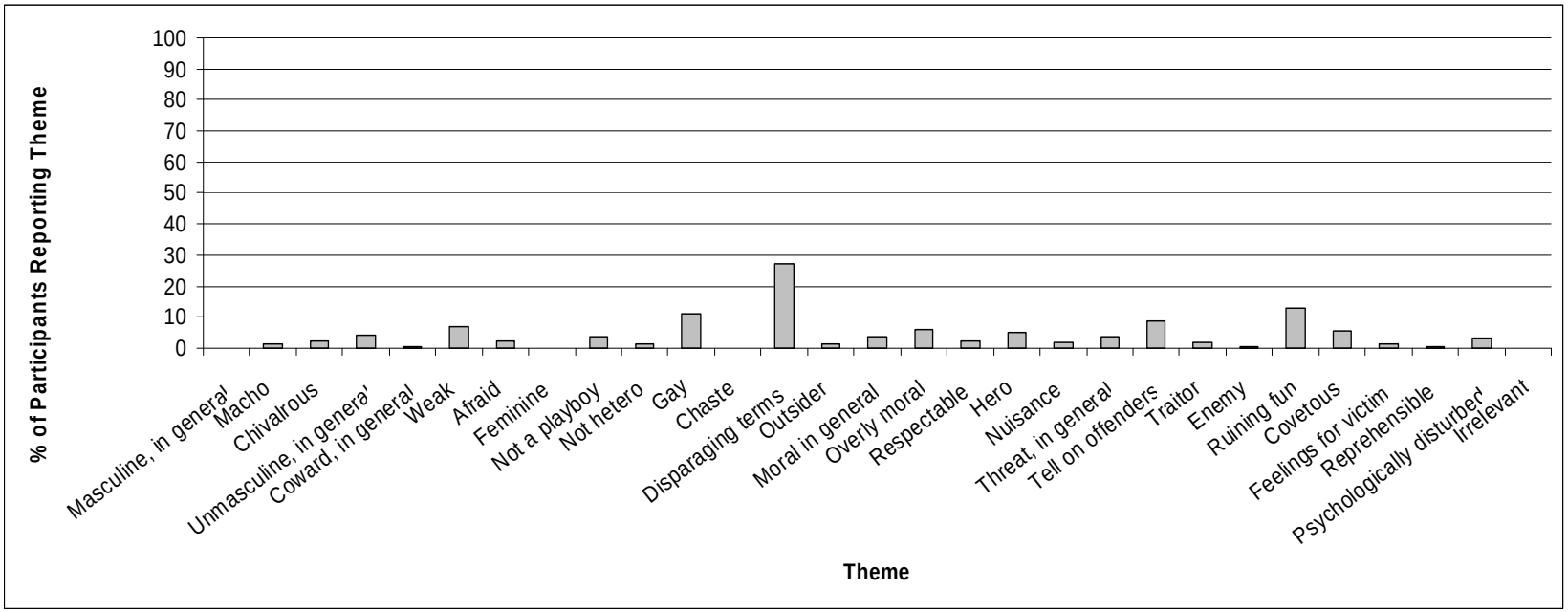

Figure 6.7. Percent of Participants reporting each Theme about the Bystander in Responses to "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who tried to stop them?" *N* = 163.

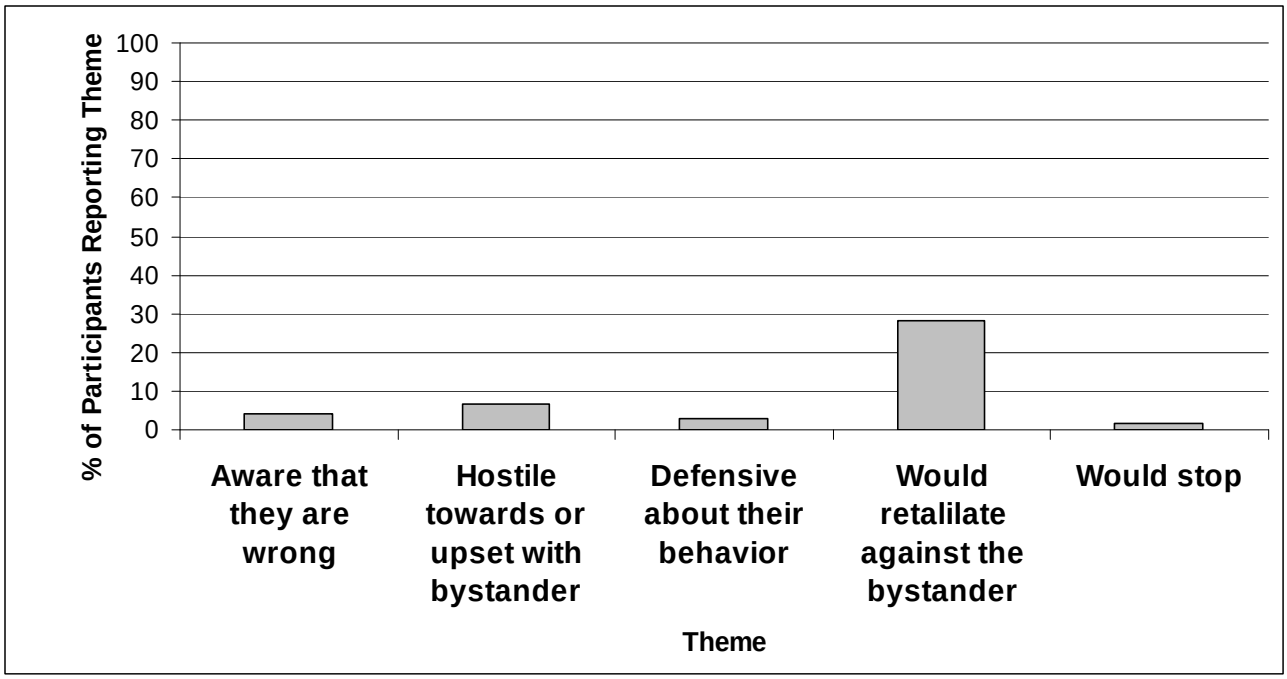

Figure 6.8. Percent of Participants reporting each Theme about the Offenders in Responses to "What do you think the men in the scenario would think about a guy who tried to stop them?" *N* = 163.