

Religious harassment in the workplace: An examination of observer intervention

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Summary

Religious harassment claims in the United States have risen sharply over the past decade. However, victims of religious harassment may not always report harassment, and true rates may be higher. Hence, actions taken by third parties present (observers) are important in combating harassment in the workplace. The purpose of this paper is to extend a previous model of observer intervention and related research by testing it empirically in the context of religious harassment and identify factors that influence observers' decision to intervene (intervention), when they intervene (level of immediacy), and how much they intervene (level of involvement). Across two studies, we find evidence that verbal harassment, ambiguity of intent, relationship to target/harasser, recurrence belief, religious commitment, pro-social orientation, and the interactive effect of shared religion and religious commitment predict intervention. Furthermore, individuals show higher levels of involvement and immediacy in intervention when costs are low and emotional reactions are high. Implications of these findings for engaging observers in combatting harassment are discussed. Copyright © 2015 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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This girl I worked with was Jewish. One day we were all at lunch and we split the bill. The girl paid a dollar less than someone else and the kid across from me turned to her and said, "Don't Jew me out of that dollar." She looked extremely hurt by this incident.

We have an Arab cook in the ----- Center. He is a male Muslim and everyone cracks jokes behind his back. They say things like "If you don't like his food he will put a Jihad on you" and "I'm scared to eat his food cause there is probably a lot of curry and anthrax in everything."

The preceding incidences (taken from this study) reflect the presence of religious harassment in the American workplace. Although clearly prohibited by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, religious discrimination claims over the last decade have risen more rapidly than those for any other protected group (EEOC, 2015). This is unfortunate as research on harassment has shown that victims may suffer physical, emotional, and psychological harm (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Gutek & Koss, 1993; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Individuals subjected to harassment report lower job satisfaction, lower organizational commitment, and poorer work relationships, all factors that can be costly to organizations beyond any legal sanctions. As harassment can lead to negative consequences for victims as well as organizations, it is of concern to organizations that seek to create positive diversity climates and reduce harassment occurrence.

Research on religious harassment tends to focus solely on the victim's perspective (Cragun, Kosmin, Keysar, Hammer, & Nielson, 2012; Volpe & Strobl, 2005), failing to acknowledge third parties who can respond to incidences of harassment (Skarlicki & Kulik, 2005). This is unfortunate because victims of harassment oftentimes fail to confront harassers or report behavior to organizational authorities (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1995).

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Thus, for organizations trying to combat harassment, relying solely on victims reporting such behaviors may prove to be ineffective. Rather, organizations can work at fostering a harassment-free organizational climate by encouraging observers to intervene and to report incidents (O'Leary-Kelly, Paetzold, & Griffin, 2000). However, research suggests that observers' decisions to intervene may depend on a variety of situational, target/harasser, and personal influences (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005), although empirical research on this is rather limited (Benavides-Espinoza & Cunningham, 2010; Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Ryan & Wessel, 2012). Thus, the primary goal of this paper is to gain a deeper understanding of the conditions that increase or decrease observers' likelihood to intervene when religious harassment occurs, so as to guide research and organizations on how to prevent religious harassment in the workplace through observer intervention.

This research contributes to the literature by examining the intersection of two relatively understudied topics, religious harassment and observer intervention. Even though the EEOC (2015) trend data suggest that religious harassment is on the rise, religious harassment as a research topic has been relatively ignored, and there is no existing empirical research that we are aware of that directly addresses observer intervention in religious harassment in the workplace. Thus, this study extends previous observer intervention research on sexual and sexual orientation harassment (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Ryan & Wessel, 2012) to religious harassment. Moreover, we not only examine the generalizability of prior findings to observer intervention in religious harassment but also investigate novel factors, including those that are unique to religious harassment that have not been a focus of prior research on intervention. In doing so, we develop and empirically examine a comprehensive model of observer intervention in religious harassment in the workplace, which serves to highlight the similarities and differences between observer intervention in religious harassment and other harassment types.

We begin by first reviewing the religious harassment literature, particularly noting what is distinct about religious harassment compared with other types of harassment, and why the topic warrants further examination. Next, we build from Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly's (2005) theoretical model and related research (Benavides-Espinoza & Cunningham, 2010; Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Ryan & Wessel, 2012) to identify ways in which observers intervene and factors associated with intervention. We then propose and test hypotheses across two studies.

Religious harassment

Religious harassment in the workplace includes unwanted physical, verbal, and emotional conduct; a hostile and offensive work environment; exclusionary behaviors on the basis of one's religion; and coerced religious participation or non-participation as a condition of one's employment (Civil Rights Act of 1964). The harassment may be targeted specifically at a religion and come in the form of slurs, insults, jokes, physical taunting, or outright refusal to work with an employee of a certain faith group. It may also manifest itself less directly via a hostile and offensive work environment in which the verbal abuse is not necessarily directed at any one person but may still affect individuals nonetheless.

Religious harassment differs from other forms of harassment in several ways. Specifically, the Jones et al. (1984) stigma dimension model suggests that perceptions of stigma characteristics (e.g., controllability, stability, visibility, disruptiveness, and danger) vary across stigmatized groups (i.e., race and gender). These characteristics influence whether less or more favorable reactions to the stigmatized individual are elicited (Weiner, Perry, & Magnusson, 1988). Perceptions of religion differ from other more commonly studied stigmatized groups. First, gender, race, and sexual orientation are generally perceived as less controllable and static, whereas religion is viewed as more controllable and variable (Ghumman & Ryan, 2015), given that individuals may choose to or not choose to practice their faith or even change their faith over time. As individuals with controllable stigmas may be perceived as being more responsible for their religion, they are subjected to greater stigmatization (Goffman, 1963).

Second, unlike gender and race but similar to sexual orientation, religion is also usually an invisible characteristic in that one may choose not to reveal one's religious beliefs (Ragins, 2008), particularly given the secularity of the

American workplace. Disclosing an invisible stigma may lead to discrimination, ostracism, and harassment (Goffman, 1963), so not identifying one's religious group may prove to be a beneficial strategy in that one might avoid some negative outcomes, although concealment does not preclude harassment from general, non-individually directed comments in the workplace.

Third, religion may also be seen as more disruptive as compared with gender, sexual orientation, and race, as employers may need to make religious accommodations for some employees (Ghumman & Ryan, 2015). Accommodations may be seen as reducing workloads for some (e.g., unable to serve pork or alcohol owing to religious restrictions) or reallocating resources that were once available for all employees to a select few (e.g., prayer rooms). Finally, religion may also be seen as potentially more threatening than gender and race. Not only are there several religious groups associated with perilous stereotypes (e.g., Islamic terrorists), but religions themselves represent a variety of belief systems, which may challenge the worldviews and ways of life for those individuals with different belief systems (see Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986, for review).

Beyond the Jones et al. (1984) stigma dimension model, religion has other unique characteristics as a stigma. There are varying perspectives on the acceptability of religious discussion and displays of beliefs in the workplace, whereas views regarding discussions of gender, race, and sexual orientation have evolved to have some clear boundaries (i.e., hate speech). For some individuals, any mention of religion might be perceived as religious harassment or as a form of proselytizing, whereas for others, any limitations imposed on the expression of religion may be considered a form of religious harassment.

Moreover, as compared with rates for sexual harassment of men or sexual orientation harassment of heterosexuals, harassment of majority religious groups is a bit more common. The American Religious Identification Survey (ARIS, 2008) reported that in the United States, Christians make up the majority group (76 percent), followed by atheists/agnostics (15 percent), Mormons (1.4 percent), Jewish people (1.2 percent), Muslims (0.6 percent), Buddhists (0.5 percent), and other religions (1.2 percent). While minority religions (out-groups) would be more likely to be targets of harassment (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), there are many different denominations within Christianity, and many of these subgroups are also subjected to discrimination (Moran, 2007).

Although religion represents a distinctive stigma in terms of perceived controllability, invisibility, disruptiveness, danger, workplace norms, and majority/minority status, very limited research addresses the topic of religious harassment and ways to combat it. It is not clear if aspects previously identified in research on observer intervention in sexual and sexual orientation harassment are particularly generalizable to the religious harassment context and whether other aspects specific only to observer intervention in religious harassment exist. Next, we turn to a discussion of the observer intervention literature and our proposed hypotheses that consider both generalizable and unique aspects.

Observer intervention

Observer intervention can be defined as assistance by an individual who hears about or witnesses harassment occurring and chooses to help (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005). Observers who intervene call to attention coworkers' negative treatment that would have otherwise gone unnoticed and encourage a positive diversity climate within organizations (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999). Furthermore, strong disapproval of harassment in the workplace and organizations that enforce zero-tolerance policies significantly reduce harassment in the workplace (O'Leary-Kelly et al., 2000).

Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) proposed a theoretical model of observer intervention in sexual harassment in the workplace that suggests a series of decisions regarding *when to intervene* and *how much to intervene*, with different factors influencing each of these decisions. Following Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly's conceptualization, we also examine observer intervention behaviors in religious harassment incidents as a series of decisions: (i) *intervention*—choosing to intervene in the situation or not; (ii) *level of immediacy*—intervening as the event unfolds or intervening after the event; and (iii) *level of involvement*—ranging from doing absolutely nothing to directly

asking harasser to stop. As the Bowes-Sperry and O’Leary-Kelly framework not only examines whether one chooses to intervene but also addresses the timing and intensity aspects of the intervention, it provides a more comprehensive overview of the observer intervention decision making process. It is also one of the few observer intervention frameworks that focuses on *workplace* harassment incidents as opposed to emergency situations most often addressed in the bystander literature (e.g., Clark & Word, 1972). Although the Bowes-Sperry and O’Leary-Kelly’s framework primarily focuses on sexual harassment, it has been shown to generalize to sexual orientation harassment (Ryan & Wessel, 2012), making it a suitable framework from which to develop hypotheses on observer intervention in religious harassment.

It is important to note that although our research builds heavily from the Bowes-Sperry and O’Leary-Kelly (2005) framework, we do not examine all aspects of the model but only examine factors (ambiguity of intent, relationship to target, pro-social orientation, cost, benefits, emotional reaction) that we believe are applicable to intervention in the religious harassment context. In addition, we opt for a parsimonious and theory-driven approach in which we examine different predictors of intervention than for level of immediacy/involvement, as supported by past research and theory. We organize the next sections by *intervention* and *level of immediacy/level of involvement*, and even further into the nature of the predictors (situational influences, target/harasser influences, and individual differences). As one of our other main goals for this research is to identify if there are factors that are distinctive to the religious harassment context, we also include several such unique predictors (shared religion, religious commitment, religion of target, interactive effect of shared religion, and religious commitment) in our studies. In doing so, we develop a more holistic framework of factors influencing the observer intervention process in religious harassment. Figure 1 provides an overview of these proposed factors and their influences on the *decision to intervene* (intervention), *when to intervene* (level of immediacy), and *how much to intervene* (level of involvement).

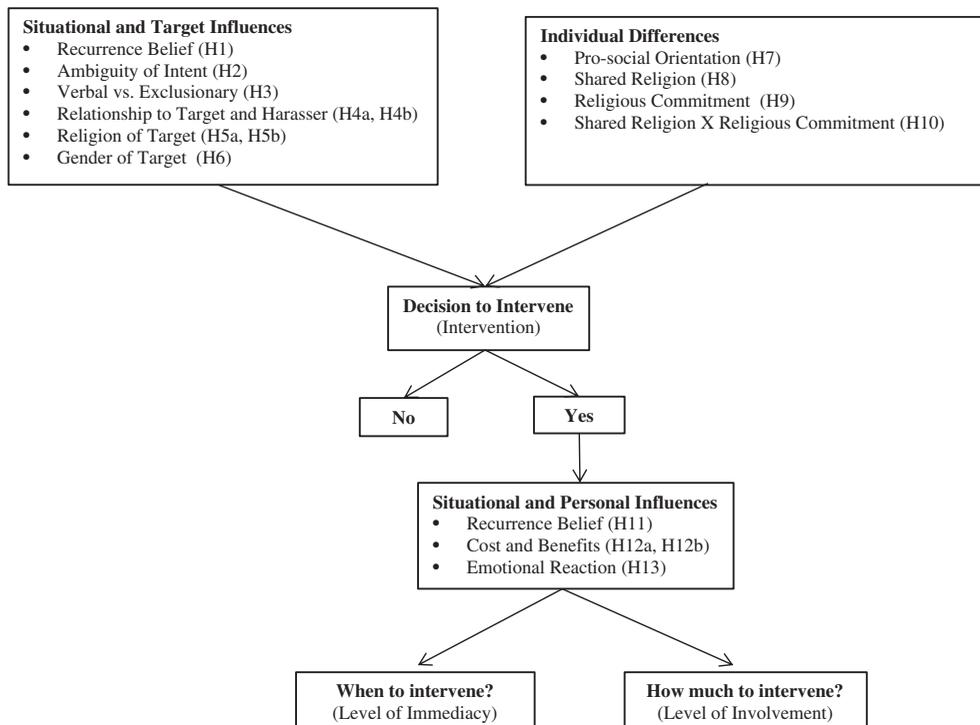


Figure 1. Decisions regarding observer intervention in religious harassment

Intervention

When encountering religious harassment of another employee, the initial decision that an observer must make is whether to get involved or not in the situation, and several situational and target factors as well as individual differences influence this decision. We describe here situational influences (recurrence beliefs, ambiguity of intent, type of harassment), target/harasser aspects (relations between target and harasser, religion of target, gender of target) and individual differences (pro-social orientation, shared religion, religious commitment, interactive effect of shared religion and religious commitment).

Situational influences

Whether an incident is perceived as a one-time event or a recurring incident influences intervention (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Ryan & Wessel, 2012). Observers feel more compelled to act when they perceive the incident as recurring in order to prevent similar harassment incidences in the future. According to accountability theory, individuals' expectations about their accountability to themselves and to others strongly dictate their actions or inactions (Tetlock, 1992). In this regard, should observers fail to act and the harassment continues, observers may feel more responsible for the target's harassment. However, observers may be less inclined to intervene if they perceive the situation as a one-time occurrence, outside of their typical work context, and thus not creating accountability to act. As such, we predict the following:

Hypothesis 1: Observer intervention in religious harassment is more likely to occur when observers believe the religious harassment will recur (vs. believing it will not recur).

The nature of the harassment affects observer's likelihood of intervention (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Clark & Word, 1972; 1974; Ryan & Wessel, 2012). Specifically, Bowes-Sperry and Powell (1999) found that observers were more likely to intervene when they perceived there was a consensus that an incident constituted sexual harassment than when there is a lack of confidence regarding what the incident actually represented. This is in line with accountability theory, which suggests that our behaviors will be governed by expectations for which we hold ourselves accountable (Schlenker, Britt, Pennington, Murphy, & Doherty, 1994). Thus, observers take into account if the harassment is unintended or whether it is overt and malicious. In cases in which the harassment is perceived as ambiguous in intent, the perpetrators may be seen as being relatively unaware of their behaviors or the observers may even have doubts regarding the harm being caused, raising questions regarding observers' responsibility to act. However, if there is a strong perceived intent to harm (low ambiguity), then observers will be more likely to act, as there are more explicit norms to act. As such, we predict the following:

Hypothesis 2: Observer intervention in religious harassment is more likely to occur when behavior is less ambiguous in intent (vs. when behavior is more ambiguous in intent).

Specific harassment behaviors may be perceived differently in terms of their intent to harm (Benavides-Espinoza & Cunningham, 2010; Ryan & Wessel, 2012). Generally, overt blatant expressions of discrimination are perceived as more stigmatizing and are usually considered illegal and violate social norms, whereas covert expressions of prejudice are generally unconscious and may go unnoticed (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). As verbal harassment includes overt gestures (e.g., jokes and slurs), it may be perceived as less ambiguous in nature and more harmful, which, as we noted earlier, will increase the likelihood that observers will act. In contrast, exclusionary harassment is more subtle and can even be considered unconscious (e.g., overlooking a minority for a training program). Even when conscious, exclusionary behaviors may be excused and in some instances justified. For example, an individual may not invite a fellow Mormon colleague out for drinks after work because he or she realizes that the colleague does not consume alcohol. As exclusionary behaviors tend to be more ambiguous as to the amount of harm being caused, they may lead to less intervention by observers.

Hypothesis 3: Observer intervention in religious harassment is more likely to occur when the harassment is verbal (vs. when the harassment is exclusionary).

Target/harasser influences

Friendship and feelings of similarity with the target of harassment will influence intervention (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Darley & Latané, 1968). For example, observers were more likely to intervene when they had a closer relationship to the target of sexual orientation harassment than when they had a less close relationship to the target (Ryan & Wessel, 2012). The association between relationship to target and intervention can be explained by research on friendship and helping behaviors (Bowler & Brass, 2006) and norms of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960), which suggest that familiarity or perceived similarity amongst individuals is more likely to produce altruism and the allocation of resources towards each other. Assuming that the target shares a close relationship with the observer, the observer will be more likely to engage in helping behaviors towards such an individual (Krackhardt & Stern, 1988).

Hypothesis 4a: Observer intervention in religious harassment is more likely to occur when the observer is closer to the target (vs. when the observer is less close to target).

The observer's relationship to the harasser has yet to be examined in the literature on harassment intervention. However, we suspect that when the relationship is close, observers would fail to intervene so as to not challenge those with whom they have close relationships. According to self-categorization theory, individuals support the goals of their friends, and as such, they may even condone discrimination, ostracism, and the stigmatization of others (Turner, 1985). Moreover, if the harasser is someone of power and authority, the observer may ingratiate themselves by showing submissiveness and loyalty in an effort to gain or retain favors (Liden & Mitchell, 1988), even if it may deny valuable opportunities to or exclude others (Vecchio, 1997). As such, not intervening to help the target can be seen as supporting a friend.

Hypothesis 4b: Observer intervention in religious harassment is less likely to occur when the observer is closer to the harasser (vs. when the observer is less close to harasser).

The religion of the target of harassment may serve as another characteristic that influences one's decision to intervene. According to social identity theory, individuals are more likely to be altruistic and offer help to those in their in-group than those in their out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Moreover, individuals engage in discrimination and stigmatization towards out-group members (Turner, 1985), and the level of prejudice that an observer may have against the target's stigmatized group influences one's likelihood to intervene (Frey & Gaertner, 1986). In light of this research, it is important to examine observer intervention for minority religious groups (out-groups) in relation to the majority in-group in the United States, Christians.

Although there are dozens of various religious minority groups in the United States (e.g., atheists/agnostics and Hindus), in order to keep our hypotheses and our subsequent research design simple, we focus on two minority religious groups (Jewish people, Muslims) later. While Christians represent 76 percent of the American population, Jewish people and Muslims only account for 1.2 percent and 0.6 percent of the American population (ARIS, 2008). Given this low numerical representation and the various negative stereotypes associated with these religious minority groups (Cohen, Jussim, Harber, & Bhasim, 2009; Ghumman & Jackson, 2008, 2010), Jewish people and Muslims can be considered out-groups in the United States and be subjected to greater harassment (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Out-group victims are less likely to produce positive emotions such as empathy from helpers compared with someone within their in-group (Brewer, 1999). Thus, observers of harassment incidents directed at minority religions may be less inclined to intervene because of out-group status.

Hypothesis 5a: Observer intervention in religious harassment is less likely to occur when the victim is Jewish (vs. when a victim is Christian).

Hypothesis 5b: Observer intervention in religious harassment is less likely to occur when the victim is Muslim (vs. when a victim is Christian).

Meta-analytic research on pro-social behaviors suggests that women generally receive more help than men (Eagly & Crowley, 1986), reflecting the *damsel in distress* stereotype, which paints a picture of women as being helpless and weak and therefore more in need of assistance. Given that Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) noted perceived welcomeness of intervention as influencing observer intervention behaviors, observers might view intervening on the behalf of female targets as an appropriate response to harassment. In contrast, observers may also make an assumption that men do not necessarily want help, a notion popularized by mass media and well supported by research showing that men are generally less likely than women to seek help (Blazina & Watkins, 1996). Receiving help may be considered a sign of weakness, vulnerability, and femininity (O'Neil, 1986), which would go against traditional masculine stereotypes of being strong, assertive, and standing up under pressure (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000). Given the popular cultural belief that men do not always want help, observers might perceive their intervention as unwelcomed by male targets and be less inclined to intervene on their behalf.

Hypothesis 6: Observer intervention in religious harassment is more likely to occur when the victim is female (vs. when the victim is male).

Individual differences

Beyond situational and target/harasser factors, individual differences may also affect an observer's decision to intervene. Pro-social orientation is associated with helpfulness, generosity, and empathy (Rydell, Hagekull, & Bohlin, 1997). Individuals who have a strong pro-social orientation are more likely to engage in helping behaviors, show cooperation, and successfully handle conflict compared with those who have a weak pro-social orientation. To the extent to which such pro-social behaviors are encouraged through pre-existing cognitive scripts and role modeling (e.g., formal training and religion), Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) suggested that observers will be more likely to intervene in harassment incidences. Given that observer intervention in religious harassment calls for helpful behavior and conflict prevention, we predict the following:

Hypothesis 7: Observer intervention in religious harassment is more likely to occur when observers exhibit a strong pro-social orientation (vs. a weak pro-social orientation).

Social identity theory suggests that observers tend to favor, share resources, offer help, and be more altruistic to those in their in-group than those in their out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1985). That is, we identify ourselves as a part of a greater common identity group that needs to be supported and protected. As there is greater obligation felt to provide assistance to one's in-group members, individuals may be more likely to intervene if the target belongs to the same religious identity group as the observer. In contrast, individuals who do not belong to the same religion may be perceived as an out-group, and observers may be less likely to offer such out-group members help (Frey & Gaertner, 1986). Thus, Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) predicted that similar social identity categorizations make observers more likely to act. Accordingly, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 8: Observer intervention in religious harassment is more likely to occur when the observer and target share the same religion (vs. when there is no shared religion).

One's level of religious commitment, or the degree to which an individual adheres to one's "religious values, beliefs and practices and uses them in daily living" (Worthington et al., 2003, pg 85), may also serve as another individual difference influencing one's decision to intervene. Those who are more committed to their religion are more likely to engage in voluntary behaviors (Ruiter & de Graaf, 2010), altruism (Batson & Gray, 1981), and organizational citizenship behaviors (Kutcher, Bragger, Rodriguez-Srednicki, & Masco, 2010) compared with those with low

religious commitment. Religious individuals' willingness to take action and to help those in need is also consistent with common beliefs shared by most religions regarding respect for others, religious prosociality (Norenzayan & Shariff, 2008), and the golden rule of doing "unto others as you would have them do unto you" (Küng & Kuschel, 1993).

In line with social identity theory described previously (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it is also plausible that religious commitment may create an in-group identity for any one being associated with religion, regardless of actual affiliation (i.e., "believers" as an in-group and "non-believers" as an out-group). Observers high on religious commitment may feel socially responsible to act as harassment against another individual's religion may be perceived as a threat to one's own religion. Generally, research shows that individuals who highly identify with their group are more likely to have higher perceptions of group and personal discrimination (Crocker & Major, 1989; Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003) and experience more distress when their group identity is discriminated against (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003). In addition, when members identify highly with the stigmatized group, threats to one's in-group also become threats to one's personal self (McCoy & Major, 2003). Thus, we predict the following:

Hypothesis 9: Observer intervention in religious harassment is more likely to occur when the observers have high religious commitment (vs. low religious commitment).

As noted previously, research suggests that individuals are more likely to help their in-group rather than out-group members (Frey & Gaertner, 1986; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1985). Although religion is clearly a basis for forming in-group membership (Allport, 1954), high religious commitment may further enhance the importance of this religion in-group as those who identify more with their in-group are more likely to perceive threats and discrimination against their in-group more personally (Major et al., 2003; McCoy & Major, 2003) and experience more distress (Sellers et al., 2003). To the extent that religious commitment serves as a proxy for religious identification, this raises the question of whether the combined effect of shared religion and high religious commitment further accentuates observer's decision to intervene. Perhaps observers who have high religious commitment are inclined to perceive targets that share their religion as more of an in-group than targets from other religions and thus would be more likely to intervene on the behalf of a target who shares their same religion than a target who do not share the same religion. We explore the interactive effect of shared religion and religious commitment on the decision to intervene.

Hypothesis 10: Religious commitment will interact with shared religion to predict observer intervention in religious harassment such that for observers who have high religious commitment, observer intervention in religious harassment is more likely to occur when the observer and target share the same religion (vs. when there is no shared religion).

Level of immediacy and involvement in intervention

In addition to deciding whether to intervene in religious harassment incidences, observers must decide *when to intervene* (immediacy level) and *how much to intervene* (level of involvement). Specifically, observers may choose to become very involved (e.g., directly addressing the situation by confronting the harasser or third parties) or less involved (e.g., indirectly try to change the situation by changing the subject). Furthermore, observers can intervene while the harassment is taking place (high immediacy) or after the situation has unfolded (low immediacy). We examine situational influences (recurrence belief, costs, and benefits of intervention) and individual differences (emotional reactions) described by Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) as influencing these two decisions.

Situational influences

According to the Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) model of observer intervention, observers are more likely to intervene immediately and become more highly involved when they perceive that the recurrence of the

harassment incident is likely compared with when they perceive the incident as a one-time event. Observers feel more compelled to act right away and with greater involvement when they perceive the incident is a recurring event in order to prevent similar harassment incidents in the future, for which they would feel more accountable (Tetlock, 1992). However, incidents that represent rare occurrences produce less responsibility on the account of the observer to intervene immediately and with great intensity. Hence, we predict the following:

Hypothesis 11: Observers of religious harassment will engage in a greater level of immediacy and level of involvement when they believe the religious harassment will recur (vs. when they do not believe it will recur).

When deciding on immediacy and involvement levels, observers will choose to act in ways that will keep net costs of involvement down (Clark & Word, 1974; Skarlicki & Kulik, 2005). That is, intervention is more likely to occur when it is perceived by observers as being of low cost and great benefits; intervention that is seen as too costly and void of benefits becomes more precarious. In terms of costs, observers consider the risks involved in reporting behaviors such as being perceived as meddlers, which may result in the observers' own victimization. Intervening may also lead to further victimization of the target and hence may even be unwelcomed by targets themselves. Benefits include avoiding dissonance, guilt and shame for one's inaction (Bandura, 1999), feeling good about oneself, forming a future alliance with the victim, and being perceived in a positive light by others. Ryan and Wessel (2012) found some support for costs and benefits affecting involvement level of observers of sexual orientation harassment incidences. Furthermore, the net costs associated with intervening have been noted by Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) as influencing the level of immediacy with lower costs and higher benefits being associated with higher levels of immediacy.

Hypothesis 12a: Observers of religious harassment will engage in a greater level of immediacy and greater level of involvement when they perceive the costs associated with intervening to be low (vs. high perceived costs).

Hypothesis 12b: Observers of religious harassment will engage in a greater level of immediacy and greater level of involvement when they perceive the benefits associated with intervening to be high (vs. low perceived benefits).

Individual differences

How one reacts emotionally to the harassment incidences may also influence the immediacy and involvement levels of intervention (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005). Affective events theory suggests that strong affective states make individuals more likely to engage in helping behaviors as a means to cope with their powerful emotions (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Specifically, under highly affective conditions, individuals become emotionally vulnerable to the situation and must respond both promptly and effectively in a way that puts them back in charge of their emotional state (Frijda, 1986). One such mechanism would be for observers to intervene immediately and in a way that prevents them from experiencing that emotionally charged situation again. Hence, individuals who experience strong affective states (i.e., anger, anxiety, and empathy) owing to the harassment incident may be more likely to act while the situation unfolds and to act more intensely.

Hypothesis 13: Observers of religious harassment will engage in a greater level of immediacy and greater level of involvement when they have a strong negative emotional reaction to the religious harassment incident (vs. when they have a weak negative emotional reaction).

To examine these hypotheses, we conducted two studies. In the first study, we used a critical incident recall technique in which the respondents reflected on actual harassment incidents where another individual had been targeted in the workplace owing to his or her religion. The second study involved an experimental design in which we manipulated harassment incidents via scenarios, allowing us to examine our hypotheses in a controlled laboratory setting.

Study 1: Method

Respondents were asked to describe an incident they had witnessed in the workplace within the last 12 months where an individual had been targeted owing to his or her religion and then to complete an online questionnaire regarding situational and target/harasser factors pertaining to the incident recalled, followed by individual difference measures. Because individuals were directed to recall an incident but were not prompted specifically to report the gender and/or the nature of the harassment (verbal vs. exclusionary), there was variability in whether or not this information was included in the descriptions (e.g., target was described as a “Muslim worker” rather than he or she). Additionally, the respondents recalled religious harassment against targets from six different religions, some with very low representation (e.g., Buddhist, $N = 1$). Therefore, we did not examine H3, 5a, 5b, and 6 in Study 1.

Participants

One hundred sixty-five participants (72 percent female) were recruited at a large Midwestern University in exchange for course credit. To be eligible for the study, participants had to have been employed within the same organization for the last 3 months, over 18 years of age, and had to have witnessed religious harassment in the workplace within the last 12 months. Two researchers reviewed whether the incidents reported were work-related and constituted “religious” harassment. The kappa index of interrater reliability on these two variables was 0.94 and 0.98, respectively; cases where disagreement occurred were discussed and resolved. Respondents who reported incidents that did not fit the condition of being both clearly work-related and concerning religious harassment were dropped, yielding 101 completed surveys. The mean age for the sample was 19.68 years, ranging from 18 to 22 years old. Regarding ethnicity of the participants, 84 percent were Caucasian, 6 percent were Asian or Pacific-Islander, 3 percent were African-American, 3 percent were Hispanic, and 5 percent did not respond. The religious affiliations of the participants were 72 percent Christian, 20 percent no religious affiliation, 2 percent Jewish, 2 percent Buddhist, and less than 1 percent Muslim.

Measures

Dependent variables. To measure intervention, level of immediacy, and level of involvement, we used an identical measure that was employed by Ryan and Wessel’s (2012) to examine these three specific intervention decisions that was developed in accordance with the Bowes-Sperry and O’Leary-Kelly (2005) observer intervention model. For this measure, respondents were asked about their level of involvement, level of immediacy, and intervention for their reported incident by choosing between five options. Based on their responses, participants were assigned different levels for intervention (coded dichotomously as 0 = *no* or 1 = *yes*) and level of immediacy/level of involvement (coded ordinally as 0 = *no*, 1 = *low*, or 2 = *high*). See Table 1 for response options and coding scheme.

Situational and target/harasser variables. Identical measures to the ones used in previous research (Ryan & Wessel, 2012) were used to assess recurrence beliefs, ambiguity of intent, and relationship to target. A relationship to harasser scale was adopted from the relationship to target scale in which the point of reference was changed from target to harasser. Respondents rated one item each for *recurrence belief* (“Which of the following best describes your perception of this type of incident?”), *ambiguity of intent* (“How clear was it that the behavior was meant to be harmful?”), and *relationship to target/harasser* (“What was your relationship to the person that the behavior was directed toward?”/“What was your relationship with the person who demonstrated the behavior?”). See Table 2 for response options.

We created a 23 item *cost* scale (e.g., “If I got involved, it would have done more harm than good, have a negative effect on work relationships, create interpersonal conflicts, lead to ongoing problems, etc.”; $\alpha = .94$) and a 22-item

Table 1. Categorization and frequencies of dependent variables.

Response option	Intervention	Level of Immediacy	Level of involvement
I did not get involved at the time	No	No	No
I did not get involved directly at the time but told the victimized person afterward to avoid the other individual(s) and/or report them	Yes	Low	High
I tried to interrupt what was occurring and to steer the conversation of the people into another direction	Yes	High	Low
I did nothing at the time, but afterward, I confronted the individual who did the harassing or reported them myself to management	Yes	Low	High
I tried to directly intervene and told the person to stop the behavior and/or make a statement right then to everyone about why I thought this was problem	Yes	High	High

Table 2. Frequencies of measurements in Study 1.

Variables	Category	%
Presence of others	No witness	24
	One other individual	25
	Multiple individuals	52
Recurrence belief	One-time occurrence	16
	Might happen again	35
	Likely happen again	41
	Likely happen again frequently	8
Ambiguity of intent	Clearly harmful	33
	Not very clear	44
	Not harmful	23
Relationship to target	Did not know	22
	Knew casually	44
	Fairly good acquaintance	24
Relationship to harasser	Good friend	11
	Did not know	21
	Knew casually	49
	Fairly good acquaintance	23
Shared religion	Good friend	7
	Shared religion	28
Intervention	No shared religion	72
	I did not get involved (no)	50
	Some type of involvement (yes)	50
Level of immediacy	No immediacy	50
	Low immediacy	22
	High immediacy	28
Level of involvement	No involvement	50
	Low involvement	26
	High involvement	24

Note: $N = 101$.

benefits scale (e.g., “If I got involved, I would feel less guilty, I would feel good about myself, others would be grateful, the person would feel supported, etc.”; $\alpha = .94$) based on a previous measure of the perception of costs and benefits by Ryan and Wessel (2012) and the work of Skarlicki and Kulik (2005). Both measures used a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). As Ryan and Wessel urged future research to examine if

costs/benefits can be distinguished further into sub-factors (e.g., costs for involvements, benefits of obtaining positive outcomes), we conducted principal component analyses (PCAs) to explore if our costs/benefits scale revealed any underlying factors. Our PCA revealed that all of the items for the cost scale loaded highly on one factor (factor loadings above 0.44). However, a PCA revealed that one benefit item, “If I got involved, others would be afraid to pick on the person in the future” did not fit well (factor loading of 0.21), and it was subsequently dropped from analyses. Confirmatory factor analyses were also performed for these scales using Study 2 data, as derived from our PCA (see Study 2 for results).

Individual differences. *Pro-social orientation* was assessed by a modified 12-item pro-social orientation scale (Rydell et al., 1997) asking participants to indicate their engagement in pro-social behaviors (e.g., “How often do you comfort others who are upset/sick?”) on a 5-point scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *always*), $\alpha = .88$. *Shared religion* was coded based on the participant and target religion (0 = *not shared*, 1 = *shared*). *Religious commitment* was measured by the Worthington et al. (2003) 10-item religious commitment scale (e.g., “My religious beliefs lie behind my whole approach to life”) ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), $\alpha = .95$.

Emotional reaction was measured using a 6-item, 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*) adapted from Wessel and Ryan (2008; e.g., At that time, I felt *annoyed, angry, sad, upset, anxious, did not feel one way or another about it*). A PCA revealed that five items loaded highly on one factor (factor loadings above 0.70), while one item (*anxious*) did not fit well with the very low factor loading value of -0.01 and was thus dropped ($\alpha = .89$).

Control variables. Because the classic bystander intervention literature suggests that the number of people present during the interaction is related to observer intervention (Latané & Darley, 1968; Latané & Nida, 1981), we also measured and controlled for the *presence of others* (e.g., “Was anyone else a witness to this incident besides you?”). See Table 2 for response options. Additionally, age, gender, and social desirability correlated with one or more of the variables and thus were controlled in our subsequent analyses. Social desirable responding ($\alpha = .63$) was measured using Strahan and Gerbasi’s (1972) 10-item scale (e.g., “I have never intensely disliked anyone”) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Does not describe me well*) and 5 (*Describes me very well*).

Study 1: Results

Preliminary analyses

The quotes in the beginning of this paper are examples of incidents provided by the participants. The majority of incidents took place in retail and restaurant settings. Targets were predominately Jewish (40.2 percent), followed by Christian (25 percent), Muslim (22.3 percent), atheist/agnostic (2.7 percent), Hindu (1.8 percent), other (4.5 percent), or a combination of various religions (1.8 percent).

Table 2 provides response frequencies. In general, participants were just as likely to intervene (50 percent) as they were to not intervene (50 percent). Regarding levels of immediacy, as half (50 percent) did not intervene at all, they were coded as engaged in no level of immediacy, 22 percent engaged in low levels of immediacy, and 28 percent engaged in high levels of immediacy. Regarding levels of involvement, the 50 percent that did not intervene at all were coded as no level of involvement, 26 percent engaged in low levels of involvement, and 24 percent engaged in high levels of involvement. Table 3 presents the correlation coefficients, means, and standard deviations of the variables. As would be expected given the 50 percent that did not intervene being coded as 0 on all three variables, intervention was positively related to level of immediacy ($r = .91, p < .01$) and level of involvement ($r = .90, p < .01$), and level of immediacy and level of involvement were also positively correlated with one another ($r = .84, p < .01$).

Table 3. Descriptive statistics and correlations for measures in Study 1.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Intervention	0.50	0.50	—																
2. Level of immediacy	0.78	0.85	.91**	—															
3. Level of involvement	0.74	0.82	.90**	.84**	—														
4. Recurrence belief	2.42	0.85	.01	.05	-.02	—													
5. Ambiguity of intent	1.90	0.74	-.26**	-.17	-.26**	.01	—												
6. Relationship to target	2.24	0.92	.24*	.30**	.28**	.15	-.01	—											
7. Relationship to harasser	2.16	0.84	-.21*	-.18	-.14	.06	.22*	.14	—										
8. Pro-social orientation	3.91	0.54	.28**	.17	.25*	.05	-.09	.05	-.13	(.88)									
9. Shared religion	0.28	0.45	.15	.28**	.16	-.02	.06	.15	.12	.06	—								
10. Religious commitment	2.92	0.96	.07	.09	.13	-.05	.08	.00	.05	.11	.07	(.95)							
11. Cost	2.77	0.65	-.34**	-.38**	-.41**	.12	.10	-.19	.15	-.15	-.09	-.18	(.94)						
12. Benefits	3.33	0.60	.41**	.41**	.41**	-.04	-.22*	.16	-.21*	.32**	.07	.07	-.50**	(.94)					
13. Emotional reaction	3.52	0.88	.38**	.31**	.37**	.05	-.49**	.01	-.30**	.15	-.02	.03	-.18	.46**	(.89)				
14. Age of participant	19.68	1.14	.20*	.14	.17	.18	-.12	.09	-.05	.05	-.02	.12	-.10	-.03	-.01	—			
15. Gender of participant	0.37	0.48	-.03	.01	-.08	-.05	.17	.15	.10	-.05	.00	.08	.07	-.01	-.24*	.05	—		
16. Social desirability	3.03	0.47	.10	.08	.14	.00	-.12	.02	-.17	.56**	.05	0.05	-.14	.13	-.06	.15	.02	(.63)	
17. Presence of others	2.28	0.83	.05	.02	.01	.11	.00	.24*	.03	-.01	.04	-.12	.18	-.02	-.01	-.07	.04	.00	—

Note: *N* = 101. Gender coded as *female* = 0 and *male* = 1. Shared religion coded as *no* = 0 and *yes* = 1. Alphas reported on the diagonal. **p* < .05; ***p* < .01.

Logistic regression analyses

Hierarchical binary logistic regression analyses were used to assess the hypotheses (1, 2, 4, 5, 9–12) in which the dependent variable was intervention. In Step 1, control variables (age, gender, presence of others, social desirability) were entered. For intervention, the situational (recurrence belief, ambiguity of intent), target/harasser (relationship to target, relationship to harasser), and the individual difference (pro-social orientation, shared religion, religious commitment) variables were entered in Step 2. In Step 3, we entered the interaction between shared religion and the standardized score of religious commitment.

Table 4 shows the results for Hypotheses 1, 2, 4, 5, 9–12. When it comes to intervention, those who perceived the intent to be more harmful or less ambiguous ($b = -0.50$, $p < 0.05$) had a closer relationship to target ($b = 0.57$, $p < 0.05$) and had a more distant relationship to harasser ($b = -0.57$, $p < 0.05$) were more likely to intervene. However, recurrence beliefs ($b = -0.13$) did not relate to intervention. Individuals showing higher pro-social orientation were more likely to intervene ($b = 0.67$, $p < 0.05$). Religious commitment ($b = 0.12$) and shared religion ($b = 0.71$) did not reveal any significant effects. However, the interaction between these two variables was significant ($b = 1.54$, $p < 0.05$). The nature of the interaction, depicted in Figure 2, reveals that for observers high in religious commitment, intervention is most likely when the observer shares the same religion as the target as compared with when they do not share the same religion. Thus, Hypotheses 2, 4a, 4b, 7, and 10 were supported. Hypotheses 1, 8, and 9 were not supported.

Ordinal logistic regression analyses were used to assess the hypotheses (11–13) in which the dependent variables were level of immediacy and level of involvement. Two different regression models were examined for each of the dependent variables. The first model included only the controls (age, gender, presence of others, social desirability), and the second model included the situational (recurrence belief, cost, benefits) and individual (emotional reaction) variables in addition to the controls.

Table 5 shows the results for Hypotheses 11–13 for Study 1. There was a significant main effect for cost ($b = -0.60$, $p < 0.05$) and emotional reactions ($b = 0.64$, $p < 0.05$), such that those perceiving lower costs or having greater emotional reactions were more likely to intervene immediately. There were no significant main effects for

Table 4. Logistic regression of intervention in Study 1.

Variable	Intervention			
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	Wald's χ^2	<i>e^b</i> (odds ratio)
Step 1				
Age of participant	0.44*	0.21	4.17	1.55
Gender of participant	-0.31	0.43	0.53	0.73
Social desirability	0.13	0.21	0.41	1.14
Presence of others	0.12	0.21	0.34	1.13
Step 2				
Recurrence belief (H1)	-0.13	0.24	0.27	0.88
Ambiguity of intent (H2)	-0.50*	0.25	3.99	0.61
Relationship to target (H4a)	0.57*	0.28	4.23	1.76
Relationship to harasser (H4b)	-0.57*	0.26	4.88	0.56
Pro-social orientation (H7)	0.67*	0.30	4.86	1.95
Shared religion (H8)	0.71	0.55	1.66	2.02
Religious commitment (H9)	0.12	0.25	0.24	1.13
Step 3				
Shared religion × Religious commitment (H10)	1.54*	0.71	4.68	4.67

Note: $N = 101$. Gender coded as *female* = 0 and *male* = 1. Shared religion coded as *no* = 0 and *yes* = 1.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

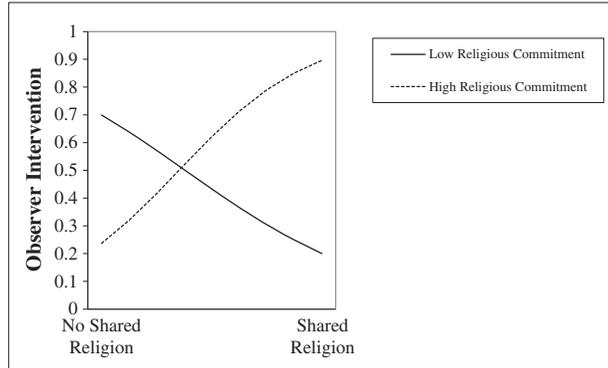


Figure 2. Study 1: Interactive effects of shared religion and religious commitment on observer intervention

Table 5. Ordinal logistic regression of level of immediacy and level of involvement in Study 1.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	Wald's χ^2	<i>e^b</i> (odds ratio)	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	Wald's χ^2	<i>e^b</i> (odds ratio)
Level of immediacy								
Threshold								
No immediacy	0.03	0.32	0.01	1.03	-0.10	0.36	0.07	0.91
Low immediacy	1.10**	0.34	10.55	3.02	1.27**	0.38	11.11	3.58
Age of participant	0.31	0.19	2.65	1.36	0.27	0.21	1.63	1.31
Gender of participant (female)	0.10	0.39	0.07	1.11	-0.18	0.44	0.16	0.84
Social desirability	0.13	0.19	0.45	1.14	0.04	0.21	0.03	1.04
Presence of others	0.07	0.19	0.15	1.08	0.19	0.21	0.83	1.21
Recurrence belief (H11)					0.23	0.22	1.11	1.25
Cost (H12a)					-0.60*	0.25	5.62	0.55
Benefits (H12b)					0.49	0.31	2.43	1.63
Emotional reaction (H13)					0.64*	0.26	6.32	1.90
Nagelkerke pseudo- <i>R</i> ²			0.04		0.31			
Level of involvement								
Threshold								
No involvement	0.23	0.33	0.51	1.26	0.15	0.38	0.15	1.16
Low involvement	1.49**	0.36	17.25	4.45	1.84**	0.42	19.26	6.32
Age of participant	0.36	0.19	3.49	1.43	0.39	0.22	3.29	1.48
Gender of participant (female)	0.46	0.40	1.36	1.59	0.32	0.45	0.51	1.38
Social desirability	0.23	0.19	1.49	1.26	0.19	0.22	0.72	1.21
Presence of others	0.06	0.19	0.09	1.06	0.18	0.21	0.74	1.20
Recurrence belief (H11)					0.00	0.22	0.00	1.00
Cost (H12a)					-0.66*	0.26	6.30	0.52
Benefits (H12b)					0.46	0.31	2.11	1.58
Emotional Reaction (H13)					0.82**	0.27	9.58	2.28
Nagelkerke pseudo- <i>R</i> ²	0.07				0.39			

Note: *N* = 101. Gender coded as *female* = 0 and *male* = 1. Shared religion coded as *no* = 0 and *yes* = 1.
 p* < .05; *p* < .01.

recurrence beliefs ($b=0.23$) and benefits ($b=0.49$). Thus, for level of immediacy, Hypothesis 12a and 13 were supported, but Hypotheses 11 and 12b were not supported. When it comes to level of involvement (also see Table 5), the results of the logistic regression analyses reveal that participants were more likely to get highly involved when they perceived the situation as having a lower cost ($b=-0.66$, $p<0.05$) and when they had a stronger emotional reaction ($b=0.82$, $p<0.01$). However, there were no significant main effects for recurrence beliefs ($b=0.00$) and benefits ($b=0.46$). Thus, similar to our level of immediacy results, for level of involvement, Hypotheses 12a and 13 were supported but not Hypotheses 11 and 12b.

The retrospective technique used in Study 1 allowed us to capture actual incidences of religious harassment. However, because individuals were describing incidents in their own words, there were some factors that were not systematically noted that might be relevant to intervention. In order to test Hypotheses 3, 5a, 5b, and 6, we conducted an experiment with multiple religious harassment scenarios, allowing us greater control by manipulation of the nature of harassment (verbal vs. exclusionary) and the religion and gender of target.

Study 2: Method

We used an online experimental design in which participants were randomly assigned to one of 12 religious harassment scenarios resulting in a 3 (religion of target: Christian, Jewish, Muslim) \times 2 (gender of target: male, female) \times 2 (verbal vs. exclusionary harassment) factorial design. Given the complexity inherent in the 12-factorial design and the difficulty in adding meaningful manipulations of relationship to target and relationship to harasser in a hypothetical context, these two variables were not manipulated in the scenarios. Therefore, Hypotheses 4a and 4b were not examined in Study 2.

Participants

The respondents for Study 2 consisted of 583 individuals (73 percent female; mean age = 19.61, $SD=1.39$) recruited from a large university in the Midwest in exchange for course credit. To be eligible for the study, participants had to have been currently employed within the same organization for the last 3 months and over 18 years of age. The participants indicated that they were Christian (69.7 percent), atheist (23.2 percent), Jewish (2.8 percent), Buddhist (0.7 percent), Muslim (0.5 percent), Hindu (0.5 percent), and other (2.6 percent). Regarding ethnicity, 86 percent were Caucasian, 5 percent were African-American, 4 percent were Asian or Pacific Islander, 2 percent were Hispanic, and 2 percent were other.

Manipulation

Religion of target and gender were manipulated by name and direct identification of religion (Mary–Christian female, Miriam–Jewish female, Maryam–Muslim female, Joseph–Christian male, Joseph–Jewish male, Yousef–Muslim male). Additionally, scenarios were presented as incidents involving a verbal joke against a target (*verbal*, coded 0) or the target being excluded from an upcoming training program (*exclusionary*, coded 1). See Appendix for scenario examples. Gender of target was dummy-coded as 0 (*male*) and 1 (*female*). Religion of target was dummy-coded 0 (*no*) and 1 (*yes*) for the three variables of Jewish target, Muslim target, and Christian target. After reading the scenarios, participants completed a questionnaire on their reactions to the scenario and individual difference measures.

Measures

Similar measures as the ones employed in Study 1 were used to assess recurrence belief, ambiguity of conduct, shared religion, pro-social orientation ($\alpha = .85$), religious commitment ($\alpha = .95$), emotional reaction ($\alpha = .85$), cost ($\alpha = .85$), and benefits ($\alpha = .85$). Additionally, intervention, level of immediacy, and level of involvement were coded as in Study 1. Confirmatory factor analyses were performed using AMOS for the costs, benefits, and emotional reaction scales to confirm the factor structure derived from our PCA analyses in Study 1. The analysis revealed good model fit as recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999) for costs ($RMSEA = 0.49$; $CFI = 0.943$, $GFI = 0.930$), benefits ($RMSEA = 0.49$; $CFI = 0.958$, $GFI = 0.938$), and emotional reaction ($RMSEA = 0.052$; $CFI = 0.997$, $GFI = 0.995$) scales.

Because Study 2 included *current* reactions and *expected* responses to the scenarios, the questions and responses to some of the measures (i.e., ambiguity of conduct, emotional reaction, costs, benefits, and intervention variables) were re-written in either the present or future tense. For example, the ambiguity of intent item was edited from “How clear *was* it that the behavior *was* meant to be harmful?” in Study 1 to “How clear *is* it that the behavior *is* meant to be harmful?” in Study 2.

Control variables. As in Study 1, age, gender of participant, and social desirability ($\alpha = .63$) were controlled for in all subsequent analyses. Presence of others was not controlled for because it was not manipulated in Study 2 owing to the already complex design and the lack of any effects in Study 1.

Study 2: Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 6 shows the frequency of each response for the situational and dependent variables. The majority of participants suggested that they would intervene (65 percent). Regarding level of immediacy, 35 percent engaged in no level of immediacy as they did not intervene at all, 35 percent in low levels of immediacy, and 30 percent in high levels of immediacy. Regarding levels of involvement, 35 percent engaged in no level of involvement as they did not intervene at all, 42 percent in low levels of involvement, and 23 percent in high levels of involvement. Table 7 provides means, standard deviations, and correlations of the variables in Study 2. As would be expected given the similar coding of all three variables for those who did not intervene (35 percent), intervention was positively related to level of immediacy ($r = .87$, $p < .01$) and level of involvement ($r = .86$, $p < .01$).

Logistic regression analyses

As in Study 1, three-step hierarchical binary logistic regression analyses were used to assess the hypotheses (1–3, 5–10) in which the dependent variable was intervention. In Step 1, control variables (age, gender, social desirability) were entered for all dependent variables. For intervention, the target variables (gender of target and religion of target) and situational (verbal vs. exclusionary, recurrence belief, ambiguity of intent) and individual variables (pro-social orientation, shared religion, religious commitment) were entered in Step 2. In Step 3, we included an interaction between shared religion and the standardized score of religious commitment.

Table 8 shows the results for Hypotheses 1–3 and 5–10. Those perceiving high likelihood of recurrence ($b = 0.28$, $p < .01$), having greater religious commitment ($b = 0.37$, $p < .01$), and having lower ambiguity of intent ($b = -0.44$, $p < .01$) were more likely to intervene. Neither gender of target ($b = 0.09$) nor religion of target (Jewish Target ($b = 0.10$); Muslim Target ($b = -0.03$)) predicted intervention. However, participants were more likely to intervene when the harassment was verbal ($b = -0.43$, $p < .05$) compared with when it was exclusionary. Shared religion ($b = -0.27$), pro-social

Table 6. Frequencies of measurements in Study 2.

Variables	Category	%
Recurrence belief	One-time occurrence	8
	Might happen again	46
	Likely happen again	43
	Likely happen again frequently	3
Ambiguity of intent	Clearly harmful	8
	Not very clear	75
	Not harmful	17
Type of harassment	Verbal	50
	Exclusionary	50
Religion of target	Muslim	33
	Jewish	34
	Christian	33
Gender of target	Male	50
	Female	50
Shared religion	Shared religion	24
	No shared religion	76
Intervention	I did not get involved (no)	35
	Some type of involvement (yes)	65
Level of immediacy	No immediacy	35
	Low immediacy	35
	High immediacy	30
Level of involvement	No involvement	35
	Low involvement	42
	High involvement	23

Note: $N = 583$.

orientation ($b = 0.13$), and the interaction between shared religion and religious commitment ($b = -0.10$) were not significant. Thus, Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 9 were supported in Study 2, but not Hypotheses 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10.

Also similar to Study 1, ordinal logistic regression analyses were used to assess the hypotheses (11–13) in which the dependent variables were level of immediacy and level of involvement. Two different regression models were run for each of the dependent variables. The first model included only the controls (age, gender, social desirability), and the second model included the situational (recurrence belief, cost, benefits) and individual (emotional reaction) variables in addition to the controls.

Table 9 shows the results for Hypotheses 11–13 for Study 2. Those having a stronger emotional reaction ($b = 0.50$, $p < .01$) were more likely to intend to engage in higher levels of immediacy. However, there were no significant effects for recurrence belief ($b = 0.13$), cost ($b = -0.07$), or benefits ($b = -0.01$). Thus, Hypothesis 13 was supported but not Hypotheses 11, 12a, and 12b for level of immediacy. Observers having a stronger emotional reaction were more likely to intend to get more involved ($b = 0.68$, $p < .01$). However, there were no significant effects for recurrence ($b = 0.13$), cost ($b = 0.02$), and benefits ($b = 0.04$). Hypothesis 13 was supported but not Hypotheses 11, 12a, and 12b for level of involvement.

Discussion

One way to prevent harassment in the workplace and to promote a climate of tolerance is to have third parties intervene in harassment incidences. Compared with previous studies on intervention of other forms of harassment such as sexual orientation harassment (Ryan & Wessel, 2012) and sexual harassment (Benavides-Espinoza & Cunningham,

Table 7. Descriptive statistics and correlations for measures in Study 2.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Intervention	0.64	0.48	–						
2. Level of immediacy	1.94	0.81	.87**	–					
3. Level of involvement	1.87	0.75	.86**	.66**	–				
4. Recurrence belief	2.42	0.68	.15**	.14**	.14**	–			
5. Ambiguity of intent	2.09	0.49	–.18**	–.13**	–.17**	–.09*	–		
6. Verbal vs. Exclusionary	0.50	0.50	–.05	–.13**	–.02	–.05	–.23**	–	
7. Christian target	0.33	0.47	–.05	–.05	–.07	–.07	.09*	0	–
8. Muslim target	0.33	0.47	.02	.03	.01	.08	–.07	.00	–.50**
9. Jewish target	0.33	0.47	.03	.01	.05	–.01	–.02	.00	–.50**
10. Gender of target	0.50	0.50	.01	–.02	–.01	–.07	.07	–.01	–0
11. Pro-social orientation	3.94	0.50	.09*	.06	.11**	.02	.05	–0	.02
12. Shared religion	0.24	0.43	–.06	–.05	–.08*	–.05	.15**	–.06	.66**
13. Religious commitment	2.70	0.96	.18**	.14**	.19**	.03	–.04	.04	.06
14. Cost	2.95	0.53	–.01	–.06	–.01	–.09*	–.02	.00	.06
15. Benefits	3.34	0.49	–.02	.01	.02	–.02	.08*	.01	–.06
16. Emotional reaction	3.18	0.80	.33**	.28**	.35**	.26**	–.30**	–.06	–.19**
17. Age of participant	19.61	1.39	–.01	–.02	–.03	.03	–.03	.00	.01
18. Gender of participant	0.27	0.44	–.12**	–.11**	–.07	–.10*	–.01	.06	–.03
19. Social desirability	3.01	0.48	.10*	.12**	.10*	–.03	.00	–.03	–.03

Note: *N* = 583. Gender coded as *female* = 0 and *male* = 1. Shared religion and Religion of target (Muslim, Christian, and Jewish) was coded as *no* = 0 and *yes* = 1. Verbal vs. Exclusionary coded as *verbal* = 0 and *exclusionary* = 1. Alphas reported on the diagonal.
p* < .05; *p* < .01.

Table 7. (Continued)

	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1.												
2.												
3.												
4.												
5.												
6.												
7.												
8.	–											
9.	–.50**	–										
10.	.00	.00	–									
11.	.00	–.03	.05	(.85)								
12.	–.40**	–.26**	.04	–0.01	–							
13.	–.05	.00	.04	.08*	.14**	(.95)						
14.	–.03	–.03	–.04	–.04	.02	–.07	(.85)					
15.	.02	.04	–.03	–.06	.06	.05	–.18**	(.85)				
16.	.16**	.03	.04	.13**	–.13**	.14**	–.01	.03	(.85)			
17.	–.01	.00	.07	.03	–.03	–.02	–.01	–.10*	–0.1	–		
18.	–.04	.07	.03	–.16**	.00	–.12**	–.02	.03	–.25**	.07	–	
19.	–.02	.05	.01	.27**	–.04	.14**	–.08	–.05	.03	.04	0.1	(.63)

Table 8. Logistic regression of intervention in Study 2.

Variable	Intervention			
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	Wald's χ^2	<i>e^b</i> (odds ratio)
Step 1				
Age of participant	-0.05	0.10	0.28	0.95
Gender of participant	-0.59**	0.20	9.05	0.55
Social desirability	0.23*	0.09	6.70	1.26
Step 2				
Recurrence belief (H1)	0.28**	0.10	8.54	1.33
Ambiguity of intent (H2)	-0.44**	0.10	18.03	0.64
Verbal vs. Exclusionary (H3)	-0.43*	0.20	4.64	0.66
Jewish target (H5a)	0.10	0.29	0.12	1.11
Muslim target (H5b)	-0.03	0.31	0.01	0.97
Gender of target (H6)	0.09	0.19	0.23	1.10
Pro-social orientation (H7)	0.13	0.10	1.61	1.13
Shared religion (H8)	-0.27	0.31	0.79	0.76
Religious commitment (H9)	0.37**	0.10	14.18	1.45
Step 3				
Shared religion × Religious commitment (H10)	-0.10	0.24	0.16	0.91

Note: *N* = 583. Gender coded as *female* = 0 and *male* = 1. Shared religion and Religion of target (Muslim, Christian, and Jewish) was coded as *no* = 0 and *yes* = 1. Verbal vs. Exclusionary coded as *verbal* = 0 and *exclusionary* = 1. Alphas reported on the diagonal.

p* < .05; *p* < .01.

2010), our participants reported a higher percentage of *non-intervention* (50 percent in Study 1; 35 percent in Study 2). Behaviors were also of *no* or *low* levels immediacy (72 percent in Study 1; 70 percent in Study 2) and *no* or *low* levels of involvement (76 percent in Study 1, 77 percent in Study 2), suggesting that religious harassment incidents may yield less intervention along with potentially lower levels of immediacy and involvement compared with other forms of harassment. Given the increasing amount of religious harassment claims reported by the EEOC (2015), our findings for low rates of observer intervention for religious harassment incidences highlight the importance of examining factors that may increase intervention as a way to combat religious harassment in the workplace.

Situational and target/harasser influences and individual characteristics were found to relate to intervention during religious harassment incidences (e.g., verbal harassment, ambiguity of intent, relationship to target, relationship to harasser, recurrence, religious commitment, pro-social orientation, the interactive effect of shared religion, and religious commitment). However, some of these results were inconsistent as they were only supported in either Study 1 (pro-social orientation, interactive effect of shared religion, religious commitment) or Study 2 (recurrence, religious commitment). This may be due to the hypothetical nature of Study 2, in which individuals may be overestimating their true levels of intervention. For example, intended intervention in the scenario study (65 percent) was higher compared with reported intervention in actual religious harassment incidents (50 percent). This is similar to the trend in previous research on individuals' misalignment between reported intentions and actual actions (Fishbein, Hennessy, Yzer, & Douglas, 2003). Creating experimental studies on harassment that look at actual intervention behavior may be challenging to do within ethical bounds of not inducing potential stress and harm to participants, but novel methods should be explored.

Despite the inconsistencies across the two studies reflecting differences between intentions and actions, there are findings of note. Ambiguity of intent related to intervention negatively across both studies. This finding is in line with previous research, which suggests that observers are more likely to intervene when the nature of conduct is clearly intended to harm, because in cases of low ambiguity, norms to intervene are explicit (Clark & Word, 1972, 1974).

Table 9. Ordinal logistic regression of level of immediacy in Study 2.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	Wald's χ^2	<i>e^b</i> (odds ratio)	<i>b</i>	<i>SE_b</i>	Wald's χ^2	<i>e^b</i> (odds ratio)
Level of immediacy								
Threshold								
No immediacy	-0.19	0.16	1.55	0.21	-0.42*	0.16	6.57	0.66
Low immediacy	1.27**	0.16	59.57	0.00	1.13**	0.17	44.79	3.09
Age of participant	-0.02	0.08	0.08	0.77	-0.02	0.08	0.05	0.98
Gender of participant (female)	0.54**	0.18	9.24	0.00	0.25	0.19	1.78	1.28
Social desirability	0.24**	0.08	9.30	0.00	0.20**	0.08	6.21	1.22
Recurrence belief (H11)					0.13	0.08	2.40	1.14
Cost (H12a)					-0.07	0.08	0.75	0.93
Benefits (H12b)					-0.01	0.08	0.01	0.99
Emotional reaction (H13)					0.50**	0.09	31.98	1.64
Nagelkerke pseudo- <i>R</i> ²			.034		.114			
Level of involvement								
Threshold								
No involvement	-0.32*	0.16	4.21	0.73	-0.65**	0.17	15.34	0.52
Low involvement	1.49**	0.17	78.03	4.42	1.33**	0.17	58.87	3.79
Age of participant	-0.05	0.08	0.30	0.96	-0.03	0.09	0.14	0.97
Gender of participant (female)	0.36*	0.18	3.96	1.43	-0.02	0.19	0.01	0.98
Social desirability	0.20*	0.08	6.25	1.22	0.17*	0.08	4.47	1.19
Recurrence belief (H11)					0.13	0.09	2.22	1.14
Cost (H12a)					0.02	0.08	0.03	1.02
Benefits (H12b)					0.04	0.08	0.21	1.04
Emotional reaction (H13)					0.68**	0.09	55.45	1.98
Nagelkerke pseudo- <i>R</i> ²			.020		.153			

Note: *N* = 101. Gender coded as *female* = 0 and *male* = 1. Shared religion coded as *no* = 0 and *yes* = 1.

p* < .05; *p* < .01.

Intervention was also more likely to occur in verbal harassment incidences compared with exclusionary harassment incidences. Overt blatant expressions of prejudice such as verbal statements are more likely to be seen as violating social norms (Crocker et al., 1998; Major et al., 2003), whereas subtle expressions of prejudice may go entirely unnoticed. Likewise, we find an association between ambiguity of intent and exclusionary harassment ($r = -.23, p < .01$).

Our finding of observer likelihood to intervene when there is a closer relationship to target is also supported by previous research (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Darley & Latané, 1968). An interesting extension to this finding is that we also find a negative association between decision to intervene and relationship to harasser. This suggests that it is important not only to examine the observer's relationship to the target but also to investigate the observer's relationship to the harasser. According to Turner (1985), just as individuals can be altruistic towards those in their in-group, they can also be engaged in discriminatory and exclusionary behaviors towards out-group members, thereby explaining observers' lower likelihood to intervene when they have a closer relationship to the harasser. This also may explain the negative correlation between emotional reaction to the harassment incident and relationship to harasser ($r = -.30, p < .01$). Additionally, the negative relationship between benefits and relationship to harasser ($r = -.21, p < .05$) may indicate that observers see less benefit to intervening when the perpetrator is someone they know. Further research that examines potential moderators of the influence of relationships might be

fruitful; for example, a desire to educate a friend about the negative effects of harassment or to protect a friend from legal ramifications might actually lead to greater levels of intervention when there is a close relationship with the harasser.

We did not find any support for shared religion influencing an observer's decision to intervene in either Study 1 or 2. It is possible that the decision to intervene involves a more multifaceted relationship to social identity categorizations than just the mere sharing of religion. Our significant interaction lends some support to this contention as observers who not only share the same religion as the target but also have high religious commitment are most likely to intervene. Previous research suggests that highly identified group members tend to experience more distress when their in-group is discriminated against and threats against the in-group become more personal (McCoy & Major, 2003), which might explain observers' higher likelihood to intervene when they have high religious commitment and share the same religion as the target as a way of possibly reducing this threat. However, we also found evidence for considerable intervention under conditions of no shared religion and low religious commitment (Figure 2), suggesting that further research needs to be conducted exploring the boundary conditions of religious commitment and shared religion.

Although Judaism and Islam represent minority religions, our findings reveal that their followers are not any more or less likely to receive help from observers than their Christian counterparts. Various negative stereotypes of Christianity and its minority sects (Moran, 2007) may lead to their stigmatization. Additionally, Muslim and Jewish targets as minority religious groups may be more differentially salient than Christian targets, which may have led to social desirability bias in self-reports of intervention (Taylor, 1982). This may also explain the negative association between level of involvement and shared religion in Study 2 ($r = -.08, p < .05$).

Despite previous research that suggests that women are more likely to receive help compared with men (Eagly & Crowley, 1986), we did not find gender of target to influence intervention. This could be due to the nature of the hypothetical situation in which observers may overestimate their intervention likelihood altogether, regardless of the gender affiliation of the target. These results can also perhaps be seen as a reflection of increasing perceptions of women as self-reliant (Backus & Mahalik, 2011).

In terms of level of immediacy and level of involvement, our results revealed some consistencies as well as inconsistencies. Although strong emotional reactions were positively associated with higher levels of immediacy and involvement across both studies, costs were negatively associated with higher levels of immediacy and involvement only in Study 1, but not in Study 2. This is perhaps reflective of observers more accurately calculating costs in real situations compared with underestimating costs in scenario situations, where the costs are only hypothetical. Nevertheless, the finding in Study 1 that observers were more likely to get involved and intervene more immediately when there are lower costs is in line with previous research (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005), suggesting that observers do evaluate intervention risks.

Finally, we only find partial support for recurrence belief predicting decision to intervene in Study 2. This inconsistent finding may be reflective of the higher rates of intervention reported in the hypothetical incident study versus the retrospective study, in which intervening may require more knowledge of actual recurrence combined with careful risk calculations. The lack of support for recurrence for Study 1 may also be partially explained by the transitory nature of the industries (i.e., mostly restaurant and retail industries) in which the incidents that were reported by the participants occurred. Also, in contrast to previous research (Ryan & Wessel, 2012), recurrence belief did not predict level of immediacy or level of involvement in either study.

Theoretical implications

This research makes several theoretical contributions. First, we provide a first attempt to intersect the religious harassment and observer intervention in the workplace literatures and develop a comprehensive model of observer intervention in religious harassment. Second, this study provides one of only a handful of examinations that empirically apply the Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) model of observer intervention (Benavides-Espinoza

& Cunningham, 2010; Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Ryan & Wessel, 2012). In doing so, we show that the model of observer intervention can generalize to religious harassment to some extent. However, the inconsistencies across our studies suggest that adopting a rational decision maker approach as proposed by Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly in which observers make choices regarding how to respond to harassment (i.e., whether to intervene, when to intervene, and how much to intervene) may not always reflect how observers act and observers' responses may not always be so calculated. Third, we extend theory by also examining factors (verbal vs. exclusionary harassment, relationship to harasser) that have not been included in previous research. Further, we examined factors that are distinct to the context of religious harassment (shared religion, religious commitment, religion of target). Our findings suggest researchers need to be particularly attuned to the nature of harassment that they are investigating. Given that we found support for some but not all of the elements proposed by Bowes Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly, further development of the model for generalized use is needed as certain factors may be more applicable to the harassment of certain stigmatized groups and less relevant for others.

Practical implications

The EEOC (2015) reports that religious discrimination claims from the years 1999 to 2014 have nearly doubled. Beyond legal ramifications, harassment has undesirable organizational consequences in the form of negative job attitudes and behaviors (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Gutek & Koss, 1993; Willness et al., 2007). In order to combat these costs and to create a positive diversity climate, it is important for organizations to understand and to prevent religious harassment in the workplace. Although it would be ideal for victims of religious harassment to report such behaviors, this may not always be the case (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1995). It may be possible for organizations to foster a harassment-free organizational climate by having fellow employees intervene and report these incidences, thereby preventing them from occurring in the future (O'Leary-Kelly et al., 2000). Although some of the factors associated with intervention (e.g., ambiguity of intent, relationship to target, religious commitment, and shared religion) are outside organizations' control, companies can focus on reducing costs associated with intervening and encouraging more pro-social behaviors in the workplace. Organizations may be able to offer a form of intervention training that addresses all types of harassment, such as training to promote helping behaviors and how to effectively intervene, providing behavioral guidance as to how to handle situations and reducing individual's perceptions of the costs of intervening. Organizations can also encourage individuals to intervene by promoting a zero-tolerance atmosphere for harassment behaviors.

Limitations and future research

It is important to acknowledge the limitations present in this research. First, although the critical incident recall methodology has been used in previous studies on observer intervention in harassment incidences (Ryan & Wessel, 2012), it is subjected to the response biases potentially present in retrospective studies. The conducting of an experimental hypothetical scenario study partially alleviates this problem, but that methodology suffers from lack of realism. For example, participants were more likely to intervene in hypothetical incidents (Study 2) versus real incidents (Study 2). This discrepancy between how one intends to react and how one actually reacts has been noted in previous research as well (Ryan & Wessel, 2012) and highlights potential ecological validity issues concerning such experiments. However, it is important to note that our scenario experiment does have several strengths as well (e.g., greater internal validity) as it allowed control for variables that we would otherwise be unable to in actual settings. A field experiment would perhaps be most ideal for addressing the limitations posed by both of our studies, but collecting data on harassment in the field yields ethical concerns regarding individuals being subjected to harassment with no intervention by the researcher. Actual manipulation of harassment in lab experiments may also be ethically problematic, as participants may experience emotional or psychological distress in viewing harassment as well

as in uncovering that they are not likely to act on behalf of a harassment victim. Additionally, because socially desirable responding may influence observers' actions, it would be difficult to capture true intervention rates in field settings with researchers present and recording behaviors. For future research, a combination of intensive qualitative work, field surveys, lab experiments, and critical incident methodology would best address the limitations posed by each of these methods to establish whether and how observers react to harassment at work.

Second, our two samples were relatively young (19.67 years of age on average), and older individuals were more likely to intervene (Study 1; $b = 0.44$, $p < .05$). Younger employees may have less information on and experiences with how to effectively deal with harassment in the workplace. Also, while younger generations of Americans are more tolerant and supportive of policies towards certain stigmatized groups (e.g., homosexuals) than older generations, they also report being less religious and are less likely to hold religious affiliations as compared with their older age counterparts (Pew Research Group, 2014). Consequently, our results may actually represent lower intervention estimates than those that may be obtained with a diverse age sample. Furthermore, the majority of the Study 1 sample shared incidents that occurred in restaurant and retail industries where turnover is relatively high, which may explain our lack of support for our reoccurrence hypothesis for Study 1. Also, we studied harassment in a U.S. context only. Future research can address these limitations by conducting similar studies with a broader age range and different cultural contexts, and from a wide variety of industries.

It is also important to acknowledge some of the methodological limitations posed by our two studies. First, common method variance (CMV) may be a concern as we did not separate measures temporally. However, temporal separation may not be advisable in retrospective studies where elaboration at a single time point would aid recall (Anderson & Pichert, 1978; Tanur, 1992). Temporal separation may also be problematic when the need to protect anonymity due to the sensitive nature of the topic is high and to guard against socially desirable responding. Note that the varied correlation levels in Tables 3 and 7, the use of some more objective measures (reported gender, religion, intervention), and the presence of interactions indicate that CMV is less of a concern in our studies (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Nevertheless, we cannot entirely rule out CMV issues in our research. Future research should make attempts to reduce CMV concerns, such as employing different sources or methods (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Second, single item measures were used for some constructs where there are few variations in how to ask a question without seeming repetitive and inducing participant fatigue. Additionally, there were high correlations among the three intervention decisions because of similar coding of all three dependent variables for those who did not intervene. Future studies should try to make methodological improvements by incorporating multiple-item measures and considering other ways to determine unique predictors of these three intervention decisions.

Another limitation of our research is that we were only able to study observer intervention for a few religious groups (i.e., Christians, Jewish people, and Muslims). Research has noted prejudice against many religious groups not examined in our studies, most notably atheist/agnostics (Edgell, Gerteis, & Hartmann, 2006; Gervais, 2011); further work on harassment of specific religious groups would be beneficial. The religion of harassers might also prove to be an interesting influence, if it is known by observers. Likewise, it would also be interesting for future research to consider the gender of the harasser and observers along with the gender of targets.

As some of our hypotheses were not supported (shared religion and benefits) or only partially supported (emotional reaction, costs, and recurrence), there is a need for a reexamination of observer intervention models of harassment and their generalizability, while accounting for the limitations in our research as well as the development of more finely tuned measures related specifically to the various harassment types. Specifically, one way that future research can really try to delineate observer intervention differences across the various types of harassment would be to examine how exactly does the type of harassment (e.g., gender, race, sexual orientation, and religion) vary on stigma characteristics such as controllability, visibility, stability, disruptiveness, and peril, attributes that the Jones et al. (1984) stigma dimension model would suggest might increase or decrease the likelihood of bystander intervention. Finally, we did not examine organizational climate and policies put in place to prevent harassment, which research suggests may also influence observers' likelihood to intervene (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005). Future research should investigate the long-term effectiveness of an organization's policies on the prevention of harassment in the workplace.

Conclusion

Our research serves to initially intersect the religious harassment and observer intervention literature and identify several situational and target/harasser factors as well as individual differences that influence observers' decision to intervene, when to intervene, and how much to intervene. Using a critical incident recall methodology coupled with an experimental study, we find support for the relationship to target, relationship to harasser, ambiguity of intent, verbal harassment, recurrence, pro-social orientation, religious commitment, and the interactive effect of shared religion and religious commitment as influencing observers' decision to intervene. We also find some support that observers are more likely to show higher levels of involvement and have a higher level of immediacy when costs are lower and when they have a stronger emotional reaction. Overall, these findings suggest that observer intervention can be useful in promoting a harassment-free environment and combating discrimination in the workplace. Focusing on actions taken by third parties present during incidences of harassment can be a fruitful avenue for future research on harassment in the workplace.

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APPENDIX: SAMPLE VERBAL AND EXCLUSIONARY SCENARIOS USED IN STUDY 2

Verbal scenario

You've recently started a new job and you really enjoy working there. During the lunch hour you join a table of coworkers, including *Joseph* and *Pat*. *Pat* repeats a joke that had been heard from a group of friends last night. The joke makes fun of *Jews*. *Joseph* is *Jewish*.

Exclusionary scenario

You've recently started a new job and you really enjoy working there. During the lunch hour you join a table of coworkers, including *Joseph* and *Pat*. *Pat* pulls you aside to tell you that there is an upcoming training program that can build your credentials and make you more promotable. You realize *Pat* did not provide the same information to *Joseph*, a *Jewish male* coworker who holds the same job as you.