CHAPTER SIX PRIMARY PREVENTION OF DOMESTIC ABUSE THROUGH EDUCATION

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Introduction

Domestic abuse is a major social problem, the prevalence and universality of which is well documented (Mooney, 2000; Stanko *et al.*, 2002; Walby and Allen, 2004; Scottish Executive, 2006b). In Scotland, responses and challenges to domestic abuse are framed within the *National Strategy to Address Domestic Abuse in Scotland*[11] (Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse) in which the following gendered definition is adopted:

> *"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, 2000, p.5)

Domestic abuse is overwhelmingly, but not exclusively, enacted by men against women. It is a serious infringement of women's Human Rights and "is associated with broader gender inequality, and should be understood in its historical context, whereby societies have given greater status, wealth, influence, control and power to men" (Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse, 2000, p.2). The *Domestic Abuse: A National Training Strategy* provides a framework in Scotland for "identifying training and development activity required to support improvement in services to women and children who are experiencing domestic abuse, and to men who use violence" (Scottish Executive, 2004b, p.1) but also has relevance for primary prevention work.

Specifically in relation to prevention, the Scottish Executive published *Preventing Domestic Abuse - A National Strategy*[12], which stresses that "tackling the root causes is the only way to eradicate it [domestic abuse]" (Scottish Executive, 2003, p.1). The *Prevention Strategy*, drawing on a public health model of prevention, divides prevention into two levels of intervention; primary and secondary[13]. Primary prevention is "a 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). Interventions at the primary level are aimed at whole populations usually through universal mainstream services, and aim to make small changes in large numbers of people (Partnerships Against Domestic Violence, 2003). Education is central to primary prevention and takes two forms: public education for the entire population and work specifically targeted at children[14] in schools/youth work settings. Both strands are occasionally coordinated as in campaigns such as Scotland's Zero Tolerance. Secondary prevention refers to

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[11] Hereafter referred to as the *National Strategy*.
[12] Hereafter referred to as the *Prevention Strategy*.
[13] The public health model ordinarily includes a third (tertiary) level of intervention. In the *Prevention Strategy*, activities categorised as tertiary (treatment and rehabilitation) have been integrated into the secondary level which would usually solely focus on populations identified as 'at risk'.
[14] 'Children' is used here in its legal form; to describe people under 18 years of age; this is for brevity and simplicity. It includes children and young people.

when domestic abuse is already evident and action is taken to stop it getting worse or recurring. The *Prevention Strategy* identifies this as potentially taking the form of targeted specialist services with identified populations deemed 'at risk' and support services for women and children experiencing domestic abuse along with programmes for abusive men.

The literature review will focus on five areas: the legal context for prevention work; a brief discussion of the public health model, which dominates approaches to prevention; educational interventions through public and community education and school-based work; the Scottish policy context for prevention work with children and young people; and, lastly, recommendations for good practice. The literature review is principally drawn from literature in the UK, Australia, Canada and the USA and considers work to prevent gender-based violence including domestic abuse, 'dating' violence[15], rape and sexual harassment.

Legal context

A legal imperative for educational work on gender-based violence has been established in international laws and conventions, through both Children's and Women's Rights. The *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC) stipulates that "State Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and *educational* measures to protect children from all forms of physical and mental violence..." (1989: Article 19, Para. 1, emphasis added). Articles 13 and 17 concern children's right to information, particularly Article 17 which states that children shall have "access to information and material … especially those aimed at the promotion of [their] social, spiritual and moral well-being and physical and mental health" (1989: Article 17, Para. 1).

In respect of Women's Rights, the 1995 Bejing Platform of Action and UN Resolution 1997/24 clearly establish prevention as an important strategy in eliminating gender violence. Resolution 1997/24 urges States to:

> *"Develop and implement relevant and effective public awareness and public education and school programmes that prevent violence against women <u>by promoting equality, cooperation, mutual respect</u> and shared responsibilities between women and men*." (IX:14a, emphasis added)

The introduction of the *Gender Equality Duty* (GED) *Scotland* in April 2007 places a general duty on schools and other public bodies to "eliminate unlawful sex discrimination and harassment, and promote equality of opportunity for men and women". The Scottish guidance for the pre-16 education sector states that:

> *"Education authorities should consider gender equality objectives which will address sexist bullying, sexual harassment and violence against women in their formal school policies, in personal and social development classes, citizenship activities and throughout the school curriculum where relevant."* (EOC, 2007, p.20).

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[15] The term 'dating' violence is used to refer to violence in intimate relationships between young people, rather than adults. In most other respects it does not differ from domestic abuse.

Getting it right for every child (GIRFEC), Scotland's vision for its children, which lays out the legal and policy framework for child protection and family support, stresses the "need to concentrate more on preventative educative programmes which help people to tackle their own problems" (Scottish Executive, 2005c).

The public health model of prevention

Along with levels of intervention, described above, a public health approach to prevention has a number of core elements (Krug *et al.*, 2002). Population based data on the incidence and prevalence of violence are gathered to identify risk and protective factors. These are statistical associations between characteristics or life circumstances which are seen as causing or helping to reduce violence. Drawing on this scientific data, interventions are designed and implemented to reduce risk factors and increase protective factors. Programmes are evaluated to establish and improve their effectiveness and this information is then shared through public education as with health education initiatives.

While there is a 'common sensibility' to stop violence before it occurs (Guterman, 2004:299) and there are individual, social and economic costs which justify attempts to reduce abuse and the subsequent associated harms (Wolfe *et al.*, 1997; Stanko *et al.*, 1998; Hogan and Murphey, 2000; Violence Reduction Unit, 2006), adopting a public health model to eliminate domestic abuse/violence against women and girls is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is inconsistent with explanations of domestic abuse that locate cause in gender inequality and men's abuse of power brought about through the social, economic and political privileging of men as stated in the *National Strategy*. Whilst domestic abuse does have, often serious, health implications for children (see summaries in Mullender *et al.*, 2002, Hester *et al.*, 2007) and women it does not have the same causal explanatory framework as health/medical problems (Billis, 1981; Albee, 1998). Secondly, it is a deficit model with the aim of stopping undesirable conduct rather than promoting desired conduct (Freeman, 1999). This is strongly reflected in school-based programmes, discussed later, which focus on preventing violence/abuse and not on promoting non-violence (Zuchowski, 2003; Ellis, 2004). Yet Schewe (2002) suggests that focusing on increasing desired conduct is more effective than decreasing undesirable conduct.

Thirdly, the division between primary and secondary prevention is unhelpful since significant numbers of children are already engaged in abusive relationships with each other. This is shown by UK research on sexual and homophobic bullying in schools (Jones and Mahony, 1989; Duncan, 1999; Rivers, 2001; Harber, 2004), young men who sexually abuse others (Durham, 2006) and 'dating' violence (Mirrless-Black, 1999; Burman and Cartmel, 2005; NSPCC/Sugar, 2005; Backett-Milburn *et al.,* 2006; End Violence Against Women (EVAW), 2006). 'Dating' violence, in the forms of physical and sexual abuse, was reported by a 'number of young people, from 12 to 18 years and predominantly young women' in the ChildLine Scotland study (Backett-Milburn *et al.,* 2006, p.37). Similarly an online study of 524 16-20 year-olds, found that 42 per cent of young people knew girls whose boyfriends had hit them and 40 per cent knew girls whose boyfriends had coerced them to have sex (EVAW, 2006). Consequently, activities categorised as primary prevention come, in fact, after the event for some children and are, therefore, in this model secondary prevention.

Lastly, adopting a public health model to frame violence prevention work demands that evaluations employ experimental or quasi-experimental methods with narrow criteria for what counts as evidence for programme effectiveness. Evaluations are then required to be highly empirical with the use of control groups (see for example, Foshee *et al.*, 1998; Barron, 2006) and standardized tests (Dahlberg *et al.,* 1998, p.5) with only statistically significant results viewed as valid and reliable "solid evidence of effectiveness" (Dahlberg *et al.*, 1998, p.5). In practice it is doubtful, however, whether evidence can be as 'solid' as this implies. Learning is a complex and dynamic process and simplifying it to a set of standardized test scores obscures the contentious aspects of empirical research and emphasizes outcomes rather than, or as well as, process. In addition it limits recognition of what is most valued about programmes (by children) and the extent and meaning of children's learning which other methods capture.

An alternative framework for conceptualizing work to challenge inequality and gender-based violence is within a Human Rights discourse (Ellis, 2006; Horvath and Kelly, 2007). Proceeding from the bottom-line value of respect, work would focus on promoting and attaining equality and respect for everyone whilst acknowledging gender inequality (and other inequalities). Such an approach would be based on children's strengths and competencies while the values of respect, equality and social justice are consistent with Scottish domestic abuse policy, international and national laws.

Educational work to prevent domestic abuse

In this section, the literature on educational work to prevent domestic abuse is considered. A greater focus is placed on school-based work than public or community education since work with children to address domestic abuse has predominantly been in schools.

Underpinning theories

Implicit in the idea that we can prevent domestic abuse are a number of assumptions including that its cause(s) and causal relationships can be identified and the idea that it is somehow learned. This section considers the theories underpinning the policy and practice of the primary prevention of gender-based violence. A number of competing causal explanations of men's violence circulate in academic and popular discourse (Hearn, 1998). These can broadly be grouped into bio-psycho-social and feminist explanations. The former mostly locate the cause of men's violence in individual or family pathology, innate masculinity or sex-role socialization. Feminist discourses, on the other hand, locate cause in differential power relations, where men's violence is viewed as both an outcome of, and serving to reinscribe, gender inequality (Radford *et al.*, 1996) as adopted in Scottish policy. These explanations or theories shape how the problem of domestic abuse is seen, the interventions which follow (Cunningham *et al.*, 1998; Ellis, 2006) and the views individuals hold. It seems likely these may, or should, be addressed in educational work since these will be held and expressed by adults and children in the learning process.

The two most commonly adopted explanations of how violence is learned are social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and feminist theories. The former equates with the 'cycle of violence'[16]

[16] The 'cycle of violence' is also known as the intergenerational transmission of violence.

where it is suggested that violence is transmitted between generations through violent men having experienced or witnessed violence in childhood. There is, however, no evidence that resolutely proves a causal relationship between direct or indirect child abuse and becoming an abuser or victim in adulthood (Mullender, 1996). In addition this theory does not explain the gendered nature of domestic abuse nor why all boys who experience violence in childhood do not go on to become adult perpetrators (Stark and Flitcraft, 1985), just as it fails to explain why some men are violent and did not experience violence in childhood[17]. This theory also positions children without agency[18] (Ellis, 2006) when, in fact, research from Australia shows that some young people actively reject gender violence, "having experienced its damaging effects" (National Crime Prevention, 2000, p.2) (see Chapter Three: Participation). In feminist theories, men's violence is viewed as a manifestation and means of enacting hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987), whereby certain features of masculinity normalize an association with violence (Mills, 2001). Violence is, then, a problem associated with certain masculinities, which boys/men take up, rather than with men and there are other alternative non-violent ways of 'doing boy/man' which can be taken up (Connell, 1995; Martino and Meyenn, 2001; Frosh *et al.*, 2002). Despite these two dominant theories, educational work often lacks theoretical clarity (Indermaur *et al.*, 1998; O'Brien, 2001; Ellis, 2006) leading to the work having multiple agendas and usually focusing on one form of violence (Tutty and Bradshaw, 2004), such as domestic abuse. This limits the possibility of children generalizing their learning with other work, such as on bullying or racism (Thurston *et al.,* 1999) because commonalities between forms of violence are not made apparent.

Rationale for work with children

A strong argument in the UK for working with children to address domestic abuse derives from survey findings of young people's attitudes to gender-based violence. The most recent study, involving 1395 young people aged 14 to 18 years, found that a third of young men and one sixth of young women condoned violence in intimate relationships in certain circumstances (Burman and Cartmel, 2005) replicating findings from earlier studies (Burton and Kitzinger, 1998; Mullender *et al.*, 2002). Along with undertaking work to challenge and change the views of these young people, addressing violence directly with children to stop or reduce it may impact on other social issues which are often associated with experiencing violence in childhood and employed as coping strategies such as alcohol and drug misuse (Itzin, 2006). Moreover, children themselves have stated that they want lessons in school on domestic abuse (Mullender *et al.*, 2002). Where they have had this opportunity, an overwhelming majority report the lessons were positive and worthwhile (Reid Howie Associates, 2001; Hester and Westmarland, 2005; Bell and Stanley, 2006; Ellis, 2006; Johnstone, 2007). For children living with domestic abuse, peers emerge as an important source of support (National Crime Prevention, 2000; Mullender *et al.*, 2002) so work in schools might equip children to help each other in a more informed and effective way. There is little clarity, however, as to whether work takes place with children in schools because it is convenient, it is where children are a mass and captive audience[19], or rather

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[17] Victimized women who do not leave violent men, and the question 'why doesn't she leave' is frequently heard (Mullender, 1996; Hague and Malos, 1998), are pathologized through, for example, the idea of learned helplessness (Walker, 1979) which arguably is the 'female' position in the 'cycle of violence' theory since women's conduct is viewed as the corollary of childhood abuse.

[18] Agency is used here to describe the capacity of people to take action and influence events.

[19] Not all children attend school and attention needs to be paid to children excluded from school whether this be self-determined or imposed.

from the recognition that schools are in themselves a key institution in the production of normative gendered identities and the concomitant violence (Butler, 1993; Connell, 1995; Berkowitz *et al.*, 2005). Schools can thus be conceptualized as both the producers of violence and the starting point for ending it (Ross Epp, 1996; Harber, 2004); school culture and practices are then as important as curriculum work.

Public and community education

The terms public and community education are often used interchangeably and, as approaches to reduce and prevent domestic abuse, employed simultaneously. They are used here to distinguish between media campaigns that aim to raise awareness of domestic abuse (public education) and strategies and practices which promote and enable individual or collective action to end abuse (community education).

Public education

Public education initiatives employ social marketing theory and practices to attempt to shape social attitudes through media campaigns which can include the use of TV and radio advertising and programme content, outdoor adverts, including billboards, and on public transport, websites, indoor adverts, newspapers and leaflets. Such initiatives are not seeking changes in conduct but to provide information and change attitudes which condone or tolerate domestic abuse.

Research shows that successful campaigns require that as much as possible is known about existing attitudes, opinions and conduct of the target audience so that messages can be honed (Kingham and Coe, 2005). No large scale study of adult attitudes towards domestic abuse has been undertaken in the UK. The BBC undertook a small study as part of the *Hitting Home* series on domestic violence which found comparable levels of tolerance and acceptability of violence against women to studies conducted amongst young people (Burton and Kitzinger, 1998; Burman and Cartmel, 2005). The *Hitting Home* series, broadcast in 2003, aimed to “help raise awareness and break the taboos surrounding domestic violence” (BBC, undated) and included episodes of *EastEnders* and *Neighbours.* Some programmes and items were specifically aimed at children, such as *Behind Closed Doors,* and special content in *The Big Toe Radio Show* and *NewsRound*.

Many public education initiatives are unevaluated. For example, the projects funded through the Home Office Crime Reduction Programme included awareness raising but little data was gathered on their impact (Hester and Westmarland, 2005). However, where campaigns are evaluated they generally show, depending on their aims, people having increased knowledge and understanding of domestic abuse, increased reporting and help seeking by survivors (Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, 1993; Ghez, 2001; Scottish Executive, 2005a, 2005b, 2006). Many public education campaigns do seek to mobilize the general public to take action to stop domestic abuse, for example the Zero Tolerance *Prevalence and Excuses* campaign.

Community education

A number of initiatives combining public education with efforts to mobilize the community to challenge domestic abuse/violence against women have been undertaken in the UK, North America and Australia. These draw on community development theory and practices (Partnerships Against Domestic Violence, 2003), often focus on specific communities and aim to enable people to take action as well as increase knowledge and change social norms. The *It's Your Business* campaign in the USA was directed at the African-American community and Australia's *Walking into Doors* was managed by, and for, Indigenous people. The *Neighbours, Friends and Families*[20] campaign in Ontario, Canada, which aims to get those close to women and violent men to recognize the signs of abuse and know what to do to intervene, includes a community action pack and training for community groups. Like the *There's No Excuse* campaign in the USA these initiatives aim to fill the gap between people's knowledge of domestic abuse and their capacity to take action in the belief that they have the right to and society expects them to.

Gender specific campaigns have focussed on engaging non-abusing men, the most well known being the *White Ribbon Campaign* (WRC)[21]. Originating in Canada and taken up in the UK in 1998, the WRC is an international campaign of men working to end men's violence against women. Similarly Amnesty International UK (AIUK) (2003, 2005) primarily targeted men in their *Problem? What problem?* campaign in order to "assist [them] to realize their roles and responsibilities in challenging and eradicating violence against women …" (Fisher, 2005, p.9). The Scottish Executive also advocated that future campaigns will encourage non-abusing men to influence the conduct of abusive men (2001). The Family Violence Prevention Fund, a Californian based non-profit organization, has initiated a cross-generational programme, *Coaching Boys into Men*[22], which aims to enable men to take responsibility in giving positive messages to boys about non-violent masculinity. The *Freedom From Fear* campaign in Western Australia is a long-term community education programme complementing criminal justice and other community interventions which focuses on asking perpetrators of domestic abuse to seek help.

Community initiatives specifically for children are often integrated with other strategies, such as *Violence Against Women - Australia Says No*[23] and *Zero Tolerance* where schools' programmes are combined with public education campaigns. Community initiatives for children are often arts-based, for example Glasgow's 16 days of action 2006[24] (focussed on November 25th - International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women) and several community projects in Australia (Strategic Partners Pty, 2000). Programmes are also delivered by peer educators and/or resources are produced, such as DVDs, for use with other young people. Increasingly work with children utilizes the Internet with several interactive websites[25]

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[20] See http://www.neighboursfriendsandfamilies.on.ca for more information.

[21] For information on the White Ribbon Campaign in Canada see http://www.whiteribbon.ca. In the UK see http://www.womankind.org.uk/white-ribbon-campaign.html and http://www.whiteribboncampaign.co.uk

[22] More information is available at www.endabuse.org.

[23] See http://www.australiasaysno.gov.au/index.htm.

[24] See http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/en/Residents/YourCommunity/CommunityServices/16daysofaction.htm.

[25] UK examples include www.thehideout.org.uk (Women's Aid Federation of England) and www.freefromfear.org.uk (Birmingham and Solihull Women's Aid) which are aimed specifically at children living with domestic abuse and www.respect4us.org.uk (WOMANKIND Worldwide), an interactive website providing information to challenge violence against women.

established in the last five years. A new initiative in Ontario, Canada includes a web resource targeted at 8 to 14-year-olds which aims to challenge gender inequality, the inferiorization of girls and to promote respectful gender relationships within a framework of citizenship[26]. The impact of these initiatives is not yet known. However, engaging young people in challenging gender-based violence is endorsed by young people themselves as Burton and Kitzinger (1998) noted.

Studies show that community-based programmes do increase action against domestic abuse (Ghez, 2001; Partnerships Against Domestic Violence, 2003) and that effectiveness is enhanced where different campaign strands are integrated, through extensive and sensitive use of research, having clear conceptual frameworks and where messages are persistent and consistent (Gibbons and Paterson, 2000; Strategic Partners Pty Ltd., 2000).

School-based work

School-based work has been undertaken in Scotland since the 1990's (for example, Glasgow City Council's *Action Against Abuse* and Zero Tolerance's *Respect* initiative) and there are now several programmes in use in a number of areas (see Appendix One). While no detailed analysis of these programmes has been conducted, evidence from three evaluations and practitioner knowledge indicates that work in Scotland has much in common with the evidence discussed in this section in respect of programme content, implementation issues and outcomes.

Programme content

School-based domestic abuse work is seen as serving two broad purposes: firstly, to provide support, in a potentially less stigmatizing setting, to children living with domestic abuse (Jaffe *et al.*, 1990) and secondly, to enable all children to learn how to conduct non-abusive, respectful relationships (Mullender *et al.*, 1998; ODPM, 2005). To meet these broad aims, programmes incorporate a number of themes and topics depending on their theoretical basis and specific aims. Most commonly, they aim to raise awareness of the issue through imparting knowledge about domestic abuse: what it is, its prevalence, and how it impacts on women and children. Information on the services available to help survivors is usually included, with the intention of enabling children to seek help for themselves and for peers to learn how to offer appropriate support (Gamache and Snapp, 1995, Ellis *et al.*, 2006). An audit of programmes in England showed that this focused on the "knowledge of who to seek help from rather than the skills, processes or consequences of so doing" (Ellis, 2006, p.146). Similarly, confidentiality and child protection appear as key topics in guidance notes for facilitators but only in a few programmes is this directly discussed with children.

The teaching of skills to equip children to conduct non-abusive relationships is incorporated into most programmes (Gamache and Snapp, 1995; Partnerships Against Domestic Violence, 2000; Hester and Westmarland, 2005). Conflict resolution, anger management, communication, problem-solving, assertiveness, and mediation are most commonly included (Sudermann, 1995; Mulroney, 2003; Tutty and Bradshaw, 2004; Ellis, 2006). An element of values education is

[26] See http://www.equalityrules.ca and http://www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/owd/english/dvap/dvap_video.htm.

often recommended to challenge the undesirable attitudes some children hold and create a culture of intolerance of violence (Gamache and Snapp, 1995; RESOLVE Alberta, 2002; Jaffe *et al.*, 2004). The values commonly put forward include equality, acceptance of difference, respect for self and others, caring, justice, responsibility and self-control (Gamache and Snapp, 1995; Thurston *et al.*, 1999; RESOLVE Alberta, 2002). Rights and responsibilities in relationships was a theme over a third of programmes in England (Ellis, 2006). This focused on the right to be safe, mostly in the family, and was linked to being respected and respectful. Arguably this is a narrow and contingent use of Children's Rights since other aspects of rights were not addressed. Affective education, in the form of learning to identify and express emotions in non-violent ways, is often included in programmes (Gamache and Snapp, 1995; Wolfe and Jaffe, 2001; RESOLVE Alberta, 2002; Ellis, 2004). Linked with this are attempts to raise children's self-esteem (Tutty and Bradshaw, 2004) and to 'empower' children (Wolfe *et al.*, 1997; RESOLVE Alberta, 2002; Tutty and Bradshaw, 2004). There is little discussion of how children might be empowered, with the exception of Wolfe *et al.* (1997) who discuss the potential of educational processes based on the work of Freire (1972) and identify children's participation as key. Few programmes in England included activities that made an explicit link between power and violence where children were able to explore power in their own relationships (Ellis, 2006) and yet Wolfe *et al.* (1997) advocate that learning about power relations is crucial to reducing violence.

In a review of 60 Australian projects, the inclusion of topics on gender equality, gender stereotyping (masculinities and femininities) and gender roles was seen as necessary for programmes to be successful (Strategic Partners Pty Ltd, 2000). Similarly, Canadian policy recommends "a gender-specific analysis…and a gender-specific focus within the program" (National Crime Prevention Centre, 2000, p.20). Yet there is evidence of resistance to a feminist analysis and approach so that gender is often obscured (see for example, Avery-Leaf and Cascardi, 2002). In a review of Canadian school-based programmes to prevent bullying, sexual harassment, child sexual abuse and sexual assault, Tutty and Bradshaw (2004) found that the majority of programmes were gender neutral. This mirrors previous Canadian studies (Haskell, 1998; AFRCV, 1999) and Australian research (Indermaur *et al.*, 1998; Brown and Putt, 1999). In the UK, resistance to programmes that directly address domestic abuse and its gendered dynamic has been noted (James-Hanman, 1999; Thiara and Ellis, 2005; Ellis, 2006). A more oblique approach is often adopted by focusing instead on bullying or violence as an outcome of inter-personal conflict. Programmes then emphasize individualistic cognitive-behavioural approaches rather than (or as well as) addressing systemic, social and cultural knowledges and practices which sanction men's/boys' violence (Gamache and Snapp, 1995; Ellis *et al.*, 2006). Tutty and Bradshaw suggest that "gender-neutral programs are more easily marketed to the school system and are more comfortable for teachers and students to accept" (2004, p.48). Few programmes in Australia (Indermaur *et al.*, 1998), Canada (AFRVC, 1999) or England (Ellis, 2004) take account of diversity or pay attention to addressing the complexities and issues for girls and women marginalized through race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, disability or for those who are refugee or sexually exploited through the sex industry.

Programme structure

In England, Northern Ireland and Wales the length and structure of programmes vary considerably from one-off sessions of less than an hour to those of indefinite length. The most common structure is six one hour-sessions delivered over six weeks. There is no clear rationale for this arrangement or as to why programmes varied in length (Ellis, 2004). Similar findings are reported from North American studies (RESOLVE Alberta, 2002; Whitaker *et al.*, 2006; Weisz and Black 2006). In a review of 500 programmes in the USA, Stein (2001) reported that staff worked with children on average 2.7 sessions. All of which suggests that the work is short-term and less likely to be embedded into schools. Jaffe *et al.* (1992) and Meyer *et al.* (2000) suggest that longer interventions are more effective, which is supported by Hilton *et al.*'s (1998) findings that a one-off large assembly did little to increase young people's knowledge of violence. Other research demonstrates that short one-off sessions might raise awareness but can be counterproductive in reinforcing undesirable attitudes (Thornton *et al.*, 2002; Ellis, 2006).

Implementation

Target groups

There are contrasting ideas about the age of children with which to undertake school-based work. 'Adolescence' is regarded as a particularly crucial time to intervene (Jaffe *et al.*, 1990; Wolfe *et al.*, 1997; Thurston *et al.*, 1999) because it is seen as a key transition point in life and there is also considerable evidence that many young women are already in abusive heterosexual relationships (Stein, 1995; Rosewater, 2003; NSPCC/Sugar, 2005). In Australia, the greater number of programmes have focused on young people in secondary schools (Laing, 2000), while in North America and the UK children in primary schools are targeted too (Haskell, *et al.*, 1999; Day *et al.*, 2002; Ellis, 2004). Working with younger children is regarded as important since "early intervention is deemed essential to unlearning violence and learning non-violent choices" (RESOLVE Alberta, 2002, p.12). On the other hand, work throughout childhood allows for programmes to be repeated regularly and multiple forms of violence to be addressed (AFRCV, 1999; RESOLVE Alberta, 2002).

While there is general agreement that programmes should target both boys and girls, there has been some debate, particularly in Canada, about whether programmes should be delivered to single or mixed sex groups (Cameron *et al.* 2002; Tutty and Bradshaw, 2002). There is no consensus, and both adults and children see the benefits of both approaches, affording opportunities to discuss issues in different settings where flexibility enables programmes to be more responsive to the needs of particular groups (Pacifici *et al.*, 2001; Debbonaire, 2002; RESOLVE Alberta, 2002; Ellis, 2006; Weisz and Black, 2006).

Take up

School-based work is fragmented and localized and by no means universal, with relatively few children having the opportunity to participate in programmes (Indermaur *et al.,* 1999; Stein, 2001; Ellis, 2004). There are a number of obstacles to establishing the work more widely, which range from issues of national policy to the practices of individuals (AFRCV, 1999). A number of studies suggest that these can be minimized by: having a national strategy with clear government

mandate; developing and supporting the work in a multi-agency context; at a local level having a dedicated lead worker who is an educationalist[27]; and, mainstreaming with teachers delivering the work (Jones, 1991; AFRCV, 1999; National Crime Prevention Centre, 2000; Meyer and Stein, 2001; Berkowitz *et al.,* 2003; Ellis, 2004; Thiara and Ellis, 2005).

Staffing

Programmes are delivered by a range of people including school staff, teachers and others such as school nurses, although it appears that a greater number are facilitated by external staff, mostly those from specialist domestic abuse/violence against women organizations but also other educationalists such as youth workers (O'Brien, 2001; Ellis, 2004). Peer educators are increasingly seen as an effective way to increase the knowledge and skills of young people (AFRCV, 1999; Strategic Partners Pty Ltd., 2000; Berkowitz *et al.*, 2005) but is not conclusively seen as more effective than adult facilitators (Weisz and Black, 2006). There is considerable debate in the literature concerning the advantages and disadvantages to internal or external staff delivering the work (see for example, Jones, 1991; RESOLVE Alberta, 2000; Avery-Leaf and Cascardi, 2002). While external staff have specialist knowledge and expertise on domestic abuse, the capacity to reach all children is limited and programmes are potentially unsustainable since they are highly dependent on short-term funding (AFRCV, 1999; Ellis, 2004). In addition, external staff are less likely to impact on school culture, or provide continuity and progression to learners making long-term change more difficult. On the other hand, school staff often resist taking up the work since they feel ill equipped (Jones, 1991; Berkowitz *et al.,* 2005) particularly in respect of dealing with disclosures (PADV, 2002a), have competing demands (Thiara and Ellis, 2005) and some have undesirable or negative views and beliefs about domestic abuse (Aitken, 2001).

Irrespective of who delivers the work, effective programmes need highly skilled, well-trained staff who receive supervision (Meyer *et al.,* 2000; Strategic Partners Pty Ltd., 2000; Avery-Leaf *et al.*, 1997; Avery-Leaf and Cascardi, 2002; Thornton *et al.*, 2002; Ellis, 2006). Training must incorporate child protection so staff can deal appropriately and sensitively with any disclosures that may arise. Studies show that school-based programmes do elicit a small number of disclosures (Reid Howie Associates, 2001; Debbonaire, 2002; Thiara and Ellis, 2005; Ellis, 2006). Along with knowledge and understanding of domestic abuse, staff need to manage and utilize the group dynamic in ways which create safe learning spaces where children can discuss emotive topics and examine their own beliefs and attitudes (Strategic Partners Pty Ltd, 2000; Ellis, 2006). Learning is enhanced where staff are enabling, inclusive, direct and treat children with respect (Wolfe *et al.*, 1997; Strategic Partners Pty Ltd, 2000; Thornton *et al.*, 2002; Ellis, 2006). A debate is beginning in the UK about the gender of facilitators and, although there is no consensus, some boys identified they would have valued a man facilitating the work (Bell and Stanley, 2006). In the USA, Schewe (2002) recommends it is preferable to match the ethnicity of staff to that of the children. Consequently staff need to be aware of, and sensitive to, the impact of their gender and ethnicity on the group.

[27] Educationalist is used here to denote a professional who has knowledge and experience of education and schooling.

Methods/pedagogy

Effective programmes employ a variety of methods to meet a range of learning styles (Strategic Partners pty Ltd, 2000). Participative and active approaches are valued by children such as theatre/role play, video/DVD and small and whole group discussion (Stevenson, 1999; Debbonaire, 2002; Mullender *et al.*, 2002; Hester and Westmarland, 2005; Bell and Stanley, 2006; Ellis, 2006) and are regarded as good practice in sex and relationship education (SRE) and personal, social and health education (PSHE) teaching (Lewis and Martinez, 2006). A number of studies have shown didactic methods to be ineffective (Dusenbury *et al.,* 1997; Farrell and Meyer, 1997; Meyer *et al.*, 2000; Schewe, 2002) while those which are experiential[28] and personally relevant are more successful (Haskell and Ellis, 1995; Wolfe *et al.*, 1997; Avery-Leaf and Cascardi, 2002).

Whole-school and community strategies

A whole-school approach where the work is embedded in and aims to develop a non-violent school culture, active leadership and a constituency amongst staff are seen as key to establishing and maintaining programmes (Dusenbury *et al.*, 1997; Strategic Partners Pty Ltd., 2000; Erikson *et al.*, 2004). Hester and Westmarland surmise 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, p.17), although there is insufficient evidence to support this claim.

Employing a wider community strategy and multi-agency partnership working is viewed as enhancing the outcomes of work in schools (Sudermann *et al.*, 1995; Dusenbury *et al.*, 1997; Wolfe *et al., 1997;* Foshee *et al.*, 1998; Stevenson, 1999; PADV, 2000; Ellis, 2004). A number of advantages are seen as accruing from securing alliances between school and community including access to specialist support services for women and children experiencing domestic abuse; direct support for staff delivering programmes (Hester and Westmarland, 2005); and mobilizing community action so domestic abuse is seen as and responded to as a social issue of collective concern. In addition, links to public education initiatives and training for staff working with children and families in a range of services and agencies can be made. However, it is crucial to have agreement on intended outcomes, concepts and terminology in the context of partnership working (AFRCV, 1999; Tutty, 2002) so there is clarity of purpose.

While some studies recommend involving parents, through for example steering groups, awareness-raising programmes and newsletters (Stevenson, 1999; Berkowitz *et al.*, 2000; Weisz and Black, 2006) there is no consistent practice in the UK. Evidence suggests that few parents are involved even through being informed about programmes taking place (Ellis, 2004; Thiara and Ellis, 2005; Ellis, 2006). An exception is the *Healthy Respect* project in Scotland which has an integrated Home Activity resource for parents/carers to support children's learning[29]. The Saltspring Women Opposed to Violence and Abuse (SWOVA) in Canada have developed an

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[28] Experiential learning is defined as a 'direct encounter with the phenomena being studied rather than merely thinking about the encounter' (Borzak, 1981:9 quoted in Brookfield, 1983).

[29] See http://www.healthy-respect.com for more information.

experiential workshop for parents, part of the *Widening the R+R Circle*, to complement the school-based *Respectful Relationships* programme[30].

Conducting evaluations

Audits of programmes reveal that evaluation is understood and conducted in different ways (Indermaur *et al.*, 1998; RESOLVE Alberta, 2002; Ellis, 2004; Whitaker *et al.*, 2006). In the UK, where there are relatively few rigorous published evaluations (Ellis, 2004), as a minimum most programmes use some form of pre- and post-programme questionnaire to measure changes in knowledge of, and attitudes towards, domestic abuse, matched to the programme content. More thorough evaluations use qualitative methods, such as focus groups with children; observation; student narratives; interviews with a range of school staff and content analysis of the materials used (Reid Howie Associates Ltd, 2001; Hester and Westmarland, 2005; Bell and Stanley, 2006, Ellis, 2006).

Tutty (2002) recommends evaluations should incorporate needs assessment, process evaluation, outcome evaluation, and measuring client satisfaction. Sudermann *et al.* (1995) suggest that it is important to evaluate processes as well as outcomes in order to determine factors that influence outcomes such as implementation and fidelity to programme content. Including a method of ascertaining children's satisfaction is useful, given that learning is more likely to occur when participants are pleased with a programme (Kirkpatrick, 1998). Needs analysis is often missing with work beginning from a general understanding that violence is a problem, and the specific and unique issues of a particular group or school are assumed, and yet having a clear understanding of the problem is seen as key in implementing proactive interventions in schools (Meyer and Stein, 2001; Jaffe *et al.*, 2004). Burkell and Ellis (1995) suggest that effective programmes need to be personally relevant to children, thus tailoring work to the needs of particular groups seems important. However, making claims of effectiveness and generalizing them are then more difficult since programme fidelity is lacking.

Measures of school culture are rarely utilized so no account is taken of organizational readiness or change. Some attempts have been made to theorize implementation processes from an organizational perspective (Normandeau *et al.*, 2002; Jaffe *et al.*, 2004) which is important if violence is regarded as a problem arising in a social context. Jennifer and Shaughnessy (2005) studied the use of two sets of 'checkpoints' for use as audit tools in promoting non-violence in schools (Varnava, 2000, 2002) which might be useful to those undertaking domestic abuse work.

Evaluations are problematic since most measures are usually undertaken immediately at the end of a programme so only short-term changes are recorded and there is some evidence that learning, particularly attitude change, is not retained (Cascardi, 1997; Whitaker *et al.*, 2006). Consequently longer-term "follow-up testing [is] invaluable" (Tutty, 2002, p.49); a long-term strategy requires long-term evaluation.

The impact and outcomes of the work

[30] More information is available at http://www.swova.org.

Issues in conducting evaluations make it difficult to state 'what works'. However, findings from the UK and overseas show that children gain increased knowledge and understanding of the nature and extent of domestic abuse (or other form of gender-based violence) after programmes (Jones, 1991; Jaffe *et al.*, 1992; Hilton *et al.*, 1998; Partnerships Against Domestic Violence (PADV), 2000; Reid Howie Associates Ltd, 2001; Hester and Westmarland, 2005; Bell and Stanley, 2006; Ellis, 2006). In addition, where addressed, learning was reported about help-seeking and confidentiality (PADV, 2000; Reid Howie Associates Ltd, 2001; Foshee *et al.*, 2002; Bell and Stanley, 2005; Ellis, 2006), rights in relationships, gender equality and stereotyping (Josephson and Proulx, 1999; Reid Howie Associates, 2001; Ellis, 2006) and alternatives to violence (Stephenson, 1999; PADV, 2000). Some attitude change has been reported in a number of studies (Jaffe *et al.*, 1992; Josephson and Proulx, 1999; Stephenson, 1999; Foshee *et al.*, 2000; PADV, 2000; Hester and Westmarland, 2005; Bell and Stanley, 2006; Ellis, 2006). However, with few long-term follow-up studies, it is difficult to know if change is sustained or the long-term impact. Studies also show that there are often unanticipated outcomes from programmes and it is not possible to precisely predict learning since children interpret and make sense of the content through their existing knowledge and experience (Reid Howie Associates, 2001; Alexander *et al.*, 2005; Bell and Stanley, 2006; Ellis, 2006).

Gender differences in responses to, and outcomes of, programmes have been reported (Jaffe *et al.*, 1992; Lavoie *et al., 1995;* Macgowan, 1997; Stevenson, 1999; Hester and Westmarland, 2005; Stoltz, 2005; Ellis, 2006) with some boys responding negatively to the work (Jaffe *et al.*, 1992; Veinot, 1999 reporting a Dutch study by Winkel and De Kleuver, 1997). A gendered approach was sometimes resisted by staff (women and men) and young men who described the work as 'anti-men' (Sudermann *et al.*, 1995; Reid Howie Associates, 2001; Pacifici *et al.*, 2001; Ellis, 2006).

The Scottish policy context[31]

There is considerable scope in existing and proposed curriculum and policy frameworks for work with children to promote respectful relationships to continue and expand in line with the *National Strategy,* the *Prevention Strategy* and the *Training Strategy*.

Curriculum for Excellence is central to the Executive's reform of education in Scotland under the *Ambitious, Excellent Schools* agenda. The proposed curriculum aims to provide more freedom for teachers, greater choice and opportunity for pupils, and a single coherent curriculum for all young people aged 3-18[32]. Work to increase children's knowledge and understanding of equality in general, and gender equality specifically, to promote respectful relationships and enhance children's safety and well-being would help achieve the stated purposes of *Curriculum for Excellence*, namely successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors. Work to promote gender equality and respectful relationships, and reduce gender-based violence, can permeate the whole of *Curriculum for Excellence*; examples of the links to some subject areas are listed below:

[31] With thanks to Mike Gibson for his contributions to this section.
[32] For more information see http://www.curriculumforexcellencescotland.gov.uk/index.asp

- Health and well-being is of particular relevance where personal safety, relationships, sexual health and parenthood will be addressed
- Drama and art, as part of expressive arts, can be used as mediums to explore topics
- Gender equality and domestic abuse can be explored in literature
- Religious and moral education is also of particular relevance where the (im)morality of violence and inequality can be considered along with the how gender relations are represented within the major faiths
- In social studies, gender (in)equality, the media representation of gender relations and violence, and how research into violence is undertaken can be considered
- Analysing and interpreting crime statistics to develop an understanding of what statistics tell us could be undertaken in numeracy
- Safer use of the Internet and its uses to exploit women and children such as through pornography (for older young people) could be examined in IT

School-based work, if done well, can also contribute to a number of whole-school approaches and cross-curricular themes. *The Schools (Health Promotion and Nutrition) (Scotland) Act 2007* will, when commenced, impose duties on Scottish Ministers, education authorities and managers of grant-aided schools to endeavour to ensure that public schools and grant-aided schools are health-promoting. Education authorities will have to prepare and publish an annual statement of improvement objectives and these will need to include strategies for ensuring that schools are health-promoting. This action will encourage a whole-school approach to health promotion which ensures not only that health education is integral to the curriculum but also that school ethos, policies, services and extra-curricular activities foster mental, physical and social well-being and healthy development. Such a whole school approach should foster a non-abusive and respectful culture in schools. Developing children's understanding of, and their skills to take action against, domestic abuse (and other forms of violence) fits well with *Curriculum for Excellence* and the intensions of *Education for Citizenship in Scotland* (2002) with children learning about the exercise of rights and responsibilities, making informed decisions, and taking thoughtful and responsible action.

Respect*me,* a national anti-bullying service funded by Scottish Executive, has a remit to work with children's services and communities to prevent and tackle bullying through awareness raising, training and support for those working with children. Joined-up thinking about the commonalities of domestic abuse, sexual bullying and 'dating' violence could be considered and addressed within this, along with enabling children themselves to take action to reduce bullying. *Restorative justice in schools*[33], which promotes a non-punitive way of dealing with misconduct and bullying and has been piloted in some Scottish schools, complements the values, purposes and aims of school-based work on domestic abuse. It is an approach to conflict that, amongst other things, engages people with dignity and respect while directly holding them to account for their conduct and its consequences and aims to develop school ethos, policies and procedures

[33] See http://www.restorativejusticescotland.org.uk/schools.htm for more information.

that reduce conflict and harm through providing safe environments and opportunities to discuss problems.

The aims and values of domestic abuse prevention work are consistent with those of *Respect and Responsibility,* Scotland's strategy and action plan for improving sexual health (Scottish Executive, 2005e) which seeks to "promote and reinforce the rights of people to have mutually respectful, happy, healthy and fulfilled sexual relationships free from abuse, violence or coercion" (2005, p.2). Educational work can enable children to conduct and expect relationships which are respectful and where sexual encounters are negotiated rather than forced or coerced.
School-based work can help education authorities and schools meet the requirements of *Safe and Well* (Scottish Executive, 2005d) which refers to the particular needs of children living with domestic abuse and to the co-occurrence of domestic abuse, child abuse and other forms of violence against women and girls. In addition, *Happy, Safe and Achieving their Potential* (HASP) (Scottish Executive, 2004) reaffirms the importance of personal support for pupils and meeting the care and welfare needs of children. The report outlines a standard of support that children and parents should expect and the respective roles that teachers, specialist staff, senior managers and head teachers and local authorities have in this. A team led by Aberdeen City Council (in partnership with the Moray Council and Aberdeenshire Council) has been appointed to take forward implementation of HASP. The team is being funded by Scottish Executive for 3 years, until summer 2008.

Directions for good practice – primary prevention of domestic abuse through education

These recommendations are made in response to the National Domestic Abuse Delivery Group in Scotland's question: 'What action is needed to ensure *all* children and young people are equal, respected and responsible to prevent abuse in future and in their own young relationships?'

It is recommended that consideration is given to:

1. Continuing regular broad public education campaigns which employ a range of media to reach different audiences

2. Including people under the age of 16 years in the evaluations of public education campaigns

3. Developing, delivering and evaluating public education campaigns specifically for children

4. Ensuring campaigns have clear and consistent messages which challenge negative media reporting of domestic abuse

5. Extending school-based work so more children have the opportunity to learn about domestic abuse with this work being integrated with public education and awareness-raising training for staff working with children and families in all statutory services so that the burden for change is not placed solely on children and schools

6. Developing wider community strategies which link work in schools with programmes specifically targeted at parents of school-aged children

7. The Primary Prevention through Education sub-group mapping and auditing existing community based work and considering how this might be further developed particularly for very young children and their parents and for children not in mainstream education

In relation to school-based work it is recommended that consideration is given to:

8. Conceptualizing the work within a Rights framework (Human and Children's) which is consistent with current domestic abuse policies in Scotland. Other aspects of Children's Rights (participation, provision) could be promoted, rather than the contingent use of Rights currently in school-based work where the focus is mostly on protection

9. Developing best practice guidance, similar to the *Respect* standards for work with perpetrator groups (2004) and those in Northern Ireland (WAFNI, 2005), to promote programmes and judge their quality

10. Continuing the development of a national network to assist in sharing best practice, provide on-going support and guidance, and the sharing of skills and expertise. This could be supported and/or provided virtually and linked with Learning and Teaching Scotland

11. Each existing local authority multi-agency working group providing strategic and practice guidance with this being joined-up with work on other forms of violence reduction in areas such as homophobia, racism, bullying

12. A dedicated post to lead the development, delivery and evaluation of the work being established in each local authority. The dedicated post holder to have knowledge and experience of the education and schools along with knowledge and understanding of violence against women and to be accountable to the multi-agency working group

13. Maximizing the number of teachers who deliver the work so that: promoting non-violence might be embedded into school culture; the work is more secure; it is more universal. However, the knowledge, skills and experience of specialist VAW staff and organizations should be fully utilized to inform and direct the development, delivery and evaluation of the work

14. Ensuring that those facilitating the work undertake training on gender-based violence since the skills, knowledge and attitudes of those facilitating the work are crucial to its success. This training would involve staff exploring their own values and attitudes towards gender, sexuality and gender-based violence along with groupwork skills so that challenging but safe environments for learning are created. The training must also ensure staff are confident and competent to deal with child protection issues

15. Training, both initial and continuing, for all staff in schools to include awareness-raising of gender-based violence and ensuring recognition of and appropriate responses to children and adults in school who have directly experienced, witnessed or enacted domestic abuse or other forms of gender-based violence

16. Developing materials for use in all phases of compulsory schooling which are integrated across the curriculum and not addressed solely in Personal and Social Education. To provide continuity and progression the materials should be based on an understanding of all forms of violence as an abuse of power arising from inequalities with the specificities of different forms addressed at different stages. The materials should be designed in a module structure

17. Employing methods that are participative and experiential, meet a range of learning styles and through which staff practice in the child-adult relationship the values programmes aim to convey in relation to gender

18. Moving towards schools taking ownership of the work so it becomes embedded, linked with other whole school issues and located in relationship education with strategies to establish a non-violent school culture

19. Developing work with the 66 per cent of young men and 83 per cent of young women who think gender-based violence is NOT acceptable and how they can influence their peers so that children can take safe action to collectively challenge violence

20. Having a wider community strategy to link school-based work with targeted and specialist services to support children and women experiencing domestic abuse and to hold violent men to account

21. Planning and costing multi-methodological evaluations in order to capture outcomes and processes which are explicitly linked to the aims of programmes and to assessment procedures in schools. Ensuring children's views and experiences of the work and their learning are central to the evaluation process along with disseminating the findings to inform best practice

ANNEX – CURRICULUM PROGRAMMES KNOWN TO BE CURRENTLY IN USE WITH CHILDREN/YOUNG PEOPLE IN SCOTLAND

Title	Age group	Author
Action Against Abuse	Secondary school	Glasgow City Council
Bringing About Change	Primary and secondary	South Ayrshire Women's Aid
Domestic Abuse Education	Secondary school	West Dunbartonshire Domestic Abuse Partnership
Healthy Relationships	Primary and secondary	North Ayrshire Women's Aid
Respect	Primary and secondary	Zero Tolerance
Healthy Respect SRE[34]/RME[35] Home Activities Resource	Primary	Healthy Respect NHS Lothian
Wee Violence is Preventable (VIP)	Under 5s	18 & Under
Tweenees	Primary school	18 & Under
Teen VIP	14-18	18 & Under
To Have and to Hold	Secondary school	Baldy Bain
Stop Sexual Bullying	Secondary school	WOMANKIND Worldwide
Nae Danger	11-16	Barnardo's Scotland
Helping Hands	Primary	Women's Aid Federation NI

[34] Sex and Relationship Education
[35] Religious and Moral Education

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