

Take action:

Empowering bystanders to act on sexist and sexually harassing behaviours in universities

The final report from the Phase Two bystander trials 2018-2019

Contents

00 / Executive Summary	4
Bystanders for primary prevention: The partnership	4
What did we do?	4
What did we find?	5
What do we recommend?	7
01 / Bystanders for primary prevention: The partnership	9
1.1/ Bystanders for primary prevention	9
02 / Our challenge: Sexism and sexual harassment, bystander action, and the intention-action gap	13
2.1 / Sexism and sexual harassment	14
2.2 / Bystander action	15
2.3 / Active bystanding and the intention-action gap	17
03 / Our solutions: Co-designing two behavioural interventions	21
3.1 / Our solutions: Two complementary interventions in two universities	22
3.2/ Trial One: Normative community emails at the University of Melbourne	24
3.3/ Trial two: engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearning at Victoria University	27
04 / BI principles underpinning our bystander interventions	29
05 / Trial One: Normative Community Emails	32
5.1/ Our trial design	33
5.2 / Our findings: Bystander action	35
5.3 / Our findings: Email Engagement	39
5.4 / Our findings: Breaking down the differences in gender	42

The Behavioural Insights Team / Empowering bystanders in Australian Universities	3
06 / Trial Two: Engaging Volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn	47
6.2 / Our findings: Bystander action and engagement.....	48
07 / Our recommendations: Next steps to scale	55
Appendices	58
Appendix 01 / Why use Randomised Controlled Trials?.....	59
Appendix 02 / Designing complementary trials to find out what is effective in the university setting.....	60
Appendix 03 / Research activities	62
Appendix 04 / An overview of the behavioural strategies we used	66
Appendix 05 / Social norms messaging used in Trial One: Normative community emails	72
Appendix 06 / The survey measurement tool	74
Appendix 07 / Trial One: Key behavioural ingredients of the wide-reaching normative community emails	77
Appendix 08 / Normative community emails - Trial sample characteristics.....	83
Appendix 09 / Trial Two: Key behavioural ingredients of engaging volunteers in the behaviourally-informed eLearn.....	86
Appendix 10 / Trial Two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn - Trial sample characteristics	89
Endnotes	94

00 / Executive Summary

Bystanders for primary prevention: The partnership

Reducing sexism and sexual harassment has the capacity to provide safer environments for Victorians, be better for mental health, and produce more diverse opportunities and greater empowerment for women. It can be difficult for the targets of sexism and sexual harassment to confront perpetrators. Targets are often viewed negatively when they do confront sexism or sexual harassment. Claiming to be a target of discrimination can be interpreted as self-interested, making it easy for perpetrators and others to dismiss the claim. It can also be career or socially limiting to confront sexist behaviours when the perpetrator holds a position of power.

However, most of the time that sexism and harassment occur, there is an audience (or it is relayed to an audience afterwards). This audience, or 'bystanders', can therefore be the ones to intervene. When bystanders intervene, they protect and support the target, discourage the perpetrator, and shape community perceptions that sexism and sexual harassment are unacceptable. Despite this, many bystanders do not intervene when they see or hear about sexism and harassment, even if they report wishing that they had. Unpacking the reasons why, and devising solutions to facilitate intervening, is an important behavioural problem. This is why the Behavioural Insights Team, VicHealth and the Office for Women embarked on a partnership to apply behavioural insights to the problem of bystander inaction.

What did we do?

Applying behavioural insights to encourage active bystanding

When trying to encourage the population to be active bystanders against sexism and sexual harassment, the main question we have is how to best equip individuals with the information and skills they will need to take action, and to then motivate them to use this new found knowledge. For this reason we trialled **two methods** of reaching university students with a suite of behaviourally-informed resources, comparing wide reaching email communications with a narrow but intensive eLearn training program. We co-designed two complementary interventions with the University of Melbourne and Victoria University, and these were evaluated as randomised control trials in Semester 1, 2019.

These complementary interventions were:

1. **Trial One: Normative community emails.** At the University of Melbourne, we sent a series of five behaviourally-informed co-designed emails which provided the 'knowhow' to actively bystand against sexism and sexual harassment, trialled out two variants of tailored

social norms messages, and then asked for a commitment to action.

- 2. Trial two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn.** We applied behavioural insights to Victoria University's Bystander Awareness and Action eLearning module. Over 30 minutes, the eLearning module provided behaviourally-specific strategies for active bystanding, including the knowhow to actively bystand, and an opportunity to practice these strategies with scenarios presented in the training.

Measuring active bystanding behaviour

We also developed a survey tool to measure active bystanding behaviours. This survey is the first, to our knowledge, to measure not only intentions to intervene, but actual behaviours following witnessing or hearing about a range of sexist and sexually harassing behaviours. Given the known intention-action gap in bystander action, it is important that future work continues to evaluate the impact of bystander behaviours, and not just intentions, to evaluate their efficacy.

What did we find?

Findings summary

- Our light-touch behavioural communications led to more students and staff taking bystander action.
- Voluntary training attracts few, and already-galvanised, students.
- Social norms stressing that active bystanding is common are more effective than those suggesting it is rare.
- Males did not increase active bystanding after witnessing sexism, but did after witnessing sexual harassment.
- Metrics such as engagement and intentions-to-change may not be useful proxies for real behaviour change.

Firstly, we discovered that it's difficult to get students to engage in intensive training - and when you do, you recruit the already-galvanised rather than students who you might really want to target. The literature suggests making training mandatory can backfire - so we wouldn't suggest this.

But most importantly, we found that you don't need to use such intensive training to change bystander behaviour. We found that sending behaviourally informed light-touch communications about taking bystander action, coupled with a social norms manipulation (stressing that the majority of people on campus say they would take action if they saw sexism and harassment) to drive home the need for action, successfully empowered university students and staff in our sample to take action they otherwise would not have. Interestingly, the social norm which encouraged individuals to see active bystanding as common was more effective than the statement suggesting that

active bystanding is rare (and therefore imperative for everyone to take action), in contrast to other findings in the bystander literature.

That's not to say that intensive training doesn't have its place. As evidenced by international programs such as the Green Dot initiative, longer training courses may play a vital role in arming key individuals (for example, socially influential students, students in positions of authority, or staff) with the required information and skills to be positive bystanders. However, we were not able to demonstrate behavioural outcomes here due to the small number of students providing data. We have gained valuable insights on the future development of training materials, based on the engagement and qualitative information we obtained.

Importantly, we found that men and women¹ responded differently to the email intervention. Whereas women increased bystander action after receiving the email-intervention for both sexism and sexual harassment, men only did so for sexual harassment.

Lastly, we have highlighted the need for continued rigorous evaluation of bystander initiatives. Many universities and other organisations continue to roll out mandatory eLearn initiatives with no evidence of their efficacy. We have shown that simple engagement and intention-to-change markers are not sufficient to understand whether an intervention works - interventions should be tested to see if they change behaviour before being rolled out.

¹ We did not have sufficient numbers to look at participants who identified as a gender other than male or female, or did not identify as a gender. Hereafter we will use the terms 'men' and 'women' when discussing gender differences, but this comment applies throughout.

What do we recommend?

Based on our findings, we have outlined a series of recommendations for universities. We have organised these into two categories: **'Taking bystander interventions to scale'**, which were directly suggested by our results, and **'Enhancing bystander interventions'**, which are more speculative and based on both lessons learned in this project and the behavioural sciences literature.

Taking bystander interventions to scale



Roll out **light-touch messaging** about bystander action, and stress taking action is the **norm**.

Roll out light-touch messaging about bystander action, and stress that taking action is the norm. We found a simple and inexpensive series of emails increased bystander action. These emails should:

- Be clear about what constitutes sexism and sexual harassment, and how bystanders should respond.
- Include a message that stresses most people on campus say they would take action if they saw sexism or sexual harassment.



Use **intensive training approaches** to further engage already motivated individuals.

Use more intensive training approaches to further engage already motivated individuals. Although reaching fewer students, we found that the eLearn was well-accepted by individuals who engaged with it. There is some evidence from international programs, such as the Green Dot initiative, that training courses play a vital role in arming key individuals (for example, socially influential students, students in leadership positions, or staff) with the skills to intervene. We only need one active bystander in the room to send a powerful message that sexism and sexual harassment are unacceptable.



Evaluate, and measure changes in **bystander action**, not just intentions, attitudes and engagement.

Evaluate and measure changes in bystander action, not just intentions, attitudes and engagement. Many bystander initiatives that are rolled out have limited evidence. We found from using our behavioural survey tool that engagement and reported intentions are not sufficient to understand whether bystander action will increase. New reporting tools will provide even more rich data that we can utilise. Existing initiatives should be evaluated using this data.

Enhancing bystander interventions



Design approaches specifically targeting men, especially if focused on sexist behaviours.

Design approaches specifically targeting men, especially if focused on sexist behaviours. We discovered that our intervention encouraged men to actively bystand after sexual harassment, but not sexism, and that men were less likely to recognise sexism. We recommend:

- In the email series, spend more time focused on what sexism is and why it's problematic, and experiment with using social norms or messengers from groups that men identify with.
- Engage men in the co-design of new initiatives.



Shift the physical and digital environment to make active bystanding normal and easy.

Shift the physical and digital environment to make active bystanding normal and easy. In this project we opted to focus on building skills in individuals to encourage them to take bystander action. A second technique is to instead redesign the environment in which these individuals find themselves. In the case of active bystanding, this could include:

- Capitalising on digital tools to reduce 'frictions' or difficulties around reporting, and targets asking for help.
- Signposting that bystanders can report sexism and harassment.
- Ensuring that high profile offenders (e.g. university academics) are sanctioned.

01 / Bystanders for primary prevention: The partnership

1.1/ Bystanders for primary prevention

In 2017, the Behavioural Insights Team, VicHealth and the Office for Women, Victorian Department of Premier and Cabinet, formed an innovative partnership to understand how behavioural insights can encourage bystander action against sexism and sexual harassment.

The partnership so far has consisted of two Phases:

1. **Phase 1:** Exploring the applications of behavioural insights to bystander action against sexism and sexual harassment.
2. **Phase 2:** Empowering bystanders to act on sexist and sexually harassing behaviours in universities.

The aim of the partnership is to:

- **Strengthen** Victorians' ability to be active bystanders against sexist behaviours and sexual harassment, with a particular focus on young people and men
- Increase the **capacity** of communities and organisations to deliver good-practice bystander initiatives across Victoria
- Contribute to the bystander action **evidence base** in order to improve primary prevention of violence against women.

Phase 1, completed in 2017, consisted of leveraging the behavioural sciences literature to define target areas and scope promising solutions.²

² For a summary of Phase 1 'Exploring the applications of behavioural insights to bystander action against sexism and sexual harassment', see Section 2 of this report, and the summary document 'VicHealth and Behavioural Insights Team (2019). *Take Action: Empowering bystanders to act on sexist and sexually harassing behaviours*, Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, Melbourne'.

Phase 2: Empowering bystanders to act on sexist and sexually harassing behaviours in universities

This report, *Take action: Empowering bystanders to act on sexist and sexually harassing behaviours in universities*, pertains to Phase 2. At the end of Phase 1, BIT suggested trialling bystander approaches with universities.

This was because Universities have:

- A high level of **readiness to change** (due to the Australian Human Rights Commission's (AHRC) '*Change the Course*' report highlighting and catalysing a shift in awareness of sexism and sexual harassment on campus),
- A high level of **impact** (representing a key moment in learning and transition of future Victorians), and
- A high level of **feasibility** (due to the existing channels and levers that the university has over its students and staff).

Taking a whole-of-university approach fulfils our focus on young people and men. Universities contain young, gender-representative cohorts that allow us to look at young people and to split the results by gender. VicHealth and the Office for Women supported this approach, and have provided the expertise, management, relationships and funding required for us to carry out this ground-breaking work.

Phase 2 aims

The aims of the current project (Phase 2) were therefore:

- To co-design and implement interventions to encourage bystander action against sexist behaviours and sexual harassment at Victorian Universities
- To contribute to the global evidence base by rigorously testing and evaluating these interventions.

To achieve these aims, we trialled the two most dominant methods of delivering bystander interventions, which as yet have not been rigorously evaluated. In both trials, we aimed to reach university students with a suite of behaviourally-informed resources, and we compared wide reaching communications (designed to simulate the university-wide communications often used to encourage behaviour change) with a narrow but intensive training program (which a number of universities have introduced recently). We co-designed two complementary interventions with the University of Melbourne and Victoria University, and these were run as randomised controlled trials in Semester 1, 2019.

These complementary interventions were:

1. **Trial one: Normative community emails.** At the University of Melbourne, we sent a series of five behaviourally-informed emails which provided the 'knowhow' for how to actively bystand against sexism and sexual harassment, trialled out two variants of tailored social norms messages, and asked for a commitment to take action.
2. **Trial two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn.** We applied behavioural insights to Victoria University's Bystander Awareness and Action eLearning module. The eLearning module provided behaviourally-specific strategies for active bystanding, and an opportunity to practice these strategies with scenarios presented in the training.

This report outlines the development of these two interventions, the findings from the evaluation, and based on these findings puts forward key recommendations for universities to encourage active bystanding against sexism and sexual harassment.

The structure of this report

This report is structured as outlined in Figure 1 below. We first outline the challenge in getting people in the university community to engage in active bystanding against sexism and sexual harassment, before outlining our solutions: two complementary interventions. We then outline the behavioural insights strategies and concepts underpinning these solutions. Finally, we discuss the findings from our two interventions, before outlining our recommendations for Universities in how they can apply behaviourally-informed strategies to encourage active bystanding.

The structure of this report

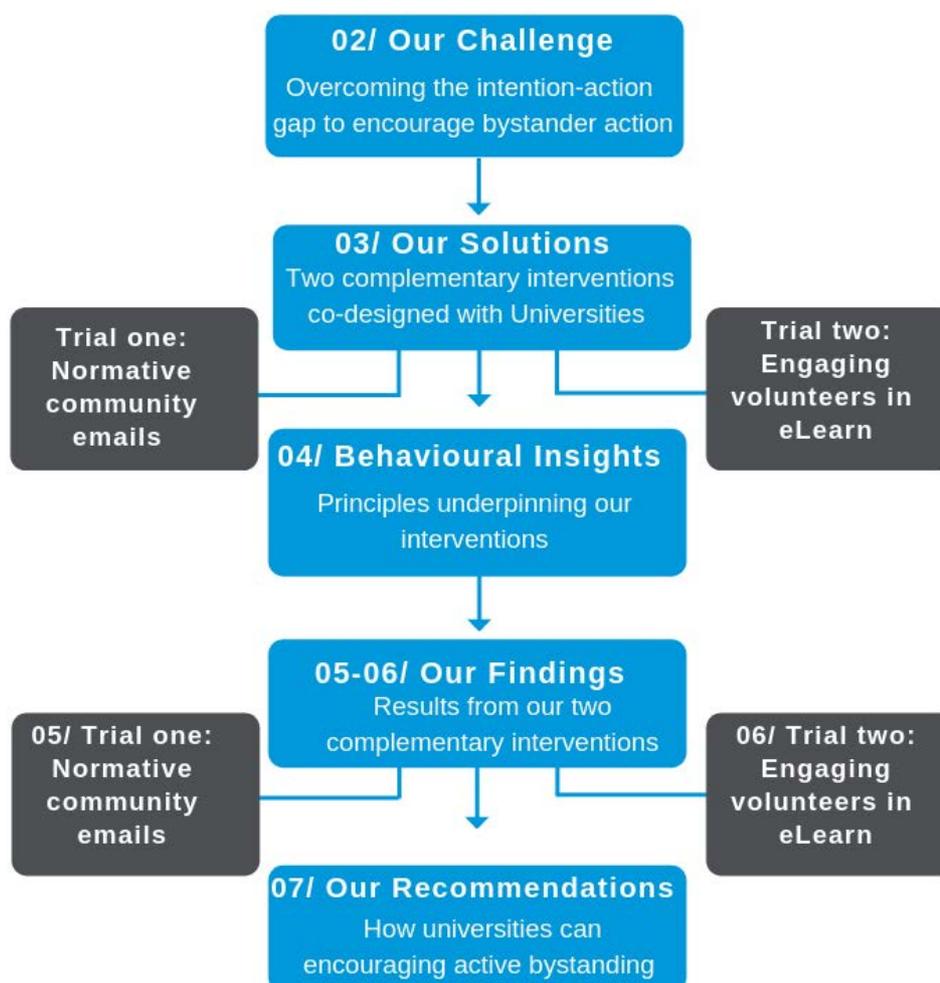


Figure 1 - The structure of the report. Throughout the report, we discuss our two separate university trials: Trial One: Normative community emails at the University of Melbourne, and Trial Two: Engaging volunteers in eLearn at Victoria University.

02 / Our challenge: Sexism and sexual harassment, bystander action, and the intention-action gap

In this section we outline key concepts, definitions and evidence. First, we explain why we are focusing on sexism and sexual harassment, and give our definitions of sexist and sexually harassing behaviours. Next, we explain active bystanding, and outline why it is an important tool for the prevention of sexism and sexual harassment.

We also briefly review some literature about why individuals intend to act, but then fail to do so (known as the 'intention-action' gap). We then conclude with a summary of why novel strategies are needed to overcome the intention-action gap in relation to active bystanding in this context. An overview of this section is provided in the table below:

Table 1 - An overview of section 2: Sexism and sexual harassment, bystander action, and the intention-action gap

	Section	What we cover
2.1	Sexism and sexual harassment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why focus on sexism and sexual harassment? • What do we mean by sexism and sexual harassment?
2.2	Bystander action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is a bystander? • Why encourage 'active bystanding'?
2.3	Active bystanding and the intention-action gap	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A model of bystander action • What is the intention-action gap? • How big is the intention-action gap in bystander action?

2.1 / Sexism and sexual harassment

Why focus on sexism and sexual harassment?

Reducing sexism and harassment has the capacity to provide safer environments for Victorians, be better for mental health, and produce more diverse opportunities and greater empowerment for women. Sexism and harassment can be conceptualised within a continuum of violence against women, and therefore need to be understood and dismantled to truly tackle the problem of assault on university campuses. They are also problematic in and of themselves, leading to reduced wellbeing and reduced opportunity for women.ⁱⁱ

What do we mean by sexism and sexual harassment?

In this report the terms sexism and sexual harassment are used. This is in order to be clear about the specific behaviours which bystanders are being asked to take action against.³

These behaviours can include, but are not limited to:

- Making sexist jokes
- Displaying possessiveness or 'ownership' of women
- Responding differently to the same behaviours when exhibited by women as compared with men
- Initiating unwanted approaches or physical contact of a sexual nature.

For the purposes of this report and two trials, we defined sexism and sexual harassment via the following nine behaviours in Table 1.⁴

³ For the relevant legal definition of sexual harassment see the Equal Opportunity Act 2010. We would like to thank the VEOHRC for consulting on these items and their classification.

⁴ Although we endorse VEOHRC's position that a number of behaviours can be classified as sexism and sexual harassment, and that context and interpretation are key to these definitions, for the purposes of evaluation we had to operationalise them in this way, and hence used a modified version of the AHRCS's Change the Course items.

Table 2 The nine behaviours⁵ used in our trials to define sexism and sexual harassment

Behaviour	Sexual Harassment	Sexism
Stared at a person in a way that made them feel intimidated or uncomfortable	X	
Made sexual comments or jokes that made another person feel uncomfortable or offended	X	
Asked questions of a sexual nature about someone that made them feel uncomfortable or offended	X	
Used unwelcome physical contact, including touching, hugging, kissing and blocking someone's way	X	
Pestered someone to go out on a date or to have sex with them	X	
Sent inappropriate sexual emails, phone messages or social media comments	X	
Shared private images on social media without the person's consent	X	
Made assumptions about someone's abilities or attitudes based on their gender		X
Made sexist comments or jokes		X

2.2 / Bystander action

What is a bystander?

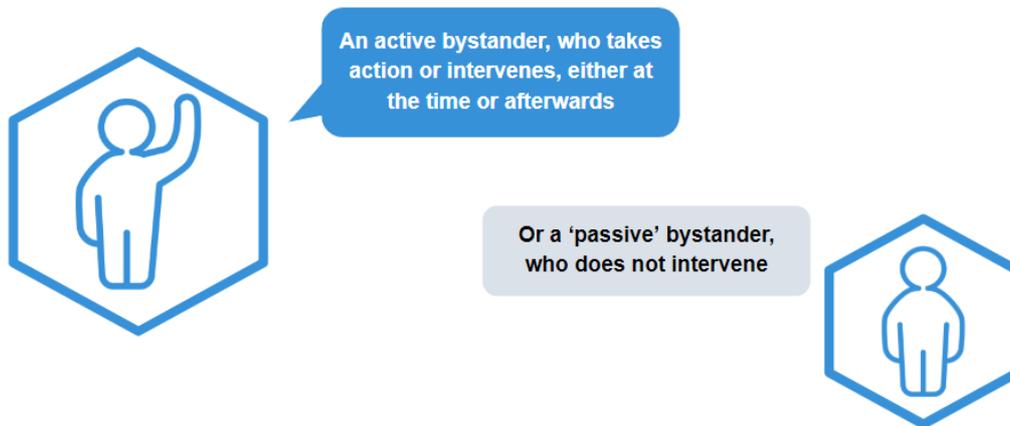
Individuals who witness, or are informed of, sexism and harassment are commonly referred to as 'bystanders'.⁶ This refers to witnessing both an overt act, but also the more subtle, everyday and implicit forms of sexism,

⁵ We also included a measure of witnessing and intervening against inappropriate relationships (i.e., those that are inappropriate for a university setting, for example a lecturer dating a student). However, we did not include this behaviour, as it was classified as neither sexism, nor sexual harassment by the VEOHRC.

⁶ The terminology of 'observers' is used in some areas of social psychology.

institutionalised sexism, and the broader socio-cultural conditions that perpetuate sexist beliefs and behaviours.

When an individual is a bystander to sexism and harassment, they can either be:ⁱⁱⁱ



Despite many individuals saying they would actively intervene in situations involving sexist behaviour and sexual harassment, most do not. This is particularly so for men and young people, two groups who are also rarely targeted by campaigns encouraging action in this space.

What is 'active bystanding'?

There are a number of ways in which individuals can actively bystand. Although different definitions have been proposed, we adopt a broad definition of any action that visibly communicates the bystander's condemnation of sexist and sexually harassing situations.^{iv} This visibility can be either to the perpetrator, the target, a reporting authority or a combination of these. Importantly, bystanders can either take action reactively after witnessing or hearing about sexism or harassment, or proactively by taking action to prevent sexism or sexual harassment.

Why encourage active bystanding?

It can be difficult for the targets of sexism and sexual harassment to confront perpetrators. Targets are often viewed negatively when they do confront sexism or sexual harassment.^v Claiming to be a target of discrimination can be interpreted as self-interested or biased, making it easy for perpetrators and others to dismiss the claim. It can also be career or socially limiting to confront sexist behaviours when the perpetrator holds a position of power.^{vi}

However, most of the time that sexism and harassment occur, there is an audience (or it is relayed to an audience afterwards). This audience, or 'bystanders', can therefore be the one to intervene. When bystanders intervene, they protect and support the target,^{vii} discourage the perpetrator, and shape community perceptions that sexism and sexual harassment are

unacceptable. Despite this, many do not intervene when they see or hear about sexism and harassment. Unpacking the reasons why, and devising solutions to facilitate intervening, is an important behavioural problem.

2.3 / Active bystanding and the intention-action gap

A behavioural model of bystander action

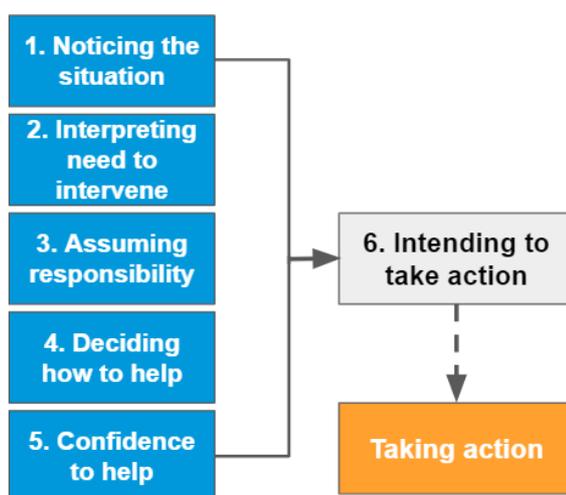


Figure 2 - Our revised behavioural model of bystander action, adapted from Latané & Darley, 1970.

The most influential model for how we think about bystander behaviour comes from the work of two psychologists, Latané & Darley, most notably their 1970 paper categorising the barriers to bystander action.^{viii} This model describes that to take action after witnessing or hearing about an event, an individual must notice it, realise it needs action, assume responsibility for being the one to act, choose a course of action, and be confident to do this (see left). This model is often interpreted sequentially, where there is a set of

cognitive processes which need to be addressed or trained before bystanders will act. We deviate from this use of the model in two ways:

- **There are a number of contextual features that can trigger action.** For example, if there is only one other person present, this person is more likely to assume responsibility for action, even if they are normally not prosocial. If a victim asks for a bystander for help directly, this bystander will automatically notice the situation, interpret the need for intervention and assume responsibility.
- **Intending to take action is not the same as taking action.** There is often a large gap between what we intend to do, and what we actually do. This is known as the intention-action gap, and it's often overlooked in bystander interventions. We review this in detail below.

In order to formalise this behavioural approach to encouraging bystander action, we have suggested a revised model above (Figure 2). Here, each of the barriers are not presented sequentially, and we recognise the importance of the intention-action gap.

The interventions that are described in this report speak to many categories in this model. For example:

- Our behaviourally specific examples, and the ability to practice bystander behaviours, aim to increase the **identification** of and **interpretation** of sexism and sexual harassment, make **deciding how to help** easier, and provide the **confidence** to take action.
- Our social norms intervention aims to promote a feeling of **responsibility** for taking action.
- Our commitment devices aim to overcome the **intention-action gap**.

What is the intention-action gap?

The focus of policymakers is often exclusively on using information to change behaviour, often in public health campaigns. For example, in healthy eating contexts, educating individuals about the benefits of healthy eating and how to eat healthily is seen to create new intentions to eat in a healthy way.

However, often these new intentions do not translate into a long-term change. Limited time and willpower, and unexpected barriers and distractions, mean that changed intentions do not always mean changed actions. This is referred to as the 'intention-action' gap.⁷ In many policy contexts, **there are much bigger gains in trying to close the intention-action gap rather than trying to create new positive intentions**, especially where strong motivations already exist.

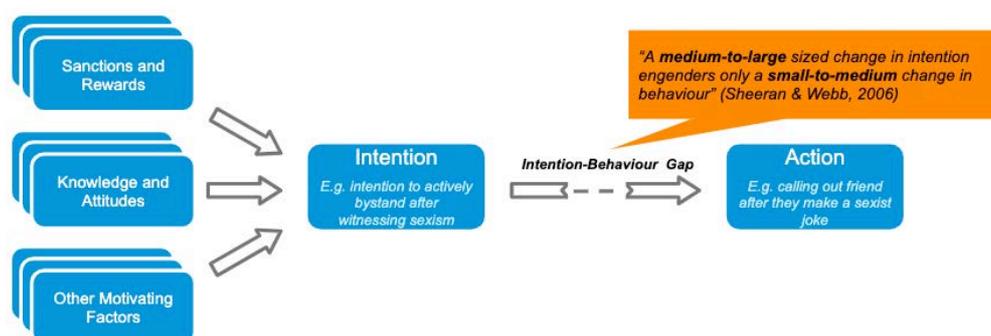


Figure 3 - The intention-action gap, depicting that a medium to large size change in intention leads to only a small-to-medium change in behaviour.

⁷ See for example Sheeran, P. (2002). Intention-behaviour relations: A conceptual and empirical review. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 12, 1 - 36.

How big is the intention-action gap in bystander action?

Despite many individuals saying they would actively intervene in situations involving sexist behaviour and sexual harassment, we know from the mismatch between data on intentions-to-act and actual-bystander-action that the bystander context is likely to be another where the intention-action gap is a problem.^{ix} Action is particularly low for men and young people,^x two groups who until recently were rarely targeted by campaigns encouraging action in this space (and whose actions are actually likely to have more impact than others in the community).^{xi, xii, xiii, xiv}

Before the trials conducted in Phase 2 of this partnership, there were no studies to our knowledge with empirical data showing the size of the intention-action gap in the bystander context. Prior to launching the two trials described in this report, we measured the size of the intention-action gap by surveying students and staff at the University of Melbourne. At the end of 2018, we surveyed 600 students and staff in the Faculty of Science, and Faculty of Fine Arts and Music at the University of Melbourne. In addition to asking students and staff about whether they did or did not take action, respondents also had the option of reporting that they intended to take action, but did not.

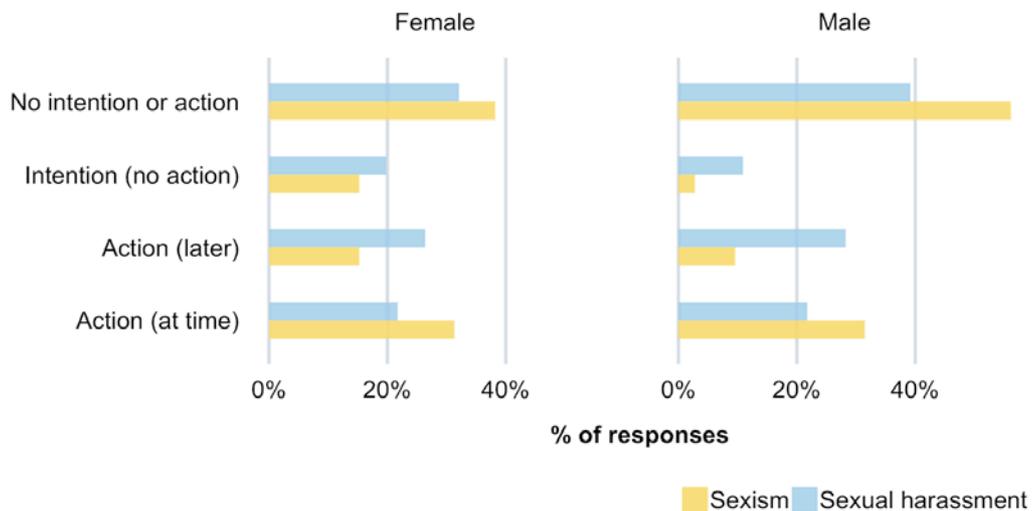


Figure 4 - The intention-action gap for active bystanding against sexism and sexual harassment. The data shown here is from a survey carried out in Semester 2, 2018, in the University of Melbourne prior to launching the current trials. Here, we see that 10 - 20% of non-interventions occurred when an individual intended to, but did not, take action.

As shown in Figure 4, we discovered that more than half of the sexist and harassing behaviours witnessed on campus were not intervened against by our respondents. Even more significantly, 10 - 20% of these non-interventions occurred because an individual intended to, but did not take action. Given our sample appeared to be highly prosocial, and there are likely to be social

demand characteristics⁸ associated with admitting inaction, the intention-action gap may even be larger in reality. Helping these students and staff members follow through with their good intentions is likely to be much easier than trying to encourage resistant individuals to change their mind.

⁸ Experimental participants may sometimes infer what a desirable response is, and respond accordingly. This occurs either because individuals believe the experimenter wants them to respond in a specific way (i.e., they guess the hypothesis of the experiment), or because the participant believes that certain responses are more socially desirable (i.e., indicating that one eats more healthily than they do).

03 / Our solutions: Co-designing two behavioural interventions

We evaluated the effectiveness of each of the two interventions using a Randomised Controlled Trial (RCT, the gold standard for evaluation methodologies) at each of the universities (see Appendix / 01 for an explanation of RCTs, and Box 1 below for a note on the use of the word ‘we’). We aimed to test the effectiveness of two behaviour-change interventions to encourage active bystanding against sexism and sexual harassment. An overview of this section is provided in Table 3 below:

Table 3 An overview of section 3- Co-designing two behavioural interventions

	Section	What we cover
3.1	Our solutions: Two complementary interventions in two universities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How we narrowed our project scope and selected our final intervention options • How we co-designed our two trials with our project partners
3.2	Trial one: Normative community emails at the University of Melbourne	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information about our trial partner, the University of Melbourne • An overview of our intervention
3.3	Trial two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn at Victoria University	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information about our trial partners, Victoria University • An overview of our intervention, engaging volunteers in eLearning

Box 1. A note on terminology: the use of ‘we’.

In describing these trials below, the term ‘we’ relates to BIT and the university partners in collaboration with VicHealth, in reference to the co-design and implementation processes undertaken with each university.

The two interventions in this report were co-designed with our university partners, the University of Melbourne and Victoria University. BIT acknowledges the crucial role these partners played in providing knowledge and resources, understanding the unique university context, developing bystander action material, and implementing the trials. Of particular note is the contribution of Victoria University, where the eLearn was already a rigorously co-designed and high quality existing initiative.

3.1 / Our solutions: Two complementary interventions in two universities

A number of intervention options were co-designed by BIT, VicHealth and our University partners, the University of Melbourne and Victoria University, to best-suit their context and priorities (see Box 2 below). The final interventions were selected based on three criteria:



The **impact** it will potentially have



How **feasible** it is



How **measurable** this impact is

From our Phase 1 research, we knew that we had two options for intervention:

- **Individual:** Intervene at the individual-level, to encourage each person in the population to take bystander action.
- **Environment:** Intervene in the physical or digital environment to make bystander action easier or be perceived as more normal.

Project scoping discussions with the University partners ruled out environmental approaches, and VicHealth and the Office for Women requested a focus on equipping individuals with the skills to be active bystanders for life. We therefore focused on the **individual**.

When trying to encourage the population to be active bystanders against sexism and sexual harassment, the main question we have is how to first equip individuals with the information and skills they will need to take action, and to then motivate them to use this new found knowledge. The two most common ways in which individuals at university are equipped with these skills and motivations are through university-wide communications, and more intensive training (often online).

We therefore decided to test out two approaches to reach university students and staff with a suite of behaviourally-informed resources. One approach was a **normative community email** intervention at the University of Melbourne. The other approach was an **intensive behaviourally-informed eLearn training** intervention at Victoria University. We used a number of behavioural principles and techniques across both interventions, whilst deliberately varying others. These decisions, and their implications, are summarised in Appendix / 2.

Box 2: Our co-design process

The full details of our research activities can be found in Appendix 2: Research activities. In brief, this has included:

- University consultations, workshops, co-design sessions and user-testing sessions.** These sessions and consultations included idea development and scope and refinement activities. These activities were carried out with multiple staff and student groups (see Appendix / 03 for details).



- Consultation with Victorian practitioners:** The Victorian Bystander Partnership group, a committee of organisations who are delivering initiatives focused on bystander action against sexism, sexual harassment and gender discrimination, were consulted at several points throughout the project. In particular, the group provided feedback on specific models or resources such as the ‘bystander ladder’ and the ‘bystander action guide’.^{xv} We consulted with the sexual harassment team at Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission concerning the measurement and advice around sexual harassment.
- Consultation with global experts in gender and diversity:** including BIT’s UK Gender and Behavioural Insights team, Harvard academic Professor Frank Dobbin, expert in evidence-based diversity management, and Harvard academic Professor Judy Harackiewicz, expert in utility-value. We obtained feedback from BIT’s CEO and behavioural insights expert, Dr David Halpern. Recommendations from these experts were built into our project plan and trial designs.

3.2/ Trial One: Normative community emails at the University of Melbourne

Box 3: The trial partner: the University of Melbourne

The University of Melbourne (UoM) is an internationally recognised, research-intensive university with a strong tradition of excellence in teaching, research and community engagement spanning more than 160 years, and has a current student population of approximately 69,769.

As a result of the AHRC 'Change the Course' report, UoM has initiated a number of actions to address the recommendations. They were primarily interested in taking forward a social norms messaging trial to change behavioural norms around active bystanding to sexist behaviours and sexual assault.

In section 3.2 'we' refers to BIT and UoM together.

We trialled out a wide-reaching normative community emails approach at the University of Melbourne. We sent five co-designed emails about bystander action to members of the university community in three participating faculties: the Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences, the Faculty of Fine Arts and Music, and the Faculty of Science. In the emails, we focused on three primary components (see Figure 5 for an example of how we combined these).

1. **Knowhow and specific examples:** The emails included different 'knowhow' strategies for taking action. We described potential responses to take in response to specific sexist or harassment behaviours in a clear manner, giving explicit examples. For example, in response to sexist comments or jokes, we suggested: *"Here's what you can do: In the moment: make sure you don't laugh or go along with it! Make it clear that you don't approve. This could even just be telling them off in a light-hearted way, or asking them to explain the comment or joke (e.g. "I don't get it, can you explain the joke?")."*
2. **Bystander action social norms:** A 'social norm' figure is often used in the behavioural sciences to encourage individuals to see a behaviour as common, by reflecting how many other people are doing it. Humans are social creatures; these relatively small interventions can have large effects on behaviour. To include personalised, detailed norms about bystander action in our messages, we first surveyed the three UoM faculties and then split the social norms by student and staff, and by behaviour (i.e. a different norm was generated for different sexist or sexual harassment behaviours). For example, *"Most of us studying on campus think it's right to take action if we witness someone receiving unwanted attention... and 78% said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus"*.

3. **Commitment and action plans:** We asked participants to initially pledge to read all five emails in the email series⁹ and to take action against sexism and sexual harassment when they saw it. At the end of the series, we then asked participants to use the information they had gained to make a plan for how they would act in the future when they witnessed sexist or harassing behaviours.

Most of us studying on campus think it's right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments...

And 78% said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus.

It's important that you call it out next time you hear it.

Hi Sadhbh,

In group conversations, sexist comments can sometimes be made as a poor attempt at a 'joke'. Even if they're said this way, they are still offensive and cause harm. Our survey in your faculty last year found that those who had experienced sexism and harassment reported being less happy and feeling less safe on campus. This reflects research from the University showing that frequent and unchallenged sexism and harassment are detrimental for wellbeing and opportunities.

Sexist comments and jokes

If you witness someone making a sexist comment or joke, it's important to show them that it's not okay. This can make them less likely to do it again, and also make others who witnessed it less likely to engage in these behaviours.

Here's what you can do:

In the moment: call out the joke or comment and let the person who made it know that it was unacceptable. You can also try asking a question, "Sorry- I don't get it, can you explain the joke?," or tell them how the joke made you feel, "Hey, what you said wasn't funny, it was demeaning to women/men and that really bothered me".

After the moment has passed, even if you didn't say anything in the moment, it's not too late to act. You can reach out to the person who made the joke or comment to let them know it was unacceptable. You can say something like "Hey, that joke you made really bothered me."

Click here for further suggestions on how you can take action when you witness sexism or sexual harassment.

Providing social norms surrounding action.

Providing the know-how through specific examples.

Figure 5 - An example of the email communications we sent out to the UoM community, including the majority social norms and the know-how to intervene.

⁹ Pledges asking individuals to commit to a specific action (like reading five emails) are more effective than those asking individuals to commit to a broader mind-sets or behaviours (like 'being an active bystander').

The figure displays two email templates side-by-side, each with a corresponding callout box. The top email, titled 'Make Your Pledge', features a blue button and a callout box with a handshake icon and the text 'Asking for a commitment.' The bottom email, titled 'Make Your Plan', features an orange button and a callout box with a checklist icon and the text 'Asking people to make a plan to take action.'

Top Email: Make Your Pledge

As a first step towards making sure everyone feels welcome at our university, we would like you to take one minute to **make a simple pledge with us**: to read all four emails and to take action whenever you see sexism or sexual harassment happening. Click below to make your pledge now.

Make Your Pledge

Thank you,
[Faculty Contact's Name]

Callout: Asking for a commitment.

Bottom Email: Make Your Plan

Thanks to the thousands of you who made a pledge. We have one more request...

Research shows that **with a plan in place, you're more likely to take action when you see sexism happening**. Last week, staff and students on campus made their plan on how they can take action next time they witness sexism or sexual harassment. Click below to create your plan now.

Make Your Plan

Thank you,
[Faculty Contact's Name]

Callout: Asking people to make a plan to take action.

Figure 6 - Examples of the commitment devices we used to encourage action (*Make your Pledge, top*) and to encourage making a plan for action (*Make Your Plan, bottom*).

3.3/ Trial two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearning at Victoria University

We implemented an intensive eLearning training approach with Victoria University, where we applied a behavioural lens to the bystander module of their recently piloted eLearning module, 'Respectful Relationships'.

Box 4: The trial partner: Victoria University

Victoria University (and its vocational/TAFE arm, VU Polytechnic) is based in Melbourne's West. The university has a very high Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) student population group, including vulnerable, refugee and migrant young people. The student population is approximately 55,000.

Victoria University has already initiated a number of recent responses to combat sexism and sexual harassment on campus. They have engaged consultants to run workshops and educate Students Leaders, and formed a Student Reference Group. The Student Reference Group, established in November 2017, provided guidance, input and feedback on an eLearn called Respectful Relationships, which we then adapted for use in this trial. The intensive training was developed at VU by the Respect and Responsibility Team, and comprised the Bystander Awareness and Action eLearning module.

In section 3.2 'we' refers to BIT and VU together.

We included a number of behavioural components in refining Victoria University's existing bystander action eLearn. Namely, we:

- **Simplified language and provided specific examples:** The eLearning module included specific examples of ways to actively bystand by supporting the target, challenging the perpetrator's actions, or getting bystander support. We included these strategies for intervention to be behaviourally-specific, but provide a broad range of strategies for intervention. Participants also had the chance to practice active bystanding responses to specific examples of sexism and sexual harassment.
- **Highlighted the value of intervening:** The utility-value intervention highlighted the reasons why past participants found the module important, and asked participants to self-generate reasons why intervening against sexism and sexual harassment is important for them.

- **Asked for a commitment to intervene:** We asked participants to reflect on the strategies they learned in the training, and to think about how they could apply the strategies to their own lives.

We redesigned the training by cutting it down to a single module which focused on bystanding, and applied a behavioural lens to the content. We removed the modules which primarily focused on violence, to instead increase the focus on sexism and sexual harassment.¹⁰

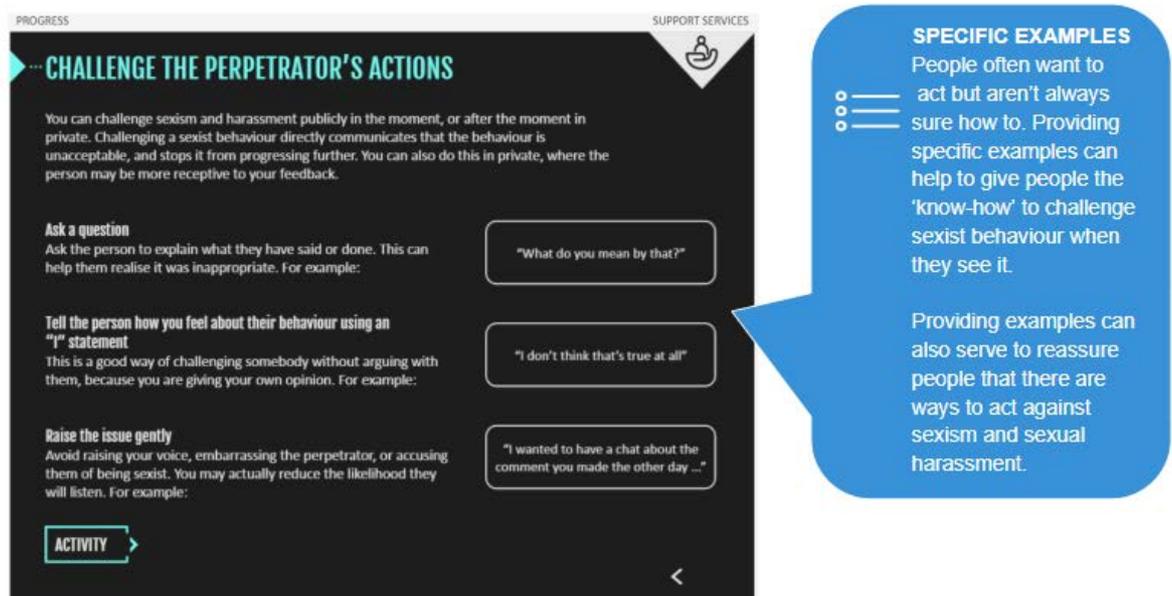


Figure 7 - Example of how we applied behavioural insights to the eLearn.

¹⁰ Whilst reducing family and partner violence is our primary motivator for asking individuals to take bystander action, it is a complex cognitive request for individuals to process: taking action now to prevent violence in the future. What is more direct and easy to understand is that taking action against sexism and sexual harassment has immediate, positive impacts for everyone in the environment, and so we focused on this.

04 / BI principles underpinning our bystander interventions

In this section we briefly summarise relevant behavioural strategies for encouraging bystander action, and how they have been applied in this project. A more in-depth review of these techniques can be found in Appendix / 04.

Table 4 - Behavioural principles we applied to encourage bystander action

Behavioural Technique		Summary	How we have applied it
	Simplifying language and providing specific examples	Legal terms such as sexual harassment and assault are interpreted differently by people. Providing specific examples of unwanted behaviours may encourage the identification of inappropriate behaviours and encourage action against them.	<p>For the normative community emails approach, the suggested bystander actions were tailored to the likelihood that the individual would engage in bystander action at baseline. We did this by conducting a baseline poll - surveying individuals about the current levels of bystander action. As a result of these polls, we provided specific examples of bystander action which were catered to the individual's pre-existing levels of action, and were therefore as behaviourally-specific as possible.</p> <p>For engaging volunteers in the behaviourally-informed eLearn at VU we outlined specific examples of the kinds of strategies that could be used to actively bystand. The eLearn also used real-life examples of instances of sexism and sexual harassment, and asked participants to self-generate their own responses to these situations. After this, the training provided additional specific examples of other possible responses.</p>

	<p>Correcting misperceived social norms</p>	<p>Social norms communicate how one is expected to behave in a given context. Correcting misperceived social norms about what others do and approve of in the context of bystander action can prompt people to shift their behaviour towards the norm, thereby helping to overcome the intention-action gap.</p>	<p>For the normative community emails, we obtained information about what students and staff believe they should do, and what they actually do, to intervene against sexism and sexual harassment. These norms were then circulated to members of the university via email. Examples of the social norms are provided below, and the full norms are included in Appendix / 05.</p> <p><u>Majority Social Norms example:</u> <i>Most of us studying on campus think it's right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments... And 78% said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus.</i></p> <p><u>Minority Social Norms example:</u> <i>Most of us studying on campus think it's right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments... But only 46% of us actually do.</i></p>
	<p>Making an action plan</p>	<p>Implementation intentions are detailed plans for achieving a specific goal. These often include concrete details about how, when, and where one will execute a goal. Using implementation-intentions in active bystanding may help individuals execute their goal if they encounter inappropriate behaviours.</p>	<p>For the normative community email intervention, we asked participants to make a plan for how they will act when they witness these behaviours. To ensure that this plan was as detailed and specific as possible, we provided prompts for the participants to respond to throughout the process of making the plan. For example, we asked participants to identify:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A specific behaviour that they would intervene against (e.g., a friend repeatedly asking someone for a date, even when they are uninterested) • What action they will take against it (e.g., specific questions they could ask a friend, or how they could challenge their friend's thinking) • An obstacle that may prevent them from taking action (e.g., freezing up in the moment, or not feeling confident)

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The final part of this plan involved putting this information together into a specific plan.
	<p>Asking for a commitment</p>	<p>Asking people to make a simple pledge can counter the intention-action gap. Making a commitment to implement specific behaviours increases the likelihood of following through.</p>	<p>For the normative community email intervention, we used pre-commitments to encourage individuals to engage with the intervention. For example, we asked people to make a private pledge to read all of the emails in the series, and to make this pledge via an online portal.</p> <p>We included this very specific behaviour (reading the subsequent intervention content), as evidence suggests that the best goals are those that are clear, specific, have time limits, can be measured easily, are difficult but not impossible, and are important to the individual.</p> <p>For engaging volunteers in the behaviourally-informed eLearn at VU, we asked participants who had gone through the eLearn module to write about an action they would commit to taking next time they witnessed sexism or sexual harassment. We collected their email addresses to email them their commitment afterwards.</p>
	<p>Highlighting the utility-value</p>	<p>Our motivation to exert effort in a task depends on how likely we think we are to succeed, and how rewarding the task and succeeding in the task is (otherwise known as “value”). Encouraging individuals to see the “utility-value” (i.e. how useful or valuable it is to learn about and apply active bystanding strategies) may provide an extra nudge to overcome the intention-action gap.</p>	<p>For engaging volunteers in the behaviourally-informed eLearn at VU we asked students to carry out a utility value exercise at the beginning of the course.</p> <p>We asked them: <i>“Take two minutes to think about your future. How will the ability to handle sexism and harassment be useful to you?”</i></p> <p>We also provided ‘scaffolding’ for this answer in the form of quotes from previous students who had undertaken the module.</p>

05 / Trial One: Normative community emails

In this chapter, we provide an overview of the trial design for the normative community emails intervention. We then outline the results from the evaluation of this trial. An overview of this section is provided in the table below:

Table 5 - An overview of section five: Normative community emails

	Section	What we cover
5.1	Our trial design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How we designed our trial to evaluate the impact of our intervention • The trial timeline • How we measured outcomes, bystander action against sexist and sexual harassment behaviours, in our interventions
5.2	Our findings: Bystander action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An overview of the results of our evaluation survey, showing the impact our emails series had on active bystanding against sexism and sexual harassment
5.3	Our findings: Email Engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many participants opened the intervention emails, as well as unsubscribe rates
5.4	Our findings: Breaking down the differences in gender using the bystander framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An overview of changes in barriers to active bystanding in relation to the bystander framework • Baseline gender differences in different barriers outlined in the framework

5.1/ Our trial design

We implemented an RCT at the University of Melbourne in Semester 1, 2019 to evaluate the impact of behaviourally-informed university email communications on bystander knowledge and behaviours. All students and staff in the three participating faculties (Science; Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences; Fine Arts and Music) were randomised into four groups, receiving different treatments (outlined in the diagram below).

Table 6 - A description of our treatment groups for Trial One: normative community emails

Group	Intervention	
Control group	No email communications	
T1: Knowhow + Commitment		
T2: Majority Norm	Five behaviourally-informed emails (one per week) containing the knowhow for taking bystander action, and asking for a commitment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A Majority norm: “Most of us [studying/working] on campus think it’s right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments, and 78% said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus.”¹¹
T3: Minority Norm		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A Minority norm: “Most of us [studying/working] on campus think it’s right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments...but only 46% of us actually do.”

¹¹ See Appendix / 07 for an overview of the email content.

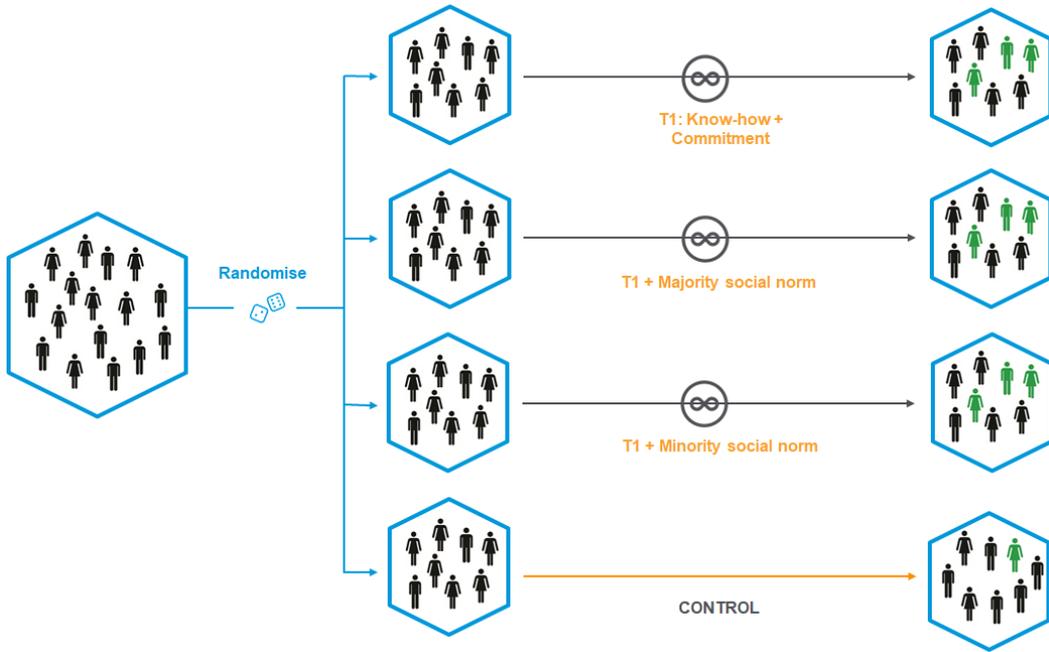


Figure 8 - The Randomised Controlled Trial design for Trial One: Normative community emails

Trial Timeline

We sent emails to the three treatment groups every week over five weeks (see the Trial Timeline in Figure 9 below).

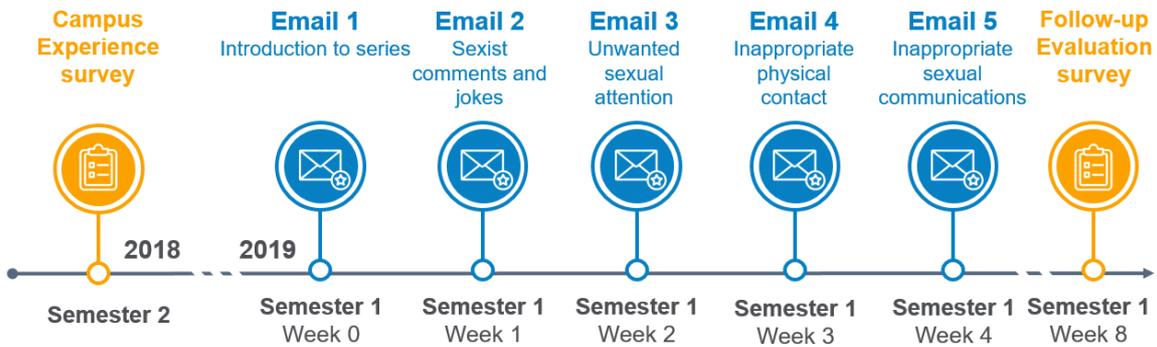


Figure 9 - Trial timeline for Trial One: Normative community emails

We evaluated the effects of the emails using our bystander behaviour measurement survey tool 3 weeks after the last email, outlined in Box 5 below.

Box 5: How we measured bystander action against sexist and sexual harassment behaviours in our interventions

Our research prior to running the interventions uncovered three best-practice design principles for how self-report surveys of bystander action against sexism and sexual harassment should be written.¹² These are:

1. Avoid using legal terms- like 'sexual harassment', and ask respondents about specific behaviours instead, in a behavioural inventory
2. Ask about past behaviours and experiences, not just an individual's *intention* to intervene in future incidents
3. Ask about *opportunity* to intervene, not just the number of times a bystander has intervened
4. Allow individuals to indicate they *intended* to intervene but didn't, to capture this information as well as reducing social desirability effects.¹³

There are currently no self-report survey tools in the literature to quantify bystander intervention in sexism and sexual harassment which meet the four criteria above. Therefore, we developed our own tool to assess bystander action in the context of opportunity and past actions, while avoiding the terms 'sexism' and 'sexual harassment' (see Appendix / 06 for an overview of how we created our measurement survey tool).

In the two trials described here, we offered students and staff the chance to go into a prize-draw to win \$50 or \$250 for completing the 10 minute survey, to increase participation rates.

5.2 / Our findings: Bystander action

We have split the results from this trial into two sections below,¹⁴ examining the impact of the five emails on:

1. **Bystander action:** Bystander action was measured by a follow-up survey using our survey measurement tool (outlined in Box 5 above), which was emailed to all staff and students in the three participating faculties (n=29,495), of whom 2,557 answered the survey. We measured incidences of sexism and sexual harassment witnessed by

¹² For a full description and the evidence-base underpinning these, please see Appendix 06/ The survey measurement tool

¹³ Some individuals may be hesitant to admit they didn't do anything, if they really had wanted to.

¹⁴ For demographics and sample characteristics, see Appendix / 08.

respondents, as well as whether respondents thought that they required intervention. We also measured confidence in intervening, and intention to intervene.

2. **Email engagement:** Email engagement was measured for the treatment groups only (i.e., those who received the emails), and relates to how many participants opened or the intervention emails or unsubscribed from the series.

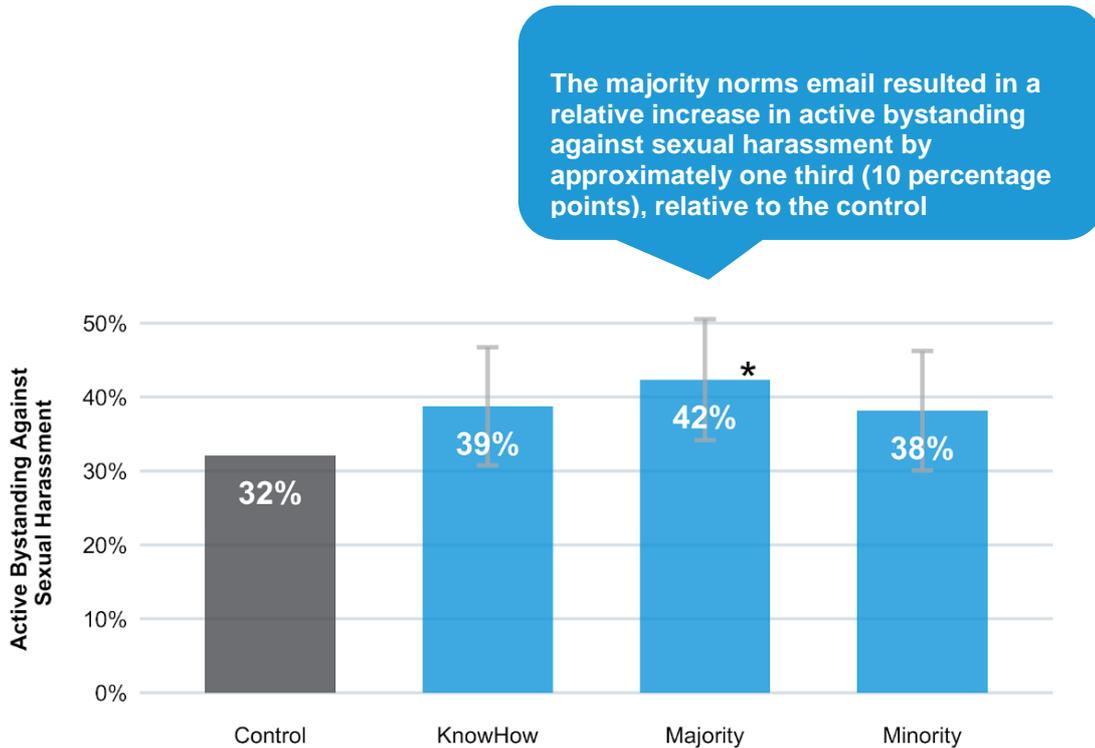
Table 7 - Key findings from Trial One: Normative community emails at UoM

Key findings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority social norms emails increased the number of people actively bystanding against <i>sexual harassment</i>. We found that a behaviourally-informed email series emphasising that the <u>majority</u> of people in the University say they would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus increased the frequency with which individuals took action after observing sexual harassment. • The majority social norms emails also increased bystander action against <i>sexism</i>, but only for women. We found evidence that the majority social norms messaging was effective in prompting female-identifying participants, but not male-identifying participants,¹⁵ into taking action against sexism. • Light-touch, university-wide emails were well accepted by students and staff. Very few students or staff unsubscribed from the email series, and when we asked them directly, most said that they thought the University emailing them about sexism and sexual harassment was acceptable. • Assessing behaviours, not intentions or engagement, is critical to understanding what works to encourage bystander action. The email engagement metrics and the reported intentions to take action did not match with actual bystander action.

¹⁵ Participants self-identified their gender in the follow-up survey. Response options were: female, male, non-binary, gender fluid, transgender female, transgender male, or another gender (with an open-text response box). We did not have sufficient numbers to look at participants who identified as a gender other than male or female, or did not identify as a gender. Hereafter we will use the terms 'men' and 'women' when discussing gender differences, but this comment applies throughout. Note that transgender-identifying participants were included in analyses with their identified gender, however the outcomes do not alter if transgender-identifying participants are removed from the analyses.

The ‘majority norms’ email increased the number of people actively bystanding against *sexual harassment*

Receiving the majority norms email resulted in a significant increase in the number of times individuals took action after observing or hearing about instances of sexual harassment (see Appendix / 05 for the examples we used), compared with control participants.



Sample: Participants who reported witnessing sexual harassment in the last two months.
N=830

Figure 10 - Proportion of times people engage in active bystanding after witnessing sexual harassment

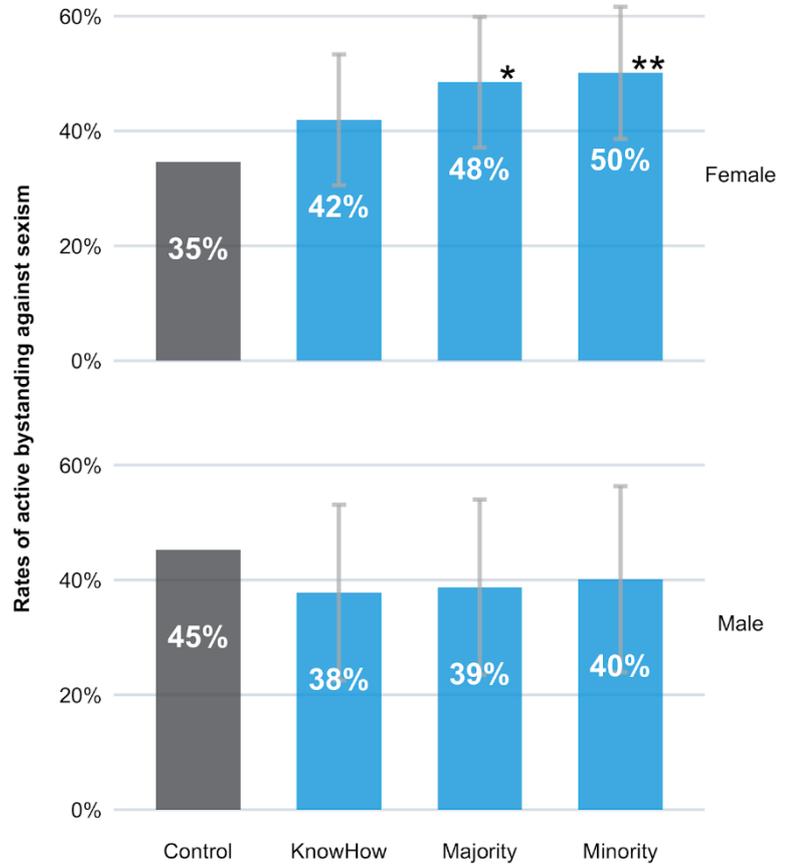
The knowhow and minority social norms emails also increased the proportion of people taking action against sexual harassment, compared to not receiving any emails, however these increases are not as large as the majority social norm emails, and are not statistically significant.

Gender differences: There was no difference between male and female participants in these pattern of results. We found that men and women participants were equally likely to actively bystand against sexual harassment.

The social norms emails increased active bystandanding against sexism, but only among women

The social norms emails increased bystander action against sexism, but only for women. We found evidence that both of the social norms messaging emails were effective in encouraging women, but not men (Figure 11), into taking action against sexism.

For women, we see that both the minority and majority social norms emails increase the proportion of times action is taken in response to witnessing sexism. For men, the email intervention does not seem to impact rates of active bystanding against sexism. In fact, we saw that men receiving the intervention emails displayed rates of active bystanding against sexism that were lower on average (although this result was not statistically significant).



Sample: Participants who reported witnessing sexism in the last two months
 N=821, women = 519, men = 285, other = 17

Figure 11 - Rates of active bystanding after witnessing sexism among females and males

Box 6: What could explain the gender differences?

Whereas both men and women responded to the majority norm by taking bystander action against sexual harassment, only women did the same for sexist behaviours. There are a few reasons why this could be:

It could be that men think that sexism requires intervention less than women, but see sexual harassment as requiring intervention at similar rates. In our sample, we found that men reported witnessing fewer incidences of sexism or sexual harassment compared to women. When they did witness sexism or sexual harassment, we found that men identified fewer instances of sexism and sexual harassment *as requiring intervention* when compared with women (see Table 9 in section 5.4 below). Exploratory analysis also found that men in our sample have lower scores on measures of intention to intervene, compared to women. This suggests that future initiatives targeted specifically at men should focus on these earlier stages of the bystander framework (outlined in section 5.4 below), such as identification of sexism and sexual harassment and recognition of when intervention is required. Given sexual harassment is experienced by both men and women, whereas sexism is predominantly experienced by women, it may also be that bystander action is easier to motivate when one can empathise with the experience.

5.3 / Our findings: Email engagement

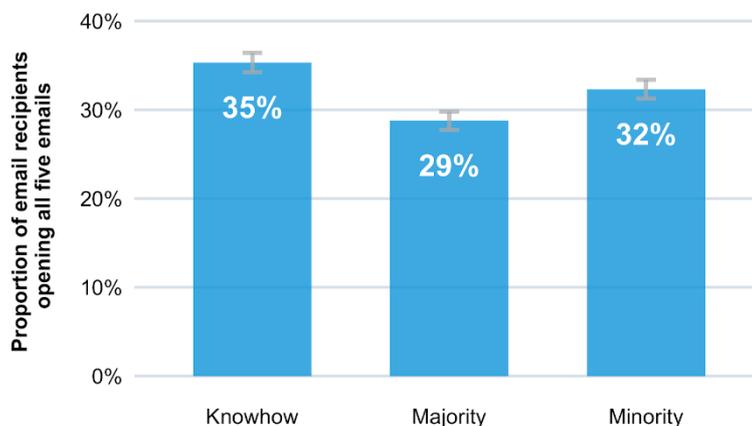
We measured participants' engagement with the email series, indexed through the proportion of participants opening all five emails within the series.¹⁶ It is important we note that this sample is a different one to that reported above, as it includes all participants who were randomised into receiving the email series (n=22,125), not just those who answered the survey (n=2,557).

¹⁶ Note that as the control group did not receive any emails in the intervention series, this outcome is not available for these participants.

The knowhow emails had the greatest levels of engagement, despite having the lowest rates of action

We found that the knowhow emails had the highest engagement rates. Knowhow content led to approximately:

- **6% more participants opening all five emails compared to majority norms framing**
- **A 3% increase in participants opening all five emails compared to minority norms framing.**



Sample: All intervention recipients
N=22,125

Figure 12 - Email engagement rates for the bystander emails

Although more people engaged with the knowhow emails, this did not lead to increased bystander action against sexism or sexual harassment among this group. This highlights the importance of not using engagement metrics alone as an indicator of success in bystander initiatives (as is often the benchmark used in the industry for evaluating communications campaigns).¹⁷

Simply put, many email campaigns are seeking to influence behaviours: for example, a health campaign seeking to encourage healthy lifestyle choices. This is true of this trial also: the aim of this email intervention was to *change active bystanding behaviour*, not simply attain the highest rates of engagement with the communications as possible.

Here, the majority norms intervention emails had the overall *lowest* rate of engagement. Despite this, it led to the *greatest* behavioural impact on active bystanding against sexual harassment. Therefore, we should be wary of using approaches that rely on engagement as a proxy for behaviour change. Here we show that just because people are opening the emails, it doesn't necessarily translate to behaviour change.

¹⁷ E.g., see MailChimp's 'Email Marketing Benchmarks', which details these metrics. <https://mailchimp.com/resources/email-marketing-benchmarks/>

Unsubscribes were low across all groups

Participants in the email treatment groups were free to opt-out of receiving the bystander email series.¹⁸ Of the 22,125 students and staff who were originally randomised to receive the bystander emails in the three treatment conditions, only 187 individuals (0.85%) opted out of receiving the intervention emails.

Table 8 - Unsubscribe rates (opting out of the emails) for the different treatment groups

Treatment	Number opting out of emails (%)
Knowhow	60 (0.28%)
Majority social norms	75 (0.34%)
Minority social norms	52 (0.24%)

Reasons for opting out

While many individuals did not list a reason for unsubscribing, others provided some insight into their decisions. For example:

- Some individuals indicated that they believed that they were receiving too many emails regarding sexism and sexual harassment. The frequency of this reasoning for unsubscribing to the emails increased as the trial progressed, and appears to peak following emails 3 and 4. For example, one student wrote: “These emails are far too frequent! I thought about unsubscribing previously. Chose not to because they seem like a good message. Then received further frequent emails and have now chosen to unsubscribe.”
- Some reasons for unsubscribing also related to the relevance of the messaging. For example, one individual indicated that they are an online, postgraduate student, and so they perceived the email series as irrelevant for them.

The low rate of un-subscriptions for this email campaign indicates that a very small proportion of students and staff did not want to be contacted regarding sensitive topics such as bystander action against sexism and sexual harassment. These unsubscribe rates are comparable to industry benchmarks.

¹⁸ Each email contained the text “Want to opt-out of receiving these emails? You can unsubscribe from this list here: unsubscribe”, accompanied by a link to be removed from the mailing list.

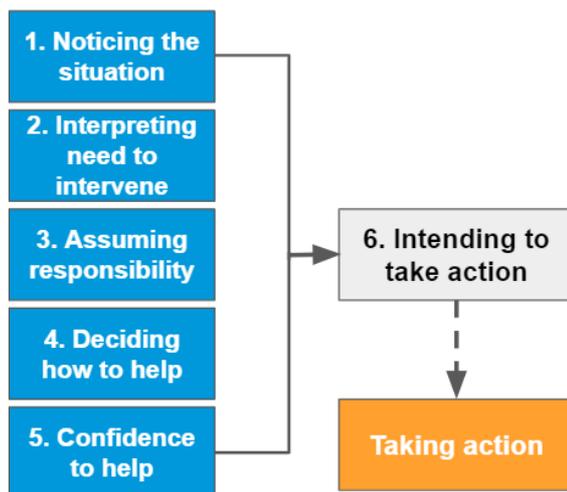
Other engagement metrics: pledges and plans

In the first intervention email, participants in the three intervention groups were invited to make a pledge. That pledge was that they would read all five bystander action emails in the series, and take action next time they witnessed sexism or sexual harassment. All participants in the intervention groups were also invited to make a plan in emails 3-5, where they would identify how they would respond if they witnessed any actions that required active bystanding.

1,470 people made a pledge to read all four emails in the series and to take action against sexism and sexual harassment next time they witness it. This comes to approximately 3% of those who received the emails. Fewer people made a plan for bystander action through our email, with only 61 plans recorded (less than 1%).

Overall, engagement with these components of the intervention were low. This suggests that the inclusion of these elements is not critical for driving the impacts we see in our primary analysis.

5.4 / Our findings: Breaking down the differences in gender using the bystander framework



In this section we look at the impact of our email interventions on the stages of the Latané & Darley model described in Section 2.3.

This model describes that to take action after witnessing or hearing about an event, an individual must notice it, realise it needs action, assume responsibility for being the one to act, choose a course of action, and be confident to do this (see Figure 13).

Figure 13 - Our revised behavioural model of bystander action, adapted from Latané & Darley, 1970.

Our intervention was targeted at multiple barriers outlined in this model. We wanted to provide participants with the knowledge to take action, and we wanted to overcome the barriers between intention and action using behavioural insights.

Breaking down the impact of the email intervention using the model as a conceptual framework allows us to generate richer insights on the potential drivers of the increase in bystander behaviour observed in our earlier analysis.

Differences at baseline

In our survey we found significant baseline differences in the extent to which men and women face some of the barriers outlined in the stages of the Latané & Darley model of bystander action.

We saw that men in our sample were less likely to notice sexism or sexual harassment; when they did notice it they were less likely to interpret it as requiring intervention. In addition, men had lower intentions to intervene than women. These differences may explain the differences in bystander action by gender - men may be less likely to be affected by our intervention, as some face more barriers to taking bystander action.

Below we have summarised the effects of our intervention on some of the other barriers to being an active bystander, alongside baseline gender differences we observed in these barriers.

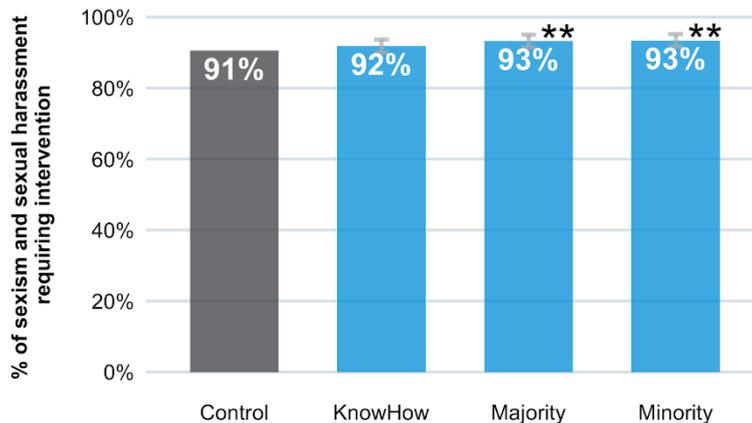
Table 9 - Barriers to action and baseline gender differences

Barrier to action	Finding	Baseline gender differences
Noticing the situation (Barrier 1)	The email series did not influence the likelihood of participants observing sexism or sexual harassment occurring.	Men were less likely than women to report witnessing both sexism and sexual harassment.
Interpreting the need for intervention (Barrier 2)	We observed a small but significant impact of the email series on an individual's ability to recognise or identify instances of sexism or sexual harassment as requiring intervention.	Men were less likely to interpret instances of sexism and sexual harassment as requiring intervention, compared to women.
Confidence to help (Barrier 5)	Self-reported confidence to intervene against sexism and sexual harassment was not impacted by our email intervention.	No gender differences were seen between men and women in self-reported confidence to actively bystand.
Intention to take action (Barrier 6)	The knowhow and majority social norms emails caused a small but significant impact on an individual's intention to intervene.	Men had lower intention to intervene than women for both sexism and sexual harassment.

Barrier 1: Noticing the situation

The email series did not influence the likelihood of participants observing sexism or sexual harassment occurring. Approximately 40% of people (treatment and control) reported witnessing or experiencing sexism within the two months prior to the survey. Similarly, approximately 40% of people (treatment and control) reported witnessing or experiencing sexual harassment in the two months after the email series. This means the increase in we saw active bystanding in our majority treatment group was not because they were noticing more sexual harassment but because they were more likely to take action after witnessing or hearing about it.

Barrier 2: Interpreting the need for intervention



Sample: all survey respondents who answered the question
n = 2,423

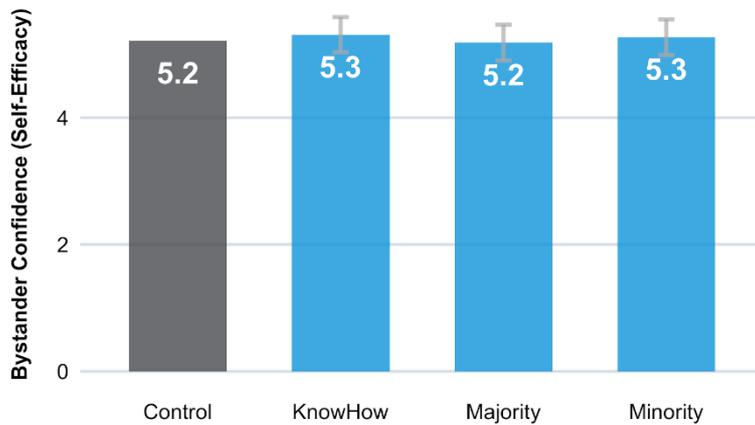
Figure 14 - Percentage of scenarios that participants interpreted as requiring intervention

We observed a small but statistically significant effect on the proportion of situations that require intervention as a result of our emails.

Compared with the impact of our intervention on bystander action, we observed a much smaller impact on an individual's ability to recognise or identify instances of sexism or sexual harassment as requiring intervention. This suggests that the impact of the social norms emails cannot be fully explained through an increase in the proportion of individuals *recognising* that bystander action is needed in particular situations.

It is important to note here that interpreting the need for intervention was generally very high across all groups. With over 90% of situations being identified as requiring intervention, even in the control group, there is potential for ceiling effects here - our emails may have been more effective at increasing the proportion that interpret situations as needing intervention with a cohort that had lower rates to begin with.

Barrier 5. Having confidence in one's capacity to help



Sample: all survey respondents who answered the question
n = 2,409

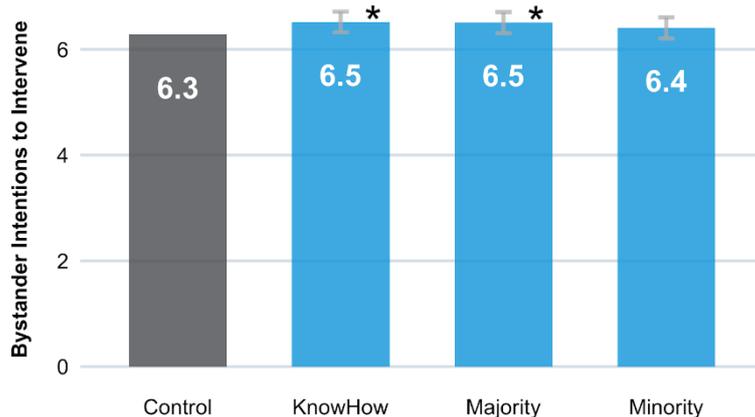
Figure 15 - Self-reported confidence to bystand

Self-reported confidence to intervene against sexism and sexual harassment was not impacted by our email intervention.

There is no evidence that the effects we observed in encouraging action are driven by increased confidence to intervene.

That is, it is not the case that individuals receiving the majority norms emails were simply more confident in intervening, and this led to them actively bystandering more often.

Barrier 6: Intention to take action



Sample: all survey respondents who answered the question
n = 2,409

Figure 16 - Intention to take bystander action against sexism and sexual harassment

The knowhow and majority social norms emails were most effective in encouraging changes in intention to intervene. However, we know from our

primary analysis that this did not translate into changes in bystander behaviour for those receiving the knowhow emails. We found that intention to intervene was only moderately related to actually taking action against sexism or sexual harassment.¹⁹

This finding highlights the importance of understanding the 'intention-behaviour gap' - specifically, that stated prosocial intentions to intervene do not necessarily translate to actual intervention as an active bystander against sexism or sexual harassment. It was for this reason that we included behavioural measures of bystander action, rather than relying on stated intentions as many other initiatives have.

¹⁹ Pearson correlation coefficient, $r = 0.37$; Note that this analysis could only be completed for those participants who reported witnessing either sexism or sexual harassment.

06 / Trial Two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn

Our trial design

We implemented a two-arm RCT at Victoria University in Semester 1, 2019 to evaluate the impact of the behaviourally-informed eLearning intervention on attitudes, behavioural intentions and behaviours.²⁰

This intervention was implemented via the VU online platform, and was delivered to students who expressed interest in participating.

Table 10 - Treatment arms for Trial Two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn at VU

Group	Intervention
Control group	No bystander training
Treatment group	Bystander eLearning training module

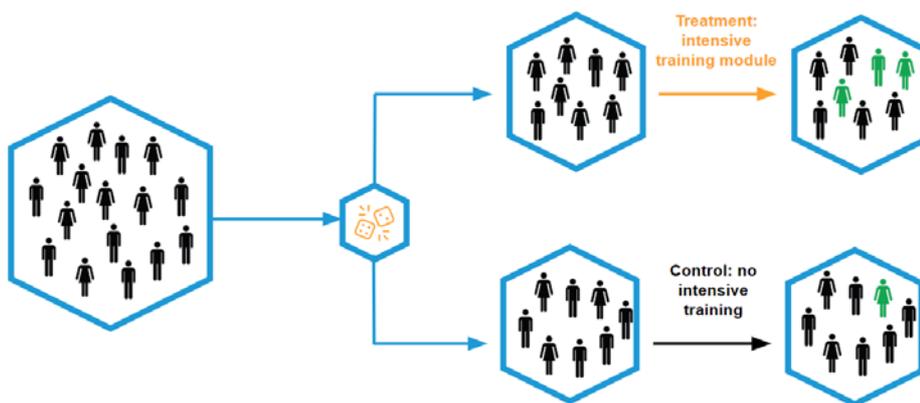


Figure 17 - The Randomised Controlled Trial for Trial Two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn at VU

²⁰ See Appendix / 09 for an overview of the module.

The intensive training module was delivered to volunteer participants in Semester 1, 2019 (see the Trial Timeline in Figure 18 below). We then measured the impact of the eLearning module on bystander attitudes and behaviours using the bystander measurement survey tool and a qualitative analysis of responses to the eLearning module.

Trial Timeline

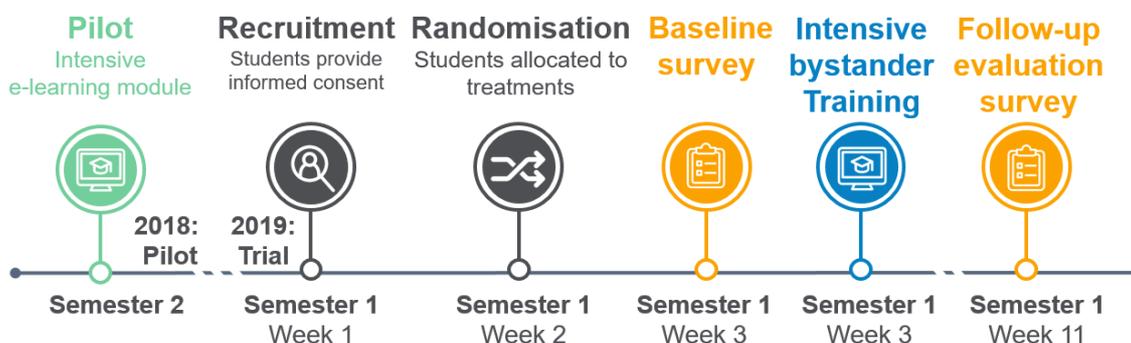


Figure 18 - Trial timeline for Trial Two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn at VU

All trial materials were delivered through VU’s Learning Management System (LMS), where students could individually view the eLearning module. Participants were linked to the baseline and follow-up surveys (hosted on SurveyMonkey) via the LMS.

The control group for this intervention completed the baseline and follow-up surveys, but did not complete the intensive bystander training during the intervention period. Instead, the intensive training was made available to participants in the control group following the completion of the follow-up survey.

We emailed approximately 15,000 enrolled students at VU and the vocational arm, VU Polytechnic, to recruit individuals into the trial. However, only 565 students opted-in to be randomised into the trial from the email, with only 325 completing the baseline survey and 183 completing the follow-up survey.

6.2 / Our findings: Bystander action and engagement

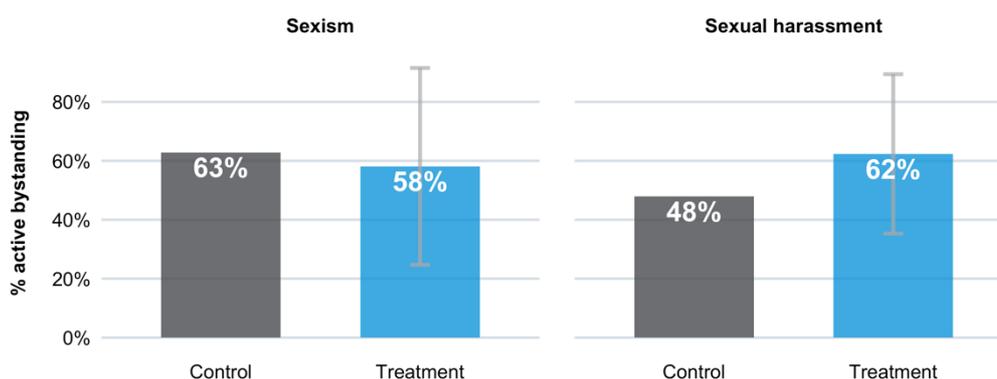
Below we outline results for the intensive training approach with respect to the overall rate of sign-up and completion, and a qualitative review of student responses to the follow-up survey and intensive training module.²¹

²¹ For an overview of the sample characteristics, see Appendix / 10.

While we are able to draw qualitative insights from the trial, the outcomes examining the impact of the eLearning module on active bystander behaviour against sexism and sexual harassment were inconclusive. This is because:

- Sufficient participants were not recruited or retained²² to draw firm conclusions, meaning that the trial did not have enough statistical ‘power’²³ to assess efficacy.
- There was a large difference between the number of treatment and control group participants that dropped out of the trial, meaning that comparing the two groups is not advisable.
- Self-selection of interested individuals into the voluntary program meant that the participants who were recruited already showed very high²⁴ levels of bystander awareness and action, meaning they did not have as much capacity to improve.

We have included here the results from our main analysis, the rates of active bystanding after witnessing sexism and sexual harassment (analogous to the primary analysis in the previous trial). However, due to the reasons given above we are unable to draw strong conclusions from this analysis.



Sample: all survey respondents who witnessed sexism (n = 52) / sexual harassment (n = 61)

Figure 19 - Proportion of times people were active bystanders after witnessing sexism / sexual harassment

²² Initial recruitment of 565, versus aim of 1000; retained 183 participants to the final survey.

²³ Statistical power is the likelihood that we will be able to detect an effect of an intervention, if the intervention has any impact on the outcome measure.

²⁴ Pennay & Powell (2012) found in their Victorian sample that only 31.2% of young people aged 18 to 34 years took action after witnessing sexism. Pennay, D. W. & Powell, A. (2012). The role of bystander knowledge, attitudes and behaviours in preventing violence against women: A full technical report. The Social Research Centre, Melbourne.

Table 11 - Key findings from Trial Two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn at VU

Key findings

- **Incentivising the wider student community to participate in eLearn bystander training is not an effective strategy.** eLearning modules may be good tools to train engaged students at-scale. However, an eLearn requires that students actively seek out and complete the entire module themselves, and this requirement may reduce the reach of at-scale training courses.
- **The eLearn was received well by participants who engaged with it.** The high rates of eLearn completion (once participants chose to engage with the eLearning module) and positive feedback provides evidence the eLearn was well-accepted.
- **The eLearn provided insight into why students want to learn how to actively bystand.** This intervention gives us rich insights into why students value taking bystander action; specifically, a high level of prosocial motivation was echoed throughout most student responses.

Incentivising students to participate in eLearn bystander training is not an effective strategy

eLearning modules may be good tools to train engaged students. However, an eLearn requires that students actively seek out and complete the entire module themselves, and this requirement may reduce the reach of at-scale training courses. We know that making training voluntary is important for its efficacy,^{xvi} but in the university context this leads to low uptake - especially among those who we would most like to target.

Asking students to engage with voluntary training in the eLearn is difficult

Even with the strong incentive of course credits, the chance to win up to \$250 in gift vouchers, and a strong marketing push, both the recruitment and retention was well below our target to achieve statistical power. Any stronger incentivisation would not be scalable as a long-term strategy. Although some of this was likely attributable to the added requirements of the research process (for example, information statement, consent form and surveys), this cannot solely account for the large drop-off between contacting students and them engaging with the bystander eLearning module.

Our sample consisted of the already highly-motivated

It is highly likely that the majority of students who did complete the eLearning module intervention were highly engaged and enthusiastic. Our analysis suggests that even though it is difficult to engage the majority of students for a

training module (as reflected in the low sign-up rate and high participant dropout throughout the trial), the VU students who were reached through the training were committed and reflected high levels of prosocial motivation. For example, in a qualitative analysis of responses to scenarios in the eLearning intervention, approximately 98% of responses to the scenarios presented in the module were considered and meaningful (versus 'keyboard mash'-style responses). There were high rates of awareness, baseline bystander action, and intention to intervene. However, many students in the VU community who we emailed did not engage with this intervention, and it is likely these individuals who may be in most need of intervention. This indicates that the voluntary training appealed the enthusiastic students, while not reaching most of the ambivalent or resistant students.

Targeting influential individuals may be an effective solution, but requires testing

Targeting influential individuals to disseminate active bystander approaches to students and staff on VU campus may be an effective solution to encourage bystander action across various social circles. However, to our knowledge this approach has not been tested within the Australian university context.

Because of this, some initiatives have trialled using a smaller number of influential individuals within the university context to diffuse active bystander training. If a high-status individual calls out an unwanted behaviour (for example, sexism and sexual harassment), it sends a powerful message to others that it is not acceptable. This is known as 'peer diffusion', and is based on the theory that bystanders with high social capital and a wide social network are more effective in intervening.^{xvii} For example, the Green Dot intervention trained influential students, such as sports captains, in how to be active bystanders; this training resulted in lower rates of experienced sexual victimisation on campus in the Green Dot universities, however this effect only persisted while influential students were still on campus.^{xviii} **We recommend this solution be robustly tested prior to being fully implemented across the university.**

Making training mandatory is a tempting solution, but is not supported by the literature

One interpretation of the struggle to recruit using voluntary training would be to make training mandatory - but this is very contentious. While well intentioned, we do not endorse this approach based on the current status of the literature.

There is now good evidence that some forms of mandatory diversity training do not change behaviour,²⁵ and can even backfire in the workplace setting to

²⁵ For example, Bezrukova, K., Spell, C.S., Perry, J., & Jehn, K. (2016). A meta-analytical integration of over 40 years of research on diversity training evaluation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 142(11), 1227–1274; Chang, E.H., Milkman, K.L., Gromet, D.M., Rebele, R.W., Massey, C.,

reduce the number of women in senior positions.^{xix}

The ill-will that can be caused by forcing disinterested individuals to engage with training can be detrimental to the gender equality cause. Bystander training contains many of the same elements as diversity training, and should not be rolled out as mandatory training without testing the impact that this could have. Currently many universities have implemented mandatory eLearn training such as 'Consent Matters' due to political pressure after the Change the Course Report was released. **We recommend that universities evaluate whether these are impacting behaviour.**

The eLearn was received well by participants who engaged with it

The high rates of eLearn completion (once participants chose to engage with the eLearning module) and the overall positive feedback on the module provides evidence the eLearn was well-accepted. Of the students who clicked into the eLearning module and made it to the first data capture point, 87% completed the entire eLearn.

A significant design challenge when developing training on sensitive topics is designing material that is motivating and stimulating, without being perceived as heavy-handed, triggering, or out-of-touch. There was evidence that the eLearn was very well accepted by the participants who engaged with it. Many students who completed the final survey reported that completing the module and surveys prompted them to be more aware of sexism and sexual harassment, and other discriminatory behaviours in general. For example, one participant wrote:



*"I've been more aware of my surroundings and trying to gauge how people are feeling. One day on public transport there was a man pestering and ... I intervened ... Without the knowledge of this module, this is something I wouldn't have done."*²⁶ [Male, 22]

Those who completed the eLearning module also reported feeling increased motivation to intervene against sexism and sexual harassment. Many individuals reported that they found the specific strategies for intervening, and the chance to practice these strategies within the eLearning module, incredibly helpful.

Duckworth, A.L. & Grant, A.M. (2019). The mixed effects of online diversity training. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 116(16), 7778-7783.

²⁶ Note that statistically, the treatment group actually were *less likely* to notice sexism and sexual harassment. This is reported and discussed in Appendix / 10, given the problems noted in comparing treatment and control groups.



"[The eLearn] gave some insight and examples of such situations and how to possibly handle those scenarios." [Female, 27]

Many participants wrote about the importance of intervening, and protecting, supporting or watching out for other people in their lives.

The eLearn provided insight into *why* students want to learn how to actively bystand

The utility-value intervention aimed to increase motivation to engage with and complete the eLearning module. It is possible this contributed to the high rates of completion, although there are of course many other potential reasons.

The utility-value intervention gives us rich insights into why students value taking bystander action; specifically, a high level of prosocial motivation was echoed throughout most student responses. These insights into the motivations of students to engage with bystander training allows future initiatives to be better tailored and targeted for specific individuals.

At the beginning of the eLearning module, participants reflected on how the ability to handle sexism and sexual harassment will be important for their future, and they were given the opportunity to write this down within the module. The qualitative analysis of the utility-value responses revealed themes of why students value bystanding as a skillset. Many students reported that they wanted to be able to *help and protect others* who are experiencing such situations.



"I have a 13 year old daughter that I want to be able to teach to stand up for herself more than I have. I want to be able to show my daughter that women are strong and women can be and do anything they want to do.... I want to be able to stand up to sexism and harassment for my future students as well when I finally become a teacher." [Anonymous]

Other students indicated that they saw value in completing the bystander eLearn because it would help them to become confident to address offensive behaviours, and empower the community.



“I have faced sexism and harassment and therefore know how helpful it is when someone is able to diffuse a situation. However, when it has come to helping others in the same situation I feel quite helpless. I believe it is imperative that more people, like myself, learn how to handle these situations.”

Others students saw the value in contributing to equality for all, and the importance of developing the skills to speak out when they see discriminatory remarks in general in order to improve equality for all.



“As a person coming from an underprivileged background, I believe speaking out against discriminatory remarks to be important in order to maintain social equity and avoid hatred, or disadvantage someone just because of their identities.”

This suggests that, for the students who did engage with the utility-value exercise, they saw the beneficial impact of doing so for themselves, and their community.

07 / Our recommendations: Next steps to scale

Based on our findings from both trials we have outlined a series of recommendations for universities. We have organised these into two categories: ‘**Taking bystander interventions to scale**’, which were directly suggested by our results, and ‘**Enhancing bystander interventions**’, which are more speculative and based on both lessons learned in this project, and the behavioural sciences literature.

Taking bystander interventions to scale



Roll out **light-touch messaging** about bystander action, and stress taking action is the **norm**.



Use **intensive training approaches** to further engage already motivated individuals.



Evaluate, and measure changes in **bystander action**, not just intentions, attitudes and engagement.

Recommendation 1

Roll out light-touch messaging on bystander action, and stress that taking action is the norm. We found that sending students emails that contained clear, actionable information about intervening after witnessing sexism or sexual harassment increased bystander action on campus. This method is inexpensive, simple-to-implement, and can reach a wide and representative cohort of the university community. Importantly, these communications should stress that most people say they would take action if they saw sexism or sexual harassment. Further trialling could be carried out to see if fewer (for example, two or three) emails have the same effect as the longer series we trialled here.

Recommendation 2

Use more intensive training approaches to further engage already motivated individuals. Although the widely distributed approach engages all students, there is still a place for intensive interventions. We found that the eLearn was well-accepted by individuals who engaged with it, and the reasons that students gave for caring about bystander action can be used to recruit and encourage future cohorts of students. There is some evidence from international programs, such as the Green Dot initiative, that longer training

courses may play a vital role in arming key individuals (for example, socially influential students, students elected or appointed in leadership positions, or staff) with the required information and skills to be positive bystanders. There only needs to be one active bystander in the room to send a powerful message that sexism and sexual harassment are unacceptable.

Recommendation 3

Evaluate programs, and measure changes in bystander action, not just intentions, attitudes and engagement. We found that capturing bystander action using behavioural measures provides a better understanding of behaviour compared to other measures. Using our behavioural survey tool, we have shown that simple email engagement and intention-to-change markers are not sufficient to understand whether an intervention influences bystanding behaviours. This indicates that interventions should be tested to see if they change actual behaviours before they are rolled out at scale. As universities increasingly roll-out sophisticated methods of capturing reports of sexism and sexual harassment on campus, we should also endeavour to use this information to evaluate initiatives, as self-reported actions may be subject to individual bias.

Many organisations (including universities) continue to roll-out mandatory eLearn initiatives with limited evidence this will increase bystander action. These initiatives should be evaluated using the behavioural data described above.

Enhancing bystander interventions



Design approaches specifically targeting men, especially if focused on sexist behaviours.



Shift the physical and digital environment to make active bystanding normal and easy.

Recommendation 4

Design approaches specifically targeting men, especially if focused on sexist behaviours. We discovered that our intervention only encouraged men to actively bystand after witnessing sexual harassment, but not sexism. While perhaps unsurprising, our data showed that men experienced more barriers to taking action - men were less likely to report witnessing sexism, and less likely to perceive sexism as requiring intervention, compared to women. In our

normative community email series, only one email focussed explicitly on sexism.

Approaches specifically targeting men should be designed, especially if focused on sexist behaviours. Based on our findings and the behavioural sciences literature, there are two ways this might be possible within the light-touch series:

- Spend more time focusing on explaining what sexism is, how to identify it, and why it's problematic. This could also just be expanded on for a subset who self-select as being low in awareness of sexism (to not lengthen the series substantially).
- Specifically use social norms or messengers from groups men are more likely to identify with.

Outside of the email series, initiatives could be co-designed with groups more traditionally resistant to interventions about sexism and sexual harassment. Many universities are currently targeting all-male sports teams and male colleges with intensive bystander interventions.

Recommendation 5

Shift the physical and digital environment to make active bystanding normal and easy.

As we outlined earlier, given our remit, in this project we opted to focus on building skills in individuals to encourage them to take bystander action. A second technique is to instead redesign the environment in which these individuals find themselves. If 1000 individuals are using one system, then policy-makers can affect all 1000 instantly by making a small tweak to the system. In the case of active bystanding, there are a number of ways this might be achieved (although these strategies are yet to be empirically tested). These include, but are not limited to:

- Using software such as Project Callisto to allow students to make low-friction, time-stamped reports which are embargoed until other targets come forward.
- Using software such as Crowdsport to provide targets with methods of asking for help from bystanders.
- Using signposting on all reporting systems to show that bystanders are able to report sexism and sexual harassment.
- Ensuring that high profile offenders (for example, senior university academics) are sanctioned and removed from the university.

In addition, routine anonymous data collection methods asking students and staff about their experiences of sexism and sexual harassment can encourage students who don't want to make a formal report to still inform the university. Regular prompts to provide data may encourage more regular reporting. This will ensure that the frequency of sexist and sexually harassing behaviours, which are often underreported in universities, can be better estimated and tracked over time.

Appendices

Overview

Below we have listed the appendices attached to this report.

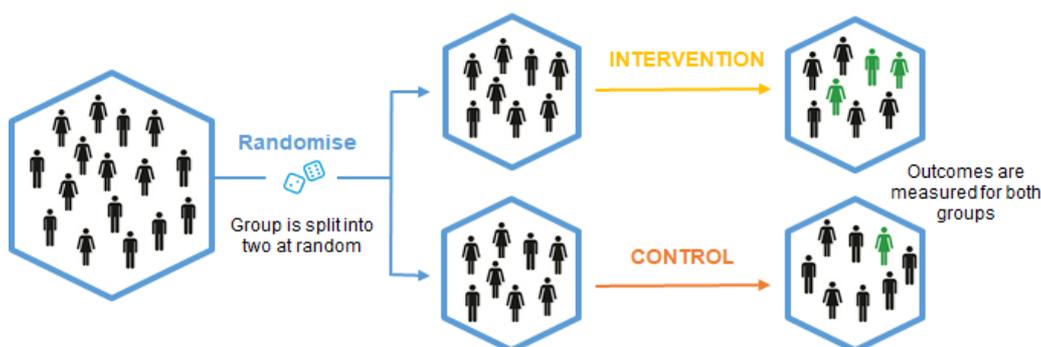
1. **Appendix 01 / Why use Randomised Controlled Trials?**
2. **Appendix 02 / Designing complementary trials to find out what is effective in the university setting**
3. **Appendix 03 / Research activities**
4. **Appendix 04 / An overview of the behavioural strategies we used**
5. **Appendix 05 / Social norms messaging used in Trial One:
Normative community emails**
6. **Appendix 06 / The survey measurement tool**
7. **Appendix 07 / Trial One: Key behavioural ingredients of the
normative community emails**
8. **Appendix 08 / Normative community emails - Trial sample
characteristics**
9. **Appendix 09 / Trial two: Key behavioural ingredients of engaging
volunteers in the behaviourally-informed eLearn**
10. **Appendix 10 / The intensive bystander action training approach-
Trial sample characteristics**

Appendix 01 / Why use Randomised Controlled Trials?

The behavioural sciences literature can give us a good indication of what will encourage behaviour change. However, every context and environment is different – in our own work we've seen what we thought would be top-performers beaten by surprisingly strong results from solutions built on other behavioural science effects. In the literature more widely, there have been many high-profile programs that were assumed to be effective, which turned out to actually be detrimental after they were evaluated using randomisation. This is why we place such a strong emphasis on Randomised Controlled Trials (RCTs).

What are RCTs?

RCTs are considered the gold standard in evaluation methodology. They allow us to rigorously evaluate our intervention, and have confidence that any outcomes we see are due to our intervention and not any underlying difference between the groups.



The steps involved in running an RCT (illustrative example)

1. Start with the initial cohort of people you want to try something new with - this is your 'sample'.
2. Randomly assign each individual in your sample into two groups: intervention and control.
3. Give your intervention to one group. The 'control' group instead receive 'business as usual'.
4. Measure the changes in both groups, and calculate the differences in outcomes of interest. We know that any difference between our groups is because of our intervention: because people were randomly assigned to groups, they don't differ in any other way. We can then see exactly what the effect of our intervention is.

Appendix 02 / Designing complementary trials to find out what is effective in the university setting

In the table below we outline features of our two university trials that were held constant so that comparison could be made between the results.

Table 12 - Complementary features of our two university trials

Feature	Normative community emails approach	Intensive bystander training approach	Reason
Core content	Both of our trials provides behaviourally specific advice on how to be an active bystander, with a number of concrete examples to explicitly guide individuals in how to undertake action.		Providing individuals with clear and specific calls-to-action is important, whereas many bystander resources currently advise taking “action” without clarity as to how or what type.
Method of evaluation	Both of our trials use a randomised controlled trial (RCT) design, and have used measures of bystander <i>behaviour</i> rather than bystander <i>attitudes</i> or <i>intentions</i> .		We will be able to precisely isolate the impact of our intervention, and determine whether our interventions have affected bystander behaviour.
Channel	Brief email correspondence to all enrolled students and staff.	Intensive training provided via a digital learning management system to volunteers.	This approach will allow us to provide recommendations about the two forms of communication that are most readily used in the bystander research: wide but brief (maximising reach) or narrow but intensive

			(maximising content).
Population	<p>The University of Melbourne has one primary campus north of the Melbourne CBD and many other associated rural campuses. Melbourne University has been ranked Australia's top institution, and reports being a world leader in providing high quality education and well-rounded experiences for students.</p>	<p>Victoria University is based in Melbourne's West and with a very high Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) student population group – many are vulnerable, refugee and migrant young people. They also have a vocational/TAFE arm- VU Polytechnic.</p>	<p>We will be able to generalise our findings to two very different audiences, which will increase the transferability of our findings across contexts.</p>
Key behavioural features of the interventions	<p>Using 'Social Norms Messaging' as a strategy to correct misperceived norms</p> <p>Using a 'Foot-in-the-Door' technique to encourage commitment from less motivated individuals</p> <p>Using an implementation plan to bridge the intention-action gap</p>	<p>Opportunity to practice behaviours and simulate real-world scenarios</p> <p>Using a utility-value intervention to encourage cognisance in participants of the value of primary prevention</p> <p>Using self-reflection of learnings to bridge the intention-action gap</p>	<p>We will be able to recommend behaviourally informed strategies that can be used in future interventions to encourage bystander action.</p>

Appendix 03 / Research activities

This appendix is a list of research activities we carried out in the development of our active bystander initiatives.

1. BIT digital ethnography and qualitative analysis of available first-person accounts

Digital ethnographic and qualitative scan

Although the Australian Human Rights Commission's (AHRC) 'Change the Course' report[1] gave us quantitative insights into the prevalence of sexist behaviours and sexual harassment in Victorian Universities, there remains a gap in understanding of the qualitative experience of these behaviours[2].

BIT's team ethnographer reviewed publically online material we were able to access detailing incidents of university campus sexist behaviours and sexual harassment to examine the qualitative experience of sexist behaviours and sexual harassment by university students. These sources were obtained through a variety of means, including through student media and youth publications (giving precedence to articles that published first-person accounts or interviewed women), through Australian submissions to the anonymous spreadsheet: 'Sexual Harassment In the Academy: A Crowdsourc Survey', through a direct qualitative survey within the team's university social networks, and by analysing responses to the twitter 'metoophd' hashtag.

Review of public-facing initiatives

We compiled an internal document 'Australian and international university initiatives to combat sexual harassment on campus'. This document utilised both academic and non-academic research approaches to assess the current state of sexual harassment prevention programs on university campuses within Australia and internationally.

- Our review found that the overwhelming majority of interventions implemented on university campuses are education only, and do not utilise behavioural techniques.
- Second, it found that improved reporting practices are sorely needed, as most harassment goes unreported.

At the time we commenced this project, it was evident that the majority of Australian universities were relying on education programs, predominantly Consent Matters. We assessed the efficacy of Consent Matters to be low, and commenced a wide search of different types of anti-harassment programs, with an emphasis on identifying any behavioural strategies. We next looked for

critical analyses of these various approaches to obtain more detail about procedures and policies, and to gather information about their efficacy.

We then surveyed peer-reviewed academic literature to identify the most effective evidence-based intervention features. We investigated interventions that educated the entire student body, those that targeted arguably high-risk groups (e.g. residential students), and those designed to mobilise bystanders. We differentiated between sexist behaviours/sexual harassment and sexual assault, as these perpetrator populations do not necessarily overlap.

2. Ideas and solutions scope and refinement for the two trials

Following project workshops and discussions with the two university trial partners, we further refined the scope and trial options for both trials. The trial options and research activities decided upon were outlined in separate notes produced for each trial partner:

- Normative community emails approach, University of Melbourne: *Bystanders for primary prevention: project scope and trial options note*
- Intensive training approach, Victoria University: *Behavioural Insights trial: increasing bystander action note*

These notes outlined key project characteristics (e.g. project background, scope, methodology, trial options and evaluation plan, ethics and requirements from university trial partners).

3. Project consultation with global experts in gender and diversity

In order to test our thinking and progress with the two trials, we developed briefing notes and held brainstorming sessions with BIT UK's Gender and Behavioural Insights (GABI) group, and with an external Harvard academic Prof. Frank Dobbin, expert in evidence-based diversity management, and Harvard academic Professor Judy Harackiewicz, expert in utility-value. We obtained feedback from BIT's CEO and behavioural insights expert, Dr David Halpern. Recommendations from these experts were built into our project plan and trial designs.

4. University of Melbourne research and co-design activities

We engaged in a number of activities with various stakeholders and community members at UoM to develop the trial:

- **Co-design project workshop:** Our initial co-design project workshop was held in the UoM on the 25th May 2018. This workshop was attended by the UoM Respect Taskforce and senior university officials including Deputy Vice-Chancellor Professor Richard James (Academic and Undergraduate). The purpose was to outline the necessary requirements for a behavioural insights trial, and to finalise decisions on project target and scope at the University of Melbourne. In addition, a shortlist of trial options were created and narrowed down based on impact and feasibility. Outcomes from this workshop were written up in a project

scope and trial options note.

- **Build workshop one, 31st July 2018:** A project build workshop was carried out with staff representatives from UoM Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences, Faculty of Fine Arts and Music, and Faculty of Science. The aim of this workshop was to co-design the detail around the intervention and the associated processes. These decisions were summarised in a 'Build Workshop Outcomes' note, and used to inform the trial design. It was decided that direct communication should be used to engage with students (e.g. emails, SMS etc.), and details around timelines and data collection were finalised.
- **Build workshop two, 14th August 2018:** Student representatives from above faculties were engaged in an online co-design process, which we collected responses for using an online in-depth survey. Responses have been analysed and summarised, and have been used to inform the trial design. Some high-level decisions included using emails to communicate with students, which behaviours and responses should be targeted and encouraged, and which commitment devices to use to encourage lasting action (implementation intentions and commitment to action).
- **Build workshop three, 17th September 2018:** Student representatives were invited to a final build workshop, where the content of the emails was developed and refined. Students also gave feedback on the bystander survey measurement tool (Appendix 06).
- **Survey development, December 2018:** We developed our survey tool for measuring bystander behaviour (see Appendix 1 above), which was implemented after Semester 2 2018 (see Appendix 06 below for further details).
- **Ethical approval, February 2019:** We obtained ethical approval for running this intervention in UoM the Bellberry Human Research Ethics Committee, who reviewed the study in accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

5. Victoria University research and co-design activities

Partnership discussions were undertaken with Marian Cronin, Victoria University's (VU) Respect and Responsibility Senior Manager, and Teresa Tjia, Vice President Planning & Registrar. We engaged in a number of activities in developing the trial, including:

- **Project scoping:** BIT organised an initial scoping meeting with VU Respect and Responsibility taskforce to outline the necessary requirements for a behavioural insights trial, and to finalise decisions on project target and scope at VU.
- **Review and feedback on VU's eLearning initiative:** We reviewed VU's online module on Bystander behaviour to understand the context of other existing initiatives that sat around our trial. This included providing detailed suggestions on how to improve the module in line with our

findings from the bystander literature so far.

- **Evaluation of bystander initiatives:** We developed and discussed methods of measuring bystander behaviour, and scoped an evaluation of the eLearning course. We engaged in the early design of survey questions to be used in this evaluation. In addition, we carried out an internal ethical review of the evaluation survey with our UK-based in-house ethics panel.
- **Presentation to the Respect and Responsibility Student Reference Group (SRG) of the VU taskforce, 19th July 2018:** BIT presented the bystander trial project to VU's Respect and Responsibility SRG, a group who have worked on the problem of sexist behaviours and sexual harassment and bystander intervention at VU in 2018. We obtained support for working with the SRG on our initiative.
- **Co-design project workshop:** This workshop to design the trial took place in November 2018, and was attended by several senior stakeholders in VU. In this workshop, we brainstormed and refined trial options.
- **Build workshop November 22nd 2018:** This workshop to refine the trial design took place in November 2018, and was attended by students from VU. In this workshop, selected options from the co-design project workshop were refined further.
- **Ethical Approval, February 2019:** The Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee reviewed this study in accordance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

Appendix 04 / An overview of the behavioural strategies we used



1 / Simplify language and provide specific examples

Research suggests that legal terms such as ‘sexual harassment’ and ‘sexual assault’ can confuse individuals, as people often define these terms differently. Instead, materials should include specific examples of unwanted behaviours.

Across both trials, we provided specific examples of inappropriate behaviours, and then linked these with specific examples of an appropriate bystander response (see Figure 7 above for specific behavioural strategies provided to students via an eLearning module).

We did this to remove the ambiguity in recognising sexism and sexual harassment, and what an appropriate response could be. Providing specific examples of bystander action also serves to reassure people that there are ways to take action against sexism and sexual harassment, both in the moment, and after the moment has passed. Recognising instances of sexism and sexual harassment, and providing specific examples of action, can both help to bridge the intention-action gap in bystanders.

How we applied this technique: Achievable behaviours and examples of bystander action

It is very difficult to encourage someone to take action against sexism the next time they witness it if they are already very unlikely to do so. The first step towards encouraging new behaviours should be to make them achievable for the individual.

For the normative community emails approach, we tailored the difficulty of the suggested bystander actions to each individual’s current level of bystander action. We did this by conducting a baseline poll which captured individuals’ self-reported ability to actively bystand. Based on their responses, we sent easier actions to individuals with low levels of current action, and more difficult actions to those with high likelihood to bystand, making these suggestions highly behaviourally specific.

For engaging volunteers in the behaviourally-informed eLearn, we gave participants specific examples of the kinds of strategies that could be used as an active bystander. The intensive training module we designed also used real-life examples of instances of sexism and sexual harassment, and asked participants to self-generate their own responses to these situations. After this

exercise, the training provided additional specific examples of other possible bystander responses.

2 / Correct misperceived social norms



Social norms are explicit or implicit beliefs held about how one should behave in a particular context. Due to our social nature, people generally try to comply with what they perceive to be the socially acceptable or desirable norm. These norms can be communicated in terms of what others are currently doing (descriptive social norms), or what others perceive as desirable or good behaviour (injunctive norms).

Social norms messages provide individuals with guidance on how they should act in particular situations. For example, people overestimate the frequency of socially undesirable behaviour among their peers, and justify their own socially undesirable behaviour as 'normal'. There is robust evidence that highlighting social norms influences behaviour, and social norms interventions have been used across a wide range of settings, including in universities.

Highlighting social norms can bridge the intention-action gap by encouraging individuals to change their behaviour through detailing what the social norms are in a particular context. Presenting information which corrects an individual's belief about what most people do, or support doing, results in the individual adjusting their behaviour to more closely align with the social norm.

However, bystander action is a particularly difficult behavioural circumstance in which to advertise social norms. Bystander theory tells us that people are less likely to take action if they think someone else will. This has been identified as a significant barrier to action. We therefore trialled the effectiveness of two different types of norms (majority and minority norms), to better understand what works in encouraging bystander action against sexist and sexual harassment behaviours at University.

How we applied this technique: Communicating social norms about active bystanding

Emphasising social norms in anti-harassment interventions may be highly effective, and in fact is a feature of the Consent Matters intervention already in use across many universities. Students complete a multiple-choice quiz on sexual harassment, and they can 'check' their responses against what other students answered. Students with answers outside the 'norm' would, in theory, change their behaviour to bring it in line with social norms and expectations.

A problem with this approach is that this means students who are above average (i.e. above the norm) in taking bystander action receive feedback

that they are overly interventionist. According to behavioural science, this should reduce the likelihood that they will intervene in the future. Behavioural insights can be used to produce a social norms intervention which does not carry this potential to backfire.

To incorporate social norms into our **normative community emails**, we obtained information about what students and staff believe they should do, and what they actually do, to intervene against sexism and sexual harassment. These norms were then circulated to members of the university via email. Both types of messages start with an injunctive norm encouraging active bystanding, before invoking either a majority or minority norm. Examples of the social norms are provided below, and the full norms are included in Appendix 3.

Majority Social Norms

Most of us studying on campus think it's right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments...

And 78% said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus.

Minority Social Norms

Most of us studying on campus think it's right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments...

But only 46% of us actually do.



3 / Ask for a commitment

Education and training can change someone's *intention*, but often do not change how they actually behave. Good intentions are not enough, so education needs to include strategies to turn intentions into actions. One way we can do this is by asking people to make a pledge. Making a pledge means asking someone to write down a specific *goal*, and then *commit* to doing it.

The most effective pledges have specific goals, as general goals such as "I will be a better bystander" do not necessarily lead to behaviour change. Effective pledges make a commitment to specific behaviours in specific situations, such as "If I see sexual harassment at work, I will report it through the safety portal".

Pledges should also be difficult but achievable. Challenging goals improve behaviour more than easy goals, unless they are *too* hard, backfire, and cause *worse* behaviour. The more difficult a goal is, the more commitment is needed to achieve it, so pledges should not be so daunting that no one wants to commit to them. For the goal "I will intervene if I see someone being sexually harassed at work", an easy pledge would be "I will give the perpetrator a disapproving look". A more *challenging but achievable* pledge would be "I will ask the target if they are okay afterwards, and if I can help out in any way".

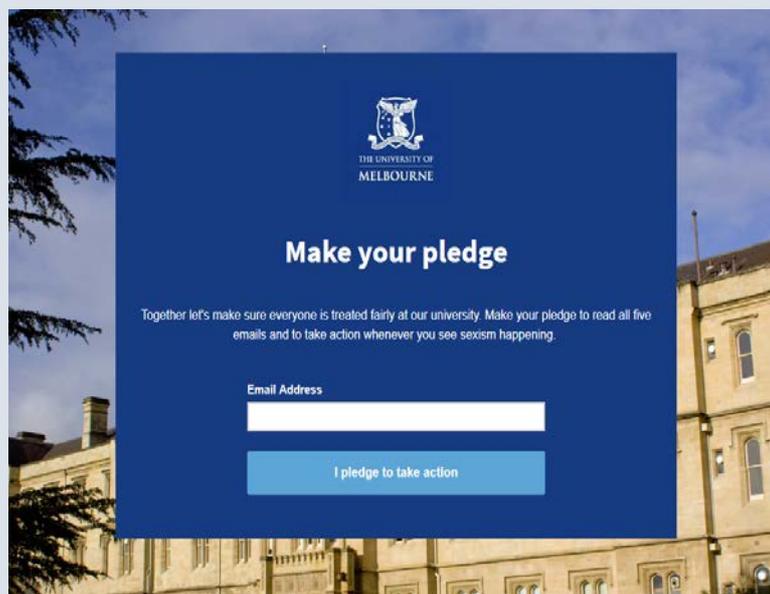
Pledges should be made either in private or to a small group of peers, like co-workers or classmates. Pledges should not be made public. People who make public pledges may actually be *less* likely to follow through, but people who can tell a small peer group what their pledge is, and about times they follow through, are more committed to their goals.

Making a pledge like this can help with implementing behaviours learned about in training, and can help to overcome the intention-action gap.

How we applied this technique: Asking students to make a pledge to engage with bystander materials

Based on evidence from the behavioural science literature, we implemented pre-commitments throughout the normative community email intervention to encourage individuals to engage with the interventions. For example, we asked people to make a private pledge to read all of the emails in the series, and to make this pledge via an online portal (as seen in the image below).

We included this very specific behaviour (reading the subsequent intervention content), as evidence suggests that the best goals are those that are clear, specific, have time limits, can be measured easily, are difficult but not impossible, and are important to the individual.



The foot-in-the-door technique. Asking people to do a small, easy task first can increase the likelihood of them committing to a harder task later, called the Foot In the Door (FITD) effect. FITD works best when the easier task requires some effort,²⁷ when people actually complete the task (and not just say they

²⁷ Burger, J. M. (1999). The foot-in-the-door compliance procedure: A multiple-process analysis and review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 303-325

will),²⁸ and when there is a gap of one day or more between the easy and hard requests.²⁹ In Trial one, we asked students and staff to make a small commitment to read each email we sent, in order to ask them to make a larger commitment, making an implementation plan for taking bystander action, four weeks later.



4 / Make an action plan

Creating a detailed plan for achieving a goal is called an ‘implementation-intention’. This can be a particularly effective way to encourage individuals to change their behaviour, because general intentions (“I will eat better”) do not always translate into behaviour when compared with detailed plans (“I will not eat fast food, and if I don’t feel like cooking then I will eat a pre-prepared healthy frozen meal”).

Typically, a detailed plan incorporates concrete details about the situation, method, and specific details by which an individual will execute a goal, as well as the goal itself. This can also be done through an “if ... then ...” statement. For example, one study found that when offering workers a flu vaccination, prompting the workers to write the date and the time of the appointment increased attendance compared to not writing anything at all. The addition of an “if... then...” formulation is designed to help a person plan in advance for specific obstacles or situations, and deal with them more effectively when they arise.

In the bystander action context, asking participants to consider potential pitfalls of active bystanding (such as freezing in the moment of witnessing sexism or sexual harassment) in advance, and planning an appropriate response, could increase their attainment of their goals. In this context, this could also help to break down the perception of any obstacles or barriers which are perceived as standing in the way of action, therefore bridging the intention-action gap.

How we applied this technique: Encouraging students and staff to make a plan to actively bystand

Commitment devices such as goal-setting and implementation intentions planning can be used to make a behaviour more likely. In the normative community email intervention, we asked participants to make a plan for how they will act when they witness these behaviours.

²⁸ Burger, J. M. (1999). The foot-in-the-door compliance procedure: A multiple-process analysis and review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 303-325

²⁹ Beaman, A.L., Cole, C.M., Preston, M., Klentz, B., & Steblay, N.M. (1983). Fifteen years of foot-in-the-door research: A meta analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 9, 181-196

To ensure that this plan was as detailed and specific as possible, we provided prompts for the participants to respond to throughout the process of making the plan. For example, we asked participants to identify:

1. A specific behaviour that they would intervene against (e.g., a friend repeatedly asking someone for a date, even when they are uninterested)
2. What action they will take against it (e.g., specific questions they could ask a friend, or how they could challenge their friend's thinking)
3. An obstacle that may prevent them from taking action (e.g., freezing up in the moment, or not feeling confident)

The final step involved putting this information together into a specific plan.



5 / Highlight utility-value

Our motivation to exert effort in a task (including learning a new skill or completing training) depends on both how likely we think we are to succeed, and the value we get from the task and succeeding in it.

This task value can be broken down into four key components:

1. Intrinsic value (the enjoyment of the task);
2. Attainment value (the extent to which participation or completion boosts self-concept);
3. Cost (a negative, which might include factors such as what else we could do with the time); and
4. Utility-value (how useful we think the task will be for future activities and goals).

Evidence suggests that utility-value is a strong predictor of engagement and outcomes, and studies attempting to manipulate the perceived utility-value of a certain skill have had large successes in increasing both interest and performance in the education context. Encouraging individuals to look at the long-term utility value of learning about bystander action is likely to increase engagement with bystander materials, as well help overcome the intention-action gap.

How we applied this technique: Enhancing motivation for bystander training through utility-value

Utility-value interventions can either directly communicate why skills will be useful in the future, or ask individuals to self-generate reasons why a particular skill may be useful in the future. Although evidence suggests that utility-value interventions can differentially impact individuals depending on their level of confidence in a skill, the most effective approach is to combine these methods: first directly communicating some uses of a skill, and then asking participants to generate their own.

When engaging volunteers in the eLearn module, before students completed module, we asked them: "Take two minutes to think about your future. How will

the ability to handle sexism and harassment be useful to you?”. We also provided a framework for this answer in the form of quotes from previous students who had undertaken the module.

Appendix 05 / Social norms messaging used in Trial One: Normative community emails

In the table below, we have outlined the social norms messages used in the majority and minority norms email communications. We have split the norms for staff and students where possible, and the content in the square brackets reflects dynamic content that was different depending on whether the recipient was a staff member or student at the participating faculty.

The social norms were obtained in the baseline survey in Semester 2, December 2018. The survey tool used to generate these social norms can be seen in Appendix / 06.

Email week	Theme	Majority social norm	Minority social norm
Week 1	Introduction to series: sexism and sexual harassment	N/A	N/A
Week 2	Sexist comments or jokes	<p>Most of us [WORKING/STUDYING] on campus think it's right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments...</p> <p>And [83% / 78%] said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus.</p> <p>It's important that you call it out next time you hear it.</p>	<p>Most of us [WORKING/STUDYING] on campus think it's right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments...</p> <p>But only [39%/46%] of us actually do</p> <p>It's important that you call it out next time you hear it.</p>

<p>Week 3</p>	<p>Receiving unwanted attention</p>	<p>Most of us [WORKING/STUDYING] at the University of Melbourne think it's right to take action if we witness someone receiving unwanted attention on campus ...</p> <p>AND [83%/78%] said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus.</p> <p>It's important that you take action next time you witness it.</p>	<p>Most of us [WORKING/STUDYING] at the University of Melbourne think it's right to take action if we witness someone receiving unwanted attention on campus ...</p> <p>BUT only [35%] of us actually do.</p> <p>It's important that you take action next time you witness it.</p>
<p>Week 4</p>	<p>Receiving inappropriate physical contact</p>	<p>Most of us [WORKING/STUDYING] at the University of Melbourne think it's right to take action if we witness someone receiving inappropriate physical contact on campus...</p> <p>And [83%/78%] said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus.</p> <p>It's important that you take action next time you witness it.</p>	<p>Most of us [WORKING/STUDYING] at the University of Melbourne think it's right to take action if we witness someone receiving inappropriate physical contact on campus...</p> <p>BUT only [36%/44%] of us actually do.</p> <p>It's important that you take action next time you witness it.</p>
<p>Week 5</p>	<p>Inappropriate sexual communications</p>	<p>Most of us [WORKING/STUDYING] at the University of Melbourne think it's right to take action if we witness someone receiving inappropriate sexual communications...</p> <p>AND [83%/78%] said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and</p>	<p>Most of us [WORKING/STUDYING] at the University of Melbourne think it's right to take action if we witness someone receiving inappropriate sexual communications...</p> <p>BUT only [31%] of us actually do.</p>

		sexual harassment on campus. It's important that you take action next time you witness it.	It's important that you take action next time you witness it.
--	--	--	--

Appendix 06 / The survey measurement tool

As part of this research project we developed a tool to quantify bystander intervention in sexism and sexual harassment. We did this as we did not find a suitable tool in the literature that would allow us to explicitly capture the behaviours of interest.

Our research uncovered three best-practice design principles for how self-report surveys of bystander action against sexism and sexual harassment should be written. These are:

1. Avoid using legal terms, like 'sexual harassment', and ask respondents about specific behaviours instead, in a behavioural inventory.
2. Ask about past behaviours and experiences, not just an individual's *intention* to intervene in future incidents
3. Ask about *opportunity* to intervene, not just number of times a bystander has intervened

We developed our own tool to assess bystander action in the context of opportunity and past actions, while avoiding the terms 'sexism' and 'sexual harassment', meeting the three criteria above.

We undertook the following steps to develop the survey:

1. We undertook a rigorous research review of all other available tools, both by searching for tools by name, and by following up references within interventions to determine how they had assessed bystander behaviour.
2. We undertook a literature review of best-practice survey design from both the international literature and wider literature on sexism and sexual harassment (not just bystander behaviour).
3. We pooled the best questions and strategies used in (1) and applied insights gathered from (2) to generate a new survey tool.
4. We shared the survey with students with a diverse set of demographic and academic backgrounds and the Respect taskforce. We also received high-level input from the Safer Community Program.

5. We refined the survey with feedback gained from (4) to produce a final version of the survey.

Once we had developed the survey, we validated the survey. We looked to ensure:

- **Content validity:** Content validity refers to whether a scale covers all aspects which we want to measure. We have already pre-assessed appropriate coverage using our literature review.
- **Construct validity:** Construct validity refers to whether the scale has relationships with other variables that they would be expected to. As we have no other ability to validate the scale with external measures, we will use two sources of construct validity:
 - Does the scale give us similar reports of sexual harassment, as did the AHRC 2017 survey conducted in UoM? Does the scale give us similar reports of serious sexual harassment as would be expected based on reported figures?
 - Do experiences within the scale relate to one another in a way that would be expected based on the literature? i.e. is the pattern between reported prosocial values, intentions to act, and taking action, similar to other areas?
- **Internal consistency:** Internal consistency refers to whether the items within scales are related to one another. They should be related to each other, but not so related that they are redundant.

We also used the data collected in this initial administering of the survey to generate the insights and figures required for our intervention. The insights generated from this process are summarised below.

The table below outlines how the items in the survey were used to generate the outcomes for the analysis.

Type of outcome	Normative community emails approach (University of Melbourne)	Intensive training approach (Victoria University)
Primary	Active bystanding against sexism Proportion of observed sexism behaviours in which the respondent reported they took action (either at the time or afterwards).	
	Active bystanding against sexual harassment Proportion of observed sexual harassment behaviours in which the respondent reported they took action (either at the time or afterwards).	
	Taking proactive action against sexism and sexual harassment Binary action/no action on 'proactive action against sexism and sexual harassment'	

Secondary	<p>Identification of sexism and sexual harassment as requiring intervention</p> <p>Question in survey: For each of these below, what do you think a member of the [university] community should do, if they saw (or heard about) sexist or sexual harassment behaviour</p>	
	<p>Self-reported confidence in taking bystander action (bystander self-efficacy)</p> <p>Question in survey: If I saw or heard about any of the incidents discussed in this survey happening to someone, I would feel confident in knowing how to intervene</p>	
	<p>Witnessed sexism and sexual harassment</p> <p>Question in survey: The outcome was the same as primary outcome questions, but instead of action, relates to whether the respondent witnessed anything at all.</p>	
	<p>Acceptability of bystander action</p> <p>Question in survey: Scale which assesses how acceptable the respondent perceives action as. I.e., 'It is important for all community members to play a role in reducing gender discrimination' (6 items).</p>	
	<p>Self-reported intention to intervene</p> <p>Question in survey: If I saw or heard about any of the incidents discussed in this survey happening to someone (average of values for 'I would intervene at the time I saw it' I would intervene later')</p>	
Exploratory	<p>Passive bystanding</p> <p>Question in survey: The outcome was the same as primary outcome questions, but instead of action, relates to the 'planned to do something, but then didn't do it' answers.</p>	
	<p>Qualitative responses to impact of intervention (Treatment groups only)</p> <p>Question in survey: We have asked a set of qualitative questions (post only):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How has (participating in this module/receiving emails about taking action against S & SH) made an impact on your life since you completed the eLearning module? • What were the main barriers to using insights from (the module/ the emails) in your own life? • Are there other things you wish had been included in the (module/emails)? 	
	<p>Engagement with materials (Treatment groups only)</p> <p>Question in survey:</p>	<p>Engagement with materials (Treatment group only)</p> <p>Question in survey: Rates of: filling in the utility-value exercise, making a plan/pledge,</p>

	Rates of: making the pledge, submission of a plan, click-through to more information, opt-out.	click through to more information.
	Action when witnessing an inappropriate relationship Acted as an active bystander (did something in the moment or after the moment) when witnessed inappropriate relationship for the university context	

We have not included the survey due to length. For a copy of the survey please email info-aus@bi.team.

Appendix 07 / Trial One: Key behavioural ingredients of the wide-reaching normative community emails

We sent students and staff a series of five behaviourally-informed emails, each with a different theme. Email 1 provided an introduction to the series and described what sexism and sexual harassment looks like. Email 2 was themed around sexist comments and jokes; Email 3 was about unwanted sexual attention; Email 4 was about inappropriate physical contact; and Email 5 was themed around inappropriate sexual communications. Each email contained several 'active ingredients' based on key behavioural insight principles. Below we highlight these active ingredients.

Across the emails, we used personalisation – including names, faculty and content tailored to status (i.e. varying for staff and students). We were also sure to provide behaviourally-specific examples of the types of behaviours that are not acceptable on campus, and how people can take action against them. This involved including scenario examples, and examples of phrases and specific action people could use.

The image shows a screenshot of an email from the University of Melbourne. The email content includes a greeting to Emma, a statement about sexism and sexual harassment, and a section titled 'What do sexism and sexual harassment look like on campus?' with a list of examples. Two callout boxes are overlaid on the right side of the email:

- PERSONALISATION**
Personalising communications increases the salience of the message, and the likelihood that someone will read the content.
- SPECIFIC EXAMPLES**
People interpret the terms sexism and sexual harassment differently, and often those who we want to target most may not know what constitutes sexism and sexual harassment. This is why we made sure to be behaviourally specific with our examples.

The email content includes the following text:

Hi Emma,

Sexism and sexual harassment have no place at our University. Everyone should be treated equally, and have a safe and respectful place to learn and work. Reducing sexism and sexual harassment makes our University better for everyone, including you.

What do sexism and sexual harassment look like on campus?

In December 2018, we carried out a survey in your faculty in which students and staff identified what sexism and sexual harassment may look like on our campus. Below are some examples of behaviours that people felt were not okay at the University of Melbourne.

What's not okay on our campus?

- Pestering someone to meet up or continuing uninvited sexual advances when they are clearly not interested.
- Asking someone for a date when you are in a learning or work environment (e.g., lectures, tutorials, meetings).
- Telling jokes that imply that members of one gender are somehow less able, less intelligent etc. than another or using sexual innuendo, insults or taunts based on gender.
- Sending unwanted sexual jokes, pictures, GIFs, memes etc. to friends, other students or staff members.

We used the 'Foot in the Door' technique (see Appendix / 04 for an explanation of the behavioural concepts) to try and encourage people to engage in increasingly demanding tasks (e.g. making a pledge, and making a plan).

The image shows a screenshot of an email campaign interface with two callout boxes explaining the techniques used. The interface includes a text block, a 'Make Your Pledge' button, a 'Thank you' message, a 'Quick Poll' section, and a footer with contact information and an unsubscribe link.

FOOT IN THE DOOR TECHNIQUE
Good intentions don't always translate into action. We asked students and staff to make a small commitment to read each email we sent. This increased the likelihood that they would make a larger commitment four weeks later - an implementation plan for taking bystander action.

SHORT SURVEY
People are more likely to make small changes to their behaviour than large ones. By embedding a survey question into the email, we could gauge how much people already acted. This then allowed us to provide personalised advice to each person in following emails.

As a first step towards making sure everyone feels welcome at our university, we would like you to take one minute to make a simple pledge with us: to read all four emails and to take action whenever you see sexism or sexual harassment happening. Click below to make your pledge now.

Make Your Pledge

Thank you,
[Faculty Contact's Name]

Quick Poll
If you heard someone making a sexist joke on campus, how would you react?
Click on the response you would be most likely to make below:

- Not say anything
- Not laugh to show I didn't approve
- Let the person know that making those kind of jokes isn't appropriate

If you have experienced sexism or sexual harassment, or know someone else who has, please come and talk to the Safer Community Program or call 1800RESPECT.

While intervening in sexism and sexual harassment is important, your safety is more important. If it is unsafe to intervene, or the perpetrator responds aggressively when you intervene, remove yourself from the situation.

Want to opt-out of receiving these emails? You can unsubscribe below.

We used a short survey at the beginning of the series to tailor the following content based on how likely participants already were to actively bystand. This ensured that we were recommending achievable behaviours that would be more likely to be implemented.

In Emails 2 - 5, we included social norm information to encourage taking action against sexism. We included more behaviourally-specific examples of action:

The image shows a screenshot of an email from The University of Melbourne. The email content is as follows:

Most of us studying on campus think it's right to call someone out for making sexist jokes or comments...

And 78% said they themselves would intervene if they saw sexism and sexual harassment on campus.

It's important that you call it out next time you hear it.

Hi Sadhbh,

In group conversations, sexist comments can sometimes be made as a poor attempt at a 'joke'. Even if they're said this way, they are still offensive and cause harm. Our survey in your faculty last year found that **those who had experienced sexism and harassment reported being less happy and feeling less safe on campus.** This reflects research from the University showing that frequent and unchallenged sexism and harassment are detrimental for wellbeing and opportunities.

Sexist comments and jokes

If you witness someone making a sexist comment or joke, it's important to show them that it's not okay. This can make them less likely to do it again, and also make others who witnessed it less likely to engage in these behaviours.

Here's what you can do:

In the moment: call out the joke or comment and let the person who made it know that it was unacceptable. You can also try asking a question, *"Sorry- I don't get it, can you explain the joke?"*, or tell them how the joke made you feel, *"Hey, what you said wasn't funny, it was demeaning to women/men and that really bothered me"*.

After the moment has passed, even if you didn't say anything in the moment, it's not too late to act. You can reach out to the person who made the joke or comment to let them know it was unacceptable. You can say something like *"Hey, that joke you made really bothered me."*

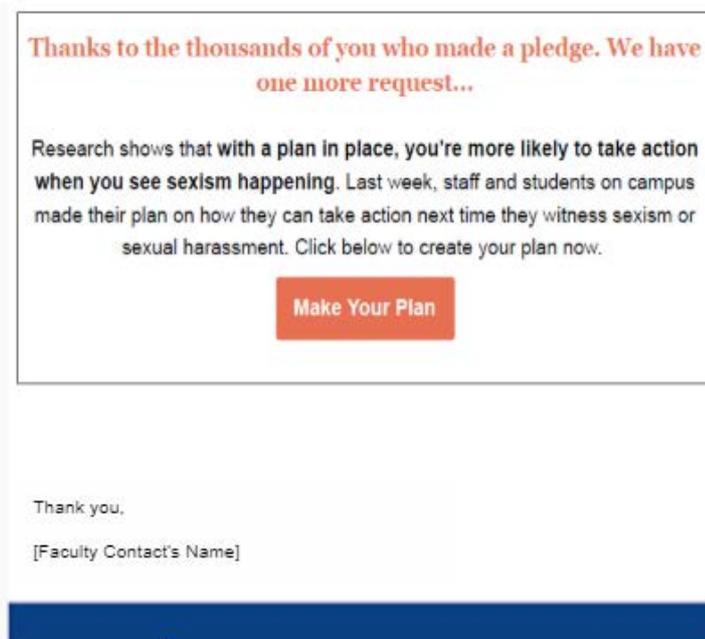
Click here for further suggestions on how you can take action when you witness sexism or sexual harassment.

Three callout boxes on the right explain the strategies used in the email:

- USE THE POWER OF SOCIAL NORMS**
Social norms communicate how one is expected to behave in a given situation. People are more likely to engage in behaviours that they think most other people already do or approve of.
- MAKE THE NORMS RELEVANT**
The social norms need to be:
 - Accurate (the norm information was derived from surveys conducted with students and staff at the university)
 - Relevant to the individual (students received norm information about other students, staff received information about other staff).
- PROVIDE THE KNOW-HOW**
Often people want to act but aren't sure how to. It's important to provide people with the know-how to intervene when they see sexism and sexual harassment.

Giving people specific examples reassures them that there are ways to take action against sexism and sexual harassment, both in the moment and after the moment.

In Emails 3 - 5, we asked people to make an implementation-intentions plan to call out sexism when they see it:



IMPLEMENTATION-INTENTIONS PLANNING



Intentions don't always translate into action. Creating a detailed plan for achieving a goal is called 'implementation-intention' and can be a particularly effective way to encourage individuals to change their behaviour. In emails 3 and 4, we asked people to make an implementation-intention plan to call out sexist behaviour when they see it.

SENT FROM A CREDIBLE MESSENGER



The messenger of the information is critical, as people are more likely to read the message if it comes from someone with authority. These emails were sent from an individual within the recipient's Faculty. We chose this messenger because they were:

- An authoritative source
- Relevant to the recipient, making the email more personal.

People who clicked on the 'Make a Plan' button in Emails 3-5 were taken to a page where they could submit their plan:


THE UNIVERSITY OF
MELBOURNE

Make a plan

With a plan in place, you're more likely to take action when you see sexism happening. Create one below and we'll email it to you so you don't forget it. This can either be something you've witnessed or heard about recently, or it can be a plan for the next time something like this happens.

Please read through the following questions, and then take some time to write your responses below.

1. What is a sexist or sexually harassing behaviour that you would like to take action against?
(E.g., A friend repeatedly asking someone for a date, despite the other person being uninterested).
2. What action will you take against it?
(E.g., I'll ask the friend why they think the person is interested in them, and challenge this thinking, and tell them they are being inappropriate)
3. Write down an obstacle that might prevent you from taking action when you see this behaviour happening.
(E.g., In the moment I might freeze up and I won't know what to say)
4. Write down how you can overcome the obstacle and take action as an 'if...then...' statement.
(E.g., If I freeze up I will send the friend a text message or Facebook message later, when I've had time to write out a -----)

Your plan:

1. The BEHAVIOUR you will take action against
2. The ACTION you will take
3. A potential OBSTACLE that might prevent action
4. Your 'IF... THEN...' plan to overcome obstacles

Your University of Melbourne email address

IMPLEMENTATION-INTENTIONS PLANNING



A detailed implementation-intentions plan includes concrete details about the situation, method, and specific details by which an individual will execute a goal. The "if...then..." formulation is designed to help a person plan in advance for specific obstacles or situations, and deal with them more effectively when they arise.

Appendix 08 / Normative community emails - Trial sample characteristics

Demographics of survey respondents

Gender (n= 2,557)	Control	Knowhow	Majority	Minority
Female	58.74%	64.45%	63.19%	65.22%
Male	39.11%	33.69%	35.18%	32.27%
Non-binary	0.72%	0.93%	0.81%	1.51%
Gender fluid	0.43%	0.00%	0.16%	0.50%
Transgender female	0.14%	0.31%	0.16%	0.17%
Transgender male	0.00%	0.15%	0.16%	0.17%
Another gender	0.86%	0.46%	0.33%	0.17%

Differential attrition as a result of gender

For the survey respondents, we see slightly more men in the control group, as a proportion, compared to the other groups. This suggests that the email series may have led to greater disengagement in men compared to women, as reflected in the survey completion rates.

Faculty

Faculty (n=2,557)	Control	Knowhow	Majority	Minority
Fine Arts and Music	7.74%	8.19%	8.31%	9.36%
Medicine, Dentistry & Health Sciences	42.84%	42.66%	40.72%	41.47%
Science	48.28%	46.83%	50.00%	47.66%
Other	1.15%	2.32%	0.98%	1.51%

Status

Status (n=2,557)	Control	Knowhow	Majority	Minority
Staff	16.33%	15.61%	15.31%	13.88%
Student	83.67%	84.39%	84.69%	86.12%

Sample attrition

29,496 Staff and students in the three participating faculties (Faculty of Fine Arts and Music, Faculty of Science, Faculty of Medicine, Dentistry and Health Science) were included in this intervention. 22,138 were randomised into three treatment arms, receiving the bystander email series, with 7,370 in the control group. 2,557 responded to the final evaluation survey. A map of the attrition across different treatment arms can be seen below:

Sample attrition diagram

ks

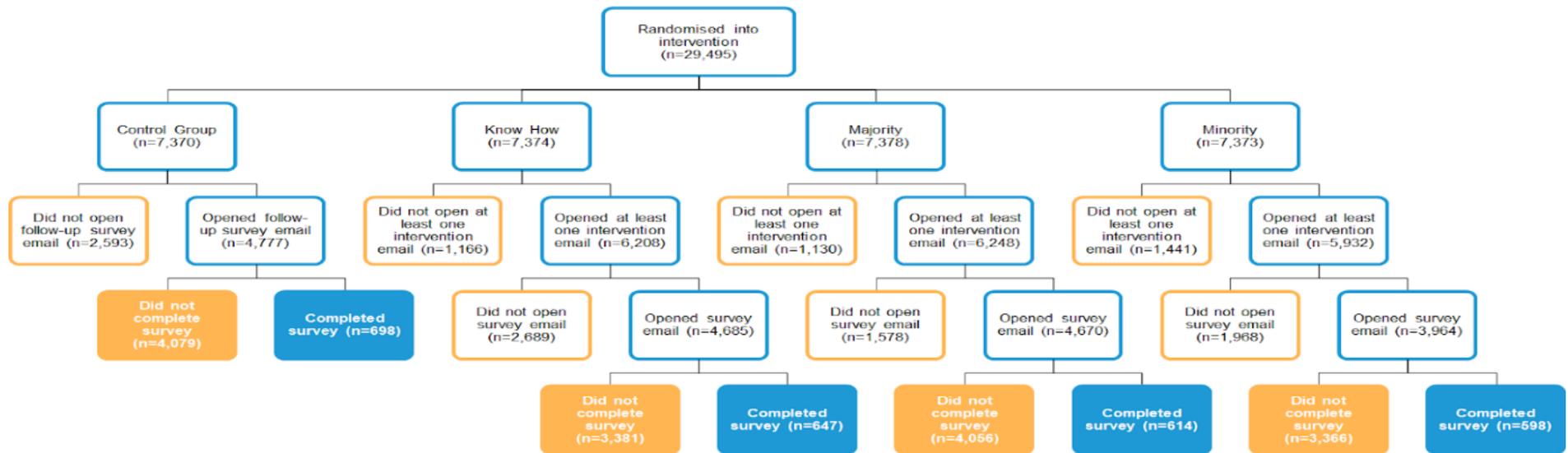


Figure 20 - Attrition diagram from Trial One: Normative community emails at University of Melbourne. This diagram outlines the numbers of staff and students reached at each stage of the trial.

Appendix 09 / Trial Two: Key behavioural ingredients of engaging volunteers in the behaviourally-informed eLearn

The eLearning module intervention:

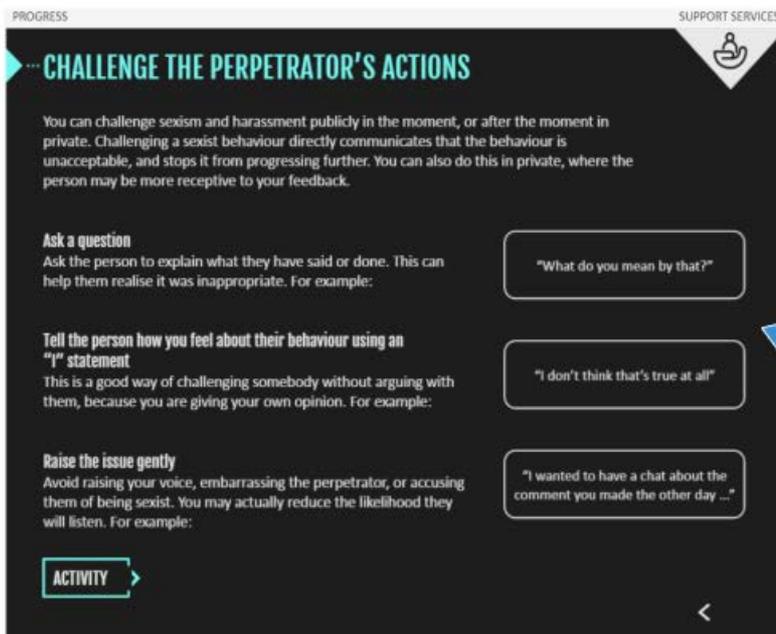
- Incorporated feedback from students and eLearning engagement data from a pilot of the eLearning module
- Combined three existing modules into one eLearning package to reduce the length and time to complete the module
- Decreased the focus on violence to increase focus on sexism and harassment behaviours
- Incorporated a behavioural commitment device
- Included a utility-value (UV) intervention to encourage reflection on the purpose and utility of the eLearn module, and in doing so enhance engagement and retention of lessons.

A sample of screenshots of the eLearning module are included below. Further information about the behavioural strategies used can be seen in Appendix Nine: *'An overview of the behavioural strategies we used'*.

Simple language and specific examples

The eLearning module included specific examples of ways to actively bystand by supporting the target, challenging the perpetrator's actions, or getting bystander support. We included these strategies for intervention to be behaviourally-specific, but provide a broad range of strategies for intervention. Participants are given strategies to use to:

1. Support the target
2. Challenge the perpetrator's actions
3. Get bystander support
4. Use other, non-threatening actions



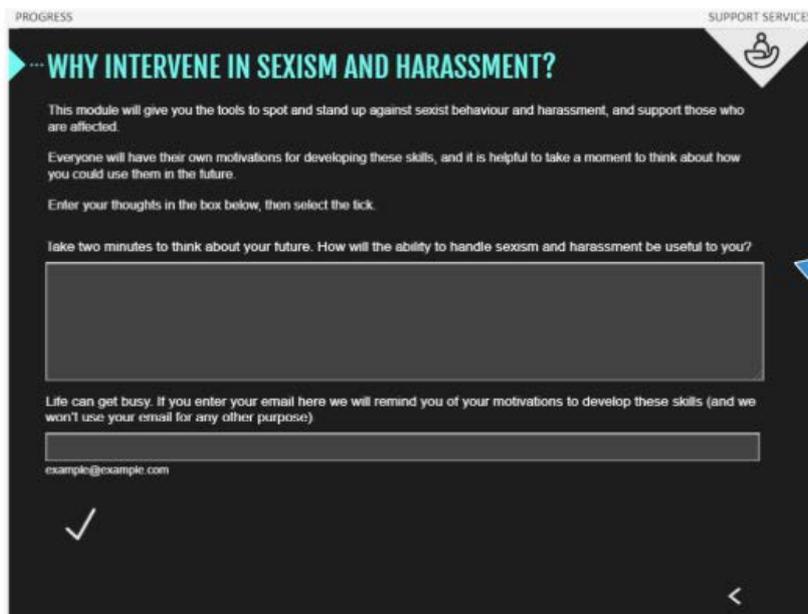
SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

People often want to act but aren't always sure how to. Providing specific examples can help to give people the 'know-how' to challenge sexist behaviour when they see it.

Providing examples can also serve to reassure people that there are ways to act against sexism and sexual harassment.

Utility-value exercise

This exercise prompted students to think about why learning about how to intervene against sexism and sexual harassment will be important for their future. This was included in the intervention because perceiving utility and value in an exercise is a strong indicator of task engagement.



HIGHLIGHTING THE UTILITY-VALUE



People are motivated to put effort into a task that they see the value in.

Here we encouraged people to consider the utility of learning about how to challenge sexism and harassment.

Asking for a commitment

After learning strategies to actively bystand against sexism and sexual harassment, students were prompted to make a commitment to take action. We asked students to write about how they would commit to applying the bystander actions they learned about during the module.

The screenshot shows a mobile application interface with a dark background. At the top left, it says 'PROGRESS' and at the top right, 'SUPPORT SERVICES' with a hand icon. The main heading is '...BE THE CHANGE YOU WANT TO SEE IN THE WORLD!' in teal. Below this, the text asks: 'Now that you have seen this content, how will you apply this in your own life?'. A paragraph follows: 'Please take a couple of minutes to think of something you could do to apply these strategies the next time you witness sexism or harassment.' There is a large grey rectangular input field. Below that, it says: 'Enter your email here: if you would like us to remind you in the future about the commitment you made today.' There is another grey rectangular input field, with the placeholder text 'example@example.com' below it. A white checkmark icon is positioned below the email field. On the right side of the form, there is a photograph of a group of diverse young people smiling and holding up a large globe. At the bottom right of the form, there is a white left-pointing arrow.

ASKING FOR A COMMITMENT
People often have good intentions but this doesn't always translate into action. Asking someone to take action against sexism or harassment next time they witness it and to think about how they might do so may increase the likelihood that they will follow through with that behaviour.

Appendix 10 / Trial Two: Engaging volunteers in behaviourally-informed eLearn - Trial sample characteristics

Trial recruitment

Participants were initially recruited via email, social media channels, and university messaging (see Figure 2) into a pool of interested students who provided consent to participate in the study. After the one week recruitment period, BIT individually randomised the students who entered into the 'study pool'. These students were randomised into either the treatment or control groups, who received either a behaviourally-informed eLearning module incorporated with a UV exercise, or a control condition (waitlist control) respectively. The aim of the eLearning module/utility-value bundle was to encourage active bystanding against sexism and harassment.

From: Victoria University <askvu@vu.edu.au>

Date: Mon, 25 Mar 2019 at 11:01

Subject: Taking action against sexism and harassment at VU



Hi Fleur,

Have you ever witnessed sexism or harassment, and afterwards wished you had done something about it?

[Take part](#) in a new program we are trialling to help you know how to take action if you see sexism and harassment on campus.



Figure 21 Recruitment communications sent to VU students via email (left panel), and posted to VU's social media channels (right panel).

Sample Selection

Participants were eligible to participate in this trial if they were enrolled as a student at VU (undergraduate, postgraduate, or TAFE) in Semester 1, 2019. Participants were included in this trial if they expressed an interest to participate through providing informed consent. As a result, there are several important factors to note in the sample selection for this trial, and particularly the follow-up survey responses.

Firstly, the sample of participants in this trial is likely a particularly unique group of students. For this trial, students were sent recruitment emails via their university accounts, and were required to self-select into the trial and provide consent for participating. Many of the students who decided to participate in

the trial are therefore likely to be enthusiastic, motivated, or prosocial. As a result, the students in the trial may be particularly driven to participate in anti-discrimination and gender equality initiatives.

For the same reasons, the sample of students responding to the follow-up survey are not necessarily representative of the broader VU student population. That is, students who respond to the second (or third, in the case of the treatment group) email item requiring their action may be highly motivated; this may be resulting in what is called 'self-selection bias' in the responses. The implication of this is that while the results above provide an indication of the impact of the eLearning intervention on active bystanding, the results should be interpreted with this caveat in mind. This is important to note, particularly in regard to whether any effects might transfer to the entire university population (for example, under a mandatory active bystanding training regime).

Secondly, the total number of respondents to the follow-up survey is too small to draw definitive conclusions. Overall, there were 183 complete follow-up survey responses (78 responses from the treatment group, and 105 from the control group). There was marked attrition from the process of randomising the sample (we randomised 565 students in total), through to baseline survey, eLearning, and follow-up survey completions (this can also be seen in Figure 3). As a result, all of the analyses presented are based on a small sample, and should be interpreted with this caveat in mind.

Sample attrition diagram

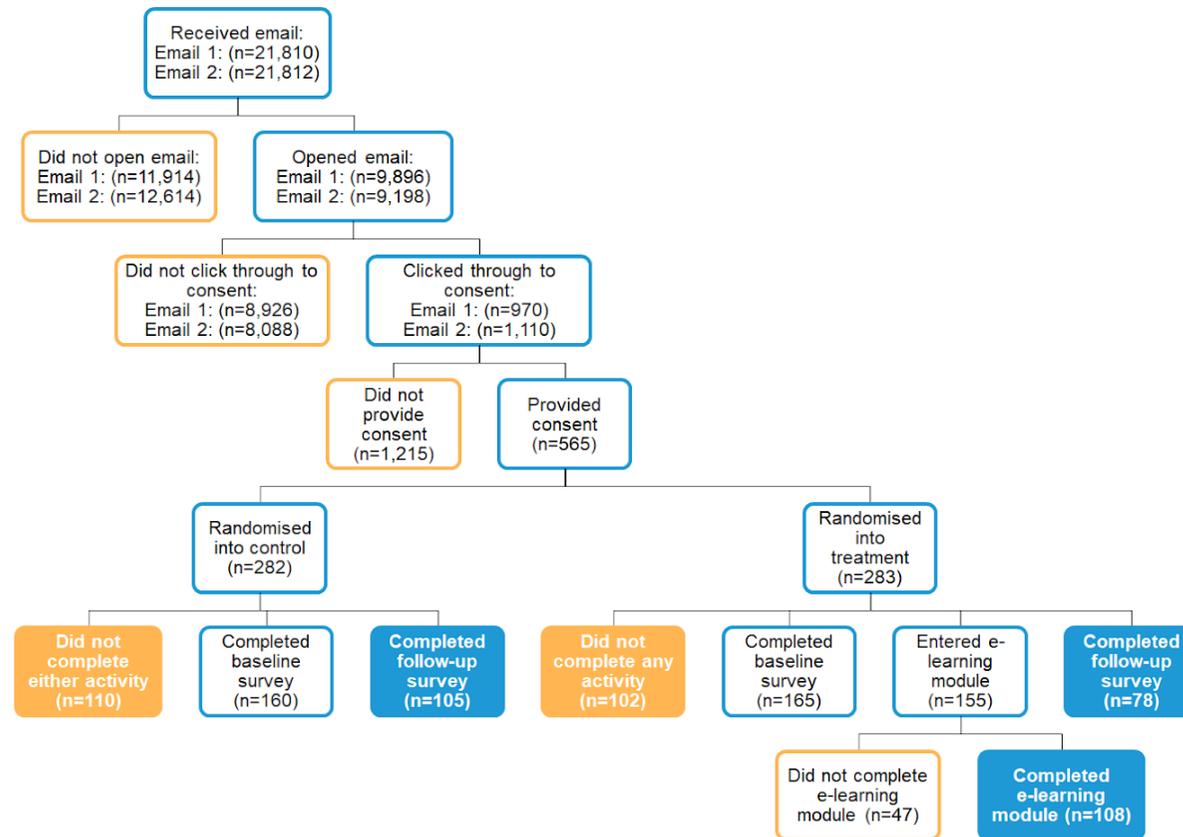


Figure 22 - An overview of the numbers of students reached throughout Trial Two: Engaging volunteers in eLearn at Victoria University. Note that the analysis is based on the number of students who completed the follow-up survey.

Demographics of survey respondents

In the tables below we have described the demographic measures of respondents to the follow-up survey, where these demographic measures are available. Due to attrition and incomplete responding, demographic information is available for 165 participants (or 90.1%) of the 183 follow-up survey respondents.

Table 13 - Gender of participants in Trial Two

Gender (n=183)	Control	Treatment
Female	58.10%	70.51%
Male	28.57%	17.95%
Non-binary	0.95%	1.28%
Transgender female	0.95%	0.00%
Transgender male	0.00%	1.28%
Not listed above	0.00%	1.28%
Gender not recorded	11.43%	7.69%

Table 14 - Status of students who participated in Trial Two

Student enrolment (n=183)	Control	Treatment
Postgraduate	18.10%	12.82%
Undergraduate	70.48%	79.49%
Not recorded	11.43%	7.69%

Table 15 - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander status in Trial Two

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Status (n=183)	Control	Treatment
Aboriginal	0.95%	0.00%
Neither Aboriginal nor Torres Strait Islander	83.81%	88.46%
Prefer not to answer	3.81%	3.85%

Not recorded	11.43%	7.69%
--------------	--------	-------

Table 16 - Disability status of participants in Trial Two

Disability Status (n=183)	Control	Treatment
Has a disability	5.71%	2.56%
Does not have a disability	79.05%	80.77%
Prefer not to answer	3.81%	8.97%
Not recorded	11.43%	7.69%

Endnotes

ⁱ Australian Human Rights Commission (2017). *Change the course: National report on sexual assault and sexual harassment at Australian universities*.

ⁱⁱ Leidig, M. W. (1992). The continuum of violence against women: Psychological and physical consequences. *Journal of American College Health*, 40(4), 149-155.

ⁱⁱⁱ Australian Human Rights Commission (2012). *Encourage. Support. Act! Bystander approaches to sexual harassment in the workplace*.

^{iv} e.g. Hyers, L. L. (2007). Resisting prejudice every day: Exploring women's assertive responses to anti-Black racism, anti-Semitism, heterosexism, and sexism. *Sex Roles*, 56(1-2), 1-12.

^v e.g. Kaiser, C. R., & Miller, C. T. (2001). Stop complaining! The social costs of making attributions to discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(2), 254-263.

^{vi} Feldblum, C., & Lipnic, V. A. (2016). *Select task force on the study of harassment in the workplace*, U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

^{vii} Livingston, B. A., Wagner, K. C., Diaz, S. T., & Liu, A. (2013). The experience of being targets of street harassment in NYC: Preliminary findings from a qualitative study of a sample of 223 voices who hollaback. *Retrieved from iHollaback*.

^{viii} Latane, B., & Darley, J. M. (1970). *The unresponsive bystander: Why doesn't he help?* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

^{ix} Our Watch, Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS) and VicHealth (2015) *Change the story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia*, Our Watch, Melbourne, Australia.

^x VicHealth (2012). *More than ready: Bystander action to prevent violence against women in the Victorian community*. Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, Melbourne

^{xi} Eliezer, D., Townsend, S. S., Sawyer, P. J., Major, B., & Mendes, W. B. (2011). System-justifying beliefs moderate the relationship between perceived discrimination and resting blood pressure. *Social Cognition*, 29(3), 303-321.

^{xii} Dodd, E. H., Giuliano, T. A., Boutell, J. M., & Moran, B. E. (2001). Respected or rejected: Perceptions of women who confront sexist remarks. *Sex Roles*, 45(7), 567-57.

^{xiii} Czopp, A. M., & Monteith, M. J. (2003). Confronting prejudice (literally): Reactions to confrontations of racial and gender bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(4), 532-544.

^{xiv} Petty, R. E., Fleming, M. A., Priester, J. R., & Feinstein, A. H. (2001). Individual versus group interest violation: Surprise as a determinant of argument scrutiny and persuasion. *Social Cognition*, 19(4), 418-442.

^{xv} VicHealth and Behavioural Insights Team (2019). *Take Action: Empowering bystanders to act on sexist and sexually harassing behaviours*, Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, Melbourne.

^{xvi} Dobbin, F., & Kalev, A. (2016). Why Diversity Programs Fail And what works better. *Harvard Business Review*, 94(7-8), 52-60.

^{xvii} Coker, A.L., Cook-Craig, P.G., Williams, C.M., Fisher, B.S., Clear, E.R., Garcia, L.S., Hegge, L.M. (2011). Evaluation of Green Dot: An active bystander intervention to reduce sexual violence on college campuses. *Violence Against Women*, 17, 777-796

^{xviii} Coker, A.L., Fisher, B.S., Bush, H.M., Swan, S.C., Williams, C.M., Clear, E.R., DeGue, S. (2015). Evaluation of the Green Dot bystander intervention to reduce interpersonal violence among college students across three college campuses. *Violence Against Women*, 21(12), 1507-1527.

^{xix} Dobbin, F., & Kalev, A. (2016). Why Diversity Programs Fail And what works better. *Harvard Business Review*, 94(7-8), 52-60.



Victorian Health Promotion Foundation
PO Box 154 Carlton South
Victoria 3053 Australia
T +61 3 9667 1333 F +61 3 9667 1375

vichealth@vichealth.vic.gov.au
vichealth.vic.gov.au
twitter.com/vichealth
facebook.com/vichealth

VicHealth acknowledges the support
of the Victorian Government.

© VicHealth 2019
September 2019 P-MW-799

