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Bystander Intervention Programming at Metropolitan Universities

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MASTER OF ARTS IN PSYCHOLOGY

By

Adrienne M. Martinez

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A THESIS

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

April 17, 2015

By _____

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Abstract

The current study reviews the responsibilities and benefits of institutions in receipt of federal funding to provide bystander education as a primary prevention program to students per current federal regulations and guidance. Existing bystander intervention programs have the potential to 1) train key staff by experts; 2) continue training of other staff via train-the-trainer efforts; 3) implement a variety of student-specific programming (such as gender neutral, gender-specific, student athletes, Greek students, and other student organizations and leadership groups); and, 4) obtain/maintain compliance with federal guidance and recent legislative mandates. Per Potter and Stapleton (2011), practitioners need to decide if purchasing an existing program, developed and evaluated at another institution, will in fact be successful at the investing institution.

Metropolitan universities typically have student populations of that are older (non-traditional), have lower socioeconomic statuses, have minority backgrounds (Barnett & Phares, 1995); commute, are more likely to be employed (Muhollan, 1995); and, are first-generation college students (Barnett & Phares, 1995). Vast diversity can present challenges to engaging a student body with a one-handed type of approach. Metropolitan universities would be benefited most by 1) purchasing an existing train-the-trainer bystander intervention program; 2) identifying the needs of unique metropolitan university student groups; 3) modifying the program to meet these needs; 4) developing a strategic implementation plan; 5) pre/post assessment plans; and, 6) identifying accompanying social marketing campaign strategies. Considerations for developing a modified bystander intervention program at a metropolitan university and meeting these needs are discussed.

Keywords: bystander intervention, higher education, interpersonal violence, metropolitan, prevention, sexual assault, Title IX, university.

Bystander Intervention Programming at Metropolitan Universities

Students at institutions of higher education are too often involved in an unwanted sexual experience prior to graduating or otherwise terminating enrollment. An alarming but widely known fact is that one in four or five women will experience an actual or attempted rape during their time in college (Karjane, Fisher, & Cullen, 2005; Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2009). More than half of college women will be involved in an unwanted sexual experience (Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; Martin, Fisher, Warner, Krebs, & Lindquist, 2011). Previous research has demonstrated the impact of sexual assault on survivors in terms of short- and long-term trauma and interference with educational and other life pursuits (Bachar & Koss, 2001; Campbell, 2008). Victims of sexual assault are more likely to experience victimization again over the course of their lifetime (Gidycz, Coble, Latham, & Layman, 1993). The prevalence and culture of alcohol and other drugs on college campuses ripen the conditions for sexual assault as most occur after women voluntarily consumed intoxicants (Krebs et al., 2009).

Further adding to the conditions that support rape on college campuses is that nine out of every ten women assaulted were at least familiar with the perpetrator (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000). While victims are more likely to experience sexual assault in college than any other time in their life (Martin et al., 2011), doubts exist about their ability and that of their peers to recognize unwanted sexual experiences as sexual assaults and act to prevent it from occurring (Griffith, Hart, & Brickel, 2010; Nicksa, 2014). While college students are typically capable of identifying violent sexual encounters by a stranger to be rape, they are less able to identify scenarios that meet the legal definition of

rape in settings that are familiar to them, such as parties where alcohol is served (McMahon, 2010; McMahon, Postmus, & Koenick, 2011; Sleed, Durrheim, Kriel, Solomon, & Baxter, 2002). The inability to identify rape situations in the latter context is more pronounced for men (Griffith et al., 2010). Banyard, Plante, and Moynihan (2004) demonstrated need to educate students about how to recognize sexual assault indicators in situations where ambiguity of risk is high.

Guidance and Legislation

A review of the current federal guidance and pending legislation reveals that institutions in receipt of federal funding are expected not only to respond to these types of issues, but that more recently it is expected that educative programming will focus on preventing these issues from occurring via a number of efforts, including bystander education. The foundation of these regulations is Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, enforced by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) maintained by the United States Department of Education (ED) (2012b). "Title IX states that: No person in the United States shall, on the bases of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance" (ED, 2012b). The OCR has investigated issues related to appropriate funding for female athletes and equitable pay for female teachers (ED, 2012b). Almost 40 years later, the OCR published the "Dear Colleague Letter" in April of 2011 to address the obligations of institutions under Title IX when they know, or should know, of a student who has experienced sexual harassment, including sexual violence. The DCL clarifies that "the sexual harassment of students, including sexual violence, interferes with students' right to receive an education free from discrimination

and, in the case of sexual violence, is a crime" (ED, 2011). In addition, the DCL expanded the obligations of institutions to take immediate action to stop harassment upon notice of its occurrence, prevent its recurrence, and provide reasonable accommodations to remedy its effects (ED, 2011).

The DCL included suggestions that institutions should have programming to make students aware of victim's resources, grievance policies and procedures, and to encourage reporting, but did not mandate this type of outreach and provided only guidance related to prevention and awareness education (ED, 2011). However, institutions that have been investigated for Title IX compliance have thus far received resolution agreements that have mandated prevention and awareness programming with a bystander education component. For example, bystander intervention campaigns and programming was a reporting requirement of Tufts University following their compliance review in 2010 (ED). Requirements to train students and include bystander education were also mentioned in the resolution letter between the OCR and Yale University (ED, 2012a). Even more recently, the joint investigation conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) and ED through the OCR reviewing the University of Montana-Missoula for Title IX compliance in 2013 resulted in a mandatory training requirement for students that included primary prevention programming and bystanders education (DOJ, 2013).

The DOJ and ED are not the only federal agencies indicating intent to mandate primary prevention strategies (i.e., bystander education) at institutions of higher education. Since 1992, per the Jeanne Clery Act (originally Campus Security Act), institutions of higher education have been responsible for reporting and disclosing information in an Annual Security Report (ASR) about crimes that occur on and near

their campus, including forcible and non-forcible sex offenses (Clery Center for Security on Campus, Inc., 2012). The Campus Sexual Violence Elimination (SaVE) Act was introduced to complement Title IX Guidance by making amendments to the Jeanne Clery Act. Under this Act, the ASR shall contain incidents of domestic violence, dating violence and stalking; descriptions of primary prevention and awareness education for new students and employees; a statement that disciplinary proceedings are conducted by officials who receive annual training on domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking; and other provisions (Clery Center for Security on Campus, Inc., 2012). As of the current publication, this legislation has not been successful on its own, but its provisions have been incorporated into the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013 (VAWA), specifically VAWA Section 304 (The National Task Force to End Sexual and Domestic Violence, 2013; S. 47, 2013). VAWA, effective May 7, 2015, mandates that education programs for all new students and employees describe the institutional policies and grievance procedures, define consent, list safety information and include "safe and positive options for bystander intervention that may be carried out by an individual to prevent harm or intervene" in sexual misconduct situations (S. 47, 2013, p. 37).

Although the ED's OCR is not a criminal investigative agency and the DCL is considered a guidance document, the ED reserves the authority to withhold federal funding from institutions found to be noncompliant with Title IX. Such a penalty is not only significant, but also likely terminal for institutions that rely on federal funding for operational budgets. Now, most complaints have resulted in resolutions to assist with reaching compliance and regular audit and/or follow-up (i.e., DOJ, 2013; ED, 2011; ED,

2012a). As such, what may be a more legitimate concern for administrators, as far as financial sanctions are concerned, are Clery Act violations.

In 2012, the ED increased the per-violation fine for Clery Act incidents from $27,500 to $35,000 (Clery Center for Security on Campus, 2012). There have been recent legislative attempts, such as the Campus Accountability and Safety Act (CASA) legislation (H.R. 5354, 2014; S. 2962, 2014) to increase the penalty to one percent of an institution's operating budget or a fine not to exceed $150,000, per violation. Any error in the ASR, such as missing data related to crimes on or near campus, results in fines that quickly can add up to insurmountable penalties.

Due to the additional requirements in the ASR per VAWA, it is possible that fines will result from errors related to misinformation or missing information in these areas. This includes the reporting requirement related to a description of primary prevention programs implemented on the campus, including bystander education. In essence, VAWA's amendments to the Clery requirements in the ASR will allow for the monetary fining of institutions not in compliance with providing primary prevention programming for students. Of course, there are other costs associated with being out of compliance that can far exceed any fine levied by a governmental agency, such as civil and criminal liability, audits, grievance procedures, and other efforts that it may take to obtain compliance and remedy the effects of previous negligence.

It should go without saying that sexual misconduct prevention and awareness education is about more than avoiding investigations, fines, and lawsuits. It is an investment in student and staff safety by preventing sexual misconduct incidents from occurring in the first place. A review of sexual assault awareness and prevention

education programs illustrates why current and future efforts to educate bystanders are the most effective means of preventing interpersonal violence.

Bystander Behavior Research

Sexual assault awareness and prevention education programs on college campuses have traditionally been victim focused and targeted female audiences only. These programs educate women about rape supportive attitudes and train participants to avoid becoming victimized, or being revictimized (Breitenbecher, 2000; Hanson & Gidycz, 1993). In her review of the effectiveness of these types of programs, Breitenbecher (2000) found that while attitudinal change may be relevant to preventing unwanted sexual experience, current programs demonstrated attitudinal change to be marginal at best and decaying over time. She further determined that few studies assessed participants for rates of victimization after the training. Among studies that had assessed post-program victimization rates, even when the program had an impact on participant attitudes and knowledge, they were ineffective in reducing actual incidents of sexual assaults (Breitenbecher, 2000).

In 2001, Breitenbecher and Scarce attempted to demonstrate that sexual assault awareness and prevention education programs could demonstrate effectiveness by including victim resistance strategy training. This reflected the findings of Norris, Nurius, and Dimeff (1996); victims of sexual assault are less able to fend off attackers due to emotional and cognitive barriers to resistance, which became even more pronounced with the use of alcohol or other drugs. It was determined that the program was still ineffective on all measures, including reducing incidents of sexual assault (Breitenbecher & Scarce, 2001). Reviews of these findings acknowledge that "there is

probably an upper limit on the strategies that potential victims can employ to protect themselves" (Breitenbecher & Scarce, 2001, p. 401) and that education programs may better serve students by incorporating other students (Breitenbecher & Scarce, 2001; Hanson & Gidycz, 1993).

Changes in sexual assault education programming within the last fifteen years has marked a shift from reliance on participants to avoid victimization and perpetration to educating communities on their roles in responding to this type of interpersonal violence. The concept of training bystanders was born of the abundant social psychological literature describing the facilitators and inhibitors of bystander helping behaviors. For example, it is known that bystanders are more likely to intervene in situations where the perception of emergency or the severity of the crime is high (Darley & Latané, 1968; Fischer et al., 2011), but less likely in the presence of others where diffusion of responsibility is more likely (Darley & Latané, 1968; Latané & Nida, 1981). However, according to the U.S. Department of Justice, one in three sexual assaults is committed in the presence of others (Planty, 2002). As such, programs that educate students about intervening in these scenarios must address diffusion of responsibility to help counter this principle.

The shape of bystander education programs evolved to reflect the findings of effectiveness research. Recent studies have begun to demonstrate effectiveness by including bystander intervention components in sexual assault awareness and prevention education programs. The role of a bystander in sexual assault awareness and prevention literature is one who intervenes to prevent an unwanted sexual encounter, provides support to survivors, and/or challenges social norms that condone interpersonal violence

(Banyard & Moynihan, 2011; Banyard et al., 2004; McMahon et al., 2011). Banyard and her colleagues (2004; 2005; 2007) demonstrated the effects of incorporating bystander intervention training in sexual assault awareness and prevention education programming. Their 2005 report to the National Institute of Justice introduced key assessments of bystander attitudes and behaviors the authors developed to evaluate their program. The authors acknowledged that many college sexual assaults are more likely to occur in the presence of others and that education programs are more effective when the content exceeds training women not to be victims and men not to be perpetrators. They also acknowledge the benefits of delivering positive messages to participants about how they can intervene to support other persons, rather than speaking to them as potential victims and perpetrators (Banyard et al., 2005). Their longitudinal studies have demonstrated effectiveness of the program in terms of sexual assault knowledge, attitudes and bystander behaviors (Banyard et al., 2004; Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2005; Banyard et al., 2007).

More recently, studies have begun to identify areas that may influence bystander intervention in sexual assault scenarios typical of college campuses. For example, it appears that women are more likely than men to intervene in sexual assault scenarios, but that men are more confident in their perceived ability to intervene effectively (Banyard 2008; Burn, 2009; McMahon, 2010). Bystanders are more likely to intervene when they are familiar with the involved parties (Bennett, Banyard, & Garnhart, 2014), whereas women are more likely to intervene when they are familiar with the victim and men are more likely to intervene when they are familiar with the offender (Burn, 2009). Berkowitz (2011) describes that the majority of men in college feel discomfort when

women are being perpetrated against and desire to defend women against derogatory comments made by other men. Thus, support is building for bystander programs in general, while research shows that a focus is needed on gender-specific intervention skills training (Banyard, Moynihan, & Crossman, 2009; Coker et al., 2011; Exner & Cummings, 2011).

The application of helping behavior theory to bystander intervention has also allowed for better understanding of bystander behavior. Burn (2009) proposed using Latané and Darley's (1970) situational model of bystander intervention to look at bystander barriers for men and women. According to the model, bystanders must first *notice* the event, *identify* the event as one where intervention is needed, take *responsibility* for the intervention, *decide* how to help, and then *act* to intervene. She found support for a five barrier situational model of bystander intervention in that the barriers negatively correlated with intervention. Specifically, both men and women were more likely to fail to notice the event and fail to take responsibility to intervene. These findings are particularly relevant for programs designed to teach intervention skills to college students, as these situations typically occur in the midst of other activity, like a party, and among a number of other individuals (Burn, 2009).

Another promising avenue of bystander education is that of challenging community and peer norms that support rape attitudes and myths (Gidycz, Orchowski, & Berkowitz, 2011). One study worthy of mentioning by Casey and Ohler (2011) described qualitatively the experiences of "male antiviolence allies" trained to challenge rape supportive peer norms. The publication is rich with examples and quoted statements of the participants describing personal intervention successes and failures. Expressions of

participants demonstrated persisting concerns of peer perceptions by those, perhaps ironically, trained to counter it. Banyard and Moynihan (2011) looked at peer norms in relation to bystander behaviors and were suspicious of the effect of age on perceived peer norms. They described freshman has having larger peer circles, which may evidence greater implications of peer norm research on this age group. The efforts of these and other social norm researchers are likely worthy causes, for "within a community where the norm is set to intervene, sexual assault incidents should be expected to decline" (Foubert, Langhinrichsen-Rohlin, Brasfield, & Hill, 2010, p. 817).

In Martinez's (2012) study, the relationship between threatening stimuli and parenting students was explored. While this was not specifically related to bystander intervention, the results have implications for educating students about intervening in situations where there is a potential for threat, or where students may perceive threatening stimuli. Martinez (2012) concluded that participants took more time to respond to threatening stimuli in their environment than safe stimuli after being primed with a vignette related to a serious, but rare, type of crime. For example, it took participants longer to categorize stimuli presented in the form of words such as "GUN," "ENEMY," and "VENOM" than words such as "FLOWER," "COTTON," and "AIR" (Martinez, 2012). See Appendix A for the complete study.

Findings from Martinez (2012) indicate that students may be reluctant to intervene due to failure to recognize a situation as threatening and/or failure to identify steps to intervene safely if the risk is perceived as too high to intervene. Bystander education programming will make use of discussing potential interpersonal violence situations and/or criminal acts to be mindful of in their environments. This combined

with any social marketing campaigning is a source of priming students with messaging about potential interpersonal violence and how to intervene safely. Martinez (2012) demonstrated that there is evidence that more processing takes place when threatening stimuli are noticed after being primed. Per the study methodology, priming took place immediately before reviewing the stimuli. As such, bystander education should focus on ensuring that participants develop skill sets to first notice events that have the potential to cause harm to others (identify threatening stimuli worthy of processing further) as well as develop practical skill sets to intervene safely (so that intervention can take place swiftly and confidently).

Bystander Intervention Programming

The following bystander intervention programs are recognized by the National Sexual Violence Resource Center (2015) and/or the First Report of the White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault (2014). Some programs also have published results of evaluations of their effectiveness at demonstrating change in bystander attitudes and behaviors. It is worth noting here that while some of this information has been included, it is difficult to make comparisons between programs based on this data due to the variance in methodologies, assessments, population demographics, and lack of replicated results.

Green Dot Etcetera

The Green Dot Prevention Strategy was authored by Dorothy Edwards and is a curriculum that can range from 6 hours to multiple days using motivational speech to inspire community action that prevents violence (Green Dot, et cetera, Inc., 2010). The program describes to participants that every community has "Red Dots," acts of violence

including sexual assault, battery, intimidation, or choosing to do nothing to help someone. The program trains community members to act by filling the community with "Green Dots," behaviors, choices, words, and attitudes that promote safety and communicate intolerance for violence. A message communicated by the facilitator is to encourage participants to displace the "Red Dots" with "Green Dots" in order to make a difference at the community level. Instructors must be certified and trained at minimum over the course of a four-day program at a Green Dot Institute or host the four-day training on-site. The program is a train-the-instructor curriculum, such that the individual in receipt of the training will be an asset to the organization they serve, but is unable to certify other trainers (Green Dot, et cetera, Inc., 2010).

Edwards' program is grounded in Rogers' (1983) Diffusion of Innovations Theory, which is based on the idea that behavior can change within a population by being initiated and will then diffuse to others if endorsed by enough popular opinion leaders. By training enough college students to endorse "Green Dots," it is likely that their behaviors will diffuse to others if they are natural and influential or "popular" opinion leaders in the population. The "popular opinion leaders" must also be seen to be adopting and endorsing the behavior in order for the behaviors to be diffused to others and adopted by other community members (Rogers, 1983).

Bringing in the Bystander

The Bringing in the Bystander program was developed by Banyard, Plante, and Moynihan (2005) with funding from the U.S. Department of Justice. The curriculum focuses on preventing sexual violence by educating participants how to intervene in risky situations. This approach can be conducted in one-90 minute session or three-90 minute

sessions over the course of one week. It is delivered to single-sex participant groups in a discussion and role-play format. Completion of the program also includes development of a bystander plan and signing a pledge to be an active and prosocial bystander in their community. Published evaluations of the program indicate that students were likely to report bystander attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge at two months and many effects persisted up to 12 months, after participation (Banyard et al., 2005; Banyard et al., 2007). Institutions interested in implementing this program purchase the curriculum from the institution (Prevention Innovations, 2015b). Individuals may attend or the institution may host a one-day regional training. There are other customization options available for being educated on the material (Prevention Innovations, 2015b).

Mentors in Violence Prevention

Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) was founded and co-created by Jackson Katz at Northeastern University in 1993 (MVP, 2015). It is a leadership program that focuses on preventing all forms of violence against women perpetrated by men. MVP is described as the first large-scale attempt to engage high school, collegiate, and professional athletes from all socioeconomic, racial and ethnic backgrounds in this manner (MVP, 2015). The MVP Model was designed to train male student athletes and leaders, but has since added a component for female student athletes and leaders (Katz, Heisterkamp, & Fleming, 2011). In addition, while it was first marketed almost exclusively for athletes, the curriculum has since begun to address larger audiences. It is now being marketed for college, high school and most recently middle school student groups (Katz et al., 2011).

The MVP curriculum, with roots in social justice, consists of role-playing in situations that involve interpersonal violence, harassment, and bullying and teaches multiple confrontation skills that can be employed before, during or after the act (Katz et al., 2011; MVP, 2015). The program also allows facilitated discussions to take place in single-sex groups where participants can explore their feelings about masculinity, sexual assault, and interpersonal violence in a forum not typically available in their peer-groups, which provides opportunities for social norming of healthy ideas about gender and sexuality to take place (Katz et al., 2011). MVP services include train-the-trainer development and follow-up evaluation for assessing pre and post bystander attitudes and behaviors (MVP, 2015).

Men Can Stop Rape

Men Can Stop Rape (MCSR) is a non-profit organization with headquarters in Washington, DC founded in 1997 (MCSR, 2011). Their programs are targeted at engaging male bystanders in reducing violence against women. MCSR provides on-site trainings, workshops, and a variety of campaign materials. The organization also charters Campus Men of Strength (MOST) Clubs at colleges and universities as a means of providing guided opportunities for men to model the MCSR mission, collaborate with women's groups, engage in peer education, and other types of activism.

MCSR uses the social ecological model (Dahlberg & Krug, 2002) as their prevention framework, per the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2014). According to the social ecological model, four levels of prevention strategy exist on a continuum: individual, relationship, community, and societal, whereby successful prevention efforts address multiple levels of the model (CDC, 2014; Dahlberg & Krug,

2002). The programming offered by MCSR intentionally works with developing bystander intervention skill sets at the different levels (MCSR, 2011). MCSR trains men to intervene according to a six-step "Gut Check" that includes *notice events, identify events as a problem, feel motivated to and capable of finding a solution, acquire skills for action, act, evaluate and revise* (MCSR, 2011). These skills parallel the five-barrier situation model of bystander intervention proposed by Burn (2009), in that the first five steps may provide the skills needed to decrease the likelihood that barriers will prevent intervention from occurring.

MCSR is founded upon the social norms approach introduced by Berkowitz and Perkins (1987) to address alcohol education programming on college campuses. The researchers have since found that misperceptions related to the amounts other students drank encouraged heavier drinking and use in non-users (Berkowitz, 2005; Perkins, 2003). Similar effects have been documented whereby participants have adopted misperceptions related to the support of rape myths and rape-supportive behaviors (Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Loh et al., 2005). This effect has also been shown to result in the decreased likelihood that college men will intervene in a situation where a woman is being mistreated (Loh et al., 2005). In a review of studies related to men's perceptions of other men's willingness to intervene and how this impacted their own perceived willingness to intervene, Berkowitz (2010) concludes that "misperceptions are widespread, that they are associated with increased alcohol use and other health problems, and that problem behavior is often best predicted by misperceptions of peers attitudes" and/or behaviors (p. 14). Berkowitz (2010) calls for the development of marketing campaigns that address findings of social norms research, such as widespread

distribution of messaging about healthy interpersonal behaviors to counter unhealthy social norms and attitudes. Berkowitz (2010) also suggests targeting specific groups (such as first-year students, athletes, fraternity and sorority members) and providing individualized efforts (such as counseling sessions for persons who already have a drinking/smoking problem).

Social Marketing Campaigns

There are a number of social marketing campaigns that promote awareness of issues related to gender-based violence, such as sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking. These campaigns often promote awareness and educate audiences by the use of images that depict bystanders as safely challenging a behavior, attitude, or action that actually or potentially demeans, degrades, or harms another person. For example, the University of New Hampshire's Know Your Power™ bystander social marketing campaign has images available for purchase and customization, from bookmarks to bus wraps (Potter & Stapleton, 2011; Prevention Innovations, 2015a). Evaluations of the campaign have demonstrated increased awareness of bystander intervention behaviors (Potter, Stapleton, & Moynihan, 2008), willingness to intervene as bystanders (Potter et al., 2009; Potter & Stapleton, 2011), and reported bystander intervention behaviors (Potter, 2012).

Existing bystander intervention programs have the potential to 1) train key staff by experts; 2) continue training of other staff via train-the-trainer efforts; 3) implement a variety of student-specific programming, such as gender neutral, gender-specific, student athletes, Greek students, and other student organizations and leadership groups; and, 4) obtain/maintain compliance with federal guidance and recent legislative mandates. Per

Potter and Stapleton (2011), practitioners need decide if purchasing an existing program, developed and evaluated at another institution, will in fact be successful at the investing institution. After all, in order for prevention efforts to be successful, per the theories they are grounded in, there must be buy in from the communities in which they are to be practiced.

Metropolitan University Programming

Hathaway, Mulhollan, and White (1995) describe metropolitan universities being located in or near larger cities that establish "symbiotic relationships" (p. 9) with these surrounding areas. Metropolitan universities are uniquely suited to meet the needs of their surrounding communities, such as by offering the education programs that will stimulate the job markets of the area and encouraging service learning and internship opportunities. In turn, the metropolitan community provides a large prospective student population for the campus with education needs as well as a variety of resources that can assist with attendance, such as public transportation services (Hathaway et al., 1995). It can be of benefit to the institution to become familiar with the communities they serve to seek prospective students who may not otherwise have been recruited by institutions outside their community, providing educational opportunities for first generation college students.

The characteristics of a student body are important when selecting a bystander intervention program. Metropolitan universities typically have student populations that are older (non-traditional), have lower socioeconomic statuses, have minority backgrounds, (Barnett & Phares, 1995) commute, are more likely to be employed (Muhollan, 1995) and are first-generation college students (Barnett & Phares, 1995).

Each of these characteristics contributes to what makes metropolitan universities so diverse and unique. Vast diversity, while enriching to the campus community, can present challenges to engaging a student body with a unidimensional approach.

Consider educating commuter students, for example. Jacoby (1995) describes that commuter students are often misunderstood as being like residential students, only living off-campus. This assumption can be harmful when it comes to cocurricular programming. Commuter students may be more accurately described as living off-campus and may be partnered/married, have children, and/or working full/part-time. This population also includes students from cultures where high value is placed on maintaining the family unit (Jacoby, 1995). Commuter students may be balancing more life roles than the typical residential student, such as work and family, which can result in spending less time on campus outside of classes. In addition, length of commute and transportation issues can make it more difficult for commuter students to spend time on campus outside of classes. Jacoby (1995) also describes commuter students as less likely to develop a sense of belonging on campus as they may relate more to engaging in a "supermarket" (p. 54) relationship with their institution. The commuter student population is one that has continued to increase over time and is likely to continue due to age, lifestyle, family circumstances, and financial reasons. It is important for programming purposes to consider that while residential students may have plenty of access to cocurricular resources and events, the significant population of commuter students at metropolitan universities may not have the same access or interest. Thus, at a metropolitan university, it is unlikely that a pre-packaged bystander intervention program will meet the unique needs of a metropolitan university student population.

Implementation needs to be strategic such that the needs of first-generation, non-traditional, international, minority, and commuter student needs are met.

In addition to considering the needs of on- and off-campus students, bystander intervention programing at a metropolitan university needs to be able to address the significant minority populations of the institution. An intervention strategy for one group of students may or may not be relevant, appropriate, or even safe for another group of students, depending on their ethnic or cultural background. Intervention education should cover cross-cultural sensitivity as well as universal indicators of healthy and unhealthy relationship styles. This can promote understanding of gender roles in other cultures/religions, global competence, and cross-cultural methods of intervention.

Ideally, metropolitan universities could implement all of the bystander intervention programs covered in the current review. Reality, however, often forces choices as most, if not all, institutions of higher education are challenged by budgetary cuts and financial deficiencies. Resources for sexual assault awareness and prevention education programs can be difficult to secure and are often jeopardized. Even when funding is secured, program administrators are not afforded the luxury of working with students over longer periods of time. While studies demonstrate that effectiveness of these programs is associated with length, duration, and repetition of participation (Banyard, Plante, & Moynihan, 2007; Breitenbecher, 2000; Currier & Carlson, 2009), many administrators have only one opportunity for a relatively brief period to try to make an impact on participant attitudes and behaviors. These circumstances illustrate the importance of executing sexual assault awareness and prevention programs structured on principles supported by the literature and which demonstrate effectiveness consistently.

Where there are funds available to procure an existing program, it is worthwhile to invest in a program that is already developed for a number of reasons. Programs such as Green Dot Etcetera and Men Can Stop Rape (MCSR) are founded upon social psychological theorems, giving strength to their core principals. In addition, Bringing in the Bystander and MCSR have published evaluations of their programs, granted they are at their respective institutions, but they give a foundation for their legitimacy and value as an effective means of primary prevention. Furthermore, some programs, like Bringing in the Bystander, will follow-up with the institution after implementation to engage in assessment of effectiveness of program initiatives. This can help the institution identify how previous efforts to educate students have been successful and how future efforts can be improved, specifically within non-traditional, first-generation, minority, and commuter student groups. Finally, programs like Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) can target some of the unique populations that exist, such as athletes, Greek students, and other student leaders.

Given the diverse needs of metropolitan university student populations, and typically larger student bodies, it is unlikely that practitioners would be any less fiscally burdened by developing their own bystander intervention program. There is also a certain comfort for campus administrators that comes with selecting a program nationally recognized as a primary prevention strategy by agencies monitoring campus compliance related to sexual violence. As such, it would benefit a metropolitan university to select a program that can be implemented for the most diverse population, including men and women, and modified to include opportunities for students who may not typically have access to on-campus programming and/or may not relate to majority student material.

This will include discussions with administrators who implement programming for commuter/off-campus students to make sure the needs of these students are being met and that they are afforded opportunities to receive the educational material/programming. This will also include developing programming that specifically addresses not only bystander intervention for students of minority backgrounds but also cross-cultural bystander intervention for all student populations. This may take the form of having an expert on the matter come to facilitate discussion on these topics during a section of the program; providing educational resources during the program related to these topics; and/or campaign and awareness messages that include images and messages that relate to minority students and address cross-cultural intervention scenarios and techniques. Institutional research departments are typically tasked with cataloging the data of an institution, such as enrollment numbers, student body demographics, graduation statistics, and retention information. As such, metropolitan university administrators generally have fact books available to review student body demographics and tailor their program to best meet their student body needs. Potter and Stapleton (2011) remind practitioners of the importance of including students in the decision making process when selecting a bystander program and/or social marketing campaign. It may seem like an obvious suggestion, but having student buy-in and making sure your messages are still relevant can be achieved via focus groups and other pools of available students, such as student leadership groups, classrooms, and online surveys.

It is worth noting that bystander intervention education could further address the needs of a metropolitan campus community by considering available data and trends related to crimes of violence and disciplinary referrals at the institution. Every institution

in receipt of federal funding publishes an Annual Security Report (ASR) that will have information about incidents meeting the Uniform Crime Report definition of crimes occurring on campus properties. Federally funded institutions also must have a person appointed as a Title IX Coordinator, someone appointed to oversee all investigations involving gender discrimination. In addition, most campuses have a constituency responsible for handling student discipline, such as a Dean of Students, conduct office, or other department. These areas should be able to produce aggregate information and/or describe trends that could be addressed by a preventative bystander intervention program. Now, this may begin to sound reactive as one considers previous incidents to inform a preventative practice. However, consider that there were a trend for interpersonal violence on a campus, such as higher risk for dating violence offenses within a certain group of students or that interpersonal violence was more likely to occur during a certain time of the year. Knowing this allows practitioners to strategically plan bystander education programming such that the group of students at risk can focus on the at-risk behavior during their education or programming can take place prior to a time of the year when incidents are more likely to occur. Other areas to consider input from include, but are not limited to, athletics, Greek advisors, and on-campus housing advisors to be best informed about concerns for the campus related to students' risk of interpersonal violence. Bystander intervention education informed by these stakeholders may actually increase the ability of practitioners to be more preventative in their approach.

Metropolitan universities would be benefited most by 1) purchasing an existing train-the-trainer bystander intervention program; 2) identifying the needs of unique metropolitan university student groups; 3) modifying the program to meet these needs; 4)

developing a strategic implementation plan; 5) pre/post assessment plans; and, 6) identifying accompanying social marketing campaign strategies. Train-the-trainer programs increase the yield on an investment in a bystander intervention program. This allows the institution to invest in the training of a few key staff members who can then teach the implementation to other staff persons. In the event of staff turnover and other unforeseen events, the institution maintains certification in the ability to engage students in the program and train other staff to do the same. By identifying the needs of the student groups that are unique to the metropolitan university, the program can be modified to address concerns for students that are of the culture, region, familial background, or socioeconomic status. In addition, these students may not have the same access that traditional, residential students have to on-campus programming. As such, strategic planning needs to take place to ensure access to all students. If it can be demonstrated, for example, that a campus with significant commuter students only come to campus for classes, then perhaps bystander intervention education can be offered during class periods. If there is a significant population of working adults taking evening classes, perhaps there should be some student programming available during the evening hours to target this audience. Pre/post assessment is crucial to documenting your success as an institution as well as being able to identify areas that can be improved. Because metropolitan universities have a wide variety of students, assessment is one way to ensure that effectiveness is demonstrated across all types of students groups. Social marketing campaigns are relatively inexpensive in comparison to bystander intervention. Typically, the only costs are related to copyrights and/or printing materials. It is important to consider keeping the messaging consistent between programming efforts. This can

typically be accomplished by students and staff already committed to engage groups in this manner, such as student affairs, campus activities, student programming clubs, advocacy and outreach offices, and other student organizations and clubs with an interest in promoting messages that are consistent with bystander intervention, such as healthy relationships and anti-bullying.

Institutions of all types are on notice of their obligation to provide primary prevention education programming for their community members. At a metropolitan university, the demographics of the student body must influence the strategic and perhaps even creative implementation of programming efforts in order to make the most of this investment. Administrators may make the best use of their time and resources by purchasing a program with robust support from academic and nationally recognized communities, then taking time to modify the program to meet their specific community needs and develop a strategic plan for implementation and follow-up. Bystander intervention programming is uniquely equipped to not only demonstrate effectiveness in the literature, but also meet the legislative demands of the currently regulatory environment and provide programmatic flexibility for implementation by metropolitan campus administrators in preventing interpersonal violence.

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Appendix A

Neonatal Abduction and Threat Assessment: Judgments in a Lexical Decision Task

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Abstract

The current study investigated the detection of threats after reading a story about a typical neonatal abduction. Participants classified words as either "THREAT" or "SAFE" in a lexical decision task. The prediction was that participants would respond faster and more accurately to threat-related stimuli after reading the abduction story and that this was demonstrable by decreased mean correct response times (RTs). Another prediction was that caregivers would respond reliably faster than non-caregivers after the introduction of the prime. A two-way factorial ANOVA was used to measure the effects of the prime and parental status on the mean correct RTs of participants. A main effect of presence of the prime was observed, but RTs reliably increased, rather than decreased in contradiction to what was expected. In addition, the observed interaction indicated that caregivers' RTs reliably increased, whereas the RTs of non-caregivers stayed statistically the same after the prime was introduced. These findings have implications for preventative efforts to combat neonatal abduction, a rare but serious type of crime.

Keywords: lexical decision, neonatal abduction, threat assessment

Neonatal Abduction and Threat Assessment: Judgments in a Lexical Decision Task

The abduction of neonates and infants is rare; however, it is a serious societal problem (Burgess & Lanning, 2003). Nearly 800,000 children under the age of 18 went missing in 2002 (Sedlak, Finkelhor, Hammer, & Schultz, 2002). Family abductions accounted for 56,500 whereas nonfamily abduction accounted for 12,500 of these reports (Sedlak et al., 2002). Stranger neonatal abductions accounted for 13 reports in 2001 and 6 in 2003, demonstrating how rare this type of abduction is by comparison to the abductions of children of all ages (Burgess & Lanning, 2003). Stranger neonatal abduction is defined as an abduction of a child less than one year old by a nonfamily perpetrator who takes and detains the child for a substantial period of time with the intent of keeping the child permanently (Finkelhor, Hammer, & Sedlak, 2002). These abductions occur for reasons not typically associated with other child abductions and kidnapping cases such as money, sex, revenge, or custody-considered motives (Ankrom & Lent, 1995). Sensationalism by the 24-hour news cycle makes this type of crime particularly detrimental to law enforcement, parents, and other involved persons (Lord, Boudreaux, & Lanning, 2001).

News of these occurrences quickly goes viral, resulting in widespread panic (Strohman, 2005). The resulting law enforcement investigations and media interventions are overwhelming. Other law enforcement areas, such as crime prevention and reactionary duties, are left vulnerable, compromised, or unattended while responding to abductions (Lord et al., 2001). Most neonatal abductions occurred in hospital and healthcare settings prior to increased efforts to secure these facilities. Improvements in security and preventative staff training have resulted in a sharp decline in neonatal

abduction occurrences in healthcare settings (Rabun, 2004). An investigation of preventative measures is warranted by the lack of literature pertaining to this essential effort. A conceptualized understanding of neonatal abduction and threat assessment is necessary to develop preventative strategies and deter abductions of infants from caregivers in non-healthcare settings.

This type of crime is still an occurrence; however, security improvements in hospitals deter neonatal abductions (Strohman, 2005). The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) tracks child abduction characteristics and reports them every one to two years. Existing neonate abduction data for the United States reveal predictive patterns in abduction methods and site selection. A concerning trend is that while hospital security improvements have deterred abductions in healthcare settings, there appears to be an increase other locations where violence is more often used (Burgess & Lanning, 2003). Recent acknowledgement of the violence employed in neonatal abductions has risen with the advent of attempted and actual Cesarean abductions (Lord et al., 2001). A lack of vigilance or inaccurate assessment of threat by caregivers can be associated with the success of the perpetrator. Caregivers are more likely to be conned into giving away their children or becoming victims of violence by resisting an abductions that occur outside of healthcare setting (Burgess & Lanning, 2003; Lord et al., 2001; Strohman, 2005; Rabun, 2004). The ability of caregivers to assess threats is paramount to the prevention of neonatal abductions. Parents must be vigilant of threatening environments and persons in order to protect their children and themselves.

The development of preventative measures that increase vigilance in caregivers is a goal of law enforcement and healthcare providers. Goals that appear to be consistent across individuals include survival, reproduction, and protection of offspring (Bargh and Morsella, 2008). The spread of awareness of neonatal abduction occurrences and offender profiles to caregivers is a currently accepted preventative measure that addresses the goal of protecting offspring (NCMEC). Further understanding about how awareness of abductions helps prevent abduction occurrences aids in the development of other preventative measures.

Education caregivers and future caregivers about neonatal abduction is accomplished by giving examples of how these crimes occur and what to be wary of in the environment. Advice given to caregivers includes remaining aware of abductor characteristics and methodologies, such as pretending to be healthcare staff, and other tips intended to heighten caregiver wariness. Awareness, or automatic vigilance, is part of an adaptive process in which humans screen objects and their environment and consider stimuli in terms of their valence (Bargh et al., 1996). To be vigilant is to be wary of threats in the environment.

Perception of threatening stimuli has roots in cognitive psychology. Humans are naturally more likely to attend to threatening stimuli than neutral stimuli (Flykt, 2005). Threat assessment can be measured by cognition tasks and determine what stimuli humans are biased to attend to. A decrease in mean response times during a visual search task is evidence of attention to threatening stimuli (Flykt, 2005). The lexical decision task, a task involving the classification of words, is also appropriate for threat assessment research. The lexical decision task is a reliable measure of implicit attitudes (Bargh et al.,

1996). Threat assessment as a goal in a lexical decision task requires participants to classify words as either safe or threatening. A demonstration of increased ability to recognize threats in a lexical decision task may be indicative of an effective neonatal abduction prevention measure because caregiver vigilance may be associated with measures of threat assessment.

The goal of caregiver vigilance or threat assessment needs to be primed in an empirical examination as a goal-directed behavior (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2000). A story of a typical neonatal abduction is the prime to activate the goal of threat assessment. The prime mirrors currently accepted preventative efforts, which spread awareness of neonatal abduction occurrences (NCMEC). The effectiveness of the prime as an educative prevention effort is measurable using a lexical decision task. A lexical decision task measures mean response times (RTs) to classify words as threatening or safe. Mean RTs should reliably decrease after introduction of the prime. The expectation is also that caregivers will perform the threat assessment task more quickly because they are habitually more vigilant due to pervasive childrearing responsibilities (Burgess & Lanning, 2003).

If the prime is a valid preventative measure, then participants' mean correct RTs to threatening stimuli will reliably decrease. Decreased mean RTs to threatening stimuli reflect increased threat assessment efficiency. The first hypothesis is that there will be a main effect of the prime, such that mean correct RTs will decrease after the introduction of the prime. The second hypothesis is that there will be a main effect for caregiver status (caregiver/non-caregiver), such that non-caregivers will have greater mean correct RTs than caregivers will. The third hypothesis is that there will be an interaction, such

that the prime is effective depending upon caregiver status. Specifically, mean correct RTs will decrease for caregivers and remain the same for non-caregivers after introduction of the prime.

Method

Participants

Twenty-five (13 female) undergraduate General Psychology students were recruited via the SONA system in partial fulfillment of a course requirement at a university in Oklahoma. All participants had normal or corrected to normal vision. Six participants identified as caregivers. All participants spoke English and were over 18 years of age.

Materials & Stimuli

Stimuli were presented using Empirisoft DirectRT software which collected error rates and response times (RTs) in milliseconds. Stimuli were presented on a 17" flat-screen desktop computer monitor 22-24" in front of seated participants. Stimuli presentation occurred in capital letters and appeared in yellow font on centered on a black background. Stimuli consisted of single words classified as either "THREAT" or "SAFE". Stimuli were independently rated on two eight-point scales ranging from "0" (not at all threatening or safe) to "7" (extremely threatening or safe) (see Appendix B). Difference scores indicate the difference between "SAFE" scores and "THREAT" scores. Positive difference scores indicated a word rated higher on the "THREAT" scale and negative difference scores indicated a word rated higher on the "SAFE" scale. The words used and their mean difference scores are summarized in Appendix B.

"THREAT" and "SAFE" stimuli were selected after a review of threat-assessment and threat-stimuli literature including fear and disgust ratings of arthropods (Gerdes, Uhl, & Alpers, 2009), a visual search for biological threat task (Flykt, 2005), and a review of evidence for the evolutionary interpretation of fears and threats throughout different stages of development in humans (Boyer & Berstrom, in press). Fears that develop in children may seem relatively irrational. They may also be associated with legitimate concerns encountered during evolution. Four specific types of threats that humans face include predatory, intraspecific violence, contamination-contagion and status loss. In addition, small animals such as snakes and spiders are also generally feared animals in that they have means to overpower humans, such as constriction and venom (Boyer & Bergstrom, in press).

Procedure

Participants followed the researcher to a cubicle in the laboratory and attended a computer screen while seated. Participants read instructions displayed on the monitor as they listed to the researcher. Participants placed their index fingers on the "Z" and "/" keys. Participants classified words that appeared in the center of the computer screen as either threat-related ("THREAT") or nonthreat-related ("SAFE") as quickly and as accurately as possible. The categories "SAFE" and "THREAT" appeared in the top left and right corners of the computer screen. Participants made selections using the "Z" and "/" keys to classify words that appeared one at a time in the center of the computer screen. The "Z" key classified the word displayed under the category ("THREAT" or "SAFE") that appeared in the top left corner of the screen. The "/" key classified the word displayed under the category that appeared in the top right corner of the screen.

Appendix C includes an image of a screen shot during a trial. Participants completed ten practice trials on their own and asked procedural questions.

The researcher left the experiment area during experimental trials. Participants completed two trial blocks of 15 trials each. Participants read a brief narrative of a typical infant abduction after the first block (Appendix D). Participants completed a demographic survey following the completion of the experiment (Appendix E). Participants indicated their age, sex, ethnicity, and whether or not they were parents/step-parents/guardians. Parents/step-parents/guardians indicated how many children/step-children they had and the age and sex of each child/step-child.

Participants received information about the full purpose of the experiment and the purpose of the neonatal abduction story. Participants were informed that their response times to threatening stimuli were expected to decrease after reading the story of a typical neonatal abduction. Participants were informed that the experiment tested whether or not the infant abduction story could reliably increase vigilance to threatening stimuli and that if it did, this information could have implications for preventative efforts to combat child abduction. The entire procedure was about 15 minutes in length.

Results

A two-way factorial ANOVA was used to compare mean correct response times (RTs) in milliseconds (ms). The experimentally manipulated variable was presence of the prime (before/after) and caregiver status (caregiver/non-caregiver) was a quasi-independent variable. The dependent variable was mean correct RT with two levels (threat/safe). RT was inversely proportional to the level of vigilance of the participant. In other words, response time reflected threat assessment efficiency.

There was a significant main effect for presence of the prime on response time, $F(1, 23) = 15.113$, $p = .001$; $d = .397$. The observed power for the main effect of presence of the prime was 0.96. The RTs of participants was reliably greater after the prime was introduced ($M = 1048.86$, $SD = 95.423$) than before ($M = 920.68$, $SD = 75.148$). There was no observed main effect for caregiver status, $F(1, 23) = 2.81$, $p = 0.11$, $d = 0.11$. The observed power for the main effect of caregiver status was 0.36. The RTs of caregivers overall did not vary significantly from each other, such that caregivers ($M = 1126.03$, $SD = 146.96$) did not respond reliably faster or slower than non-caregivers ($M = 843.51$, $SD = 82.59$).

There was a significant interaction (see Figure 1) between presence of the prime and caregiver status, $F(1, 23) = 5.23$, $p = .032$; $d = .185$. The observed power for the interaction was 0.59. RTs for caregivers before the prime ($M = 1024.22$, $SD = 131.03$) reliably increased after the prime was introduced ($M = 1227.83$, $SD = 166.375$) whereas non-caregivers stayed statistically the same before ($M = 817.13$, $SD = 73.63$) and after ($M = 869.89$, $SD = 93.50$) the prime was introduced.

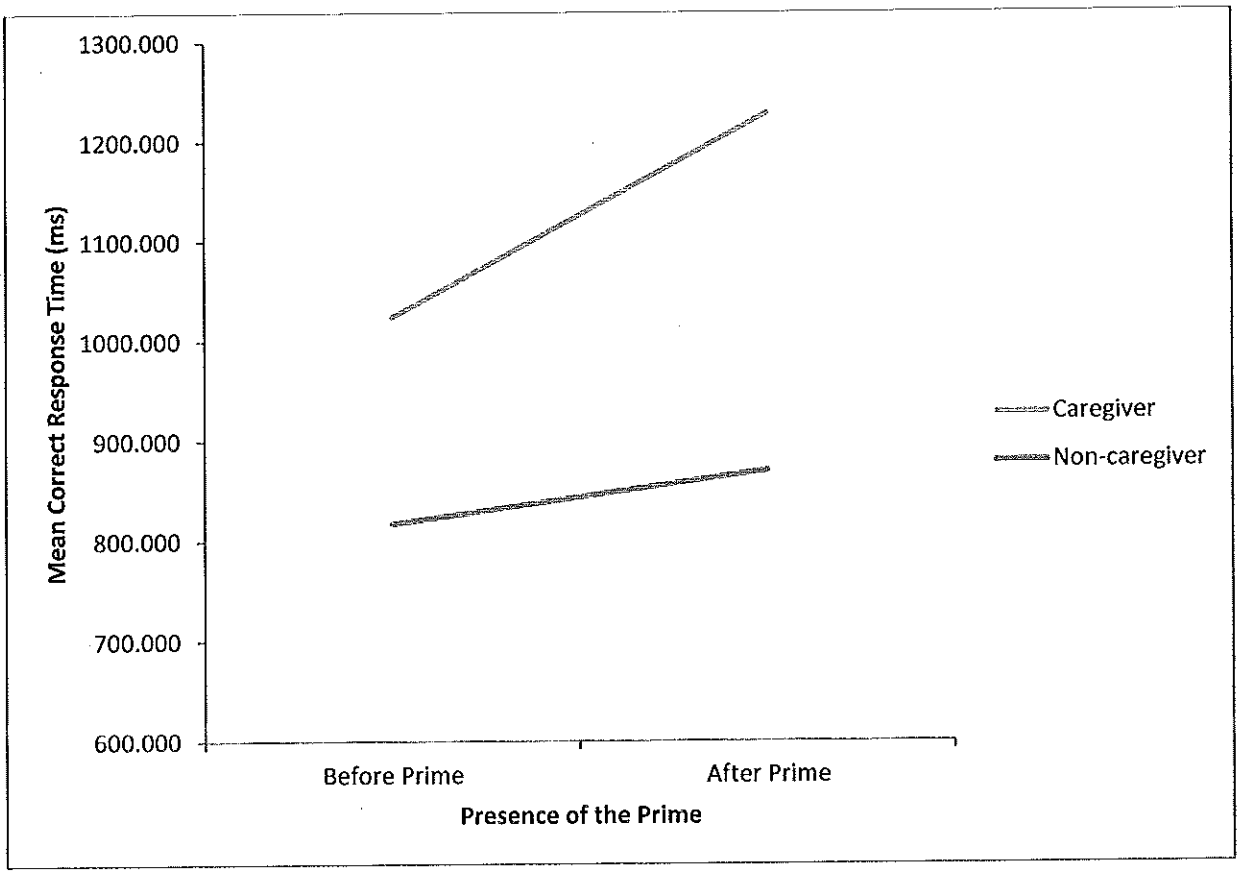

Figure 1. The interaction between caregiver status (caregiver/non-caregiver) and presence of the prime on mean response time (RT) in milliseconds (ms).

Discussion

The main effect of presence of the prime in the first hypothesis was supported; however, the direction of the effect was not. It was hypothesized that mean correct response times (RT) would reliably decrease after introduction of the prime; however, it was found that RT reliably increased after introduction of the prime. The main effect of caregiver status (caregiver/non-caregiver) was not supported. It was hypothesized that caregivers would respond reliably faster than non-caregivers would; however, no reliable difference between caregivers and non-caregivers RT was found. The interaction hypothesis was supported; however, the conditions predicted were not. It was predicted

that RT for caregivers would decrease after the presence of the prime. RT for caregivers increased after the presence of the prime whereas RT for non-caregivers stayed statistically the same.

Limitations of the current study include the small number of caregiver participants and valence of word stimuli used in the lexical decision task. Only six participants identified themselves as caregivers. A larger sample size of caregivers may have demonstrated the effect of caregiver status on mean correct response time (RT). It is noticeable in Appendix B that nonthreat words were rated as safer (more negative mean difference score) than threat words were rated as threatening (more positive mean difference score). It is also apparent that more threat words were ambiguously rated (approached a zero difference score) than safe words. Future attempts to demonstrate increased vigilance or threat assessment efficiency using the lexical decision task may want to remove ambiguous words from the word classification task.

The story of a typical neonatal abduction was not supported as a valid preventative measure. The ability of participants to assess threat was not influenced by the presence of the prime in way that resulted in more efficient threat assessment. The prime appeared to have the opposite effect by increasing the RT of participants to threat-related stimuli, particularly caregivers. There was no statistical difference between the RTs of caregivers and non-caregivers, but the overall main effect of presence of the prime supports that all participants experienced an increase in RT after the prime was introduced.

The ability of a typical neonatal abduction story to increase vigilance and threat assessment efficiency is not demonstrated via the lexical decision making task. The story

did not affect the performance of non-caregivers and slowed caregivers reliably when trying to make decisions about potentially threatening stimuli. Informing caregivers of typical neonatal abduction methodology may not increase awareness in caregivers to a level that properly facilitates threat assessment, at least in a lexical decision task. One possible explanation for why caregivers took longer to respond after reading the typical neonatal abduction scenario hinges on the properties of the Yerkes-Dodson law (Yerkes & Dodson, 1908). The Yerkes-Dodson law asserts that a heightened sense of arousal maximizes performance, but that too much arousal is debilitating (Yerkes & Dodson, 1908). Caregivers reading the typical neonatal abduction story may have become more aroused than is ideal for performance rendering them less able to classify words.

A state of hyper-vigilance may not be ideal for performing timed threat assessments. Threat assessments, by nature, take longer to attend to than neutral stimuli (Koster, Crombez, Verschuere, & De Houwer, 2004). An effective treatment to assist with threat assessment would influence response time to classify words as threatening (MacLeod & Mathews, 1988). The goal for threat assessment may have been hyper-activated resulting in participants attending to threats longer, rather than classifying them faster.

The use of typical neonatal abduction scenarios to educate and increase the vigilance of caregivers is not utterly debunked as a consequence of these results. Additional support for or evidence to refute this preventative measure is needed to completely understand and interpret an appropriate measure of its effectiveness. It could be interpreted that the increased RTs to threatening stimuli actually demonstrate that caregivers appropriately attended threats longer and devoted more cognitive resources as

a result. Additional research in the area of neonatal abduction prevention efforts and caregiver threat assessment is needed to determine if currently accepted practices need improvement or modification. Law enforcement and healthcare facility administrators need information related to neonatal abduction prevention methods. Prevention of neonatal abduction has immediate benefits for the caregivers and family, but is exponentially beneficial to healthcare providers and law enforcement agencies not burdened with rarely executed and unfamiliar reactionary protocols.

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Appendix B

Threat and Safe Scores of Independently Rated Word Stimuli

Table 1

Threat and safe scores of lexical decision task stimuli

Word Stimulus Score	Mean Safe Score	Mean Threat Score	Mean Difference
VENOM	1.15	6.09	4.94
SPIDER	1.03	5.88	4.85
SCORPION	1.39	5.85	4.45
GUN	1.73	5.94	4.21
WASP	1.76	5.39	3.64
ENEMY	1.82	5.27	3.45
SMOKE	2.15	5.15	3.00
SNAKE	2.30	5.03	2.73
KNIFE	2.52	4.85	2.33
LEDGE	2.58	4.52	1.94
SPIKE	2.55	4.45	1.91

STRANGER	3.27	4.30	1.03
STORM	3.27	4.15	0.88
CACTUS	3.70	3.33	-0.36
ICE	5.09	2.33	-2.76
BALL	5.64	1.27	-4.36
VALLEY	5.91	1.42	-4.48
WHISTLE	5.76	1.12	-4.64

Word Stimulus	Mean Safe Score	Mean Threat Score	Mean Difference Score
CARSEAT	6.12	1.00	-5.12
AIR	6.45	1.27	-5.18
GRASS	6.18	0.76	-5.42
FRIEND	6.36	0.79	-5.58
PUPPY	6.39	0.73	-5.67
RABBIT	6.39	0.67	-5.73
COTTON	6.42	0.58	-5.85
FAMILY	6.61	0.73	-5.88
KITTEN	6.45	0.48	-5.97
FLOWER	6.85	0.58	-6.27
MARSHMALLOW	6.67	0.30	-6.36
BUTTERFLY	6.88	0.18	-6.70

Appendix C

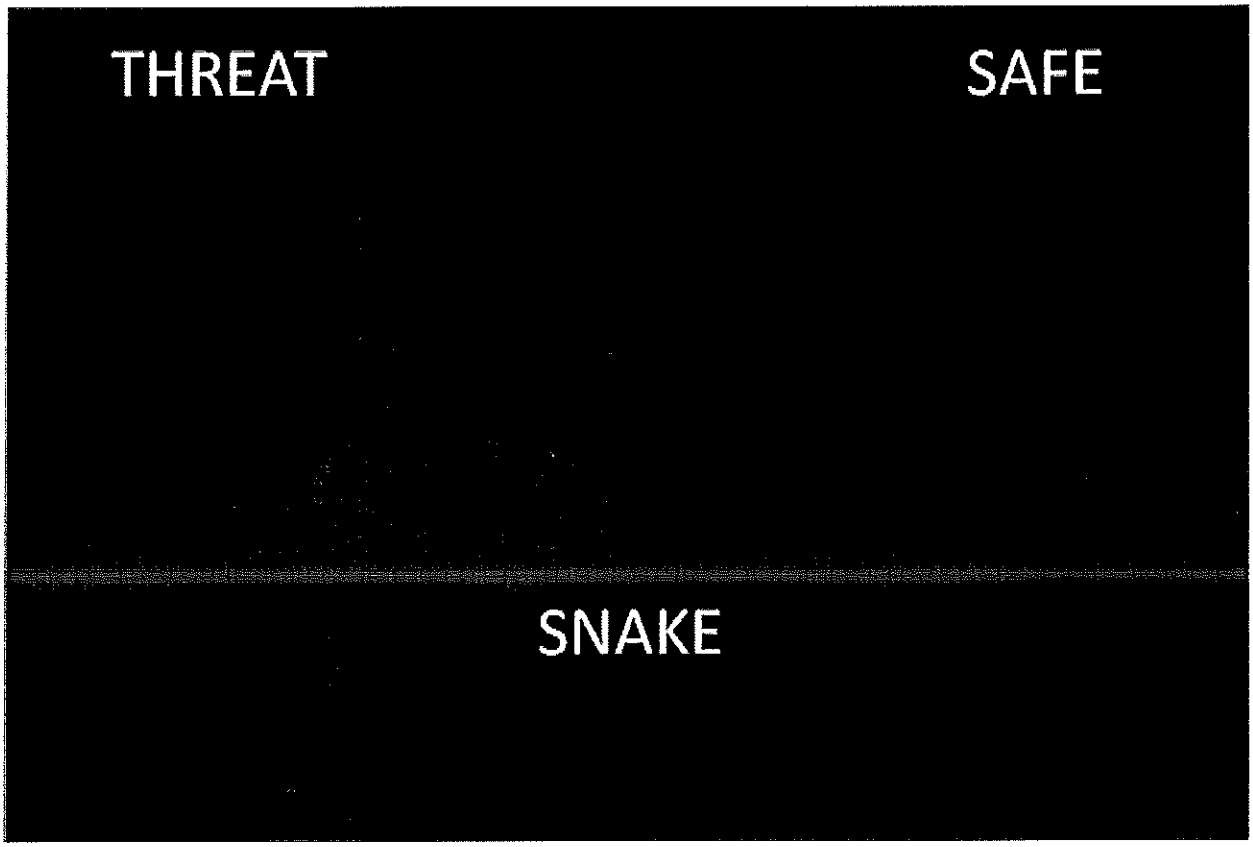

Figure 2. Lexical decision task trial screen shot

Appendix D

Typical Neonatal Abduction Case Scenario

When Linda and Ken brought their 8-week-old daughter to the pediatric clinic for her checkup, they were totally unprepared for what was about to happen. They arrived at the clinic at 8:30 A.M., checked in at the desk, and went to the waiting room. At 9:00 A.M. they were approached by a woman they thought was a nurse. The woman, who was wearing a nurse's uniform, began talking to them about their daughter. She took the infant and Linda into the treatment area where the infant was given an injection. Linda and the infant returned to the waiting area where Linda was told to watch her daughter for any reactions to the shot. The imposter came back into the waiting area again and asked if she could hold the infant. Before Linda could say anything the imposter picked up the infant and said that she was going to show her to the other nurses. Linda objected, but the woman kept walking and said that she didn't need any more children because she already had two of her own. Two or three minutes went by and Linda went to find the woman and her daughter. The "nurse" was nowhere to be found. Linda ran to tell Ken and the nurses. Law enforcement was called and, after talking with several witnesses, determined that a woman holding an infant and fitting the abductor's description was seen getting into a car in the parking lot. The distress Linda and Ken suffered was significant. At times they would lose all hope of seeing their daughter again. They received hundreds of letters of prayer that renewed their hope and kept their spirits alive. They took every opportunity to keep the story in the news, but all they could do was wait.

Six months later the 38-year-old abductor was stopped for the unauthorized use of a motor vehicle following a tip from her own sister. The sister had called local authorities

with her suspicions that the "new baby" in the family was the one who had been abducted from Linda and Ken.

Burgess, A. W., & Lanning, K. V. (Eds.). (2003). An analysis of infant abductions: Second Edition. Alexandria, VA: National Center for Missing and Exploited Children. Case No. 1-4, pp. 4-5.

Appendix E

Post-Experiment Demographic Survey

Participant #:_____

Please indicate your answer to the following questions in the space provided:

1. Sex (M/F): _____

2. Age: _____

3. Do you wear contact lenses (Y/N)? _____ or glasses (Y/N)? _____

4. Are you a native speaker of English (Y/N)? _____

5. How would you describe your ethnic/ancestral/cultural background? (Please check at least one, but check all that apply)

_____ Black or African American

_____Asian

_____White, non-Hispanic

_____ Hispanic or Latino/a

_____ American Indian or Alaska Native

_____Other (Please Explain in one or two words) _____

5. How many children/step-children do you have? _____

6. Please indicate the sex and age of your child(ren)/step-child(ren) in years:

#	**Sex (circle one)**	**Age (years)**
1	Male OR Female	
2	Male OR Female	
3	Male OR Female	

4	Male OR Female	

If you have more than four (4) children/step-children, please indicate the sex and age of each additional

child:_____