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You See But You Do Not Observe: A Review of Bystander Intervention and Sexual Assault

on University Campuses

Abstract

Sexual assault on university campuses has garnered increased attention in recent years. A systematic review was conducted to identify the factors associated with bystander intervention regarding sexual assault on university campuses. Currently, no published systematic reviews exist within this area. Twenty-eight studies were reviewed according to four major bystander factors: rape myth and date rape attitudes; bystander efficacy; bystander intent; and bystander behavior. There was a heavy emphasis on bystander intent and behavior throughout. Three important limitations were identified: (1) all empirical research has been conducted in the USA, yet bystander intervention programs exist outside of the USA, in countries such as the UK, (2) a majority of the studies employed quantitative methodologies and so failed to capture important details such as bystanders' perceptions of sexual assault or what other factors influence the likelihood of intervening, and (3) there were limited attempts to control for factors such as social desirability. This area of research is still in its infancy. Future research should examine in greater detail the factors inhibiting and facilitating bystander intervention. Finally, research outside of the USA is important in developing the literature in this area to effectively inform bystander intervention programs.

Keywords: bystander behavior, bystander intervention, sexual assault, university campus, systematic review

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1. Introduction

Sexual assault is a serious problem (Kimble, Neacsiu, Flack, & Horner, 2008; Martin, Fischer, Warner, Krebs, & Lindquist, 2011). It is legally defined under the sexual offences act – 2003 as one person intentionally touching another person in a sexual manner without consent (GOV.UK, 2004). Touching is defined as touching or penetration of any part of the victim, with any part of the perpetrator's body or with anything else such as an object (GOV.UK, 2004). Approximately, one in four female students in the USA are sexually assaulted every year (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Kleinsasser, Jouriles, McDonald, & Rosenfield, 2014). Researchers in the USA focus on university students as the party culture increases the risk of sexual assaults occurring in a public or party location (Fisher et al., 2011); they are producing research to combat the problem (e.g., Potter, Stapleton, & Moynihan, 2008). Conversely, approximately one in seven female students in the UK are sexually assaulted every year (NUS, 2010); risk of victimization is highest among women aged 16 to 19, who are studying full-time, and who visit pubs or night clubs at least once a week (MoJ, 2013). Given the negative consequences associated with sexual assault such as post-traumatic stress disorder (Briere & Jordan, 2004), substance abuse (Kilpatrick et al., 2000), and risk of committing suicide (Ullman & Brecklin, 2002), it is vital to identify ways to decrease the alarmingly high prevalence rates of sexual assault on university campuses.

Differing views exist on how to address the problem of sexual assault on campus. One review suggests prevention of sexual assault should be the responsibility of women (see Söchting, Fairbrother, & Koch, 2004). Others say responsibility should be on the men as they are most often the perpetrators (see Berkowitz, 1992; McDermott, Kilmartin, McKelvey, &

Kridel, 2015). Finally, some believe that bystander intervention is the way to decrease prevalence rates (see Latané & Darley (1970) where they present the importance of bystander intervention and the five steps to intervening); bystanders (also known as third party witnesses) can be encouraged to intervene before, during, or after a sexual assault has occurred (McMahon et al., 2014). However, all three perspectives fail to account for the effects of rape culture. Rape culture is defined as promoting sexual assault, excusing men (perpetrators), and increasing victim blaming (Armstrong, Hamilton, & Sweeney, 2006). Consequently, victims of sexual assault are hesitant to report due to low conviction rates, not being believed, or feeling embarrassed (Beckford, 2012).

Bystander intervention is needed as it could be used to reduce the prevalence rates of sexual assault on university campuses as the "numbers have remained stubbornly unchanged over 30 years" (Senn & Forrest, 2016, p. 607). An effective bystander intervention program should be able to impart knowledge and awareness regarding what sexual assault is, prevalence rates, negative consequences associated with victimization, learning to identify possible warning signs, and the opportunity to develop the skills and confidence to effectively intervene with minimal negative repercussions. Bystander intervention programs could then be a tool utilized to debunk rape culture and provide victims with confidence and additional support to report a sexual assault. Most importantly, it could increase overall bystander intervention as currently, according to Burn (2009) and Planty (2002), a third of all sexual assaults are witnessed by a bystander, yet they only intervene a third of the time.

Progress has been made in utilizing bystander intervention programs, such as the 'Bringing in the Bystander' (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007) or the Green Dot bystander intervention program (Green Dot, 2016) to develop prosocial bystander behaviours. Researchers such as Senn & Forrest (2016) have been successfully evaluating and applying these programs to test the effectiveness of improving bystander attitudes and behaviour

regarding sexual assault; their findings have confirmed the effectiveness of the workshop when included as part of the undergraduate curriculum. Bystander intervention is therefore, a valuable resource that could be exploited to reduce prevalence rates (McMahon & Farmer, 2009; Senn & Forrest, 2016). However, while bystander intervention programs have produced positive results prevalence rates remain unchanged, suggesting further research is needed to investigate what influences bystander intervention. In order to develop the field of bystander intervention and sexual assault on university campuses in the UK a thorough understanding of what affects intervention is required. Given the emergency of bystander intervention programs, it is essential that these programs are further developed and underpinned by the necessary evidence base in terms of bystander intervention and sexual assault research.

The review has two aims: (1) to define the different factors utilized in examining the likelihood of bystander intervention; and (2) examine the different measures used to identify the barriers and facilitators that influence bystander intervention. Gaining a comprehensive understanding of the factors that predict bystander intervention in relation to sexual assault on university campuses will provide a useful synopsis of the existing research to be utilized in developing evidence-based intervention programs.

2. Method

A search of Academic Search Complete, MEDLINE, PsycArticles, and PsycINFO was conducted to locate peer-reviewed empirical articles focusing on factors that influence bystander intervention regarding sexual assault on university campuses. The search terms used included combinations, synonyms, and derivatives of the following terms: bystander; university; student; sex assault; bystander intervention; bystander effect; university campus; sexual assault on campus; university students; likelihood of intervening; intervene; report;

barriers; facilitators; and helping behavior. No time restriction was applied. The search

returned 89 studies. Studies were included if they utilized a university sample, and measured

the likelihood of a bystander intervening in a sexual assault. Studies were excluded if they

were dissertations, conference abstracts, analyzed the bystander scale, evaluated a bystander

intervention program, or designed an intervention program as the purpose of the review was

to define and examine what factors inhibit and facilitate bystander intervention during a

sexual assault. A total of 28 studies met the criteria for the review.

3. Results

Table 2 provides a description of the 28 studies included in the review, as well as

what factors were assessed regarding the likelihood of bystander intervention and sexual

assault. The studies are diverse in terms of the aim(s) of the studies and they were all

conducted within the USA. Twenty-three of the studies were quantitative in nature, three

utilized a mixed methods approach, and two were qualitative. Of all 28 studies only two were

experimental.

The results are divided into two sections with corresponding tables and links to figure

1. The first section focuses on the various factors (hereon in referred to as bystander factors)

used to assess the likelihood of bystander intervention. The second section is comprised of a

summary of the variables (hereon in referred to as bystander predictors) investigated in

relation to the bystander factors to determine the likelihood of bystander intervention.

3.1 How Likelihood of Bystander Intervention is Assessed

A brief overview of the bystander factors and the respective definition is provided in

Table 1.

Table 1: Bystander Factors: Definitions and assessment tools

Bystander Factor	How Factor was Defined and Assessed	Authors
Rape Myth Attitudes	-False beliefs of rape that justify male sexual aggression and encourage victim blaming -Rape myths were measured using the rape myth acceptance scale	Amar et al., 2014; Banyard, 2008; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Brosi et al., 2011; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Fleming & Wiersma-Mosley, 2015; Foubert et al., 2011; Hust et al., 2015; Hust et al., 2013; Katz et al., 2013; McMahon, 2010
Bystander Efficacy	-Efficacy refers to one's confidence in their ability to intervene -Bystander efficacy was measured using the bystander efficacy scale	Amar et al., 2014; Banyard, 2008; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Brosi et al., 2011; Exner & Cummings, 2011; Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011
Bystander Intent	-Bystander intent is the likelihood or willingness of a bystander intervening in a sexual assault -Bystander intent is measured using the bystander intent scale	Amar et al., 2014; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Banyard et al., 2014; Brosi et al., 2011; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011; Hust et al., 2013; Katz et al., 2013; Katz et al., 2014; McMahon & Farmer, 2009; Nicksa, 2013
Bystander Behavior	-Bystander behavior measures actual behaviors one has used when intervening in a sexual assault -Bystander behavior is measured using the bystander behavior scale	Amar et al., 2014; Banyard, 2008; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Banyard et al., 2014; Bennett et al., 2014; Brown et al., 2014; Burn, 2009; Carlson, 2008; Harari et al., 1985; Koelsch et al., 2012; McMahon et al., 2015; Shotland & Stebbins, 1980

3.1.1   Rape myth attitudes

Ten studies examined rape myth acceptance by utilizing the rape myth acceptance scale (Banyard, 2008; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Brosi et al., 2011; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Fleming & Wiersma-Mosley, 2015; Foubert et al., 2011; Hust et al., 2015; Hust et al., 2013; Katz et al., 2013; McMahon, 2010). One study examined an equivalent: date rape attitudes using the college date rape attitude scale (Amar et al., 2014). Rape myth attitudes are the belief in prejudiced views and falsely advertised stereotypes promoting victim blame, rape normalization, and supporting or excusing sexual assault (Burt, 1980; Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). Date rape attitudes are similar to rape myths in that it measures rape

attitudes, and societal bias regarding sexual assault (Amar et al., 2014; Lanier & Elliott, 1997). However, it differs in that there are only 20 items using a 5 point Likert scale (Lanier & Elliott, 1997; Lanier & Green, 2006).

The rape myth acceptance scale was developed by Payne and colleagues (1999). There are two forms of the rape myth acceptance scale: original and short form. The original is comprised of 45 questions – can identify what type of rape myth an individual holds and the short form is comprised of 20 questions – can identify whether an individual holds a rape myth, but not what type of rape myth (Payne et al., 1999). The scale consists of seven consistent aspects to assess rape myths including: (1) she asked for it; (2) it wasn't really rape; (3) he didn't mean to; (4) she wanted it; (5) she lied; (6) rape is a trivial event; and (7) rape is a deviant event (Payne et al., 1999). Each aspect has its own set of questions. Participants' answer each question on a scale of strongly agree to strongly disagree. A high rape myth acceptance score suggests the participant justifies the crime on some level (i.e., Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010). Therefore, a high score may be associated with a lower likelihood of intervening (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Fleming & Wiersma-Mosley, 2015). The rape myth acceptance scale has construct validity of $r = .50 - .75$, $p < .05$ (Payne et al., 1999), making it a useful tool to measure rape myths.

Rape myth or date rape attitudes provide an insight into attitudes and intervening behavior (e.g., Fleming & Wiersma-Mosley, 2015). The rape myth acceptance scale is favored as it provides an insight into what factors contribute to high rape myths; this will be examined in depth in section 2. Measuring rape myth acceptance is important in identifying what affects a bystander's likelihood of intervening and can be used to develop effective bystander intervention programs. However, it may be presumptuous to view one's score on the rape myth acceptance scale as the main contributing factor influencing the likelihood of bystander intervention. LaPiere (1934) suggested an alternative view that perhaps attitudes

are not always predictive of behaviors, but perhaps behaviors can shape attitudes. Beliefs about how behaviors can produce certain outcomes can influence personal attitudes, intentions, and behaviors (Ajzen, 1985). This means if one believes that intervening is associated with a severe negative consequence, the person's attitude is likely to be against performing the behavior. Consequently, this could negatively influence one's confidence, intent, and behavior. This will be examined in more detail in section 2.

3.1.2 Bystander efficacy

Bandura (1977) defined self-efficacy as one's belief in his/her ability to perform certain actions or behaviors. Seven studies measured and defined bystander efficacy as a bystander's perceived level of confidence in their ability to perform the necessary behaviors to successfully intervene (Amar et al., 2014; Banyard, 2008; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Brosi et al., 2011; Exner & Cummings, 2011; Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011). The bystander efficacy scale was developed by Banyard, Plante, and Moynihan (2005) in 2002.

The scale depicts a variety of bystander behaviors. Participants have to report how confident they are, in percentage form, in performing the listed behavior (Banyard et al., 2005). Measuring bystander efficacy could provide an insight into the likelihood of bystander intervention. A high score on the bystander efficacy scale suggests the bystander is confident in his/her ability to effectively intervene (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011); this suggests that when the pros of intervening outweigh the cons, individuals will have a higher self-efficacy score as they believe the cost (i.e., perpetrator is too intimidating) of intervening is minimal (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011). Consequently, the minimal cost to intervening may have a direct impact on one's intent and actual bystander behavior (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011).

To conclude, utilizing the bystander efficacy scale can be a good predictor of intervening behavior (Ajzen, 1985; Bandura, 1977). Low self-efficacy scores decrease

likelihood of intervening and high scores increase likelihood of intervening. However, a number of personal (i.e., personal and peer attitudes) and situational (i.e., presence of others) factors may influence self-efficacy. Bystander efficacy scales only predict intent and behavior– this will be explored in detail in section 2. Therefore, bystander efficacy scales should be used in conjunction with rape myth acceptance and bystander intent. These two measures may aid in accounting for factors that influence self-efficacy and consequently intervening behavior.

3.1.3 Bystander intent

Thirteen studies measured bystander intent (Amar et al., 2014; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Banyard et al., 2014; Brosi et al., 2011; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011; Hust et al., 2013; Katz et al., 2013; Katz et al., 2014; McMahon & Farmer, 2009; Nicksa, 2013). Bystander intent is a self-report on the likelihood to engage in bystander intervention behavior (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011); it provides insight into how factors influence one's willingness to intervene. Banyard, Plante, and Moynihan (2005) created the scale used to measure one's intent to intervene. The scale is comprised of 51 potential bystander intervening behaviors. The items are derived from the literature, discussions with professionals within the field, and a pilot study conducted with university students (Banyard et al., 2005). Participants rate each item using a five point Likert scale to indicate how likely they are to perform the mentioned behavior. A high score on the bystander intent scale suggests the participant has a high self-reported intent to intervene if confronted with a sexual assault.

Bystander intent only predicts actual bystander behavior if the bystander has a strong control over the situation and if audience inhibition – fear of negative reactions from peers – is not a factor (Ajzen, 1985; Latané & Nida, 1981). Typically, hypothetical scenarios are used

to assess for bystander intent (e.g., Nicksa, 2013). A limitation to using hypothetical

scenarios is that individuals often want to portray themselves in a favorable light (this will be

discussed in further detail in section 2 under social desirability). However, what one says they

will do is not always what they would actually do when confronted with a real sexual assault

(McMahon et al., 2014). Contrary to this, the bystander intent scale has good internal

consistency and internal reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of .85 (Banyard et al., 2005). It

can therefore, be considered a good tool to measure bystander intent if all situational factors

are accounted for, as situational factors can sometimes contradict personal beliefs (Warner &

DeFleur, 1969).

To conclude, bystander intent is not a factor that should be used alone to determine

the likelihood of bystander intervention in sexual assault. Many factors influence bystander

intent such as rape myth acceptance and self-efficacy; therefore, bystander intent should be

used in conjunction with the previous factors to increase the predictive validity of the

bystander intent scale. Higher predictive validity may then be associated with a higher

likelihood of predicting actual bystander intervening behavior.

3.1.4 Bystander behavior

Twelve studies examined bystander behaviors (Amar et al., 2014; Banyard, 2008;

Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Banyard et al., 2014; Bennett et al., 2014; Brown et al., 2014;

Burn, 2009; Carlson, 2008; Harari et al., 1985; Koelsch et al., 2012; McMahon et al., 2015;

Shotland & Stebbins, 1980). Bystander behavior accounts for actual behaviors used by

bystanders to intervene in a sexual assault. It is measured using the bystander behavior scale

(BBS). The BBS is the same scale used to measure bystander intent (Banyard et al., 2005);

however, now participants provide 'yes' or 'no' responses depending on if they have

performed the behavior in recent months.

Bystander behavior can be demonstrated before, during, or after a sexual assault has occurred (McMahon et al., 2014). For example, one could intervene when sexist language (i.e., 'ho', 'bitch', or 'slut' is used to describe women) is used in a negative manner towards women - before, one could confront the perpetrator about taking advantage of a woman who is intoxicated or unconscious - during, or one could aid the victim in reporting the rape to the appropriate authorities - after (McMahon et al., 2014). Regardless, of the type of intervention, approximately ¾ of bystanders (McMahon et al., 2015) intervene immediately when they identify a situation that requires intervention (Shotland & Stebbins, 1980); this will be discussed in section 2. The immediate reaction to intervene provides a direct link to confidence, suggesting a bystander has a high level of self-efficacy – see figure 1 for reference.

All the bystander factors mention are interrelated, producing a cause and effect relationship, increasing the predictive validity; for example, low rape myths allow an individual to see sexual assault as a problem (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Foubert, 2013; Katz et al., 2014) and increase the sense of responsibility and confidence for intervening (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Banyard et al., 2014; Katz et al., 2014). Measuring actual bystander behavior could provide the answer in how the other factors influence intervention – see figure 1. However, actual bystander behavior is difficult to measure as researchers rely on self-reports which is prone to memory recall problems (i.e., Amar et al., 2014; Brown et al., 2014). Therefore, utilizing the bystander behavior scale alone could result in misinterpretation of what intervening behavior was actually performed – possible methods to account for the limitation are discussed in section 2.

Ideally, it would be best to measure actual intervening behavior as it occurs in a real sexual assault to get the best representation of bystander behavior. It would be easier to determine what factors are involved in facilitating behavior. However, measuring actual

behavior in this manner is not feasible due to ethical and time constraints. Perhaps, there would be a way to conduct a lab induced experiment to measure actual bystander behavior when a sexual assault scenario is presented. To conclude, bystander behavior is what researchers are interested in. If one is able to predict behavior, bystander intervention programs can be designed and implemented to reduce sexual assault prevalence rates.

Figure 1 is a single interpretation of the literature. The figure is derived from the bystander factors reviewed; it depicts a taxonomy of the factors investigated in relation to the likelihood of bystander intervention and the relationships that may exist among these bystander factors. The review examines four main bystander factors as seen in figure 1: attitudes (short for rape myth attitudes), confidence (short for bystander efficacy), bystander intent, and bystander behavior. Typically, it is suggested that there is a linear progression from attitudes to behavior. However, the literature review suggests that the bystander factors are interrelated. It was interpreted that confidence and behavior have a direct impact on each other; bystander intent can affect attitudes and confidence retrospectively; and bystander behavior is seen as the ultimate goal in predicting future behavior. The model depicted represents the information examined in section 1, as well as the possible bystander predictors that are demonstrated to have an effect on the bystander factors found within the literature. The different bystander predictors and their effect on bystander factors are examined in section 2.

Figure 1: Model of the factors that determine how a bystander will behave in relation to a

sexual assault
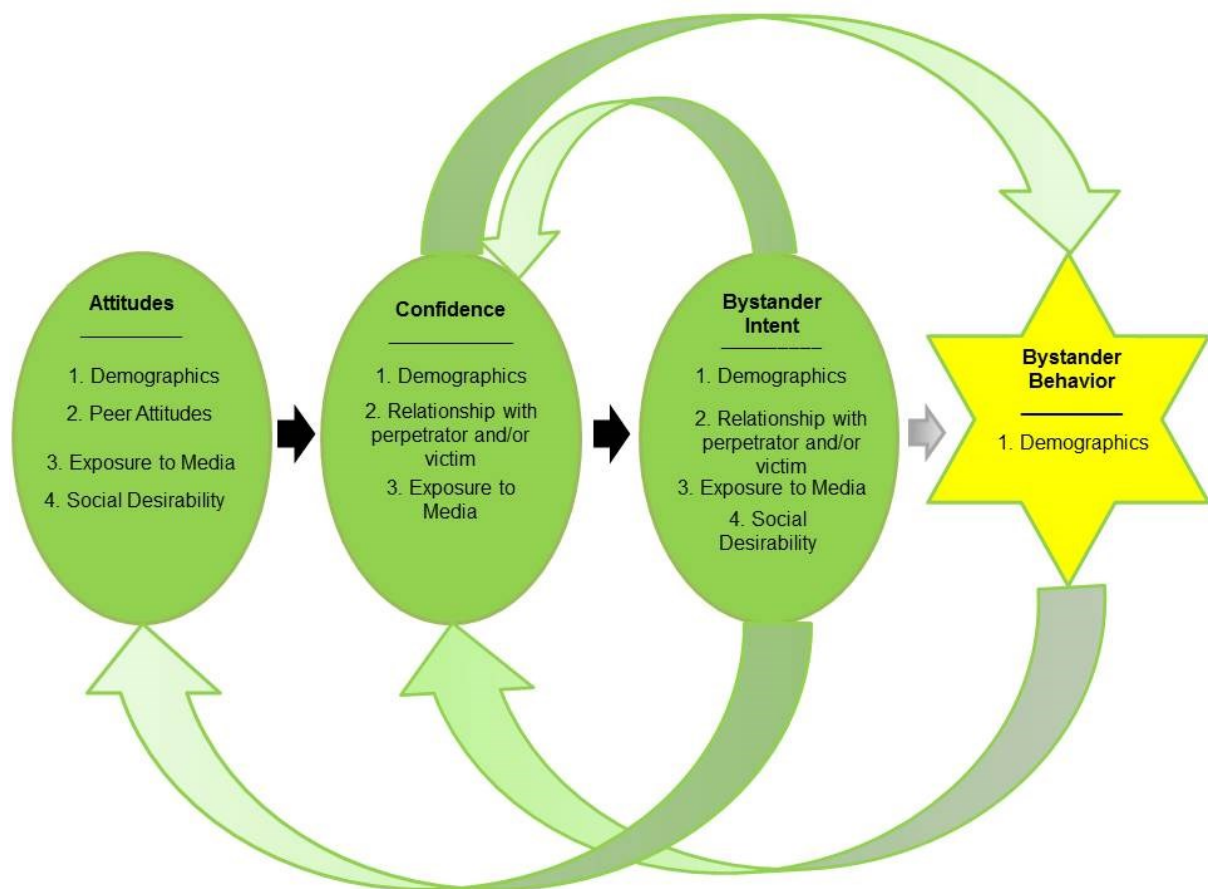
3.2 Bystander Predictors used to Assess Likelihood of Bystander Intervention

This section of the review is comprised of a summary of the different bystander

predictors identified in influencing the likelihood of bystander intervention within the 28

studies identified. Table 2 provides a summary of the study aims, the main findings, and what

bystander factors were assessed.

Table 2: Literature Review Articles Examined

Author	Aim	Methodology	Sample Characteristics	Pertinent Findings	Factors assessed
Amar, Sutherland, & Laughon, 2014	-Primary aim: gender differences for date rape attitudes, bystander efficacy, bystander intent, and actual use of bystander behavior -Secondary aim: Assess validity of Burn's (2009) gender specific behavior	-Quantitative: questionnaire	-157 participants (83 women; 74 men), mean age 21, mainly white, upper middle class -USA	-gender is a sig. factor in rape attitudes, bystander confidence, and bystander behaviors -Gender specific barriers: men and women are equally likely to intervene if friends are involved	-Date Rape attitudes -Bystander efficacy -Bystander intentions -Bystander behavior -Gender specific barriers: used items created by Burn (2009) that were not tested
Banyard, 2008	-determine the effect gender, know of someone previously victimized, personality, efficacy and social norms has on bystander attitudes and behaviors	-quantitative – questionnaires	-389 (271 women and 172 men) undergraduates, mean age 19, 90% Caucasian, 38.2% first year; 29.4% second year; 19.8% third year; and 12.4% fourth year -USA	-low rape myth acceptance linked to effectiveness of efficacy, increased bystander attitudes, increased bystander behavior, and decisional balance scores with pros outweighing cons -positive outcomes related to being female, knowledge of sexual assault, know a victim, positive attitude and low rape myth acceptance	-Illinois rape myth acceptance -college date rape attitude survey -bystander attitudes and behavior -Bystander behaviors -Bystander efficacy -Slaby bystander efficacy -MVP efficacy -decisional balance
Banyard & Moynihan, 2011	Examine who the helpful bystanders are and what variables are associated those who self-report helping people at risk for relationship or sexual violence	Quantitative – surveys	-406 undergraduates, mean age 18, 93% white, 68% first year; 21.5% second year, 7.7% third year, and 2.7% fourth year -USA	- younger participants viewed SV as a problem, feel responsible, greater confidence, pros outweighed cons for intervening, low rape myths, believe peers do not support coercion all leads to higher likelihood of intervening -as students' progress in year of study it levels likelihood of intervening decreases	-peer support norms -Illinois rape myth -bystander efficacy -bystander intention -readiness to change -decisional balance scale -bystander behavior scale

Author	Aim	Methodology	Sample Characteristics	Pertinent Findings	Factors assessed
Banyard, Moynihan, Cares, & Warner, 2014	Improve and develop the assessment tools for prevention programs and learn how they impact on the attitudes and behaviors of participants	-Quantitative -analyze each individual assessment tool	-948 first year students (489 male; 454 female; 3 transgendered), mean age 18, 85.2% Caucasian -USA	- High intent to help affected by low rape myths, high efficacy, awareness of problem, high perception of peer helping, feeling responsible, and higher reported behaviors -Social desirability related to taking action and intent	-Bystander attitudes -Perceptions of peer helping -Bystander intent -Bystander behavior
Bennett & Banyard, 2016	Determine how relationship with victim and/or perpetrator affects the likelihood of intervening	-Quantitative -vignettes and questionnaire	-545 participants (303 women; 242 men), mean age 19, 161 experienced unwanted sexual contact, 24 raped, 90.5% white -USA	- Relationship with victim and/or perpetrator positively influences bystander perceptions and likelihood of intervening. -Situation is only seen as problematic or potentially unsafe if bystander only knows victim and perpetrator is a stranger	-bystander perceptions: situation (is it a problem or not?) and safety (is it safe to intervene?)
Bennett, Banyard, & Garnhart, 2014	Examine how intrapersonal facilitators and barriers influence one's intent to help/intervene. Examined helping behaviors that have been described in previous research	-Qualitative: two open-ended questions about perceived barriers and facilitators to intervening -Quantitative: survey	-242 first year students, mean age 18, 81.8% women, 92.6% Caucasian -USA	- High prosocial tendencies and low barriers influences intervening behaviors -36% feel responsible, 21% intervene -41% do not have the skills to intervene, 13% failed to help because of audience inhibition -Strangers act as barriers to helping	-prosocial tendencies -CES-D depression scale -sense of community scale -spheres of control scale -bystander barrier scale -bystander behavior scale

Author	Aim	Methodology	Sample Characteristics	Pertinent Findings	Factors assessed
Brosi, Foubert, Bannon, & Yandell, 2011	Sorority members' willingness to intervene, rape myth acceptance, and bystander efficacy based on the use of hard-core, sadomasochistic, and rape pornography	Quantitative: survey/questionnaires	-307 female sorority members, mean age 19, 89% Caucasian, 41% first year; 28% second year; 26% third year; 6% fourth year -USA based	-46% viewed hard-core pornography and 21% viewed sadomasochistic pornography -Exposure to pornography linked to high rape myth acceptance, lower likelihood of intervening, low efficacy, line between consensual and non-consensual sex is blurred, distorted perception of victim and perpetrator	-bystander efficacy scale -willingness to help scale -rape myth acceptance
Brown, Banyard, & Moynihan, 2014	Relationship between perceived social norms about sexual violence, intent to help, and experiences on intervening	Quantitative: survey and questionnaires	-232 (56 black women; 27 black men; 96 white women; 53 white men) students, mean age 19 -USA	- Intent to help influenced by peer support, lower rates of missed opportunities -Race unrelated to intentions but was predictor for actually intervening (Black men>White men)	-bystander intentions -perceived peer norms -reported behaviors -reported missed opportunities
Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010	Importance of personal attitudes and perceived peer attitudes in predicting men's willingness to intervene in a sexual assault	Quantitative – survey and questionnaire	-395 male students, mean age 19, 94.7% white, 45% middle-upper class, 29.2% in a fraternity, 50.6% on a sports team -USA	- High intent to intervene linked to view that sexual violence is wrong, perceive peers to be supportive, personal and peer attitudes correlated, high social desirability, and low rape myth scores -Peer support accounts for large portion of variance in willingness to help	-Support for sexual aggression -rape myth acceptance -bystander intent -social desirability
Burn, 2009	Determine whether Latané and Darley's (1970) 5 barrier situational model of bystander intervention is useful for sexual assault prevention and what barrier have more influence	-quantitative: survey/questionnaire	-558 (378 female and 210 male) undergraduate students, mean age 19, 73% white, 14% women and 19% men in a fraternity/sorority, 5% women and 16% men athletes -USA	- Failure to notice and intervene is the greatest barrier to helping, barriers had a greater effect on men than women, more likely to help friends, intoxication had a small effect on intent	-barriers to sexual assault bystander intervention: based on situational model by Latané and Darley -bystander intervention behavior: gender specific

Author	Aim	Methodology	Sample Characteristics	Pertinent Findings	Factors assessed
Carlson, 2008	Effect of masculinity on bystander intervention	-Qualitative: approximately 45 minute interviews consisting of open ended questions about masculinity -answers were judged to be truthful because of the struggle to answer them -read three real life occurrences	-20 college men between 18 and 19 -freshman and sophomores -17 Caucasian; 1 Philippino; 1 SE Asia; 1 half Asian -3 mentioned having girlfriends -USA	-Themes: men must not cry, be big and powerful (body size affects behavior), fight, be conscious of physical stature, protect women, engage in heavy drinking, not be weak (i.e., feminine behaviors like crying), be decisive, do not regret decisions, and men think they are different from their peers -If one finds himself in a situation where they need to preserve their masculine reputations it may outweigh the victim's needs	Effect of masculinity in influencing bystander intervention
Exner & Cummings, 2011	Assess bystander efficacy, readiness to change, and barriers to intervention	-quantitative: survey and questionnaire	-188 (75% women and 25% men) undergraduate students, mean age 20, 45.6% know a victim of sexual assault -USA	- Knowing a victim increases awareness of problem of sexual assault Bystander efficacy increases likelihood of helping - Readiness to change is more prominent among women but they fear for their safety and the consequences linked to misperceiving the situation	-bystander efficacy -readiness to change -barriers to intervention
Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003	Address men's misperceptions of both men's and women's norms	-quantitative: survey/questionnaire packets sent by mail to undergraduate students	-618 (28.5% men; 71.5% women) undergraduate students, 81.1% Caucasian -USA	- Strong belief in obtaining consent in sexual relationships -Men negatively misperceive their peers' norms on obtaining consent and intent to intervene, more for men than women	-national college health assessment survey -Violence related behaviors and beliefs -importance of consent -willingness to intervene

Author	Aim	Methodology	Sample Characteristics	Pertinent Findings	Factors assessed
Fleming & Wiersma-Mosley, 2015	Examine role of alcohol in prosocial bystander interventions	-data comes from 2 projects -study 1: quantitative -study 2: quantitative -USA	-study 1: 888 (64% women and 36% men) undergraduate students, mean age 20, 94% Caucasian; 41% single -Study 2: 637 (70% women and 30% men) undergraduate students mean age 21, 93% Caucasian, 42% single	Study 1 -male use of alcohol is a decreases intent when they know perp -female relationship with victim positively influenced helping Study 2: -Helping higher for known perp. regardless of alcohol consumption -male participants consuming alcohol decreases intent to help -alcohol expectancies are predictors for females -males' consumption and females' alcohol expectancies are important factors in attitudes toward helping	Study 1 -rape myths -victimization history -bystander intervention Study 2: -alcohol use -alcohol problems -bystander intervention
Foubert, 2013	Examine how religious orientation influences pornography use and determine if religiosity influences bystander efficacy and intent in sexual assault scenarios	-quantitative: survey/questionnaire	-247 students (70% female; 30% male), 75% white, mean age 23 -USA	- Intrinsic religiosity can be seen as a protective factor linked to lower rates of pornography usage and higher bystander efficacy -Extrinsic religiosity does not affected exposure to pornography	-religious orientation: -bystander efficacy -bystander intent -exposure to internet pornography -reason for consuming pornography
Foubert, Brosi, & Bannon, 2011	Effect of mainstream pornography, sadomasochistic pornography, and rape pornography on fraternity men's intent, rape myth acceptance, and bystander efficacy	-quantitative: surveys	-489 male members of fraternities, 90% Caucasian, mean age 20.3, 5% first year; 36% second year; 34% third year; 25% fourth year -USA	-Viewing pornography linked to increased likelihood of committing sexual assault, high rape myths, low efficacy, and low intent	-bystander efficacy -bystander intent -Rape myth acceptance -likelihood of raping and sexual assault -frequency and type of porn viewed

Author	Aim	Methodology	Sample Characteristics	Pertinent Findings	Factors assessed
Harari, Harari, & White, 1985	Likelihood a man will intervene in a sexual assault	-quantitative -simulated rape in a secluded outdoor area with 3 main avenues to act (direct, indirect, avoid)	-80 white men – 40 alone and 40 group representatives (first one to act in a group setting) -USA	-alone: 65% intervened; 35% did nothing -group: 85% intervened; 15% did nothing -indirect intervention more likely if confrontation with perpetrator is likely	-bystander behavior
Hust, Lei, Ren, Chang, McNab, Marett, & Willoughby, 2013	Effect of mainstream sports media on rape myths and intentions to intervene in sexual assaults by gender and after controlling for gendered personality traits	-quantitative: survey	-352 freshman (111 men; 241 women) -men: mean age 18; 84% Caucasian -women: mean age 18; 84.8% Caucasian,	-sig. gender differences on exposure to mainstream sports media, acceptance of rape myths, behavioral intentions related to bystander intervention, and expressivity -exposure to sports media linked with high rape myths, low intent to help, and low expressivity	-exposure to mainstream sports media -rape myth acceptance -behavioral intentions related to bystander intervention -instrumentality and expressivity
Hust, Marett, Lei, Ren, & Ran, 2015	Study one: differences in content between crime drama franchises (NCIS, CIA, and Law & Order) Study two: determine if crime drama viewing is associated with rape myth acceptance, intent, and importance of consent	-quantitative: online survey	-313 first year students (39% men; 61% women), mean age 18, 80.6% Caucasian	-Law & Order: lower rape myth; seek consent for sexual activity; refuse unwanted sexual activity; and adhere to consent decision -CSI: lowered intentions to seek consent; low intent to adhere to consent decision -NCIS: low intent to refuse unwanted sexual activity -female have lower rape myths, greater intent to refuse unwanted sexual activity especially if previously victimized, more intent to respect consent	-rape myth acceptance -intentions to seek consent for sexual activity -intentions to refuse unwanted sexual activity -intentions to adhere to sexual consent -frequency of watching the crime drama genre

Author	Aim	Methodology	Sample Characteristics	Pertinent Findings	Factors assessed
Katz, 2014	Examine male bystander inaction and barriers to intervene - 2 factors assessed: group status and victim gender	Quantitative: read a party rape scenario and filled in questionnaire/survey	-77 male undergraduates, mean age 19, 71% white -USA	- Group inhibition to intervening -Less likely to help or feel responsible for a male victim -Audience inhibition had no gender differences	-Bystander inaction -barriers to action -lack of responsibility -audience inhibition
Katz, Olin, Herman, & DuBois, 2013	Evaluate the effects of exposure and social self-identification to the Know Your Power bystander-themed posters	-Quantitative: survey	-95 first year students (69% female; 31% males), mean age 18, 86.3% attended a sexual assault program at college, 61 lived in experimental hall and 34 lived in control hall -USA	- Posters associated with high intent, low rape myth, moderate self-identification with poster, viewed as helpful -Intent to help did not differ for those who saw the posters and those who did not	-Illinois rape myth -bystander intent -exposure to posters -assess agreement of posters -assess perception of posters
Katz, Pazienza, Olin, & Rich, 2014	Gender differences for shared social group membership on bystander intent, barriers to help, and perceptions of victim of party rape	Quantitative: vignette	-151 undergraduates (75% females), mean age 19, 40% first year; 32% second year; 15% third year; and 13% fourth year, 84% Caucasian	- Bystander intent is higher for friends and linked to low barriers, low victim blame, high empathy, and feel responsible -men are more likely to blame victim, feel less empathy for victim	-Bystander intention -Barriers to intervening -Audience inhibition -perceived victim blame -empathic concern
Koelsch, Brown, & Boisen, 2012	What factors influence or inhibit bystander intervention if one notices a sexual assault at a party	-Qualitative: semi-structured focus group interviews -Thematic Analysis (grounded theory)	-51 participants (27 males; 24 females) – 4 male and 4 female groups consisting of 4-9 participants, mean age 20, 35 white; 5 black; 4 Asian; 4 Hispanic; 1 Native American; 2 multi-racial -USA	-Severity of situation predicts intervention, ambiguity of situation prevents intervention -Sexual behavior occurs but outside of the main party area -Rely on friends to protect one another -Negative sexual aspects: regret, wishing it would have been more than a one night stand, negative reputation, walk of shame, unprotected sex, memory lapse	-intervention -responsibility -visibility of sexual behavior -precautions and protections -negative aspects of sexual behavior

Author	Aim	Methodology	Sample Characteristics	Pertinent Findings	Factors assessed
McMahon, 2010	Understand the relationship between rape myths and students' willingness to intervene as bystanders	-quantitative: surveys	-2338 (52% women; 48% men) students, 53% Caucasian, 23% pledging to a sorority or fraternity; 24% athletes; 36% have rape education; 29% know someone who has been raped -USA	-males, pledging, athletes, no previous rape education, low bystander attitudes, and don't know a victim have higher rates of rape myth than their counterparts	-rape myth acceptance -bystander attitudes
McMahon, Banyard, & McMahon, 2015	Examine the patterns of bystander behavior reported by incoming university students	Quantitative: paper and pencil survey	-3670 (46.9% males and 52.9% females) students, 47.2% white -USA	-74.6% engaged in bystander behaviors in last 12 months and 37.3% participated in one type of bystander behavior only -low risk situations are most frequently encountered	-bystander behaviors
McMahon & Farmer, 2009	Gather information from members of student-sport teams to better understand the potential/willingness for bystander interventions.	Mixed methods: quantitative – survey; qualitative – focus groups and individual interviews	-205 (53.7% males; 46.3% females) student, 48.3% knew someone who has been sexually victimized, 78.5% Caucasian	-low intent if victim is unknown -tight team bond influences intent -male athletes against sexually aggressive behavior -female teammates provide unconditional support to in-group members -unknown victim and perpetrator decreases intent to help	Bystanders intent
Nicksa, 2013	Examine how situational ambiguity, bystander gender, anonymity, and relationship with the offender influences intent to intervene	Quantitative – vignettes depicting a hypothetical situation using 4 IV's	-295 college students, mostly Caucasian students -USA	-crime type: largest predictor for willingness to intervene (physical ➔ theft ➔ sexual) -Women have higher intent to report -Knowing perpetrator decreases intent -more likely to report if perp is a stranger vs. a friend	Bystander intent

Author	Aim	Methodology	Sample Characteristics	Pertinent Findings	Factors assessed
Shotland & Stebbins, 1980	Determine whether some of the audible signals to obtain help that have been suggested women try when being attacked are more effective in obtaining help than others	-Quantitative: questionnaire -Qualitative: unstructured interview to determine what the participant made of the experiment	87 male and female students -USA	-seeing and hearing situation increases likelihood of intervening -"help, rape!" message is more effective than "fire!" Men are more likely to intervene directly -interveners started quite quickly and perceive situation as rape, non-helpers tried to avoid the situation and perceive situation as an argument where perpetrator and victim know each other	Likelihood of intervening based on different variables

3.2.1   Demographics

Nineteen studies examined gender differences in bystander intervention (Amar et al., 2014; Banyard, 2008; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Bennett & Banyard, 2016; Bennett et al., 2014; Brosi et al., 2011; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Carlson, 2008; Exner & Cummings, 2011; Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011; Harari et al., 1985; Hust et al., 2013; Katz et al., 2014; Koelsch et al., 2012; McMahon, 2010; McMahon et al., 2015; Nicksa, 2013; Shotland & Stebbins, 1980). The effects of gender vary within the different bystander factors (i.e., rape myths, bystander efficacy, bystander intent, and bystander behavior).

Males who pledge to fraternities (McMahon, 2010), have high exposure to sports media (Hust et al., 2013), with no previous rape education (McMahon, 2010), and no knowledge of someone who has been sexually victimized (Banyard, 2008) tend to have a higher belief in rape myths than women who have the opposite experience (Hayes, Lorenz, & Bell, 2013). That is not to say that men would never intervene; Brown and Messman-Moore (2010) found that men have high bystander intent to intervene. However, due to a lack of a female comparison group, no definitive conclusion can be drawn that men have a higher intent to intervene compared to women. One argument for why men have higher rape myths than women is that men have difficulty identifying with the victim in the same manner that women do (Bell, Kuriloff, & Lottes, 1994). Women tend to be perceived and portrayed as the victims in sexual assaults, increasing sympathetic attitudes towards the victim (Katz et al., 2014).

Women are more likely to intervene than men when: they know the victim (e.g., Amar et al., 2014); they are aware of the consequences associated with being assaulted (e.g., Banyard, 2008); they have been previously victimized (Hust et al., 2015); and/or just starting higher education – between the ages of 19 and 21 (Banyard &Moynihan, 2011). As a

woman's confidence increases, in combination with low rape myths and high intent, she will

be more likely to actually intervene; the higher her confidence is the faster she intervenes

(Amar et al., 2014; Banyard, 2008; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Brosi et al., 2011; Exner &

Cummings, 2011; Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011). However, confidence only increases if

the bystander controls the situation (Bennett et al., 2014), has peer support (Bennett &

Banyard, 2016); and encounters a low risk situation (McMahon et al., 2015). If any of these

three factors are not present, the woman's confidence decreases, lowering the likelihood of

bystander intervention (Exner & Cummings, 2011; Hust et al., 2013; Katz et al., 2014;

Nicksa, 2013).

Finally, in regards to actual bystander behaviors performed, Carlson (2008) found that

there is a correlation between a man's level of masculinity and the likelihood of intervening

in a sexual assault. Stereotypically, men are portrayed to protect women and not harm them,

implying that men are more likely to help (Carlson, 2008). However, if a man's masculinity

could be implicated the likelihood of intervening decreases. For example, a man will not

intervene if only men are present as it may interfere with the perpetrator's aim with the

woman (Carlson, 2008) and risk of confrontation with the perpetrator is too high (Shotland &

Stebbins, 1980). It is more likely the man will indirectly intervene by notifying a third party

(Shotland & Stebbins, 1980). However, this research is limited as it focuses only on men.

More comprehensive research shows that women intervene more frequently than men (Amar

et al., 2014) and provide more details about their intervening behavior, such as calling police

or helping a victim get home safe, compared to men (Koelsch et al., 2012).

To conclude, when compared to men, women tend to have lower rape myths

(Banyard, 2008; Hust et al., 2013; McMahon, 2010), higher self-efficacy (Amar et al., 2014;

Banyard, 2008; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Brosi et al., 2011; Exner & Cummings, 2011;

Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011), higher intent to intervene (Exner & Cummings, 2011;

Hust et al., 2013; Katz et al., 2014; Nicksa, 2013), and are consequently more likely to

actually engage in bystander behaviors (Amar et al., 2014; Koelsch et al., 2012). However,

studies are limited when directly examining gender differences. Researchers tend to focus

heavily on quantitative data, expecting it to provide a major insight on gender expectations

and behaviors regarding bystander intervention. However, the results are then limited to

statistics. Instead, qualitative methods may be better suited as it would provide a more

detailed description of how and why men and women engage differently if witnessing a

hypothetical or real sexual assault.

3.2.2   Peer Attitudes

Five studies directly examined the influence of peer attitudes on one's personal

attitudes towards sexual assault and intervention (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Banyard et al.,

2014; Brown et al., 2014; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Fabiano et al., 2003). Moscovici,

Heinz, and Sherrard (1976) stated that one's personal beliefs and attitudes are influenced by

what their peers' beliefs and attitudes are. The social groups people are part of contribute to

the construction of their attitudes and beliefs towards sexual assault.

In order to examine this phenomenon, studies focus on what people perceive their

peers' norms and attitudes are towards sexual assault and the likelihood of them intervening.

Peer attitudes supportive of sexual aggression (high rape myths) decreases the likelihood that

bystanders will intervene (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Brown et al., 2014). Conversely, if

peers are supportive of intervening the bystander is more likely to intervene (Banyard et al.,

2014) leading to fewer missed opportunities where they could have intervened (Brown et al.,

2014). Therefore, when peers are supportive of taking responsibility, taking action, and the

bystander has the intent to help, he/she is more likely to intervene and report more bystander

behaviors (Banyard et al., 2014). The findings thus far begin to provide support to Moscovici

and colleagues (1976) theory that personal attitudes are influenced by their peers. However, there are exceptions to the influence of peer norms and attitudes on one's personal attitudes and norms.

Studies conducted by Brown and Messman-Moore (2010) and Fabiano et al. (2003) found that men can hold low rape myths and have higher bystander intent, yet believe their peers are supportive of sexual aggression. This could be attributed to the role of masculinity (masculinity may entail drinking large amounts of alcohol or partaking in fights) where men often report that they are different from their peers (Carlson, 2008). Findings suggest men may perceive themselves as better than their peers when in fact they hold similar values (Carlson, 2008). More research is needed to investigate males' perception of their own masculinity compared to their perceptions of their peers' masculinity. Future research should examine the effect one's peers have on a bystander's likelihood of intervening.

To conclude, one's personal attitudes may be influenced by peer attitudes. Generally, if peers support intervention, self-efficacy increases alongside intent and bystander behavior (Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Banyard et al., 2014; Katz et al., 2014). However, peer attitudes alone cannot solely influence a bystander's likelihood of intervening (see Carlson, 2008). However, it can provide a unique perspective on how peer attitudes influence personal attitudes and intent.

3.2.3   *Relationship with the perpetrator and/or victim*

There is a level of loyalty among members of the same in-group (Norris et al., 1996; Zdaniuk & Levine, 2001) as members of that group share group norms, strengthening in-group membership (Gini, 2006; Mullin & Hogg, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Oldmeadow et al., 2008). Acting in the interest of group norms allows researchers to predict behaviors and attitudes (Knifsend & Juvonen, 2013). Twelve studies examined the effect of having a

relationship with the perpetrator or the victim regarding a bystander's intent to intervene

(Amar et al., 2014; Banyard, 2008; Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Banyard et al., 2014;

Bennett & Banyard, 2016; Bennett et al., 2014; Burn, 2009; Fleming & Wiersma-Mosley,

2015; Katz et al., 2014; McMahon, 2010; McMahon & Farmer, 2009; Nicksa, 2013).

Knowledge of the perpetrator or the victim will influence a bystander's perception of the

situation and determine bystander intent (Bennett & Banyard, 2016). Bystander intent is

influenced by having a relationship with the perpetrator and/or the victim, the situation the

bystander is in (i.e., alone or in a group), and whether the sexual assault is ambiguous or non-

ambiguous.

Bystanders sharing in-group membership with the victim or the perpetrator have a

greater sense of responsibility, confidence, and intent to intervene (Bennett & Banyard, 2014;

Burn 2009; Fleming & Wiersma-Mosley, 2015; McMahon, 2010). Acting in an altruistic

manner prevents the group from being negatively affected by the sexual assault. If the

situation is clearly depicting a sexual assault (non-ambiguous) the likelihood of bystander

intervention increases (Carlson, 2008; Harari et al., 1985; Koelsch et al., 2012; McMahon et

al., 2015; Shotland & Stebbins, 1980) alongside feelings of responsibility and the perception

that pros outweigh cons to intervene (Banyard, 2008; Banyard et al., 2014; Bennett et al.,

2014; Burn, 2009). An example of a clearly depicted sexual assault is seen in Shotland and

Stebbins (1980) study; they found that response rates increase when a woman calls out 'Help!

Rape!' Additionally, a study by Harari and colleagues (1985) found that when confronted

with a clear sexual assault 65% of men who were alone intervened and 86% of men in a

group intervened; these results also suggest that being in a group, versus alone, provides a

safer environment and more support for the bystander(s) to intervene (Brown et al., 2014;

Harari et al., 1985). Therefore, it would appear reasonable to conclude that in an ambiguous

situation where the bystander has no relationship with either the perpetrator or the victim, likelihood to intervene decreases.

There are exceptions to these findings. People tend to hesitate if they know the perpetrator has previously offended (McMahon & Farmer, 2009). Fear of the negative repercussions to intervening, such as misperceiving the situation or getting hurt negatively affects bystander intent (Exner & Cummings, 2011). Also, if the victim or the perpetrator is a stranger then a bystander's intent to intervene decreases (Bennett & Banyard, 2016; Fleming & Wiersma-Mosley, 2015; McMahon & Farmer, 2009; Nicksa, 2013). Strangers are not a part of a bystander's in-group, decreasing feelings of responsibility and empathic concern for the victim (Katz et al., 2014). However, more research needs to be conducted to determine how the relationship with the victim or the perpetrator affects bystander intent, as well as whether being with friends, strangers, or alone influences likelihood of intervening. Understanding how the presence of friends or strangers affects the likelihood of bystander intervention would provide more support for the influence of peer attitudes on one's own attitudes towards sexual assault and bystander intervention. Finally, the studies identified whether any type of relationship would influence intent. However, they did not account for how well they knew the victim or the perpetrator. Also, examining the dynamic of in-group membership and the loyalty to the group could provide insight into the likelihood of bystander intervention if they share group membership with the parties involved.

3.2.4 Exposure to Media

The effect of media exposure on bystander intervention and sexual assault is a relatively new phenomenon that has been recently developed. Researchers have started to examine how exposure to pornography (Brosi et al., 2011; Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011), religion (Foubert, 2013), sports media (Hust et al., 2013), crime television (Hust et al.,

2015), and bystander intervention posters (Katz et al., 2013) affect one's intent to intervene. These six studies examine the effects of media on a bystander's likelihood of intervening in a sexual assault.

3.2.4.1 Pornography

Normalization of sexual assault is prominent in how media depicts sexual relations. Pornography for example normalizes sexual assault (Norris et al., 2004). Sadomasochistic and hard-core pornography portrays women being on the receiving end of physical aggression either enjoying it or indifferent to it (Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, & Liberman, 2010). Approximately 90% of men and 60% of women have been exposed to pornography prior to the age of eighteen (Sabina, Wolak, & Finklehor, 2008). Bystanders exposed to pornography do not view sexual assault as a problem as pornography distorts one's perception of sexual assault (Davis, Norris, George, Martell, & Heiman, 2006). Consequently, evidence suggests that early exposure to pornography (Bridges et al., 2010; Carroll et al., 2008; Davis et al., 2006) is negatively associated with rape myths (Brosi et al., 2011; Foubert et al., 2011).

The earlier an individual is exposed to pornography (Bridges et al., 2010; Carroll et al., 2008; Davis et al., 2006), the higher the rape myths are and the lower their confidence is in regards to intervening (Brosi et al., 2011; Foubert et al., 2011). However, a unique study conducted by Foubert (2013) suggests that religion can act as a protective factor against the negative consequences of pornography. When one is intrinsically religious, following the ways of their religion and immersed within the religious practices, one is less likely to view pornography and have higher rates of self-efficacy (Foubert, 2013). However, research on this front is still in its infancy and needs to be further developed.

To conclude, only three studies (Brosi et al., 2011; Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011) were found that directly examined the effects of pornography and bystander intervention, lowering the reliability and validity of the findings. Future research should continue to examine the effects of pornography and bystander intervention regarding sexual assault by including control groups of individuals who do not watch pornography; this will determine whether pornography alone distorts perceptions of the reality and severity of sexual assaults. Also, increasing awareness of the negative effects of pornography, the problem of sexual assault, and the negative consequences of being sexually victimized may lower rape myths, increase bystander efficacy, and increase bystander intent.

3.2.4.2 Sports media, crime television, and bystander intervention posters

Sports tend to over sexualize women (i.e., women shown in skimpy or provocative clothing) and depict the man as 'manly' (Hust et al., 2013). Women are often depicted as sex objects by emphasizing their physical attributes such as cheerleaders in American Football games (Hust et al., 2013) or Sport's Illustrated Swimsuit Edition (Daniels, 2009). However, women in sports receive far less attention than men; instead the media portraying women as athletes, they are sexualized (Daniels, 2009). Therefore, the media can have a significant influence on the development of rape myth attitudes among potential bystanders because it blurs the lines of sexual consent and promotes the idea of sexual aggression (Brosi et al., 2011; Foubert, 2013; Foubert et al., 2011; Hust et al., 2013).

Crime shows (Hust et al., 2015) such as Law & Order: Special Victims Unit and bystander intervention posters (Katz et al., 2013) can counteract the negative side effects of sexualizing women. Negative side effects can be diverted by highlighting the problem of sexual assault and increasing one's intent to intervene. Law & Order depicts how victims are supported, the negative consequences of sexual assault, and the prosecution of perpetrators

(Hust et al., 2015). The posters on the other hand provide bystanders with different methods of intervening, demonstrating that sexual assault is not appropriate behavior (Katz et al., 2013). Preliminary evidence also suggests high scores on expressivity traits, such as being kind or compassionate, are linked with higher scores on the bystander intention to help scale (Hust et al., 2013).

To conclude, research regarding media influence on intent can be controversial. The studies found tend to depict one aspect and demonstrate how it influences bystander intent. Researchers need to examine different aspects of media together in one study to determine the true validity of the findings. For example, if looking at the influence of sports media, researchers cannot just select sports where women are sexualized (Hust et al., 2013). Instead, there should be an equal balance between sexualized sports and non-sexualized sports to determine the relationship to bystander intent. Finally, preliminary research on religion (Foubert, 2013), and the bystander intervention posters (Katz et al., 2013) provides a starting point for where research should continue in order to raise awareness of sexual assault, consent, and increase the likelihood of bystander intervention (Fabiano et al., 2003).

3.2.5   *Social desirability.*

Only two studies accounted for social desirability bias (Banyard et al., 2014; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010). Social desirability bias occurs with self-report data, influencing participants to answer in a socially acceptable manner instead of providing answers that are reflective of their own opinions (Grimm, 2010). Social desirability is assessed using Marlowe-Crown Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The scale is comprised of 33 true or false statements. The socially desirable responses are tallied up to provide an overall score of social desirability.

Accounting for social desirability allows researchers to identify when participants respond in a socially acceptable manner. For example, social desirable responding was negatively correlated with personal and peer attitudes about rape myths, but positively correlated with intent to intervene (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010). Majority of the studies failed to account for social desirability. A possible explanation for why researchers may neglect to account for social desirable bias could be that they believe no dominant social norm exists regarding what one should do if they witness a sexual assault (ipsos-mori, 2012). If a topic has a strong social norm, socially desirable responding is highly likely (ipsos-mori, 2012). Future research should account for socially desirable responding (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010). Some methods to account for social desirability include: the social desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960); participants complete the study without the researcher present; avoid direct reference to subject matter in the beginning; word questions in a manner that suggests others have these views and the participant has to choose the view that fits best with their view; and ask participants what they would do instead of asking for opinions (ipsos-mori, 2012). Including this within future studies may determine if people intend to intervene because they want to or because they have to – to maintain appearances (Banyard et al., 2014; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010). This measure may increase the reliability of people's self-reported responses regarding intention to intervene without directly observing actual bystander behavior (see Harari et al., 1985).

4. Discussion

Considering that sexual assault on university campuses is an ongoing problem (Kimble et al., 2008; Martin et al., 2011), studies examining bystander intervention and sexual assaulted were limited. Only 28 articles were found that directly examined intervention for a sexual assault (see table 2). The review revealed that overall research followed the logical progression of the model depicted in Figure 1. However, upon

interpreting the literature, the model suggests there is a direct relationship between confidence and bystander behavior; intent retrospectively influences attitudes and confidence; and bystander behavior is the ideal predictor of future behavior. The bystander predictors listed below each factor can positively or negatively affect a bystander's likelihood of intervening. In an ideal world the model demonstrates that one must have low rape myth attitudes, positive peer support, high self-efficacy, and a high score on bystander intent in order to accurately predict behavior.

Researchers tend to examine how attitudes influence behavior, when they should also take into account Ajzen's (1985) theory of planned behavior; the theory suggests that beliefs regarding possible consequences of behavior can influence one's attitudes, intent, and behavior. The interacting relationship between confidence and behavior suggests there is a direct impact between the two. Future research should examine how confidence levels can be increased instead of focusing solely on changing people's attitudes towards sexual assault and intervening; especially considering that attitudes are not always accurate in predicting behavior (e.g., LaPiere, 1934).

Bystander intervention regarding sexual assault focuses primarily on bystander intent and hypothetical bystander behavior highlighting possible barriers and facilitators to bystander intervention. Data gathered in this manner is used to implement bystander intervention programs to decrease the prevalence rate of sexual assault. However, this method fails to account for the complexity of intervening in a sexual assault (Bennett et al., 2014). Actual bystander behavior, while a rare event, needs to be observed to determine what inhibits and facilitates the likelihood of intervention; personal investment should influence likelihood of intervention.

Currently, all research examining bystander intervention and sexual assault originates from the USA. The USA data is used to develop bystander intervention programs. However, no known research was found within the UK that examines factors that inhibit or facilitate bystander intervention. Instead, UK researchers have adopted USA findings to design and implement bystander intervention programs such as the Bystander Initiative Toolkit (Fenton, Mott, McCartan, & Rumney, 2014). UK researchers may be adopting the USA data until UK data is conducted and available to combat the problem of sexual assault; especially since UK University students are more likely to be victimized than the general population (MoJ, 2013).

There are likely to be a variety of differences that exist between UK and US students and the contexts within which sexual assault on university campuses occurs. Therefore, the UK needs to develop programs independently that are based on a very clear and nuanced understanding of the factors that influence sexual assault, through the use of qualitative studies. There were only two studies (Carlson, 2008; Koelsch, Brown, & Brown, 2012) reviewed that used qualitative research methods, yet this approach is essential to developing an insight in terms of the nuanced situations in which sexual assault occurs. While the prevalence rates of sexual assault have remained unchanged over the last 30 years (Senn & Forrest, 2016), it is quite likely that with the growth of many universities over recent years, the scenarios where sexual assaults take place have changed. Qualitative enquiries can begin to establish sexual assault scenarios on university campuses and inform the design of realistic scenarios to be implemented in awareness-raising program designs to prevent sexual assault or at the very least, increase the likelihood of bystander intervention.

Finally, current research relies on hypothetical scenarios or memory recall in order to gather information on bystander intention and behaviors previously used to intervene (i.e., Amar et al., 2014; Brown et al., 2014); utilizing such methods increases the risk of socially desirable responding. While researchers have started to account for this when evaluating the

effectiveness of bystander intervention programs (e.g., Senn & Forrest, 2016), it has been neglected within research examining what factors influence bystander intervention. In addition to controlling for social desirability in lab based studies, conducting experimental or observational research could also directly account for this limitation. Experimental research has previously been conducted and evaluated within the review (Harari et al., 1985; Shotland & Stebbins, 1980). However, these studies would pose ethical and practical concerns today. For example, the Harari et al. (1985) study depicted a man dragging a woman into the bushes while unsuspecting bystanders were present. Rather than moving away from experimental methods towards a reliance on self-reports, researchers need to harness the strengths of these early experimental studies but develop the methods so that they are more ethically-appropriate.

In conclusion, evidence shows that bystander intervention and sexual assault on university campuses is a complex area of research still in its infancy (McMahon et al., 2015). Researchers are keen to utilize similar strategies to those used in the initial bystander research (e.g., Latané & Darley, 1968) and applying those findings from one culture (USA) to another (UK) without accounting for possible differences and implications of doing so. Sexual assault is still viewed as a taboo subject and possible cultural differences between the USA and the UK may implicate the transferability of bystander intervention findings. Therefore, research should continue to examine bystander intervention and sexual assault on campuses and filling in the gaps within the literature within the USA and other countries such as the UK. Research on bystander intervention and sexual assault on university campuses may be an invaluable tool to raise awareness of the problem and get people involved to decrease the prevalence rates on campuses.

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