Secondary and 2-Year Outcomes of a Sexual Assault Resistance Program for University Women

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Abstract

We report the secondary outcomes and longevity of efficacy from a randomized controlled trial that evaluated a novel sexual assault resistance program designed for first-year women university students. Participants (N = 893) were randomly assigned to receive the Enhanced Assess, Acknowledge, Act (EAAA) program or a selection of brochures (control). Perception of personal risk, self-defense self-efficacy, and rape myth acceptance was assessed at baseline; 1-week postintervention; and 6-, 12-, 18-, and 24-month postrandomization. Risk detection was assessed at 1 week, 6 months, and 12 months. Sexual assault experience and knowledge of effective resistance strategies were assessed at all follow-ups. The EAAA program produced significant increases in women's perception of personal risk, self-defense self-efficacy, and knowledge of effective (forceful verbal and physical) resistance strategies; the program also produced decreases in general rape myth acceptance and woman blaming over the entire 24-month follow-up period. Risk detection was significantly improved for the intervention group at post-test. The program significantly reduced the risk of completed and attempted rape, attempted coercion, and nonconsensual sexual contact over the entire follow-up period, yielding reductions between 30% and 64% at 2 years. The EAAA program produces long-lasting changes in secondary outcomes and in the incidence of sexual assault experienced by women students. Universities can reduce the harm and the negative health consequences that young women experience as a result of campus sexual assault by implementing this program.

Practice Implications

The characteristics that make the EAAA program effective, such as an intensive program following best practices with two facilitators and a small group experience, require higher levels of investment of universities' time and money for the EAAA, compared to that required for the common (ineffective) brief, large group format or online offerings (Lonsway et al., 2009). While future research may identify ways to reduce the length of the program while maintaining its effectiveness, our pilot studies during the development phase suggested that shorter units with less practice time led to effects with limited duration. A dismantling or optimization study may be necessary to aid in this work. Universities considering adopting the EAAA program and thinking about limits on resources would be wise to take into account the size of the effects found here for the sexual assault and secondary outcomes and the length of time they were still present without using a booster.

Universities have recently been encouraged to put prevention programs with known effectiveness in place on their campuses (Ontario Women’s Directorate, 2013; White House Task Force to Protect Students From Sexual Assault, 2014) and the Centers for Disease Control has now recognized the EAAA as one such effective program (Basile et al., 2016). However, administrations may be under pressure to just “check the box” and do something that is easier or costs less; this may result in the use of ineffective solutions. In this context, the intensiveness of EAAA could create an obstacle to implementation, or restrict the number of times EAAA would be offered at an institution, reducing the number of women students who could be reached. In some settings, the early or recent adoption of bystander-type interventions might be perceived to preclude anything else. Engaged and committed faculty and staff, as well as parents and students, can influence the decisions universities make regarding appropriate prevention.

We have addressed some possible barriers to implementation by directing interested universities to a well-respected, nonprofit organization website (not affiliated with the researchers) where the evidence for EAAA, the resources needed, and possible sources of funding have been detailed (http://www.blueprintsprograms.com/). In addition, a nonprofit organization (SARECentre.org) supports staff in
their efforts to implement EAAA at their institutions. Our next study will examine the use of the EAAA program on a number of Canadian university campuses and investigate the campus, trainer, facilitator, and other factors related to effectiveness of the program outside of a randomized control study.

Negotiating Femininity: Gender-Relevant Primes Improve Women’s Economic Performance in Gender Role Incongruent Negotiations
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Abstract
According to gender role congruity theory, women, compared to men, underperform in masculine negotiations because these negotiations are incongruent with women’s gender role. Based on this framework, we developed two gender-relevant primes—a masculine-supplement prime and a feminine-complement prime—that address role incongruity and should improve women’s economic performance by either supplementing masculinity or complementing femininity. In Study 1, physicians ($N = 78$; 50% women) in an executive education program engaged in a masculine-supplement prime, which involved recalling agentic behavior; in Study 2, undergraduate students ($N = 112$; 50% women) completed a feminine-complement prime, which involved imagining negotiating for a friend. In Study 3, a community sample ($N = 996$; 46% women) completed an online experiment with the primes. Results from the three studies showed that these primes improved women’s economic performance and eliminated the gender gap in negotiation. Perception of fit partially explained the efficacy of the masculine-supplement prime for women, though not the feminine-complement prime. We build on past research characterized by (a) awareness of bias, (b) knowledge of gender inequity, (c) feelings of efficacy at being able to mitigate social backlash, and (d) recognition and confrontation of bias across situations. The masculine-supplement and feminine-complement primes can be easily implemented as part of negotiation planning that aims to help women re-appraise situations in order to improve their performance. The primes developed here are also more accessible for negotiators than negotiation training programs, because these primes can easily be undertaken by negotiators, without investing a great deal of time or money.

We note that even though these primes improved women’s economic performance in a negotiation, it is not obvious that women should uniformly attempt to use them in practice. Recent research indicates that strategies which can improve women’s economic performance in a negotiation can also have negative social consequences, such as decreasing women’s likeability and negatively affecting others’ willingness to work with them (Amanatullah & Morris, 2010; Bowles, Babcock, & Lai, 2007). On a practical level, women interested in using the interventions tested in this article need to also be concerned with adopting negotiating strategies that will mitigate social backlash. As such, female negotiators may consider coupling the primes presented in this article with the strategies for mitigating social backlash tested by Bowles and Babcock (2013). In that article, the researchers found that “relational accounts”—strategies that legitimized the desired outcome by providing an account of the reason for the request, combined with a communicated concern for organizational relationships—were effective in producing the desired negotiation outcomes while mitigating social backlash. Combining our psychological primes with the relational accounts strategies potentially could result in highly desirable economic and social outcomes for female negotiators.

Using Video to Increase Gender Bias Literacy Toward Women in Science
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Abstract
Despite evidence that gender biases contribute to the persistent underrepresentation of women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, interventions that enhance gender bias literacy about these fields remain rare. The current research tested the effectiveness of two theoretically grounded sets of videos at increasing gender bias literacy as characterized by (a) awareness of bias, (b) knowledge of gender inequity, (c) feelings of efficacy at being able to notice bias, and (d) recognition and confrontation of bias across situations. The narrative videos utilized entertaining stories to illustrate gender bias, while the expert interview
videos discussed the same bias during an interview with a psychology professor. The narrative videos increased participants’ immersion in the story and identification with characters, whereas the expert interviews promoted logical thinking and perceptions of being knowledgeable about gender bias facts. Compared with control videos, the narrative and expert interview videos increased awareness of bias (Experiments 1 and 2) and influenced knowledge of gender inequity, self-efficacy beliefs, and the recognition of bias in everyday situations (Experiment 2). However, only the expert interview videos affected participants’ intentions to confront unfair treatment. Additional online materials for this article are available to PWQ subscribers on PWQ’s website at http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/suppl/10.1177/0361684316674721

Practice Implications

Harmful gender stereotypes and subtle forms of gender bias impeding women’s advancement in the sciences most likely perpetuate the lack of gender parity in STEM (Milkman et al., 2015; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012; Swim et al., 2001). Unfortunately, validated interventions to increase bias literacy remain rare (Moss-Racusin et al., 2014; Paluck, 2006), and many of the existing efficacious gender bias trainings require that participants commit a fair amount time and be physically present during the workshop (Carnes et al., 2015; Cundiff et al., 2014; Zawadzki et al., 2012). As a result, we aimed to develop a set of easy-to-administer video interventions, which diversity practitioners could utilize independently or in conjunction with existing workshops. For example, our intervention videos may be a useful resource for STEM organizations that would like to increase awareness of subtle bias, extend recognition of the different forms it might take, and enhance intentions to confront gender bias in the workplace, but lack the money or person power to conduct formal in-person trainings. In addition, employees may be reticent to take part in a time-consuming workshop; organizations can use our videos as a more attractive alternative. To ensure diversity practitioners have access to the videos, the authors of this article plan to circulate the links of the videos as well as a short blurb about the videos, to STEM department chairs and across relevant e-mail listservs. Furthermore, we will present information about the videos at a variety of pertinent conferences (e.g., the annual Conference on Understanding Interventions that Broaden Participation in Science Careers http://understanding-interventions.org).

It is interesting and informative for organizations using these intervention videos that we did not find any differences between the six individual narrative videos and six individual expert interview videos on awareness of bias in science, suggesting that all 12 videos are efficacious interventions. Nevertheless, having the videos cover different topics may still be beneficial. Diversity trainings often touch on a variety of topics (balancing work and family, bias in hiring, faculty–student relationships), and it may be useful to show a single video related to the training’s specific subject matter in order to facilitate discussion. Thus, we felt it was valuable to develop a wide range of videos in order to have multiple resources available for workshop leaders.

Encouraging people to watch the videos may also have important consequences outside of academic or workplace settings. For example, previous research found even subtle nonverbal cues (such as an uncomfortable facial expression directed toward a member of a stigmatized group) in media portrayals can perpetuate biases against stigmatized groups (Weisbuch et al., 2009). And an analysis of popular films revealed that male scientists often displayed subtle forms of bias against their female colleagues (such as focusing on her appearance rather than her scientific work and competence; Steinke, 2005). Thus, by encouraging participants to recognize difficult-to-detect bias in television and movies, the videos may help mitigate the potentially detrimental effects of media’s portrayal of subtle bias against women in STEM.

The results of the current experiments also speak more generally to using different forms of media as diversity interventions. We found both the narrative and expert interview presentational styles were effective at promoting awareness and knowledge of gender bias and self-efficacy at recognizing gender bias. However, expert interviews were better at promoting detection of subtle bias and confrontation intentions because participants felt more knowledgeable about gender bias. This finding suggests that even if diversity trainings rely heavily on entertaining narratives to demonstrate bias, they would benefit by also incorporating clear facts and evidence based in empirical research.

Female Masculinity at Work: Managing Stigma on the Job

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Abstract

In this study, the author interviewed 49 self-identified masculine women in the United States to examine how they negotiate stigma in the workplace. Masculine women often negotiate dual stigmas due to both their gender nonconformity and perceived sexual orientation. Participants used a variety of strategies to cope with their stigmatized identity including modifying clothing; incorporating feminine behaviors to counteract masculine appearance; working in high-demand, undesirable jobs; working in male-dominated settings; and opting out of formal work organizations. While some participants experienced mistreatment in male-dominated settings, many reported positive outcomes including strong relationships with male coworkers,
opportunities for advancement, and a general comfort in the work environment. Participants challenge Goffman’s notion of sexual orientation as a concealable status, showing that sexual orientation minority women who are gender non-conforming employ strategies similar to members of other visibly stigmatized groups. Findings from this study suggest that researchers addressing sexual orientation minorities should include gender expression as a variable that can influence individual experiences and outcomes. Online slides for instructors who want to use this article for teaching are available on PWQ’s website at http://journals.sagepub.com/page/pwq/suppl/index.

Practice Implications
Managing the stigma of a marginalized identity creates a unique set of stressors that can lead to negative outcomes (Dozier, 2015; Waldo, 1999). Recent minority stress literature addresses the value of resilience in the face of these stressors (Meyer, 2003). The current study illustrates how stigmatized individuals are resilient in the face of prejudice, and how they work to maintain a sense of integrity while conforming to work norms imposed by the dominant culture. Mental health professionals can foster resilience in clients as they seek to maintain integrity, while negotiating workplace standards and, as suggested in the minority stress literature, encourage strong connections to the LGBTQ community for sexual orientation minority clients (Meyer, 2003). At the same time, if clinicians and others foster an awareness that stigma in the workplace is a fundamentally structural, rather than personal, issue, it may support better health outcomes among individuals experiencing career limitations or workplace mistreatment.

This study also contributes to the conceptual understanding of stigma. Sexual orientation has been identified as a concealable stigma, and sexual orientation minorities have been characterized as primarily managing information and negotiating levels of disclosure and managing potential signifiers. This study suggests that some sexual orientation minorities do not have a concealable status but a discredited status due to their gender expression. As a result, they do not manage information and disclosure about their stigmatized status but instead employ strategies more similar to individuals with visible, discredited stigmas. Researchers addressing sexual orientation minorities should more consistently include gender expression as a variable that can influence perception and experience in a variety of settings.

“*I’m Not Gonna Fake It*”: University Women’s Accounts of Resisting the Normative Practice of Faking Orgasm
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Abstract
Women faking orgasm has been identified as a common and widespread practice, particularly in the context of heterosexual sex. While feigning pleasure has been the subject of extensive scholarly inquiry, almost no research attention has been applied to women’s experiences of resisting this normative practice. We adopted a discourse analytic approach to explore the question: If faking orgasm is often compulsory, how do women resist this practice and what does it mean when they do? Participants were 15 undergraduate students who ranged in age from 19 to 28. We identified the mobilization of several discursive patterns in their accounts. First, participants mobilized a “future pleasures” discourse to highlight the importance of resisting faking orgasm in order to increase their chances of experiencing genuine pleasure. Second, they positioned sexual satisfaction as an “equal right” to which they were entitled. In some instances, this was discussed in terms of reciprocity, in which pleasure is given and received. In others, it was positioned as a feminist issue of gender and power. Third, participants highlighted the importance of deflecting blame for absent orgasm in order to avoid hurting one’s partner. Fourth, participants described the role of pain as either a factor that prevented them from faking pleasure or that motivated them to fake orgasm in order to end painful sex. We conclude that an equal rights discourse, framed as a feminist issue, holds the most promise as a means of discursive resistance. At the same time, we highlight the significant risks for women of both faking orgasm and not faking orgasm and the delicate discursive work required when an expected orgasm is not experienced. We suggest that efforts to support women’s sexual health and equality are enhanced by better understanding the emancipatory potential of various discursive constructions as well as their limitations and risks. The merits and challenges of each pattern of accounting are discussed in the context of broader scholarship in the area of discursive resistance.

Practice Implications
The findings of the current study can be harnessed in sex education programs, health and wellness campaigns, and sex/relationship therapies. First, the analysis sheds light on the complexity and “stakes” involved in resisting faking orgasm in that it highlights the very real risks and challenges inherent in this transgressive practice. In contexts such as relationship insecurity or challenges, isolation, economic dependence, poverty, or violence, a woman’s decision to fake orgasm with her partner comes into view as a viable and quick solution to the “problem” of not experiencing orgasm—one that avoids hurting or angering their partner. As Laura exclaimed, “It’s a lot easier to fake it than to fight.” Echoing feminist responses to the “why don’t women just leave” question in understanding violence against women, this analysis prevents overly simplistic interpretations that
reduce women’s faking orgasm to individual weakness, ignorance, or disempowerment. Overall, our analysis reveals the significant risks for women of both faking orgasm and not faking orgasm, and the delicate discursive work required when an expected orgasm is not experienced. By better understanding the potential and limits of various discursive constructions, as well as their risks, we are better equipped in our efforts to support women’s sexual equality and health.

**How Gender-Role Salience Influences Attitude Strength and Persuasive Message Processing**

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**Abstract**

We conducted three studies to examine the relationship between gender and persuasion. We tested the notion that making gender roles salient affects the strength of individuals’ attitudes and the way they respond to persuasive information. In Studies 1 and 2, we found that priming women with the female gender role reduced the strength of their attitudes (Study 1, N = 50) and increased their susceptibility to persuasion through a low-thought process (Study 2, N = 98). In Study 3, we manipulated the salience of both the female and male gender roles among men and women and assessed persuasion to a counter-attitudinal message (N = 185). We found that the female and male primes affected men and women similarly, with the female prime causing participants to process messages superficially and the male prime leading to thoughtful message processing. These findings help to explain women’s slightly greater persuadability in meta-analyses and provide evidence of harms that stereotypes about women can cause. Moving forward, we urge researchers to be wary of gender salience in the research context, especially when conducting persuasion research.

**Practice Implications**

Our findings suggest that gender-role salience can affect participants’ processing of persuasive messages. Our first recommendation is to be wary of inadvertent gender salience when distributing persuasive information in research or practice. To avoid gender-role salience and its cascading effects on persuasion, information on participant gender and related social roles should be collected and discussed at the end of sessions, consistent with standing recommendations on survey and questionnaire design (e.g., Blair, Czaja, & Blair, 2014). Visual reminders of gender roles should be removed from the environment. If reminders of gender roles cannot be eliminated, then researchers and practitioners may want to take steps to counteract the potential for female gender-role salience to cause reduced message processing. One way to do this might be to emphasize the personal importance of the issues at hand, which should lead to increased motivation to carefully process the message (Eaton & Visser, 2008), and to give participants sufficient time and opportunity to engage in deliberation. In the event that researchers or practitioners detect unexpected gender differences in persuasion on issues that are not gendered, we recommend examining whether gender might have been salient during the persuasion process and re-examining the strength of the arguments to which participants were exposed, as the effect of gender-role salience on attitude change is moderated by message quality.

**Girl Power or Powerless Girl? Television, Sexual Scripts, and Sexual Agency in Sexually Active Young Women**

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**Abstract**

Both traditional gender roles and traditional heterosexual scripts outline sexual roles for women that center on sexual passivity, prioritizing others’ needs, and self-silencing. Acceptance of these roles is associated with diminished sexual agency. Because mainstream media are a prominent source of traditional gender portrayals, we hypothesized that media use would be associated with diminished sexual agency for women, as a consequence of the traditional sexual roles conveyed. We modeled the relations among television (TV) use, acceptance of gendered sexual scripts, and sexual agency (sexual assertiveness, condom use self-efficacy, and sexual shame) in 415 sexually active undergraduate women. As expected, both TV exposure and perceived realism of TV content were associated with greater endorsement of gendered sexual scripts, which in turn were associated with lower sexual agency. Endorsement of gendered sexual scripts fully mediated the relation between TV use and sexual agency. Results suggest that endorsement of traditional gender roles and sexual scripts may be an important predictor of college women’s sexual agency. Interventions targeting women’s sexual health should focus on encouraging media literacy and dismantling gender stereotypic heterosexual scripts. Online slides for instructors who want to use this article for teaching are available on PWQ’s website at http://journals.sagepub.com/page/pwq/suppl/index.
Practice Implications

The results of our study have practical implications for those concerned with women’s sexual health. Our results suggest that endorsement of gendered sexual scripts helps to explain the relation between TV viewing and sexual agency among heterosexual college-aged women. Policy makers and educators concerned with women’s sexual health should consider designing interventions that include a media literacy component. Portrayals of sex on TV, and the extent to which women perceive these portrayals as realistic, are associated with endorsement of gendered sexual scripts. These scripts are, in turn, associated with lower sexual agency. Viewers who can critically analyze the media may be less likely to perceive its content as realistic, and thus less likely to endorse gendered sexual scripts that are linked to lower sexual agency.

Our results also suggest that interventions targeted at improving young women’s sexual health need to address traditional gender roles. We found that women who endorse traditional gender roles and sexual scripts are less likely to feel comfortable using condoms and more likely to have negative and shameful feelings about their level of sexual experience. We suspect that encouraging women to reject gendered sexual scripts will improve their sexual health, not simply by helping them engage in risk-reduction techniques (e.g., condom use) but also by helping them feel more positively about their sexual experience. Finally, when conceptualizing sexual agency, we should consider not just a woman’s ability to say “no” or “yes” to sexual activity but also her feelings about her sexual experiences. If we endorse the WHO’s (2006) definition of sexual health as, “not merely the absence of disease but also...the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences” (p. 5), then we must strive to improve women’s sexual comfort and agency.

The Development and Psychometric Evaluation of the Self-Objectification Beliefs and Behaviors Scale

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Abstract

Given the limitations of existing measures of self-objectification, the purpose of the two studies presented in this article was to develop and validate a new measure of self-objectification, the Self-Objectification Beliefs and Behaviors Scale (SOBBS). In Study 1, a total of 654 women completed an online questionnaire including a pool of items designed to measure self-objectification. The item pool was constructed through focus groups and consultation with subject matter experts. Participants also completed existing measures of self-objectification and related constructs. A subset of participants completed the item pool at a 2-week interval to allow for assessment of test–retest reliability. A 14-item, two-factor measure of self-objectification was derived through exploratory factor analysis. Data provided evidence for the SOBBS’s internal consistency and test–retest reliability as well as its convergent, discriminant, and incremental validity via its relations with interpersonal sexual objectification, body image, disordered eating, and depression. In Study 2, the factor structure of the SOBBS was reevaluated using confirmatory factor analysis and validity was again evaluated; SOBBS scores correlated with public body consciousness, private and public self-consciousness, self-esteem, and sexual functioning. We discuss implications for assessment of self-objectification as part of efforts in prevention and treatment of body image and eating disturbances. We hope the development of a new measure of self-objectification prompts further study of the topic and that increased knowledge about self-objectification allows clinicians and researchers to develop interventions that foster greater resilience against sexual objectification.

Practice Implications

Continued study of self-objectification and its relation to mental health risks has important clinical implications. Developing the SOBBS provided us with an opportunity to determine which behaviors and attitudes are the essential elements of self-objectification. This improved our understanding of potential targets for intervention, including helping people to become more aware of their tendencies to think about how others view their bodies and to cultivate an appreciation for aspects of themselves beyond physical appearance, as has been suggested by Calogero and Tylka (2014) and Tylka and Augustus-Horvath (2011). Improved measurement of self-objectification may also aid in the identification of at-risk groups or individuals and, perhaps most important, objectification research highlights the relation between body image and aspects of mental health beyond eating disorders. One of the criticisms of eating disorder prevention efforts is that they can be resource intensive but beneficial to a relatively small proportion of the population (Levine & Smolak, 2006). Effectively targeting self-objectification and risk factors for the development of negative body image in prevention efforts may decrease the risk of eating disorders as well as other adverse mental health outcomes. New tools for measuring self-objectification may facilitate evaluation of these prevention efforts, particularly given that the SOBBS predicted mental health outcomes better than existing measures of self-objectification.
Abstract
We investigated White female college students’ responses to risk for an incapacitated sexual assault involving a Black potential victim. Participants (N = 160) read about attending a party where they saw a man lead an intoxicated woman into a private bedroom. The potential victim was referred to as either a distinctively Black name (e.g., LaToya) or a non-distinctive control name (e.g., Laura). After random assignment to one of these two conditions, participants reported on their intent to intervene and their perceptions of the situation and the potential victim. As expected, participants assigned to the Black potential victim condition reported less intent to intervene, less personal responsibility to intervene, and greater perceived victim pleasure than participants assigned to the control condition. Neither the certainty of risk nor the perceived victim blame differed as a function of the potential victim’s race. In path analyses, personal responsibility to intervene mediated the relationship between victim race and intent to intervene. The current results suggest that White women in college may choose not to help Black women at risk for sexual assault. Bystander education programs should explicitly address race as a potential barrier to helping others in need.

Practice Implications
The current study leads us to suggest numerous applications for bystander education programming. To promote a more inclusive response to bystander education programs, educators might seek to promote students’ personal awareness of their behavioral responses to different types of actual or potential victims through education and active learning experiences. Educators might explain that it is common for people to feel more positively toward and more responsible for the well-being of others who remind us of ourselves. Educators could ask students to reflect on or discuss the potential adaptive benefits of such tendencies as well as the potential negative consequences (including the fact that research such as the current study shows that White individuals tend to be less likely to help people of color). Educators could reassure students these behavioral tendencies may well be independent of one’s implicit or explicit attitudes about different racial/ethnic groups. Given this new knowledge and awareness, students could be encouraged and supported to practice responding in a more deliberate and mindful way that matches with their personal values. For example, educators might explicitly predict that students are likely to feel less responsible to help others who look racially or ethnically different from them and might provide experiential opportunities via role-plays or scenarios to provide students with the opportunity to build experiences with intergroup intervention.

Other helpful applied strategies for bystander education programming might include adapting the strategies that have been used in bystander programs geared to promote men as allies to women at risk (e.g., Foubert, 2011) to help foster White students as allies to students of color. For example, educators could also present or ask students to explore narratives of victimization experienced by people of color to build empathy among White students and to provide an inclusive program. Presentations by a diverse group of educators, both peer and professional, could provide models of interracial cooperation, empathy, and acceptance. In addition, educators should ensure that their training materials reflect a diverse range of people in images and texts; an excellent example of an inclusive messaging is provided by the “Know Your Power” bystander campaign (Potter & Stapleton, 2011).

Educators may also discuss the concept of intersectionality, or the holistic ways that people perceive themselves and others as simultaneously characterized by multiple intersecting identity categories, including race, gender, social class, and sexual orientation. For example, Crenshaw (1991) posits that Black women’s experiences are the product of a unique social location intersecting between race and gender. Discussions of intersectionality also may help educators to foster feelings of connection or similarity to others on the basis of common superordinate identities, such as shared student status (see Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Ward, & Banker, 1999). Such discussions may be especially important given that it is unclear to what degree White students are motivated to help students of color across settings that vary in racial and ethnic diversity. Possibly, in more diverse settings, White students are more inclined to be responsive bystanders because such settings promote more frequent and higher quality intergroup contact and reduced intergroup anxiety. Yet it is also possible that, even in such settings, White students are less motivated to help others who they perceive to have less social status or privilege. This possibility would be consistent with research suggesting that White college women tend to devalue other women based on others’ lower socioeconomic status and minority, racial, or ethnic group backgrounds (Armstrong, Hamilton, Armstrong, & Seeley, 2014). Future studies are needed to understand bystander responses to others who have more or less social power and privilege on the basis of different social identity categories.