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**Mentors in Violence Prevention: An Evaluation of the Potential Impact of a
Bystander Based Approach to Tackling Gendered Violence**

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Abstract

This paper intends to interrogate the issue of male violence against women with a focus on preventative measures through the use of an empowered bystander approach. It will specifically consider the Mentors in Violence Prevention programme, a school based intervention which originated over a decade ago in Sioux City, Iowa and has recently been introduced in Scotland by the Violence Reduction Unit at Strathclyde Police. In order to consider the usefulness and sustainability of the programme in the Scottish context, an evaluation of the theoretical basis on which the project is built, with an emphasis on the theory of change adopted, was undertaken. In addition, there is a consideration of the extent to which the chosen approach is consistent with the current Government policy on tackling gendered violence. Relevant literature on the issue as well as qualitative interviews with a number of individuals involved with the project were utilised in order to allow for a detailed and in-depth analysis of the project.

The research undertaken offered an interesting insight into the project, and revealed a clear theory of change which was highly reflective of the literature surrounding both the multiple and interwoven causes of gendered violence and the usefulness of a bystander approach to tackling the problem. It was also apparent from both interview data and other literature that the project was consistent with current Government policy on the issue as well as with the recently implemented Scottish Curriculum for Excellence and that, depending on the method of implementation, the MVP programme has the potential to be a useful tool in tackling violence against women.

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Introduction

Male violence against women is a problem which has existed to varying degrees throughout history. Gender based violence is largely considered unacceptable; however it continues to affect a significant amount of women across the globe. As a result, there has been a move in recent years to develop effective methods of intervention in cases of gendered and domestic violence and there is an emphasis on a preventative approach designed to tackle the problem before it manifests.

One interesting development in the approach to dealing with violence against women is the use of the relatively new and innovative empowered bystander based intervention. This method is increasingly being utilised to encourage a community based approach to tackling the problem of gendered violence and is particularly popular in the United States. This paper will focus on the Mentors in Violence Prevention Programme (MVP) which is a school-based intervention currently being piloted in the Scottish context by the Violence Reduction Unit at Strathclyde Police.

Although the MVP programme, which originated in Sioux City, Iowa, has been running there for almost twelve years now, it has only recently been introduced in Scotland and is currently in the very early stages of implementation in three secondary schools – two in the Inverclyde region one in Edinburgh. While a full evaluation of the success of MVP on changing attitudes about violence against women and individual intervention in gendered violence situations in Scotland would be a fascinating project, the nature, scale and timeframe of such an evaluation meant that it was out-with the scope of this paper. Instead, it is intended that there will be an examination of the extent to which the MVP programme is based on a clearly developed and

articulated theory of change and an evaluation of whether or not it is consistent with relevant literature on tackling issues of gendered violence. It is important to consider this, as the extent to which the programme design is supported by well-established theory, is likely to be reflective of its potential for success. Furthermore, there will be a consideration of how reflective that theory of change and the key principles of the MVP programme are of current Government policy on the issue, including the Curriculum for Excellence in Scottish schools.

Chapter one of this paper examines the nature of the problem and discusses exactly what is meant by the broad term “gendered violence”. It goes on to establish the scale and extent of the issue including the long-term impact on victims and the wider implications for those who witness this type of violence as well as for society as a whole. This chapter also sets out and examines the key policy framework for tackling violence against women and considers a number of relevant theories to establish the cause or causes of the problem. Furthermore, there is a consideration of specific techniques for intervention and a broad examination of the principles of bystander intervention and how they link with the literature on the causes of gendered violence. Chapter one concludes with a summary of the MVP programme and a consideration of the research questions which arise from the above discussion.

Chapter two includes a detailed look at the specific research aims and questions which this paper intends to interrogate as well as a discussion of the methodological approach adopted. In addition, there is a description of the methods used to identify research participants as well as to gather and analyse the data and a consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen approach.

Chapter three of this paper sets out the findings of the research which was discussed in chapter two and includes an in-depth analysis of the data in relation to the specific research questions which are identified at the end of chapter one. There is also a discussion of the

extent to which the data gathered is consistent with the literature on the topic with a particular focus on establishing the theory of change behind the MVP programme and the extent to which it is reflective of both the wider literature and the relevant policy documentation.

Finally, chapter four sets out the conclusions which have been reached in relation to the specific research questions which have been identified as well as the overall aim of this piece of work. It includes a consideration of the strength of the theory of change which has been identified as well as conclusions on the likelihood of the MVP programme being successful in tackling violence against women on the basis of its theoretical understandings and consistency with relevant policy frameworks. This chapter also highlights the significance of other relevant factors which may impact on the success of the programme, consideration of which was out-with the scope of this paper.

Chapter One: Literature Review

Gendered violence has been a recurring theme throughout history, with references specifically to violence against women found in many different cultures and religions across the globe. Today it remains an issue which affects a significant number of people from a wide range of backgrounds irrespective of age, class or social status with domestic violence accounting for between 16% and 25% of all violent incidents reported to the police in the UK (British Crime Survey, 1998). With figures showing a steady rise in the number of incidents reported each year, there has been an increase in efforts to raise awareness and research has focussed on identifying and tackling the root causes of the problem. This chapter intends to review the literature surrounding the issue of gendered violence in order to establish a working definition of the term and to examine the current legislation and Government policy aimed at tackling the problem. In order to develop an understanding of the specific cause or causes of this type of violence there will be a consideration of relevant criminological theories followed by an in-depth discussion around various methods of intervention, with a particular focus on the use of an empowered bystander approach and its application and utility in the gendered-violence setting.

1.1 Definition:

Gendered violence is a broad term which encompasses a range of negative attitudes and behaviours based on the sex of the victim. While there is no universal definition of the term,

the Scottish Government, in a publication entitled “*Preventing Domestic Abuse – A National Strategy*” defines this type of violence as follows:

"Domestic abuse (as gender-based abuse), can be perpetrated by partners or ex partners and can include physical abuse (assault and physical attack involving a range of behaviour), sexual abuse (acts which degrade and humiliate women and are perpetrated against their will, including rape) and mental and emotional abuse (such as threats, verbal abuse, racial abuse, withholding money and other types of controlling behaviour such as isolation from family or friends)." (Scottish Executive, 2003)

This definition covers a whole range of behaviours and incorporates actions which are physically, sexually, verbally or emotionally aggressive. As stated in the definition, domestic abuse is generally perceived to be something which occurs when the victim and perpetrator are, or have been involved in some kind of intimate relationship. While in the majority of cases, the perpetrator is indeed known to the victim (Scottish Government, 2011), the problem of gendered violence however, extends beyond the scope of domestic violence and includes any form of violence, including rape or sexual assault, where the sex of the victim is an element and is not necessarily limited to cases where there is a relationship between those involved (Humphreys, Houghton and Ellis, 2008).

1.2 Extent of the Problem:

Having established then what is meant by the broad term of gendered violence, it is important to consider the extent to which it is a problem. While it is true that some men face issues of gendered violence, in the majority of cases the violence is perpetrated by a male against a female. Figures show that in 2009-10 there were a total of 51,926 incidents of domestic abuse

reported to the police in Scotland. In 82% of these cases the violence was carried out by a male against a female victim (Scottish Government, 2010). Furthermore, figures from the Scottish Crime Survey in 2000 suggest that cases involving a female perpetrator and male victim accounted for only 6-7% of the total number of incidents (Scottish Executive, 2002).

The exact extent to which gendered violence of this kind is a problem is difficult to quantify. Traditionally gendered or domestic violence often goes unreported, partly due to the nature of the relationship between the victim and perpetrator, an unwillingness to come forward due to fear or embarrassment, societal or cultural acceptance of the behaviour as the norm or perhaps a failure to recognise the behaviour as constituting abuse. This may be particularly relevant where there is emotional or verbal abuse. In addition to a lack of reporting, the way in which incidents are recorded varies across different jurisdictions making it difficult to accurately collate and compare data (Walby (2004).

However, while it is impossible to be certain that the data gathered provides an accurate picture of the problem, it is likely that figures reflect an under rather than over representation (Walby and Allen, 2004). It is believed that between one in three and one in five women in Europe will experience domestic abuse at some stage in their lives (Council of Europe, 2002). While statistics suggest that as many as one in six men will also experience some form of domestic abuse, it is argued that these cases are generally less severe and are usually isolated, stand-alone incidents (Walby and Allen, 2004). In contrast, figures from the British Crime Survey in 2001, (Walby and Allen, 2004) show that two-thirds of female victims of non-sexual abuse and half of those who had been sexually assaulted had been victimised on more than one occasion in the last twelve months compared to just 11% of male victims. 89% of those who had experienced four or more incidents of gendered violence were female (Walby

and Allen, 2004) and this element of abuse as a recurring problem for women in particular is concerning.

1.3 Long-term Impact:

While any violent incident is concerning, where the abuse is recurring and takes place over a period of time, it can have wider, long-term implications for the victim than the immediate harm or injury caused by the assault (Papadopoulos, 2010). Those who have been victims of gender-based abuse are more likely to suffer from both physical and mental health problems including depression, anxiety, eating disorders and sexual dysfunction (World Health Organisation, 2000). In addition, female victims may also suffer in terms of employment with 21% of those who had a job taking time off and 2% of that number subsequently becoming unemployed as a result of the violence (Walby and Allen, 2004). Furthermore, a study conducted by the charity Shelter found that 40% of women who were homeless attributed this to domestic violence (Cramer and Carter, 2002). There is also a wide body of literature which highlights the negative impact gender-based violence can have on children who grow up in an environment where they witness this kind of abuse (Morley and Mullender, 1994). While it is out with the scope of this paper to examine these implications in detail, it is important to note that the harm caused by domestic or gender based abuse extends beyond the immediate victim.

1.4 Financial Cost:

In addition to the negative consequences for those who are direct victims or witnesses of this kind of abuse, there are also implications for society in general. It is estimated that in 2001, the overall cost of domestic abuse in England and Wales totalled £23 billion (Walby, 2004)

with around 3% of the total NHS budget being taken up with treating gender-based violence related problems (Walby, 2004). In Scotland alone, it is estimated that around £4 billion was spend on dealing with issues arising from violence against women (Scottish Government, 2009).

1.5 Current Policy Context:

It is unsurprising then, having established both the human and financial cost of gender-based violence that the issue is increasingly the focus of Government review and policy with significant funding and legislation aimed at targeting the problem. Gendered violence and domestic abuse are problems which are replicated across the globe, and are therefore the subject of a significant amount of international policy and consideration. Both the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action and the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) highlight the importance of working towards the elimination of violence against women. Within the Scottish context, the Gender Equality Duty (GED) Scotland 2007, places a duty on all public bodies to work towards eliminating discrimination based on gender and to promote equality between men and women. This duty is monitored by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (Scottish Government, 2009).

In 2000 the Scottish Government published a document entitled “*The National Strategy to Address Domestic Abuse in Scotland*” which sets out the key policy framework for intervention. It states that tackling domestic abuse is a national priority which requires a collaborative effort and that it is the responsibility of all departments to work towards the ultimate, long-term goal of eliminating the problem (Ellis, 2008). This National Strategy is supplemented by various other policy documents, including “*Safer Lives: Changed Lives: A*

Shared Approach to Tackling Violence against Women in Scotland” (Scottish Government and CoSLA (2009) and “*The National Domestic Abuse Delivery Plan for Children and Young People*” (Scottish Government, 2008). The National Strategy divides interventions into four categories – prevention, provision, participation and protection (National Strategy, 2000). While all four of these strands of policy are significant in contributing to the overall success in dealing with the issue of gendered violence, it is the prevention element which is most significant in tackling the issue of domestic abuse in terms of changing attitudes and behaviours in the long term (Scottish Executive, 2000).

The prevention strategy which has been adopted consists of a public health model, as endorsed by the World Health Organisation (Scottish Government, 2009), whereby data is collected and analysed to identify both risk and protective factors which are made up of statistical associations between characteristics of life circumstances which are considered factors in either causing or reducing violent behaviour (Ellis, 2008). Once these have been identified, interventions can then be designed with the aim of either reducing risk factors or increasing protective factors.

Within a public health model such as this, programmes are divided into primary and secondary interventions. Primary interventions are those which come prior to any violence having taken place and aim to challenge negative attitudes and behaviours which accept violence against women as the norm. Secondary interventions occur after the violence has taken place and generally involve providing assistance for victims (Humphreys, Houghton and Ellis, 2008). While secondary intervention will inevitably be essential, it is believed that it is only through the use of primary interventions that long term changes will be achieved (Ellis, 2008).

There are a number of criticisms raised in relation to a public health model as a means of preventing domestic abuse. One of the key concerns is that while it is true gendered violence can lead to serious health implications, these are not the same as typical health or medical problems which may fit better with a public health model (Ellis, 2008). It is argued that a human rights based framework may be more useful in tackling problems of gendered violence, where the values of respect and equality are emphasised. This may fit more neatly with current international policy and legislation (Horvath and Kelly, 2007).

Further concerns are raised around the distinction between primary and secondary interventions. While it is recognised that there must be a focus on changing attitudes and behaviours through long term prevention programmes, it is argued that often those who participate in these programmes have already been exposed to gendered violence, as a victim or witness, and the intervention therefore comes after the event (Burman and Cartmel, 2005). The “*Raising the Issue of Domestic Abuse in Schools*” study found that around 32% of young people in one secondary school in Scotland claimed to be experiencing or witnessing abuse (Alexander, Macdonald and Paton, 2006).

A key element of the public health model for prevention is that the information generated through research and the statistical analysis of risk and protective factors is communicated to a wider audience through education, and in particular through school-based interventions. This use of statistical data is another area for concern. Ellis (2008) suggests that a public health model requires a means of evaluation which utilises experimental methods and relies on empirical, standardised tests. It is argued that this method is unlikely to allow for accurate analysis of the complex learning process and is not suited to the sensitive and human nature of the problem.

1.6 Understanding the Causes of Gendered Violence:

Given the emphasis both from within the Government and from independent bodies such as charities on tackling the problem of gender-based violence, there has been a focus on understanding the causes of this type of violence to allow for better informed policy and strategies to be implemented.

Feminist Approach:

The current Scottish policy on domestic violence adopts a feminist approach to understanding violence, attributing it to wider problems of gender inequality (Radford, Kelly and Hester, 1996) and the National Strategy states that violence against women can be seen as a consequence of wider inequalities between men and women as well as being a significant barrier to achieving equality (Scottish Executive, 2003). This is supported by the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women which states that:

“By referring to violence as “gender based” this definition highlights the need to understand violence within the context of women’s and girl’s subordinate status in society. Such violence cannot be understood, therefore, in isolation from the norms, social structure and gender roles within the community, which greatly influence women’s vulnerability to violence” (1993).

Lombard (2011) argues that often gender stereotypes, such as masculinity, are used as a means of justifying this type of behaviour and that this is perpetuated by the sexualisation of girls within the mass media. This concept of violence against women as accepted expression of male masculinity is reflected in much of the feminist literature surrounding the issue (Radford, Kelly and Hester, 1996). It is argued that gendered violence is an expression of

male power over women and that it can be seen as a manifestation of wider gender inequality within society (Connell, 1987). This acceptance of violence as part of the male psyche is said to normalise the behaviour (Mills, 2001), and in a way to trivialise it.

However, it is argued that rather than being an innate part of being male, this violent behaviour is something which is learned and adopted by males, perhaps as a result of external pressures to conform to societal expectations (Humphreys, Houghton and Ellis, 2004). One of the guiding principles for intervention listed in the “*Safer Lives: Changed Lives A Shared Approach to Tackling Violence Against Women in Scotland*” (Scottish Government, 2009) document states that the socialisation of boys and girls from an early age is important and should emphasise equality and respect. This concept of the importance of socialisation and learning from a young age is reflected in other theories which strive to understand the root causes of gendered violence.

Arguably this understanding of gendered violence as a product of gender inequalities is at odds with the public health model of prevention adopted by the Scottish Government. A health model such as this is a deficit model which locates the problem with the individual – in the case of violence against women, this would be either the victim or the perpetrator – and does not acknowledge the wider societal and cultural impact on the issue (Ellis, 2008). The policy set out by the Scottish Government explicitly highlights the importance of a community based approach and an understanding that issues of gendered violence arise from inequalities within society (Scottish Executive, 2000). It seems therefore that there is a certain amount of disjuncture between the explanation of gendered violence and the methods of tackling it which are adopted.

Social Learning Theory:

One of the most popular theories (Elliott and Mihalic, 1997) utilised to explain gendered violence, particularly within intimate relationships is social learning theory developed by Bandura in 1977. According to Bandura, this type of violence is a learned, rather than innate, behaviour which is transmitted inter-generationally through observation of the actions of role models such as parents (Bandura, 1977). He stated that “*people are not born with performed repertoires of aggressive behaviour; they must learn them*” (1977:61). This transmission of violence from one generation to the next has been well documented (Foshee, et al, 1998) with figures showing that both men and women who had seen their parents abuse each other, were three times more likely to be violent towards their own partners (Straus, 1990).

Essentially the theory states that children who witness violence between their parents come to recognise it as a legitimate method of conflict resolution (Egeland, 1993) and therefore carry on these behaviours into their own adulthood. It is argued that the likelihood of violence being imitated in later life increases where the role model is someone who is perceived as having status or power (Foshee, et al, 1998). Social learning theory further states that children who are exposed to violence in this way are more likely to adopt similar patterns of behaviour as adults where they witness positive consequences for the aggressive behaviour (Egeland, 1993). Gelles (1972:21) stated that “*not only does the family expose individuals to violence and techniques of violence, the family teaches approval of the use of violence*”. These positive consequences may include perceived status for the aggressor, deference from victims and control within the household (Foshee, et al, 1998).

While social learning theory clearly goes some way to explaining the apparent link between witnessing violence as a child and becoming a perpetrator in later life, it does not account for the significant number of people who do not go on to become abusers. It is estimated that

around one third of people who are exposed to violence will go on to perpetrate further violence, and while this is significant, it means that two thirds of people are not affected by intergenerational transmission (Kaufman and Zigler, 1987). Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981) found that social learning theory was most applicable to males and the effects were less obvious in females, and this gender issue is not explained by the theory. Furthermore, there are also a significant number of people who were not exposed to violence as children, but who go on to perpetrate gender-based abuse as adults (Stark and Flitcraft, 1985).

A number of theories have been put forward to explain the lack of inter-generational transmission of violence in a significant number of cases. Bandura himself stated that exposure to violence in itself will not ensure observational learning (1977). He stated that there are four key processes which influence whether or not, and to what extent, a particular behaviour is learned – attentional processes, retention processes, motor production processes and incentive and motivational processes. Where there is a breakdown in just one of these, the behaviour may not be carried into adulthood. This may occur, for example, where the essential features of the behaviour do not register, are forgotten or altered, where physical capabilities impact ability to imitate the behaviour or where it does not result in the expected positive consequences and therefore is not functionally valuable (Foshee et al 1998). Furthermore, it is argued that where there is acknowledgment of the behaviour as abusive the person may develop a determination not to repeat it, recognising in adulthood the negative consequences of such violence (Kafman and Zigler, 1987).

Social Control Theory:

Social learning theory goes some way to allowing an understanding of gender based violence, and particularly the correlation between witnessing violence in childhood and imitating that violence in later life. However, it is only one of a number of theories which have been put forward. In 1969, Hirschi stated that deviant behaviour, and therefore gender-based violence, could be explained through the application of social control theory. According to his theory, and in contrast to social learning theory, deviant actions such as violence are inherent, natural tendencies as opposed to learned behaviours. He argued that rather than trying to understand why some people act in a violent manner, it is conformity to socially accepted norms which should be investigated (Wiatrowski, Griswold and Roberts, 1981).

The answer to this conformity is arguably found in the process of social bonding, with the benefits of this social bond considered to outweigh the immediate benefits of delinquent behaviour and so this acts as a restraint on deviant behaviour (Hirschi, 1969). This social bond, according to the theory, is generated through the essential influence of four elements. The first of these is attachment which relates to an individual's links with other people or institutions which conform to the relevant social norms. Belief, constituting acceptance of the relevant societal values and therefore deference to the rules of society, is the second element. This is followed by commitment and involvement, which represent participation in conventional activities, such as education, employment or social activities, and the amount of time spent participating respectively (Foshee, et al, 1998). Combined, these four elements create a social bond which imposes behavioural restrictions on individuals and encourages conformity. Where one or more of these elements is absent, a person's behaviour may become deviant.

One of the key areas in which attachment should develop is within the family. Parental attachment is probably the earliest bond which forms in a person's life and it is argued that where this is missing or weakened, deviance is more likely to occur. One reason for an inadequate parental bond may be exposure to gendered violence within the context of the family (Foshee et al, 1998). If this essential bond is already broken, there is a greater likelihood that an individual will disregard other social norms and engage in deviant behaviour. This lack of initial social bonding may result in a failure to engage in social structures and therefore there is a lack of either formal or informal restraints on behaviour. According to this theory then, any intervention which aims to address gendered violence must provide an alternative form of social control than the family, for example through a peer group or other organisation.

Social control theory goes some way to offering an explanation as to why those who have witnessed abusive behaviour in their childhood are more likely to replicate this behaviour in their own relationships. Furthermore, it is useful in understanding that the violence may not necessarily prevent social bonding occurring and therefore not everyone who is exposed to violence will go on to be deviant.

Social learning theory and social control theory are based on very different theoretical perspectives – the former that deviant behaviour is a learned response and the latter that it is in fact the norm for people, who are not properly socialised as a race. However, both of these theories are in agreement with the feminist theory on which the Scottish policy is based that generally perpetrators of gendered violence have in some way learned to act in a violent manner due to a breakdown in the early socialisation process which results in them viewing violence as a normal and acceptable response to certain situations. In the case of gender-based violence, this normalisation of violent behaviour is particularly worrying.

Influence of the Media and Negative Attitudes:

Violence against women as something which has become normalised or increasingly acceptable is a concept which can arguably be extended beyond the immediate perpetrators to include a much wider section of society. This is reflected in the media portrayal of women and young girls (Papadopoulos, 2010) and is reiterated by recent studies into young people's attitudes towards gendered violence. A study of 1395 young people aged between 14 and 18 showed that of that group, one third of the boys and one sixth of the girls condoned violence within an intimate relationship under some circumstances (Burman and Cartmel, 2005). Furthermore, an opinion poll carried out by the UK Government suggested that 16% of those asked, believed it was sometimes acceptable for a man to slap his partner if she nags him and 20% stated that where a woman is wearing sexy or revealing clothing, it is sometimes ok for a man to hit her (Home Office, 2009). Out with the context of an intimate relationship, the same survey highlighted that 36% of people asked agreed that a woman should be held wholly or partly responsible for being sexually assaulted or raped if she was drunk and 26% felt the same way if the woman was wearing "sexy" or revealing clothing in public (Home Office, 2009). These figures emphasise an acceptance of gender-based violence amongst a significant minority of the population, raising serious concerns for tackling domestic and gender-based violence. In 2011 a review conducted by the UK Government found a clearly evidenced link between the widespread use of sexualised images, a tendency to objectify women and the increasing acceptance of negative or aggressive attitudes towards females as being normal (Zero Tolerance/YWCA Scotland, 2012). The review further stated that repeated exposure to these types of views directly contributes to male violence against women (Zero Tolerance/YWCA Scotland, 2012).

1.7 Impact on Intervention:

Early Intervention

It is apparent that while there are multiple explanations put forward to explain gendered violence, there is no one clear, comprehensive answer. However, it is obvious from the literature and recent Government strategy that a key issue which must be addressed is the prevalence and media promotion of negative attitudes about females. Any intervention which hopes to succeed in reducing the incidence of gendered violence must tackle these perceptions. In considering strategies which bring about a change in attitude, there is support among the literature for an early-intervention approach. Gendered violence is something which is increasingly seen as occurring not only in adulthood but also as affecting young people, particularly in the context of their own relationships. Research conducted by the NSPCC found that 45% of girls responding to a questionnaire published in Sugar magazine had been “groped against their will” (23rd May, 2006). Figures also show that one third of girls aged between thirteen and seventeen had suffered unwanted sexual acts within a relationship (Papadopoulos, 2010) and one quarter had been victims of some form of physical violence (Barter et al, 2009). It is argued that instilling positive attitudes from a young age is easier, and more successful than trying to alter pre-existing attitudes or beliefs which may be deep-rooted (Brand et al, 1974). Furthermore, research conducted by Mullender et al (2002) shows that children themselves have expressed a desire for lessons around issues of domestic abuse to be included in their curriculum.

Primary Intervention

This concept of early-intervention is supported by the Scottish Government policy on reducing gendered violence, particularly in the case of domestic violence, in that there is a commitment to focus on primary intervention while still supporting those in need through secondary assistance (Humphreys, Houghton and Ellis, 2008). One key way of implementing an early-intervention strategy of this nature is by focusing on working within the context of the education system. Schools offer an opportunity to access a large number of the target audience within an environment designed to maximise and aid learning (Humphreys, Houghton and Ellis, (2008). They also allow an opportunity to provide support in a safe environment for children who may already be exposed to gender-based violence (Jaffe, Wolfe and Wilson, 1990).

Embedding in the Curriculum

There is consensus within the literature surrounding school-based interventions on the need to ensure that the program is fully embedded into the curriculum (Hester and Westmarland, 2005, Dusenbury et al, 1997). Hester and Westmarland state that “*the long term impact of programmes on violence reduction is likely to depend on the extent to which the issues are embedded within the curriculum and wider school activities*” (2005, p17). This will allow a culture of non-violence to grow within the school and encourage active leadership to drive home positive values (Dusenbury at al, 1997). Within the Scottish context, the Curriculum for Excellence provides a framework within which any intervention must fit.

There has been little evaluation of the impact of these types of interventions on gendered violence to date (Humphreys, Houghton and Ellis, 2008) and so it is difficult to assess the

extent to which they are valuable. However, it is argued that the majority of these school-based programmes focus heavily on preventing abusive or violent behaviours as opposed to promoting non-violent positive attitudes towards women (Ellis, 2004). Schewe (2002) states that in fact it is more effective to focus on increasing non-violent behaviour and this may limit the utility of many current school-based programmes.

Multi-Agency Approach

It is further argued that interventions are more likely to succeed where they involve a multi-agency partnership approach rather than being purely school-based (Ellis, 2004). This allows for more effective secondary support and services to be provided for those who may already be victims of gendered violence as well as providing support for the teachers and other staff (Hester and Westmarland, 2005). Significantly, it is also argued that an approach which engages the wider community will encourage a more cohesive approach to gendered violence and ensure that it is seen as a community wide issue and one that should be the concern of more than just the victims (Humphreys, Houghton and Ellis, 2008). This approach also goes some way to tackling one of the key concerns surrounding school-based intervention, specifically that they fail to reach young people who are not currently engaged in education.

It is clear from the literature then that the key to addressing the problem of gendered violence lies in intervention which tackles the root causes of the problem and which deals with the apparent normalisation of violence against women which is seen in the attitudes of young people and the media portrayal of females. It appears that the most appropriate method of dealing with this problem is by engaging young people themselves at the earliest possible stage. While school-based interventions provide an opportunity to access the relevant group,

it is important to involve outside agencies to ensure that the program is comprehensive and durable. Furthermore it is clear that the approach adopted should focus on encouraging positive behaviour as opposed to discouraging negative attitudes and behaviours.

1.8 Bystander Based Approach:

This method of encouraging positive behaviours is something which has been incorporated into the increasingly popular use of bystander focused interventions. It is argued that traditional approaches to tackling gendered violence focus on men as the potential perpetrators and women as potential victims (Slaby, Wilson-Brewer and Devas, 1994). As well as often encouraging men to become defensive and feel that they are being blamed for the actions of the minority, this approach may result in them losing interest on the basis that they feel, as non-violent people, the intervention is not relevant for them. The same can be applied to women who may find it difficult to imagine themselves in a position where they are a victim of gendered violence (Katz, Heisterkamp and Fleming, 2011).

History

The influence of bystanders on criminal activity is something which has long been of interest to those studying crime. The main body of research, conducted by Latane and Darley in 1970 was sparked by the rape and murder of a woman named Catherine, or “Kitty”, Genovese in 1964. Police reports highlighted that a total of thirty-eight people saw her being attacked or heard her calls for help and yet not one of them acted to assist her (Huston et al, 1981).

In their work they stated that there are several conditions which must be fulfilled before a person who witnesses an event – a bystander – will intervene. First the person must actually notice that an incident is taking place. Secondly, they must interpret that event as an emergency and thirdly, having done so, they must assume some level of personal responsibility for the outcome of that event. Then, they argued, the person must decide on what course of action they will take to help and whether they should do so directly or indirectly, by calling for assistance (Latane and Darley, 1969).

They argued that when someone witnesses an incident, they are faced with conflicting emotions whereby, on the one hand humanitarian norms will encourage them to intervene and on the other, concerns about their own safety may prevent them from taking action (Milgram and Hollander, 1964). When there are multiple bystanders, factors such as the diffusion of responsibility or blame for failure to intervene are shared and therefore the pressure on one individual to act is lessened (Darley and Latane, 1968).

This concept of bystander apathy, whereby the greater the number of individuals present, the less likely it is that any one person will intervene has been well documented (Hoefnagels and Zwikker, 2006). Further research suggests that other factors will also influence a person's decision as to whether or not they should take action in a particular situation, including their own skills and perceived ability to offer assistance.

Current Application:

In recent years there has been a move to take this research and translate it into a form which allows a bystander centred approach to be adopted in terms of gendered violence intervention. This approach originated in the US, with projects such as the Mentors in Violence Prevention

Project which was established in 1993 (Katz, Heisterkamp and Fleming, 2011) and has subsequently been implemented in the UK. The traditional definition of a bystander as someone who witnesses a problem and does nothing about it (Berkowitz, 2009) is replaced with a much broader definition. This includes anyone who is not the victim or perpetrator who is present when an incident occurs or is a member of a group or peer culture and has some kind of relationship with other people who may be perpetrators or victims, including, family, friends, colleagues, classmates or team mates (Katz, Heisterkamp and Fleming, 2011). The key principle behind the use of a bystander approach is that rather than positioning men as potential perpetrators and women as potential victims or survivors of abuse, it focuses on the ability of everyone to act as empowered bystanders to intervene and prevent the abuse, or violent behaviour of the people around them. In this way, these type of interventions hope to avoid alienating those who do not see themselves in the role of abuser or victim (Katz, 1995).

In order to ensure that young people are confident in their ability to successfully intervene, a bystander approach focuses on equipping them with the necessary skills in line with the work of Latane and Darley. Discussion of gendered violence as a real and significant problem is key, with the aim of educating young people about the issue in order to ensure they are able to recognise situations in which intervention is required. Programmes also make it clear that responsibility for intervention lies with everyone and that gendered violence is a community problem. Finally bystander based interventions aim to provide young people with the skills necessary to allow them to intervene in a way which is safe and results in a positive outcome and to provide them with information on how and where to access additional support or assistance (Katz, 1995).

This innovative approach to tackling gendered violence is supported by the discussion surrounding the causes of violence against women in a number of ways. There are a wide

variety of theories which attempt to explain why some men are violent towards women, a number of which have been discussed in the context of this paper. While these cover a wide range of perspectives, a common theme appears to be an emphasis on negative attitudes and the link between these undesirable attitudes and violent behaviour is complex.

One key element of an empowered bystander approach to tackling gendered violence is that it aims to alter community or peer norms which accept violence against women. Schwartz and DeKeseredy, (2000) state that where, within a community, individual coercive behaviour within a relationship is supported by peer norms, there will be higher rates of sexual violence. They further state that these community and peer norms provide excuses for the perpetrators of this type of violence. This argument is supported by the feminist theory which focuses on gender inequality and states that male violence against women is often justified as a natural expression of masculinity (Radford, Kelly and Hester, 1996). An empowered bystander approach aims to tackle these peer norms and therefore remove any potential excuses in order to reduce tolerance of violence against women.

Altering peer norms is obviously likely to be a significant task and one which will not occur overnight. A bystander based approach makes use of “popular opinion leaders” (Katz, Heisterkamp and Fleming, 2011) whereby those who are believed to have the most influence over their peers are selected as spokespeople to model and promote views which are against violence against women and in this way, hope to alter the attitudes of the wider group. In the American schools context where this type of intervention has been most widely implemented, it is often the athletes within the school who are selected to become role models (Banyard, Moynihan and Crossman, 2009).

This use of specific members of a peer group to transmit the message to the wider community and to therefore reduce tolerance levels is significant in terms of relating the bystander

approach to the theory on causes of violent behaviour. The social control theory (Hirschi, 1969) discussed earlier argues that where there is a lack of either formal or informal social controls, a person's behaviour will become deviant. A bystander approach therefore attempts to introduce informal controls in the form of outspoken role models who will not tolerate gendered violence within their peer group with the expectation that this type of control may compensate for a lack of control exerted by the family or other institutions.

The bystander approach can also provide an additional control mechanism for those who are sufficiently bonded in the normal way but who may have been influenced by the media portrayal of women and therefore take a more tolerant view of abuse when it involves, for example, derogatory comments, or some other behaviour which is perceived as being more acceptable than physical assault might be (Banyard, Moynihan and Crossman, 2009).

The use of role models within a peer group or community is also relevant when considering the implications of the social learning theory. According to it, violence is a learned behaviour which is utilised when the apparent benefits of such an approach outweigh the negative consequences. Where the informal controls as discussed in relation to social control theory are in place, a climate of non-tolerance will develop and those who use violence will be excluded and treated with disapproval. Under those conditions, the functional consequences of acting in a violent manner will begin to outweigh the benefits and the learned behaviour will no longer be useful to the perpetrator (Bandura, 1970).

Furthermore, it was stated by Bandura (1970) that a certain behaviour is more likely to be learned when it is modelled by someone who is perceived as having high status. Bystander based programmes which make use of these "popular opinion role models" are reflective of this in it is hoped that others will be encouraged to adopt the positive behaviours and attitudes promoted by these leaders in the same way that young people may learn negative behaviours

which are modelled by those they look up to, such as their parents (Katz, Heisterkamp and Fleming, 2011).

1.9 Chapter One Conclusion

It is apparent then, that violence against women is a serious issue for a significant number of women. Recent Government policy has adopted a preventative approach with an emphasis on early-intervention through education with a view to tackling negative attitudes which condone violence. This policy approach is reflective of the significant body of feminist literature on the topic which supports an understanding of gendered violence as the product of wider historic and societal inequalities. It is also recognised that there are other factors which may contribute to whether or not a person is likely to be a perpetrator of violence against women, including exposure to violence from a young age or a lack of social bonding. It is clear that there are complex links between these multiple causes of gendered violence and this is something which will be discussed further in a later chapter. The focus on a preventative approach and the impact of attitudes, has led to an increase in the prevalence of a bystander based approach which aims to tackle perceptions and attitudes which contribute to or tolerate violence against women, as well as encourage people to intervene in situations which involve, or may lead to, gendered violence.

With reference to the discussion above, the following chapters of this paper will focus specifically on the potential viability and sustainability of the Mentors in Violence Prevention programme in the Scottish context through an evaluation of the theory of change on which it is based and an examination of the extent to which it is consistent with the policy framework outlined in this chapter.

Chapter Two: Methodology

The overall aim of this research is that it will contribute to existing evaluations of the Mentors in Violence Prevention programme and specifically, give insight into the likelihood of the programme being successful in reducing violence against women. While MVP has been running in several locations in the USA for over ten years, it is in the very early stages of implementation in Scotland. As a result, a comprehensive evaluation of the extent to which MVP has changed attitudes in this country is impossible at this time. This will require a longitudinal study which monitors the attitudes of those who take part in MVP programmes throughout the course of the intervention and beyond and is out with the scope of this paper.

However, what is possible at this stage of implementation is an evaluation of the extent to which MVP has a clear theory of change and a critical examination of the compatibility of that theory of change with relevant literature on the topic. While a strong and clearly articulated theoretical perspective is important, the long term viability of MVP will also depend on the extent to which it complements existing Scottish Government policy on tackling gendered violence and so this will also be considered. Having established what is possible within the context of this research paper and the extent to which MVP has been implemented, a number of research questions arise:

1. Is there a clear theory of change adopted by the Mentors in Violence Prevention programme?
2. Is the theory of change adopted consistent with the literature on the issue of violence against women?

3. Is the theory of change consistent with that of the Scottish Government policy on tackling gendered violence?

To answer these questions, an extensive interrogation of the relevant literature was undertaken and was complemented by data gathered through interviews conducted with a range of individuals.

2.1 Qualitative Research Methods:

Given the nature of the research questions and the particular focus on the MVP project, it was decided that the research conducted should be qualitative in nature to allow for in-depth data to be gathered from a relatively small number of people (Bryman, 2012). This data will be complemented by an interrogation of the relevant literature. Having established that the research should be qualitative, it was decided that the most appropriate method of data-collection would be interviews with key contacts from the MVP programme and those with knowledge of current Government policy. In order to ensure that the maximum amount of relevant data could be collected from these interviews, they were designed to be semi-structured. This allowed an element of flexibility to follow up interesting and relevant lines of enquiry which might arise during the interview but ensured that questions were focussed and that data could be collated and analysed with the research questions in mind (Bryman, 2012). The flexible nature of a semi-structured interview also allowed for an understanding to develop of individual's views of MVP and how their own experiences have shaped the way they see the project.

Prior to selecting semi-structured interviews as the method of data collection in this study, the possibility of utilising questionnaires was also considered. These would have allowed a larger

number of participants to be targeted, giving a broader range of answers which could be more easily generalised and analysed (Bryman, 2012). While it would have been advantageous to gather data from a larger group, the relatively small numbers of people involved with the MVP project in Scotland meant that it was feasible to conduct interviews with a significant proportion of those with the relevant knowledge and experience. Furthermore, the use of questionnaires would not have allowed for such an in-depth interrogation of the theory of change and its consistency with current Government policy. It was therefore decided that semi-structured interviews were a more appropriate choice for this particular research project.

2.2 Methodological Approach:

The methodological approach adopted by this piece of research is inductive in nature as there was not a specific application of theory or a clear hypothesis established before the research was carried out (Bottoms, in King and Wincup, 2000). Glaser and Strauss (1967) put forward their Grounded Theory of data collection which can be applied in this instance. It stated that theory should remain grounded in the research which is being conducted and that data should be collected and analysed simultaneously allowing for constant comparisons to be made. This is relevant as a key aim of the research was to establish the theory of change behind the MVP programme and this was established after the data had been collected as opposed to before.

Along with being inductive, the research adopts an interpretivist approach in terms of epistemology. An interpretivist approach is one which denies the existence of theory neutral facts and which views the world through the eyes of those who are taking part in the research (Mason, 2002). Bryman (2008), states that an interpretivist considers individuals to be social actors who think and reflect on their actions. Therefore, unlike a positivist standpoint,

interpretivism highlights a distinction between the type of research which should be conducted into phenomena occurring within the natural sciences and those which occur in the social world (Crotty, 2003). This is relevant to this piece of research as there was an emphasis on understanding what each individual considered to be the main cause of gendered violence and how this was influenced by their personal experience of the issue in various capacities. Furthermore, a key aim of the study was to understand how each person or group of people felt the MVP programme would impact on attitudes and behaviours.

The ontological perspective of the research was constructivist in that it was based on the premise that the meaning of social phenomena is constructed by individuals as they engage with the world which they are interpreting (Crotty, 2003). This approach complements an interpretivist epistemology which in turn is supported by an inductive approach to research and the use of qualitative methods such as the semi-structured interviews adopted by this study.

2.3 Identifying Research Participants:

Evaluating the theoretical and policy frameworks on which MVP is based was undertaken with the aim that it would be utilised by the Violence Reduction Unit at Strathclyde Police who have been responsible for bringing MVP to Scotland. The VRU was therefore invaluable in providing background information on the projects, its goals, design and implementation to date, including contact information for all those who have been involved. From this information potential interview subjects were identified. Working in collaboration with the VRU gave the research credibility which encouraged those identified as playing key roles in the project to take part in the research.

As the research was designed to examine both the theoretical basis of the project and the wider Government policy frameworks into which it must fit, two separate groups of people were identified as being important. The first group consisted of those who had played a part in designing the project or who were well acquainted with it and the theory on which it was based. The second group was focussed on those who would have knowledge of current Government policy on violence against women. By targeting these groups, it was hoped that a greater depth of data could be gathered and that questions could be targeted at those who had understanding and expertise of specific areas. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, while a number of potential research participants at the Scottish Government were contacted, none were able to take part within the limited time-frame. However, some of those who were categorised in the first group were able to give insight into current policy and practice and policy documents available on the Scottish Government website were used to supplement this information.

2.4 Gathering the Data:

To allow for accurate analysis of the information gathered, all interviews were recorded and these recordings were used for reference purposes to allow notes and direct quotes to be cited in the research findings. The data collected was then analysed in terms of its consistency or otherwise with the relevant literature or policy documentation. This use of both interviews and policy documents allowed for an in-depth and fully nuanced evaluation of the extent to which MVP is consistent with both the relevant literature on tackling gendered violence and the current approach adopted by the Scottish Government and provided answers to the key research questions detailed above.

2.5 Ethical Considerations:

With any research study involving human participants there are inevitably ethical implications to be considered (Bryman, 2008). All participants in this case were adults over the age of eighteen and fully able to give consent to taking part in the research. In order to ensure that the process was ethically sound, the research was reviewed and approved by the University Ethics Committee which was satisfied that all reasonable measures had been taken to ensure the research did not pose a risk to either the participants or researchers. In addition, all participants were presented with a plain language statement which detailed the purpose of the research and the conditions of their involvement. They were also asked to sign a consent form.

As the VRU provided details of and contact information for potential interviewees, there was a small risk that participants were involved in a dependent relationship. However, this was mitigated by the fact that all participants were contacted independently and their involvement in the research was not determined by the VRU. They received no funding or other form of payment as a consequence of their participation and it is therefore believed that they were entirely able to make their own choice about whether to take part in the interview.

2.6 Limitations:

The success of the research conducted may be limited to a certain extent by the relatively small number of research participants involved. However, while it would have been advantageous to speak with a wider range of people, those who were interviewed were instrumental in designing and implementing MVP and were therefore able to speak with

authority on the subject. It was also important to consider that the relationship between the interview subjects and the project may result in a certain amount of bias with regard to its success and future prospects. Furthermore, there is a danger that some interview subjects may be influenced by political affiliations and concerns and this was taken into consideration in terms of analysing the data.

Through this process, it was possible to gather a sufficient amount of data to allow each of the above research questions to be considered and for conclusions on the overall potential for success of the MVP programme to be reached.

Chapter Three: Results and Discussion of Findings

This chapter will set out the data which was gathered through qualitative interviews with those involved in the MVP programme in a range of capacities. There will also be an analysis of that data and a discussion of the findings in relation to the relevant literature. The overall aim of this project is that it will contribute to existing evaluations of the Mentors in Violence Prevention programme through a critical analysis of the theory of change adopted and the extent to which it is consistent with the current Government policy on tackling gendered violence. Arising from this aim are several key research questions which must be answered.

3.1 Research Question One: Is there a clear theory of change adopted by the Mentors in Violence Prevention programme?

The first research question identified as contributing to this paper's overall research aim involves an interrogation of the theory of change adopted by the programme. By establishing the theoretical perspective on which the programme is built, it is possible to examine the extent to which it is consistent with the literature on the topic and therefore to assess the strengths and/or weaknesses of the project at the conception stage.

Causes of Violence against Women:

In order to establish the theory of change adopted, it was essential to examine how those involved with designing the project perceived the problem and what they considered to be the key causes of violence against women.

Socialisation of men and boys:

The most heavily discussed cause of violence against women within the context of the interviews conducted was the way in which boys and young men are socialised. When asked about the causes of gendered violence, one interviewee stated: “*Power, a sense of privileged entitlement and the socialisation of men and boys*” (Graham Goulden, VRU). This was echoed by other participants who emphasised that the culture in which young men grow up heavily influences their attitudes towards women and the behaviour which they perceive to be acceptable. It was stated that women are viewed as property – “*women are seen as sexual objects and something which can be owned by their partner*” (Alan Heisterkamp, Waitt Institute). This sense of inequality between the sexes was seen as directly resulting in male violence against women.

Distorted View of Masculinity:

A significant part of this breakdown in the socialisation process was attributed to a distorted view of masculinity. It was stated that society dictates that men should behave in a certain way which involves a stereotypical type of masculinity whereby to be a man, it is necessary to portray an image of being “*tough*” or “*a hard man*” (Graham Goulden, VRU). One interviewee stated that “*Men who are not violent or do not share these attitudes are seen as being less masculine*” (Alan Heisterkamp, Waitt Institute). This was reflected in statements made by other research participants who emphasised that men who do not conform to this prescribed image are seen as being “*feminine, weak or gay*” (Graham Goulden, VRU).

Furthermore it was stated that: “*There’s this idea that it’s wrong to be a certain kind of person, you know “you’re acting like a girl”*” (Kevin Kelly, Port Glasgow High).

This distorted view of masculinity was seen as a key cause of violence against women in that it both promotes and justifies violent behaviour as a necessary and inevitable part of being a man. However, the data gathered also highlighted that women and girls also subscribe to this idea of men as inherently violent. One interviewee stated that “*there are girls who think it is ok to be abused and that violence is acceptable*” (Graham Goulden, VRU) on the basis that men who walk away are “weak” and therefore undesirable.

Influence of the Media:

The data gathered strongly emphasised the influence of the media in exacerbating the prevalence of negative attitudes which condone or tolerate violence against women, particularly amongst young people. One interviewee commented that “*the media does not cause violence but perpetuates the social norms that accept it*” (Alan Heisterkamp, Waitt Institute). He further argued that young people grow up in a culture which sends clear messages – through television, magazines, song lyrics and the use of language – about the acceptability of demeaning attitudes towards women. It was further stated that the “*media defines a culture of violence*” (Graham Goulden, VRU) and that this is instrumental in, if not causing, perpetuating attitudes and behaviours which encourage gendered violence.

Violence as a Learned Response:

While the socialisation of men and boys and a distorted view of masculinity which is encouraged by the media can be seen as relating to wider cultural and societal inequalities, the data gathered also highlighted other causes of violence against women. It was stated that violence could often be attributed to a learning process which takes place within the context of the family from a young age - *“The most important thing is your upbringing, your home life. If you have a mother and father at home and how they treat each other. That’s how you learn what is acceptable behaviour”* (Kevin Kelly, Port Glasgow High School). It was stated that violence was often *“a learned behaviour”* and that *“where there has been exposure to violence in the early years”* it was more likely to be translated into adult relationships (Graham Goulden, VRU).

Insecure attachment:

Lack of attachment, or insecure attachment was also cited as being a key factor leading to violence against women. This was seen as being two-fold with men who had not formed proper attachments in early life, for example to family, the community in which they live or an educational establishment, more likely to use violence as a normal or acceptable response in certain situations. Furthermore, where women or girls had a lack of, or insecure attachments they were viewed as more likely to become repeat victims of gendered violence, perhaps as a result of an increased level of tolerance, expectation of violence within relationships or simply a lack of support to enable them to end or avoid abusive relationships. This is evidenced by one interviewee who stated: *“Girls who are repeat victims often have a*

lack of attachment or even insecure attachments and the same goes for men who carry out the violence” (Graham Goulden, VRU).

Unwillingness to Intervene:

The data gathered highlighted that within society there is an unwillingness or uneasiness around intervening in situations which are, or could become, violent and that this perpetuates the problem. One interviewee highlighted the concept of privacy within a relationship; *“the closer a couple are, for example if they are dating, engaged or married, the less likely it is that anyone will interfere. There’s this idea that within a relationship the woman belongs to the man. We have these social norms of not interfering”* (Alan Hesiterkamp, Waitt Institute). It was emphasised that these social norms which do not challenge violence and allow it to continue unchecked contribute to a culture which tolerates gendered violence. It was stated that *“remaining silent is effectively the same as condoning the behaviour”* (Alan Hesiterkamp, Waitt Institute) and this was seen as a significant factor in the prevalence of violence against women.

Impact on Type of Intervention:

In terms of contributing to an understanding of the overall theory of change adopted by the MVP programme, this data is invaluable as it provides insight into the multiple and interwoven nature of the causes of gendered violence as perceived by those involved. This is significant as the theory of change adopted, in order to be effective, must reflect these causes and the intervention should be tailored in order to specifically tackle these issues. The next question to be considered, therefore, in order to build an understanding of the theory of

change, is how the above data impacts on the type and method of intervention which has been selected.

Changing attitudes:

What was apparent from the data was that the emphasis of the MVP programme is on changing the negative attitudes which encourage, condone or tolerate violence against women: *“MVP looks at changing attitudes from an early age so that it can have an impact before the violence starts”* (Alison Fanning, St. Stephen’s High School). This is reflective of the causes of the issue outlined above as, while they are multiple and varied, they share a common theme of negative attitudes towards women or positive attitudes towards violence. It was also highlighted that attitudes which prevent or restrict intervention into situations of gendered violence contribute significantly to the problem and must also be tackled.

Bystander Approach:

The data gathered highlights the chosen method of tackling these undesirable attitudes centres around the use of an empowered bystander based approach which aims to engage, educate and encourage young people to change their attitudes and particularly to reject social norms which allow violence against women to take place. The emphasis is on *“facilitating an open discussion, engaging with young people and generating social change”* (Graham Goulden, VRU). MVP adopts a two-fold approach which firstly aims to educate young people about the problem as well as issues of masculinity and gender inequality - *“The focus is on proper education so dispelling myths about rape, power and control”* (Alan Heisterkamp, Waitt Institute). Secondly there is an emphasis on equipping young people with the skills and

confidence to allow them to challenge social norms of non-intervention and step in when they witness a situation which involves violence against women - “*we are able, given a situation that could go bad, to stop and think of the bystander steps*” (Alan Heisterkamp, Waitt Institute).

The theory of change adopted therefore, relies on the four key steps identified in much of the literature on bystander intervention (Latane and Darley, 1970) as an effective tool for tackling the issue of social norms which encourage non-intervention. These are identified as: 1. *The potential bystander must notice that a situation is occurring*. It was repeatedly stated that through open and engaging discussions with young people, the programme aims to raise awareness and expand understanding of what constitutes abuse or violent behaviour towards women or girls. In this way it is believed that young people are more likely to recognise a situation or behaviour as abusive, or an attitude as unacceptable.

2. *The potential bystander must recognise that the situation is problematic*. It was highlighted that while the difference between this stage and the first is subtle, it is significant in that while stage one simply requires that a situation registers with the potential bystander, stage two relies on an understanding that there is a problem – “*there must be recognition that it is something wrong*” (Alan Heisterkamp, Waitt Institute).

3. *The potential bystander must feel some level of personal responsibility for the outcome of the situation*. Developing this sense of responsibility for intervening in situations which are or could be violent was particularly emphasised in the interview data. Encouraging the young people involved to feel empathy towards the victim is important and is achieved through “*building a sense of community by focussing on links between people, whether that is through a team, school, relationship or simply humanity*” (Alan Heisterkamp, Waitt Institute). Young people are encouraged to consider how they would feel or act if the victim, or the perpetrator,

was their own friend or family member and how that would influence their response and to translate that into a sense of empathy for any victim, whether they are closely linked or not. This was echoed by another research participant who stated that *“the idea is that we turn it around to focus on supporting friends”* (Graham Goulden, VRU).

4. *The potential bystander must assess the available courses of action and act on them.* According to interviewees, the MVP programme is designed to *“Encourage cognitive evaluation of a situation and their role and options within it”* (Alan Hesiterkamp, Waitt Institute). There are two stages to this process, first the young person must know there are options available which will allow them to form a plan for intervention, and secondly they must be able to act on this plan and intervene in a safe and effective way. MVP aims to *“encourage an assessment of whether the person has the skills to intervene or respond in an active way (either directly or indirectly) and hopefully equip them with those skills, for example, through the use of words or body language which are appropriate”* (Alan Hesiterkamp, Waitt Institute).

Through open dialogue and education, MVP aims to provide young people with information and knowledge about the options available other than simply walking away. This may include indirect measures such as contacting a teacher, the police or some other support group but significantly also emphasises direct options, such as speaking to the perpetrator or the victim in an attempt to diffuse a potentially difficult situation. Again role play is used so that young people feel that they have “rehearsed” a situation and how to act in the hope that this will give them confidence when faced with a real life situation. There is also an emphasis on body language, tone of voice and the most effective words to use in certain situations.

Summary of Findings in Relation to Research Question One:

Having considered the data gathered through the course of interviews with those involved with the project, it is possible to establish that there is a clear and well-articulated theory of change adopted. It is recognised that while the causes of gendered violence are multiple, complex and intertwined, there is a common theme which relates to the impact of attitudes and social norms, on violent behaviour and this extends to whether or not someone is likely or willing to intervene in a situation involving violence or abuse. The rationale for utilising a bystander approach is clearly evident from discussion with those responsible for designing the project and provides clear guidelines for enacting change.

However, while the theory of change is apparent from interviews with those responsible for designing the MVP programme, it is less clear from discussion with those who are involved with the project in the context of Scottish schools. One teacher who was interviewed stated that he was “*factually unsure*” of the research behind the programme though he did recognise that the training was about “*planting a seed of understanding and changing belief systems*” (Kevin Kelly, Port Glasgow High School). There was little or no discussion of the use of the bystander principles as a tool for enacting change and the emphasis was on changing personal attitudes towards violence without mention of encouraging intervention or tackling the social norms which encourage non-intervention.

There is concern, therefore, that while the theory of change is explicitly referred to in discussion with the designers of the project and in MVP literature, it is not clearly articulated to those who are responsible for overseeing and implementing the project on a day-to-day basis. This raises questions about the viability of the project as a means of tackling gendered violence if it is not clear to those involved, exactly how this change will be achieved.

3.2 Research Question Two: Is the theory of change adopted consistent with the literature on the issue of violence against women?

The second research question to be addressed relates to the extent to which the theory of change identified in research question one is consistent with the relevant literature on the issue of gendered violence which was critically examined in Chapter One of this paper. This will enable a consideration of the potential impact of the intervention, in that a programme which has a strong theoretical basis is more likely to succeed.

Consistency of Understanding of Cause:

It was recognised within the theory of change adopted by the MVP programme that there is no one clear cause of gendered violence. Instead there are multiple factors which, on their own or combined, are likely to lead to violent behaviour. The most significant of these factors cited in the course of interviews with research participants was the socialisation process of men and boys. This is significant as it is strongly reflected in the literature on gendered violence, particularly amongst feminist writing (Radford, Kelly and Hester, 1996). The literature review also highlighted the significance of the influence of a patriarchal society (Lombard, 2011) leading to a distorted view of masculinity and research participants indicated that their understanding of this cause of gendered violence underpinned the design of the MVP programme. It was further stated that pressure to conform which is, it is argued, exacerbated by the media (Papadopoulos, 2010), is a cause of violence against women and this is consistent with the understanding adopted by those involved with the MVP programme.

Having interrogated the relevant literature on issues of gendered violence, the links between the socialisation of men and boys, perceptions of masculinity and the influence of the media, it is apparent that they are closely connected and interwoven issues which contribute to the overarching problem of attitudes which condone or tolerate violence against women and that this has been recognised by the theory of change adopted by the MVP programme. This understanding of the causes of gendered violence closely reflects the significant body of feminist work on the issue.

The data which has been discussed highlights that those involved with MVP recognise that the causes of gendered violence go beyond traditional feminist understanding of the problem as one of wider gender inequalities within society. It was stated by a number of research participants that often this type of violence is learned in the early stages of childhood through exposure to violent behaviour in the home. This view is reflected by the social learning theory initially proposed by Albert Bandura (1977) which has been critically examined in Chapter One of this paper. This consistency with wider theory on the issue emphasises the breadth and depth of understanding of causes of gendered violence adopted by the designers of MVP.

Furthermore, the data collected also highlighted the issue of a lack of secure attachment as a key contributing factor to gendered violence. This idea that where young people have not formed adequate attachments in their childhood, they are more likely to go on to become either perpetrators or victims is also something which is raised in the relevant literature. This

is especially relevant in terms of social control theory (Hirschi, 1969) which was also considered in Chapter One of this paper.

It is apparent that there are a significant number of factors which are perceived as being contributors to the issue of gendered violence both within the wide body of literature on the issue and the theory of change adopted by MVP. However, analysis of the literature along with the data which has been collected highlights that each of the above causes is related in that they directly result in, or contribute to, negative attitudes towards women or social norms which tolerate or accept violence. This is supported by other studies which have highlighted, for example, 1 in 5 young men and 1 in 10 young women think that abuse or violence against women is acceptable. (Burton et al, 1998).

Impact on Type of Intervention:

Having established that the MVP programme adopts a very broad understanding of the factors which contribute to violence against women and that there is consistency with the wide range of literature on the topic, it is important to consider how the method of enacting change which has been implemented relates to the literature.

Bystander Approach:

As was discussed above, the MVP programme follows the four key steps illustrated in bystander literature (Latane and Darley, 1969). It is important to consider the extent to which

the method of implementation of this approach is consistent with the relevant literature on bystander intervention.

1. *The potential bystander must notice that a situation is occurring.* It is apparent from the heavy emphasis placed by the MVP programme on educating young people about what constitutes violence that this is something which has been understood and is reflective of the literature (Banyard, Plante and Moynihan, 2004). This is also relevant for the second step: 2. *The potential bystander must recognise that the situation is problematic.* Furthermore, there is emphasis in the data of the need to ensure that young people understand that violence is not acceptable and this reflects the need to recognise the behaviour as problematic. This is reflective of the literature and Batson (1998) stated that having an awareness of the problem was the first stage in taking action against it and that that where people were able to unambiguously identify a situation as an emergency they were more likely to intervene.

This emphasis on education which was apparent from the data gathered is also clearly reflective of the understanding of the causes of violence against women which have been discussed above. The factors relating to the socialisation of boys as well as violence as a learned behaviour all support the idea that these negative attitudes are something which young people develop and are taught. An understanding of violence as something which is learned is supportive of a theory of change which emphasises education and again this is reflected in the wider literature.

3. *The potential bystander must feel some level of personal responsibility for the outcome of the situation.* The data emphasises that the MVP programme focuses on building a sense of community and encouraging young people to feel empathy for victims, particularly through highlighting the connectedness of individuals in a team, class, social group etc. This is significant as data on bystander apathy and intervention highlights that people are more likely

to intervene to help a friend or someone they know than others. A survey of 915 people in England and Wales showed that while 71% of people were very likely to take action if they believed a female family member was a victim of domestic abuse, that number dropped to just 39% where the victim was a neighbour (Home Office, 2009). This suggests that the weaker the connection between people, the less they are motivated to intervene. This is also reflective of the literature which emphasises that gendered violence is a societal problem of inequalities and therefore the responsibility of everyone (Radford, Kelly and Hester, 1996).

4. The potential bystander must assess the available courses of action and act on them.

Research has highlighted that, where a person has a higher level of exposure to situations in which intervention is required, they are more likely to take the necessary steps to intervene. One study showed that those who did intervene had witnessed an average of 3.8 crimes in the last ten years compared to just 0.28 for those who did not (Huston, et al 1981). This suggests that by exposing young people to information and role play situations, they may be more likely to take action and to feel confident, having rehearsed the situation that they are able to intervene effectively.

Furthermore, the same study showed that where people felt that they had the skills and experience to assist, they were more likely to do so. It highlighted that where a person had been through first aid, life saving, police or medical training for example, they were more likely to take action and found a direct link between perceived ability to deal with a situation and the likelihood of intervention (Huston et al, 1981).

The MVP approach then, is clearly consistent with the key bystander literature as detailed above. However, the theory of change is also reflective of the causes of gendered violence in

a more general way. The goal of MVP is to develop a climate of non-tolerance within the community, whether that is a school, college, sports team or other organisation. In order to achieve this, peer mentors are used as role models to transmit and demonstrate acceptable behaviour and challenge social norms of acceptance (Katz, Heisterkamp and Fleming, 2011). This idea of a climate of non-tolerance is reflective of social control theory as a key cause of violence. This theory states that in order for people to avoid deviant behaviour they must form social bonds which act as informal controls on their behaviour (Hirschi, 1969).

The MVP project has clearly taken this understanding and uses the peer mentors or “popular opinion leaders” to form bonds with young people in the hope that this will encourage them to conform to the behaviours and attitudes expected by these mentors. The data indicates that there are existing peer mentoring frameworks within schools which MVP can be incorporated into. It was stated that “*We have tried to select a range of mentors who will be able to connect and have an influence on the younger pupils*” (Alison Fanning, St. Stephens High School). This highlights the understanding amongst those involved of the importance of using mentors whose status within their peer group will allow them to be effective role models and is consistent with the literature.

One key cause of violence against women cited by interviewees was the concept of inter-generational transmission of violence which is articulated in social learning theories. When a culture of non-tolerance is prevalent, the negative consequences for someone who is seen to use violent behaviour - such as exclusion or peer disapproval - will begin to outweigh the benefits and the learned violent behaviour will cease to be functionally beneficial and will therefore be discarded (Foshee et al 1998). The theory of change adopted by MVP therefore is consistent with literature on social learning theory.

Summary of Findings in Relation to Research Question Two:

Clearly then the understanding of the causes of violence adopted by the MVP programme is consistent with the literature on gendered violence. It goes further than adopting one perspective, for example, a feminist approach, and instead recognises that there are multiple and complex factors involved which are closely linked and operate alongside each other to contribute to violence against women. The bystander approach adopted clearly provides a framework for dealing with these causes and this is supported by the literature, both on bystander apathy or intervention and on the wider issue of tackling gendered violence. The theory of change adopted therefore is clear and well-articulated and consistent with the relevant literature.

3.3 Research Question Three: Is the theory of change consistent with that of the Scottish Government policy on tackling gendered violence?

The previous two research questions have addressed the issue of the theory of change adopted and its consistency with the relevant literature on the topic. However, the causes which have been identified have been shown to manifest from a young age, with cultural and societal inequalities as well as issues stemming from the family contributing to negative attitudes, and these are likely to be deep-rooted and difficult to counteract. Any intervention which hopes to tackle these must take into account the wider context in which it is being delivered and the likelihood that it will be supported by other intervention work. This section will therefore consider the extent to which MVP is consistent with, and therefore likely to be supported by, the current Scottish Government approach to tackling gendered violence.

As has been discussed in Chapter One, current Government policy cites wider societal and cultural gender inequalities as the main cause of violence against women (Scottish Executive, 2003). The MVP programme then is clearly consistent with this. However, data gathered also highlights the impact of intergenerational transmission of violent behaviour and a lack of secure attachments as key causes of gendered violence and these are less obvious in the statement of cause issued by the Government.

Despite MVP adopting a wider understanding of the causes of violence against women, there is consistency with current Government policy in that the key focus of both is changing attitudes and both adopt a theory of change which emphasises the importance of a community approach to tackling gendered violence (Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse, 2000).

Tackling violence against women is something which has been given high priority within the context of Scottish policy-making (Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse, 2000). Unlike other forms of violence which are the responsibility of the Community Safety department, violence against women comes under the heading of Equalities and is therefore distinct from violence which involves, for example a male victim and perpetrator.

This distinction between forms of violence potentially makes it difficult to place the MVP programme and this is something which was highlighted through the course of the research. The Violence Reduction Unit have been responsible for bringing the MVP programme to Scotland, however, they are part of the Community Safety department which does not include issues of gendered violence within its specific remit. It is possible, therefore that there may be an element of disjuncture between the division of responsibility in terms of policy and with the actual organisation which takes charge of an intervention.

However, it was highlighted that funding for the project has been received from both the Community Safety department and the Equalities department and it appears that while in theory there is a division of tasks, in practice an intervention may span more than one department. Furthermore, within the National Strategy and supplementary policy documents, it is stated that tackling inequalities which contribute to gendered violence is the responsibility of all public bodies and should be incorporated into strategies and action plans of all departments (Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse, 2000).

Public Health Model:

The current approach adopted by the Scottish Government incorporates a public health model of intervention as opposed to the more conventional criminal justice model seen in other jurisdictions within the UK (Ellis, 2008). This type of approach focuses less on individual responsibility, and more on changing attitudes and tackling the inequalities which cause the violence. This was highlighted in the data gathered – “*A criminal justice approach focuses on who did it. It looks for a culprit, punishes them and then works towards rehabilitation. Instead we look at violence as a behaviour or an attitude and look at ways to challenge them, to stop these attitudes*” (Graham Goulden, VRU). It was further stated that the project “*doesn’t indite, it invites*” (Graham Goulden, VRU) which again suggests cohesion with a model which moves away from a criminal justice approach. MVP as a project then is supported by a public health model and the approach and theory of change of both the Government policy and MVP programme are consistent.

Prevention:

The public health model discussed above focuses on four key areas in order to tackle violence against women. These include prevention, protection, provision and participation. Data gathered suggests that MVP is intended to fit within the prevention strand which aims “*to prevent, remove or diminish the risk of violence against women and its impacts on children and young people*” (Scottish Government, 2009).

MVP is designed to be a long-term and ongoing intervention which tackles negative attitudes, as well as dealing with social norms which prevent individuals intervening in specific cases of violence in the hope that this will ultimately prevent gendered violence.

Within the prevention strategy, there is a distinction made between interventions which are primary and those which are secondary and an emphasis is placed on primary interventions as being the most effective way of preventing violence against women (Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse, 2000). While it is recognised that secondary intervention will still be required to provide support and assistance to those who are already affected by gendered violence, it is stated in policy documentation that it is only through primary intervention that attitudes and behaviours can be changed in the long term (Humphreys, Houghton and Ellis, 2008).

Graham Goulden at the VRU described MVP as a secondary intervention stating that the programme targeted “*those who are at risk of being either perpetrators or victims due to their age and exposure to negative attitudes and media influence*”. This was echoed by another research participant who stated that MVP aimed to “*talk to students who are thirteen and fourteen and at a more impressionable age where they are inundated by the media and pop culture and at the same time are reaching an age of sexual awareness*” (Alan Heisterkamp,

Waitt Institute). This classification of MVP as secondary based on the vulnerability of its target group suggests that it is out of sync with the primary prevention focus of Government policy.

However, according to the National Strategy, a primary intervention is one which takes place prior to the violence occurring and is described as “*long-term strategy preventing violence from ever happening by changing attitudes, values and structures that sustain inequality and violence*” (Hester and Westmarland, 2005 p.15). MVP, which targets young people in order to challenge their negative attitudes and prevent behaviour which is violent or condones violence before it takes place, is in fact a primary intervention according to this definition and is consistent with the focus of the Government policy.

While the emphasis is on changing attitudes through primary intervention, there is recognition within the policy context that some young people will already have been exposed to violence and that there may be a need for an element of secondary intervention as well. This is particularly emphasised in the protection strand of the National Strategy (Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse, 2000). While MVP does aim to educate young people as to where they can find support services, it does not directly provide support. This is something which the designers of MVP appeared to be aware of and one interviewee stated that development of this area was “*ongoing but does still need some improvement*” (Alan Heisterkamp, Waitt Institute).

Early-intervention:

Following from the need for primary prevention is the adoption of a policy which supports early intervention. This recognises the importance of adequate socialisation and proper

development from a young age and is reflective of an understanding that attitudes which may develop into violence in later life are likely to be formed during childhood. MVP is targeted at high school aged children, and aims to “*reach them before the violence starts*” (Alison Fanning, St. Stephens High School). In this way it can be seen to be an early intervention approach, attempting to tackle attitudes and perceptions before they develop into behaviours which are problematic.

However, it can be argued that it may be more effective to target younger children, perhaps those who are of primary school age, and to work to prevent these attitudes from forming. This is something which is reflected in the literature on an early-intervention approach and it is emphasised that preventing attitudes from developing is often more effective than trying to alter those which have already formed (Brand et al, 1974).

It became apparent through the course of interviews with those involved with MVP that this was an issue which was recognised and that an early-intervention approach was fully supported – “*prevention work should begin at a very young age, from birth really, with good parenting programmes and partnerships etc*” (Graham Goulden, VRU). MVP then was seen as being one stage in this process, specifically targeted at the at-risk group but it was believed that its success would be enhanced if work to prevent violence against women was ongoing throughout the course of young people’s education and even before they start school.

Education:

A public health model of prevention such as that adopted by the Scottish Government to tackle violence against women places a heavy emphasis on the importance of education as a tool for enacting change (Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse, 2000). This is significant

as it suggests that gendered violence is something which, having been learned can be unlearned through proper education. This is reflective of social learning theory which states that violence is a learned behaviour and is one of the key theories on which MVP is based, evidenced by data gathered through interviews – *“The most important thing is your upbringing, your home life. If you have a mother and father at home and how they treat each other. That’s how you learn what is acceptable behaviour”* (Kevin Kelly, Port Glasgow High). Educating young people as to what and what is not acceptable in terms of attitudes and behaviour is the key way in which MVP hopes to prevent violence against women and there is therefore consistency between the emphasis on education within the policy and MVP programme, but also agreement that violence against women is something which is learned.

A policy which promotes education can do so in a number of ways, including through public or community education or school based programmes (Ellis, 2008). MVP is currently being utilised in school settings but adopts a multi-agency partnership approach with one interviewee stating that *“MVP is not a school initiative, it is a community initiative”* (Kevin Kelly, Port Glasgow High School). The project involves both school staff such as teachers and classroom assistants and community workers from a range of organisations and backgrounds. Through this collaborative approach it is hoped that the programme will be both effective in terms of changing attitudes but also sustainable for the future.

Curriculum for Excellence:

The National Strategy states that school-based interventions, rather than being a one off should be embedded into the curriculum (Scottish Government, 2009). This means that as well as fitting with the wider gendered violence policy context, there is a need for the MVP

programme to be consistent with the recently implemented Scottish Curriculum for Excellence. A key curricular area which has been identified as being the responsibility of all staff within a school is that of Health and Wellbeing (Scottish Executive, 2006). Interviews conducted with those who are working with MVP in a school setting suggested that there is consistency between the aims and principles of the project and the experiences and outcomes which relate to the Health and Wellbeing agenda. It was recognised that MVP particularly supports the delivery of those outcomes which relate to mental, emotional, physical and social wellbeing and relationships, sexual health and parenthood (Scottish Executive, 2006) and can therefore be embedded in the curriculum relatively easily - *“It fits with a lot of the health and wellbeing outcomes, because you know, it focuses on healthy relationships”* (Alison Fanning, St. Stephens High School).

This consistency with the curriculum was recognised as being essential with one interviewee stating that *“you need that link to engage the school with the project”* (Graham Goulden, VRU). It was further stated that one way of introducing MVP into the schools was by incorporating it into existing schemes or projects. In one school this was done through a sports leadership programme and in another by extending an existing peer mentoring programme to include MVP. This ensured that as well as being classroom based through Personal and Social Development classes, it could also be incorporated into the wider school culture and become better embedded.

Summary of Findings in Relation to Research Question Three:

It is apparent therefore, that on the whole, MVP is consistent with current Government policy on tackling gendered violence and therefore is relatively easily incorporated into the school

curriculum and into existing projects within the schools. However, as has been discussed, while staff within the schools clearly recognised the same key causes of gendered violence as those responsible for the MVP project, they were less familiar with the specific bystander principles which underpin the theory of change on which the project is based. By utilising existing peer mentoring or leadership programmes to incorporate MVP, there is a danger that without a clear understanding of the bystander steps, there may be a dilution of this approach to tackling negative attitudes and social norms which encourage non-intervention, and this may have a detrimental impact on the outcome of the project.

Chapter Four: Conclusion

The overall aim of this paper is that it will provide some insight into the theoretical and empirical positioning of the MVP programme in terms of the relevant literature on issues of gendered violence as well as with current Government policy and will contribute to evaluation of the likelihood of the programme succeeding. It was recognised that in order to evaluate the likelihood of the Mentors in Violence Prevention programme successfully tackling issues of gendered violence, there had to be a consideration of the theory of change adopted. This was then interrogated in order to establish the extent to which it was supported by wider literature as it is clear that any intervention must be based on a coherent and theoretically accurate understanding of the problem before it is likely to be properly targeted. Furthermore, it was understood that any intervention into the large and wide ranging issue of gendered violence must be consistent with and supported by other work on the issue, if it is to succeed. It is unlikely that a programme which adopts a wildly different theory of change from that of current Government policy will receive the necessary funding and support. Therefore there was also a consideration of the extent to which MVP is consistent with the approach adopted by the Government in its policy on tackling gendered violence.

The data collected through a number of interviews with those involved with MVP highlighted a clear and consistent theory of change which recognised that there are multiple factors within society and individuals which contribute to the prevalence of attitudes which condone or tolerate violence against women. It was stated therefore that in order to tackle these attitudes, an empowered bystander approach could be utilised to create a culture of non-tolerance and intervention. It has been established, through consideration of a wide range of literature, that this approach has a strong theoretical grounding and is reflective of the key

criminological theories surrounding issues of gendered violence. Furthermore, the bystander approach used has been seen to be effective in a number of studies and is again supported by a range of literature.

It was further established that the approach adopted by the MVP programme is highly consistent with that of the Scottish Government and the emphasis on early-intervention through education is highlighted as key in both approaches. Having successfully answered each of the research questions posed by this paper, it is important to understand exactly what the findings mean in terms of conclusions on the potential of the project to enact change in the area of gendered violence.

While a clear theory of change is evident, it was highlighted that those who are involved with the day-to-day overseeing of the project were not as well-versed in the causes of the problem or in the use of a bystander approach. There is a danger therefore, that without clear and effective communication of the aims, principles and methods of the project, the theory of change may be diluted and this may impact significantly on the effectiveness of the programme.

It has been established that the causes of gendered violence reflect deep-rooted and long standing attitudes, not only amongst individuals but within society as a whole and it has to be recognised that it is an ambitious task for one intervention to hope to alter these. It is apparent however, that the MVP programme has a significant amount of potential as an innovative method of tackling violence against women. The emphasis on attitudes as the key issue is supported by both the wider literature and the Government policy. However, while it is possible to assess at this early stage, the viability of the project in terms of its consistency with the theoretical and policy frameworks, equally important will be the way in which the

project is implemented and a thorough evaluation of this would involve a long-term study of those who participate in the programme.

In conclusion, it is apparent that the MVP project has good potential for successfully enacting change, given its strong theory of change and cohesion with other interventions. However, at this early stage it is not possible to positively state that the project will result in attitudinal change as much of its success is likely to be determined by the method of implementation and application which are adopted moving forward.

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Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet



Research Title: **Mentors in Violence Prevention: An Evaluation of the Potential Impact of a Bystander Based Approach to Tackling Gendered Violence**

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

I am working on a postgraduate dissertation entitled “Mentors in Violence Prevention: An Evaluation of the Potential Impact of a Bystander Based Approach to Tackling Gendered Violence” in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Glasgow. My aim is to identify the theory behind the Mentors in Violence Prevention Project and to examine the policy framework through which it has been implemented. The information that I get will be used to help me to form conclusions on the viability of the Mentors in Violence Prevention Project as a method of reducing the incidence of gendered violence

It is your choice whether or not to take part in the research. If you do decide to participate, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you can withdraw at any time and you do not need to give a reason.

The interview will take a maximum of 1 hour. I would like to make an audio recording with your permission. What you say to me will be used only in my student dissertation. I would also like for you to be named in my dissertation. The project has been approved by the School of Social and Political Sciences Research Ethics Forum at the University of Glasgow.

If you have any questions about the research or what is involved, please contact me at 0602419s@student.gla.ac.uk. You can also contact my supervisor who is Jon Bannister and can be contacted at Jonathan.Bannister@glasgow.ac.uk.

If you would like to raise any concerns about how any aspect of this research has been conducted, please contact the School Ethics Forum convenor.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Appendix B: SAMPLE PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM



Research Title: Mentors in Violence Prevention: An Evaluation of the Potential Impact of a Bystander Based Approach to Tackling Gendered Violence

Principal researchers:

Gillian Smart – 0602419s@student.gla.ac.uk

Carrie Macdonald - 0604093M@student.gla.ac.uk

Jon Bannister – Jonathan.Bannister@glasgow.ac.uk

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet about this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.

I understand that my participation in the interview is entirely voluntary, and that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason. I understand that my participation or non-participation in the study will not lead to any penalty.

I agree to the interview being audio recorded. I also agree to be named within the body of the final dissertation and to have direct quotes attributed to me.

I agree to participate in this interview.

Name / signature:

Date: