Bystanders for Primary Prevention: a rapid review

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Executive summary

This knowledge paper provides a synthesis of the empirical research literature related to bystander action and primary prevention, with a particular focus on the primary prevention of violence against women and family violence. The literature included was empirical studies of programmes and reviews of empirical studies. Coverage was restricted to those programmes whose main purpose was primary prevention. Programmes which target perpetrators have been excluded.

The rapid review examined four questions:

- How can bystander behaviour best be understood, giving an overview of the various different theoretical frameworks that have demonstrated as useful by empirical research?
- What does the Australian and international evidence base on bystander interventions demonstrate?
- What are the moderating factors, enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander behaviour (including preconditions, cultural settings and/or contexts)?
- What is known about where, for whom and under what circumstances bystander programming and activity may be valuable?

Bystander behaviour

A bystander is someone who sees or is otherwise aware of a potentially harmful event that is happening to someone else but is not originally involved in it. While there are some instances due to the nature of the bystander (e.g. training or employment in a particular profession) and the form of harm (e.g. child abuse), when there may be legal obligations for bystanders to take action, in other situations the perception of a moral obligation is what motivates bystanders to become involved in a situation. Prosocial bystander action in relation to tackling gender discrimination and prevention of violence against women involves responding across a spectrum of possible situations from hearing a stigmatising/derogatory/insulting comment or sexist joke, through noticing behaviour that represents possible threats/cues that violence is likely, to noticing behaviour that indicates that sexual/physical abuse/violence has started.

Understanding bystander behaviour

The knowledge represented by Latané and Darley’s (1970) framework for understanding bystander behaviour has stood the test of time. Empirical studies have demonstrated that a wide range of theoretical frameworks are useful in the design of prevention programmes and from the large body of empirical research to date, a set of design principles for use in designing and implementing bystander programmes can be extracted.
The evidence base on bystander programmes/interventions

Over the last ten years a considerable amount of new research has been published. There are clear and positive changes reported consistently within the literature for participants in bystander programmes across behavioural, cognitive and attitudinal domains. This enables the conclusion that bystander approaches are effective in addressing violence against women and family violence and in promoting gender equity.

There are opportunities for implementing bystander programmes in every setting within society, and the goal of achieving gender equality requires that we utilise all of these. Nothing less than coordinated and mutually reinforcing efforts across all sectors that are sustained over generations is necessary to achieve gender equality and reap the benefits in health, wellbeing, and economic growth that this will yield.

The evidence base demonstrates that transferability of specific programmes or interventions into different socio-cultural contexts cannot be assumed but must be tested in practice; this has been done in only very few cases in the literature. Programmes/interventions need to be tailored to different socio-cultural environments.

There are still many questions that are not answerable from the knowledge accumulated. One of the reasons for this is that research has rarely included measurement of all the different variables necessary to fully understand the relative effects of different programme components, let alone to compare different programmes. Very few studies directly compare different programmes. The current state of knowledge stops short of enabling full understanding of what exactly works, where, for whom, and why. In particular, what this means is that there is no possibility of identifying any best/most promising way forward in terms of a single project or study.

Recommendations for Policy

Experience in other countries has indicated the importance of legal mandates for bystander programming. The lack of existence of appropriate federal or state mandate for programmes is identified as a barrier – and could usefully be considered for educational and workplace settings. A political and moral mandate for such work, particularly in terms of intersectional bystander programming is found in Australia’s ratification of international human rights covenants and treaties, as well as in the oft-mentioned Australian values of respect for the equal worth, dignity and freedom of the individual.

It is also necessary to advocate for dedicated funding for primary prevention using bystander approaches, without compromising the necessary levels of funding for adequate response systems to violence against women and family violence.

Recommendations for Practice

Recognising the importance of social norms as evidenced in the behaviour of particularly
high status or authority groups within society, the importance of such groups adopting respectful behaviour in relation to their dealings with each other cannot be emphasised too highly. Provision of training and an appropriate code of conduct is necessary and should be mandatory. Furthermore, examining opportunities to provide training that acknowledges the multiple different intersectional factors that result in discrimination and harassment is needed.

In addition to programmes where bystander training is a key aim, encouraging the inclusion of a bystander component in a wide variety of programmes should be considered. This includes promoting bystander behaviour in relation to challenging sexism and other sources of discrimination, in relation to gender equity and can be positioned as based in protecting and promoting the human rights of all (or being a good citizen).

Programme funders and designers should investigate further the use of new ICTs such as web-based training and resources, apps, and serious games, and examine whether cultural translation of existing resources produced overseas are necessary. Irrespective of the types of programmes and methods funded, programme designers and funders should use the design principles which in summary are: comprehensiveness; varied teaching methods; sufficient dosage; theory driven; promoting positive relationships; appropriately timed; socio-culturally relevant; include outcome evaluation; and implemented by well-trained staff.

**Recommendations for Research**

The methods adopted for this rapid review have meant that a number of potentially important areas of research have not been fully explored, although insights they offer have been captured through the inclusion of select reviews and articles/reports; these might usefully be investigated at a later date:

- Tackling racism and other forms of discrimination;
- Promoting gender equity and gender equality;
- Fathering, particularly promoting engaged fathering;
- Engaging men in sexual and reproductive health;
- Promoting healthy relationships/respectful relationships education;
- Criminology literature, particularly on peer influences on perpetrators;
- Environmental criminology, for possible further insights into preconditions, cultural settings and/or contexts.

This report has noted the small amount of research specific to people with disabilities, non-majority ethnic groups (including indigenous peoples), and lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and non-gender binary communities. This deserves urgent attention. Another area where research is limited is in settings other than educational ones.

Important specific areas for further research are:

- The relationship between programme outcomes and programme differential integration of gender-related content in bystander focussed programmes.
- Identification of community and setting-level factors such as policies and norms that have the potential to influence youths’ ability and desire to enact prosocial
bystander behaviours. Research is also needed into programmes with faculty, staff and administrators in educational settings.

- Further articulation of mechanisms that leverage individual change in the service of transforming cultures in different settings.
- The advantages and disadvantages of bystander training specific to prevention of violence against women and family violence compared to human rights-based bystander training that tackles all forms of discrimination and stigmatisation.

**Measurement in evaluation research**

Measurement of bystander behaviour in relation to opportunity needs to be included in the evaluation of all programmes, **even** if there is no explicit bystander component. The modules developed for the VicHealth survey of bystander knowledge, attitudes and behaviours (Pennay and Powell 2012) provide a basis for such measurement, and the findings from this survey (Pennay and Powell 2012; Powell 2012), provide useful comparative data.
Introduction

This rapid review provides a synthesis of the research literature related to bystander action and primary prevention, with a particular focus on the primary prevention of violence against women and family violence. Appendix A sets out the methods used for the review. The literature included (empirical studies of programmes/interventions and reviews of empirical studies) was restricted to those programmes/interventions whose main purpose was primary prevention\(^1\). Programmes/interventions which target perpetrators have been excluded.

The body of the report is provided in five sections.

Section 1 covers understanding bystander behaviour, giving an overview of the various different theoretical frameworks that have demonstrated as useful by empirical research.

Section 2 summarises the Australian and international evidence base on bystander interventions, comprising a review of reviews plus evidence from recent single studies of interventions not included in the reviews; this focuses on primary prevention.

Section 3 synthesises what is known about moderating factors, enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander behaviour (including preconditions, cultural settings and/or contexts), as well as exploring gaps in the current knowledge base.

Section 4 contains an opportunity scan, identifying what is known about where, for whom and under what circumstances bystander programming and activity may be valuable. This section also draws out from the literature included in this review design principles, delivery methods, approaches for use in planning and implementing programmes supporting prosocial bystander action.

Finally, section 5 presents overall conclusions and recommendations for research, policy and practice.

Section 1: Understanding bystander behaviour

A bystander is someone who sees or is otherwise aware of a potentially harmful event that is happening to someone else but is not originally involved in it. While there are some instances due to the nature of the bystander (e.g. training or employment in a particular profession) and the form of harm (e.g. child abuse), when there may be legal obligations for bystanders to take action, in other situations the perception of a moral obligation is what motivates bystanders to become involved in a situation.

Bystander theory emerged from the fields of social psychology and criminology (see Powell 2011) and seeks to understand the motivations behind bystander behaviour in relation to the event. We are particular interested in theorising prosocial behaviour. Latané and Darley

\(^1\) It should be noted that some of these programmes/interventions also serve secondary prevention purposes, but this is not considered further in this review.
(1970) have provided the key framework that is still used, and is now supported by in the findings of decades of empirical research. Their framework identifies the different elements that must be in place for the bystander to take action: they must both notice the event and interpret it as problematic, i.e. requiring intervention, they must assume (personal) responsibility for taking action, decide how to act, and lastly have the confidence to take the action decided upon. This represents the central column in Figure 1.1. Moderating factors can affect the likelihood of prosocial action resulting, and can be positive in their effect, increasing the likelihood of prosocial action (when the factor is modifiable these will be referred to as enablers) or negative, decreasing the likelihood of prosocial action (when the factor is modifiable these will be referred to as barriers); these are also shown in Figure 1.1. Enablers and barriers are the subject of section 3 below.

Figure 1.1: An elaboration of Latané and Darley’s (1970) five-stage model

Prosocial bystander action in relation to tackling gender discrimination and prevention of violence against women involves responding across a spectrum of possible situations from hearing a stigmatising/derogatory comment or sexist joke, through noticing behaviour that represents possible threats/cues that violence is likely, to noticing behaviour that indicates that sexual/physical abuse/violence has started. Box 1.1 illustrates the ranges of situations that that may be involved. Given the knowledge that sexist attitudes and beliefs underpin perpetration of violence/abuse against women, all bystander programmes/interventions recognise the importance of prosocial action across the entire spectrum depicted in Box 1.1.
Box 1.1: The spectrum of situations deserving prosocial bystander action for prevention of violence against women

Purely verbal behaviour, examples
Use of sexist slang term or phrase to describe women
Telling of sexist joke
Telling sexually explicit jokes in workplace
Making derogatory/dismissive/sexist/offensive comment about woman/women present

Mixed verbal/physical behaviour, examples
An argument between a man and a woman with verbal insults/abuse of woman by man
A man/men making repeated unwanted advances to a woman when she has made it clear she is not interested

Indications that abuse may be likely, examples
A distressed woman being dragged into a car/away from a group situation
A distressed woman saying ‘no I don’t want to …’ to a man
A woman who seems incapacitated (through drink, drugs etc.) being led off by a man/group of men

Physical or sexual behaviour where the recipient looks distressed, unwilling or unconscious of what is going on

A large number of different bodies of theory have been used to design bystander programmes and research their effectiveness, and have been found to be supported in the findings of the empirical research carried out. These are considered briefly in the remainder of this section. First of all, in terms of theories that emphasise individual level factors affecting behaviour the following have found use, the references given after each are an illustrative rather than exhaustive list:

- the elaboration likelihood model (Banyard 2014; Casey and Lindhorst 2009; Foubert and Perry 2007; McMahon et al. 2011)
- the health belief model (Banyard 2014; Donovan and Vlais 2005; Gillum 2014; Kervin and Obinna 2010; Lilleston et al. 2017)
- belief system theory (Banyard 2014; Foubert and Masin 2012; Foubert and Perry 2007; Langhinrichsen-Rohlin et al. 2011; McMahon et al. 2011)
- protection motivation theory (Donovan and Vlais 2005)
- readiness to change; also referred to as the transtheoretical model and the stages of change model (Banyard 2014; Banyard et al. 2010; Casey and Lindhorst 2009; Casey and Smith 2010; Donovan and Vlais 2005; Levesque et al. 2016; Michau et al. 2015; Moynihan et al. 2015)
- the theory of planned behaviour (Banyard 2014; Gillum 2014; Powell 2011)
- theory of reasoned action (De Koker et al. 2014; Donovan and Vlais 2005; Gillum 2014; Letourneau et al. 2017; Stanley et al. 2015)

Second, there are theories which examine the community level including factors such as peer influence as well as wider social norms:

- community readiness to change theory (Banyard 2013; Cares et al. 2015)
diffusion of innovation theory (Coker et al. 2015; 2017; Cook-Craig et al. 2014; Donovan and Vlais 2005; Fenton et al. 2016)

- social cognitive theory (Bowen et al. 2014; Joronen et al. 2012; Leen et al. 2013; Michau et al. 2015; Stanley et al. 2015)
- social justice (Berkowitz 2013; Casey and Smith 2010; McMahon and Banyard 2012; Stanley et al. 2015)
- social learning theory (Casey and Lindhorst 2009; Christensen 2013; McGloin and Piquero 2009; Miller-Day and Hecht 2013)
- social norms theory (Banyard 2014; Berkowitz 2013; Casey and Lindhorst 2009; Deitch-Stackhouse et al. 2015; Fenton et al. 2016; Katz et al. 2011; Lilleston et al. 2017; Miller et al. 2012; 2013; Powell 2011; Stanley et al. 2015)

The design of bystander intervention programmes aims to address some or all of the different elements in the framework shown in Figure 1.1. In doing so, programmes need to address knowledge, attitudes, behaviour, outcomes and possible intervention strategies which bystanders could initiate. Programmes differ in the extent to which they offer opportunities to explore different potential courses of action, develop necessary capacity and confidence, and explore the issue of safety. Programmes also differ in the extent to which the theory or theories drawn on in their design are explicitly stated or remain implicit. Bystander programmes are often complex in design and intention, aiming to affect not only prosocial bystander behaviour, but also to reduce the perpetration of problematic behaviour; this has led to considerable variation in choice of primary and secondary outcomes for the evaluation of bystander programmes. The potential advantage of focussing on the promotion of prosocial bystander behaviour is its emphasis on all people as potential positive prosocial bystanders avoiding the potential danger of prevention messages being “heard by some men as defining all men as perpetrators only and women only as victims” (Powell, 2011, p34). As Berkowitz (2013) identifies, a bystander approach can situate responsibility for addressing violence in the social collective and offer positivity, inclusivity and empowerment. This framing in terms of social justice and human rights is used explicitly in some programmes, and is discussed further in section 4.

Section 2: The evidence base on bystander interventions

In this section we draw on the findings of a number of recent reviews of various different types that explore the evidence on effectiveness for primary prevention programmes/interventions (section 2.1), as well as studies and reports dealing with studies of single primary prevention interventions/programmes that were not included in any of the reviews (section 2.2). Some important general issues are considered first: the extent of focus on bystander behaviour; outcome measures used in evaluation studies; length of follow-up; gaps in the literature included in this review.

Intervention programmes can be thought as lying somewhere on a spectrum with respect to the extent of their focus on promoting prosocial bystander action. At one end of this spectrum
are programmes (such as Green Dot and Bringing in the Bystander®) where the major focus of the programme is on influencing prosocial bystander behaviour (and reducing antisocial bystander behaviour). At the other end are programmes with no explicit content relating to bystander behaviour, which nonetheless may influence it as a consequence of changes in knowledge and attitudes, as well as through affecting perpetrators’ perceptions about the extent of peer approval (since peer approval is an important factor in supporting gender-based violence, see Hagemann-White et al. (2010)). In between these two ends of the spectrum are programmes which include components of varying magnitudes in relation to bystander behaviour. In the discussion below, we distinguish between reviews and single studies depending on whether they have a primary focus on bystander behaviour or not.

By far the most common outcome measures (both primary and secondary) are knowledge, attitudes and incidence of relevant abuse. Only a few studies measure bystander behaviour, and this is inevitably dependent on self-report\(^2\), requiring well validated measures to enable confidence in results (Banyard et al. 2014). A further problem however, is that bystander behaviour is not studied in relation to the opportunity to appropriately exercise the behaviour (McMahon et al. 2014); For example, McMahon et al. (2017) identify that in relation to sexual violence there are no known published studies that have attempted to take opportunity into consideration when measuring bystander behaviour.

Another major drawback of much of the published research is short follow-up times. Very few studies have follow-up measurements made beyond six months, and it is thus hard to explore issues of whether refresher/booster/follow up components in programmes would be beneficial. One possible avenue for meeting any such need reinforcement is the use of apps, this is already being investigated for the Green Dot programme\(^3\). In addition, for those programmes with multiple components, the existing research provides only limited evidence on the relative effectiveness of the various individual components which contribute to producing the outcomes observed.

A number of different areas are not explored fully in this review owing to constraints on the time and resources available for the review; some examples are given of most of these, but systematic searches have not been carried out. The main areas are:

- literature on witnessing of crime;
- healthy/respectful relationships education (covered in the review by Scott 2017);
- bystander programmes in relation to tackling bullying, racism, other forms of discrimination (some coverage in WHO 2015);
- the introduction of mandatory reporting legislation;
- programmes in relation to maternal and child health, sexual and reproductive health that include a focus on male behaviour (coverage through Barker et al. 2007, IPPF 2010, Müller and Shahrokh 2016, Lundgren and Amin 2015);

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\(^2\) We found no studies measuring bystander behaviour via observation.

\(^3\) https://appsagainstabuse.devpost.com/submissions/3875-green-dot-app-by-the-university-of-kentucky
• programmes in relation to gender equity and gender equality (coverage through Barker et al. 2007, IPPF 2010, Müller and Shahrokh 2016);
• programmes of training and support for human rights defenders (examples discussed in section 4).

In the sub-sections that follow we concentrate on summarising evidence on effectiveness of programmes in terms of the variables identified as primary or secondary outcomes, ranging across knowledge, attitudes, behaviour and victimisation experience. Discussion of findings of reviews in relation to moderating factors in reserved for section 3 and findings in relation to design principles, delivery methods, and approaches for use in planning and implementing programmes are covered in section 4. Section 2.1 deals with evidence from reviews, section 2.2 with evidence from single studies and reports that are not included in any of the reviews, and section 2.3 then sums up. Throughout this section we focus on empirical research evidence.

2.1 Evidence from reviews

The scope of the reviews discussed here in relation to effectiveness of prosocial bystander action is summarised in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. Table 2.1 includes those reviews with a strong bystander focus, of which there are four in total. Only one of these (Powell 2011) includes work with men of all ages and programmes in all different settings (although effectiveness studies are included only for the programmes in education settings), two reviews (Katz and Moore 2013; Fenton et al. 2016) concentrate on tertiary education, and the other review (Storer et al. 2016) includes programmes for both secondary and tertiary education. No reviews were identified which focussed on bystander programmes in schools or workplace settings. Table 2.2 includes reviews with a more limited bystander focus. In the remainder of this section we cover the four highly focussed reviews first followed by those with a wider focus.

The earliest of the four reviews (Powell 2011) in its coverage of effectiveness, discusses 13 different interventions, however at the time evaluations were only available for six of these, each of which produced some positive effects. For the eight Australian programmes included in this review positive evaluation results are available for: Sexual Assault Prevention Program for Secondary Schools (Imbesi 2008) and Sex and Ethics (Carmody 2008), these publications are not included in any other reviews. The other six Australian programmes had no published evaluations of effectiveness available at the time of Powell’s review.
Table 2.1: Overview of reviews from academic and grey literature – bystander focus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Review</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Setting, age and gender, years of publications included</th>
<th>Level of bystander inclusion and overlap with other bystander focussed reviews of effectiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Powell 2011</td>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Bystander approaches in PVAW</td>
<td>All settings, ages, genders, Years searched not clear</td>
<td>Reviews 13 interventions. Five programmes are American and three of these are also covered in each of the other 3 reviews, the other programmes are Australian and are not included in any other review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katz and Moore 2013</td>
<td>Meta-analysis</td>
<td>Bystander Education Training for Campus Sexual Assault Prevention</td>
<td>University, Years searched not specified, All genders</td>
<td>12 studies, of which 3 measured bystander helping behaviour (eight of these studies are also covered in Fenton et al. 2016 review, all are covered in Storer et al. 2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenton et al. 2016</td>
<td>Narrative with systematic elements (for effectiveness review)</td>
<td>Bystander intervention in universities</td>
<td>University setting 2010 to May 2014 (plus Powell 2011 for earlier studies)</td>
<td>7 reviews, 2 meta-analyses, 8 single study evaluations Contains two programmes not in any other review (InterACT and SAVE forum theatre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storer et al. 2016</td>
<td>Systematic</td>
<td>Bystander programmes for sexual assault/dating violence youth and young adults</td>
<td>High school and university, some single gender, some both genders, some mixed delivery</td>
<td>15 studies of 9 distinct programmes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Katz and Moore (2013) carried out a meta-analysis to evaluate the effectiveness of bystander education programmes in university settings. They combined data from 12 studies of college students (N =2,926) that included six different bystander education programmes. Their findings suggested moderate effects of bystander education on both bystander efficacy and intentions to help others at risk. Smaller but significant effects were observed regarding self-reported bystander helping behaviours, (lower) rape-supportive attitudes, and (lower) rape proclivity, but not perpetration. These results provide good support for the effectiveness of in-person bystander education training. Length of follow-up in the studies included in their analysis was up to a maximum of seven months, and as they point out longer follow-up is desirable.

Fenton et al. (2016) examines the results across studies according to different types of outcome, finding consistently positive outcomes across a range of variables, including knowledge, attitudes, behavioural intentions, behaviour, including both bystander and perpetrator behaviour, and victimisation experience.

Finally findings from the fourth of the reviews examining programmes with a bystander focus (Storer et al. 2016) indicate that bystander programmes are promising from the standpoint of increasing young adults’ willingness to intervene and confidence in their ability to intervene when they witness dating or sexual violence or their precursors. Findings regarding the use of prosocial behaviours were more mixed, and hampered by limitations of

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4 In terms of the review as a whole, includes 60 publications including reviews, meta-analyses and single studies (14 of which were included in Powell 2011)
measurement and short follow-up times. They note that brief interventions such as the Bringing in the Bystander® social media campaign can produce moderate behavioural and attitudinal changes, although longer interventions produce more robust effect sizes.

Moving on to the reviews with a wider focus (overview in Table 2.2), the six reviews in the top half of the table are considered first. The systematic reviews reported in Stanley et al. (2015), Fellmeth et al. (2013), De Koker et al. (2014), and De La Rue (2017) are generally in agreement: where statistically significant findings were reported, the effect sizes were generally low or moderate. Larger effect sizes were seen in measures of knowledge and attitudes, although the differences in these tended to decrease over time.

DeGue et al. (2014) is particularly wide in its scope covering all settings, all genders and reporting results specifically for measures of bystander intention and bystander behaviour. They find that of the 10 studies measuring bystander behaviour, half found only positive effects, three found a mix of positive and negative effects and two produced no significant effects; for the 14 studies measuring bystander intentions, eight found only positive effects, two found mixed effects and four found no significant effects. In terms of all outcome variables they find 27.9% (39) of studies reporting only positive effects, 6.4% (9 studies) reporting only negative effects, 41.4% (58 studies) reporting mixed effects and 21.4% (30 studies) reporting no significant effects. Their review analyses findings in terms of programme characteristics as well as evaluation design characteristics and detail is considered in later sections.

The other review in the top half of Table 2.2 is Lundgren and Amin (2015) which explicitly includes studies from a wide range of countries and also explores generalisability of findings to the developing country context. The focus of the review was prevention of IPV and sexual violence among adolescents, and the range of programmes included: “parenting” (n = 8), “targeted interventions for children and adolescents subjected to maltreatment” (n = 3), “education based” (n = 31; both schools and universities), “community based” (n = 16), and “economic empowerment” (n = 2). They conclude that there are three promising approaches: dating violence interventions in educational settings (thus in agreement with other reviews); community-based interventions to form gender equitable attitudes; parenting interventions and interventions with children and adolescents subjected to maltreatment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Review</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Setting, age and gender, years of publications included</th>
<th>Level of bystander inclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>More limited bystander focus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fellmeth et al. 2013</td>
<td>Systematic and meta-</td>
<td>Adolescent and young adult relationship and dating violence</td>
<td>Up to 2012 High schools, universities, and community settings US and one Korean study Five studies targeted high risk groups for perpetration, rest were general</td>
<td>38 studies, only one of the studies (Gidycz et al. 2011) had an explicit bystander component</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeGue et al. 2014</td>
<td>Systematic</td>
<td>Primary prevention of sexual violence perpetration</td>
<td>January 1985 to May 2012 All settings, all ages, all genders No information given on countries included</td>
<td>140 studies, 10 measured bystander behaviour, and 14 measured bystander intention, this is one of the reviews included in Fenton et al. (2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Koker et al. 2014</td>
<td>Systematic</td>
<td>Adolescent intimate partner violence</td>
<td>Middle and high schools, some with community components US, Canada and South Africa Publication up to February 2013</td>
<td>8 articles on six interventions, role of bystander covered in only 1 programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lundgren and Amin 2015</td>
<td>Semi systematic</td>
<td>IPV and sexual violence among adolescents</td>
<td>Parenting, school/university based, community, sports, economic empowerment, in wide range of countries 1990 onwards</td>
<td>61 studies in all Only some cover bystander intervention (number not given)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley et al. 2015</td>
<td>Mixed knowledge scoping review</td>
<td>Preventing domestic abuse of children and young people</td>
<td>Includes grey lit 1990 to Feb 2014 searched Majority school settings, some in community</td>
<td>20 interventions (academic literature) 18 independent evaluations (grey literature) 3 programmes explicitly mention bystander theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De La Rue et al. 2017</td>
<td>Meta-analysis</td>
<td>School-based intervention to prevent/reduce Teen dating violence</td>
<td>Middle and high school, search in 2013</td>
<td>23 studies, only one reported on bystander outcome Includes overview of Fellmeth et al. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wider focus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barker et al. 2007</td>
<td>Narrative with systematic elements</td>
<td>Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health</td>
<td>Men 58 evaluation studies in five area: gender-based violence; fatherhood; maternal, newborn and child health; sexual and reproductive health; gender socialisation</td>
<td>Includes one study of a school-based programme using bystander approach (Mentors in Violence Prevention), and others that have bystander component</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPF 2010</td>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Work with men and boys to promote gender equality and positive masculinities</td>
<td>Examines 12 programmes and interventions across five continents Sexual and reproductive health, violence, and healthy relationships (defined as caring, non-violent, open and honest)</td>
<td>No explicit discussion of bystander intervention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO 2015</td>
<td>Narrative with systematic elements</td>
<td>Youth Violence</td>
<td>Literature 1998 to 2013 (English, French and Spanish) All settings, all countries</td>
<td>Identifies 21 strategies for youth violence prevention and summarises evidence for each. Bystanders mentioned only in relation to tackling bullying, although the dating violence prevention programmes include some with a bystander focus and some with a bystander component.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Müller and Shahrkoh 2016</td>
<td>Narrative policy brief</td>
<td>Engaging men in activism against sexual and gender-based violence</td>
<td>Selected programmes in six countries</td>
<td>Extremely limited coverage of bystander intervention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott 2017</td>
<td>Critical review</td>
<td>Promoting gender equity in schools</td>
<td>Variety of countries, three programme types: protective behaviours (primary school) healthy/respectful relationships and preventing violence in relationships (secondary school)</td>
<td>28 studies in total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Turning now to the five reviews in the bottom half of Table 2.2 with the widest focus; all of these include studies from all regions of the globe. The first three reviews concentrate on work with men, with three different (although overlapping and interacting) focuses. Barker et al. (2007) concluded that men and boys can and do change attitudes and behaviour related to sexual and reproductive health, maternal, newborn and child health, their interaction with their children, their use of violence against women, questioning violence with other men and their health-seeking behaviour as a result of relatively short-term programmes. IPPF (2010) found that in all the areas examined (sexuality and sexual and reproductive health, violence and healthy relationships) the interventions led to behaviour change in the desired direction. The selected studies discussed in Müller and Shahrokh (2016) reinforce the findings of Barker et al. (2007) and IPPF (2010).

Scott (2017) looked at the topic of promoting gender equity in schools. The critical review analysed programmes in three different groups: protective behaviours, healthy/respectful relationships and preventing violence in relationships. Three protective behaviour programmes were included, all delivered in primary schools in Australia all demonstrated increases in knowledge of students. The other two types of programme were found in secondary schools in a variety of countries and showed positive effects on knowledge and attitudes, no measurement of behaviour was reported.

The widest of the reviews in the lower half of Table 2.2 is WHO (2015). Their review looked at the prevention of youth violence. Their approach was to identify 21 different strategies for prevention of youth violence and to look at the empirical research evidence for each. Their conclusions on the effectiveness of different strategies is summarised in Table 2.3. It should be noted that their assessment for the strategy of dating violence prevention is based on only the subset of the studies available when their review was prepared, reviews prepared later than this also show a mixture of results in respect of this form of intervention.
### Table 2.3: Preventing youth violence: evidence for different strategies

#### Effectiveness of youth violence prevention strategies, by context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parenting and early childhood development strategies</th>
<th>Home visiting programmes</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parenting programmes</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Early childhood development programmes</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| School-based academic and social skills development strategies | Life and social skills development | + |
|                                                              | Bullying prevention         | + |
|                                                              | Academic enrichment programmes | ? |
|                                                              | Dating violence prevention programmes | +/- |
|                                                              | Financial incentives for adolescents to attend school | ? |
|                                                              | Peer mediation              | +/- |
|                                                              | After-school and other structured leisure time activities | ? |

| Strategies for young people at higher risk of, or already involved in, violence | Therapeutic approaches | + |
|                                                                                | Vocational training      | ? |
|                                                                                | Mentoring                | ? |
|                                                                                | Gang and street violence prevention programmes | ? |

| Community- and society-level strategies | Hotspots policing | + |
|                                        | Community-and problem-orientated policing | + |
|                                        | Reducing access to and the harmful use of alcohol | + |
|                                        | Drug control programmes | + |
|                                        | Reducing access to and misuse of firearms | + |
|                                        | Spatial modification and urban upgrading | + |
|                                        | Poverty de-concentration | + |

**KEY**

+ Promising (strategies that include one or more programmes supported by at least one well-designed study showing prevention of perpetration and/or experiencing of youth violence, or at least two studies showing positive changes in key risk or protective factors for youth violence).

? Unclear because of insufficient evidence (strategies that include one or more programmes of unclear effectiveness).

+/- Unclear because of mixed results (strategies for which the evidence is mixed – some programmes have a significant positive and others a significant negative effect on youth violence).

Source: WHO 2015: xii

### 2.2 Evidence from additional single studies

Table 2.4 gives an overview of single studies or reports that have not been included in any of the reviews in section 2.2; the upper half of the table covers those with a particular bystander...
focus and the lower half of the table those with a wider focus. These publications cover 13 different programmes, for five of these (Green Dot, Bringing in the Bystander® (90 minute version), The Intervention Initiative, Don’t be That Guy and Where do You Stand?) previous evaluations are covered in earlier reviews. The remaining ten programmes (Stepping Up, Scream Theater, You the Man, Teen Choice, Start Strong, R4Respect, Green Acres High and STIRitAPP) are not covered in any of the earlier reviews. The findings from the various studies will be considered in more detail in section 3 and 4, this section considers briefly what they add to the evidence base.

Two further studies on Green Dot (Coker et al. 2016, 2017) have appeared since the reviews discussed in section 2.1. The first of these is a multi-year, multi college evaluation with follow up over three years, and the second a multi-year, multi school evaluation, using a curriculum adapted for high-school aged populations with follow-up over three years. Implementation of Green Dot in high schools significantly decreased not only sexual violence perpetration but also other forms of interpersonal violence perpetration and victimisation (Coker et al. 2017). These two studies fill some of the gaps in the evidence base identified in earlier reviews.

The Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Office (SAPRO) within the US Department of Defense provides a prevention and education programme to all members of the military that includes in-person training and leadership facilitated group discussion. According to NDRI (2014), a significant reduction of the percentage of active duty women who experienced sexual assault declined from 6.1% to 4.3% between 2012 and 2014; there was also a decline for men, but this did not reach statistical significance.

A relatively new form of intervention is that represented by apps. The Green Dot app and STIRitAPP both have a strong theoretical base, however detailed evaluation results have not yet been published. The studies of Green Acres High, a serious game (Bowen et al. 2014, Bowen and Sorbring 2018) demonstrate that a (computer based) serious game is a valid and meaningful way for adolescents to learn about dating violence and that this is a viable alternative or adjunct to traditional teaching methods, complementing the results for the effectiveness of serious games in other teaching contexts. The use of the internet for bystander relevant training and other resources is featured in two of the reports: The Social Norms Toolkit (Berkowitz 2013) and the digital training and other resources provided by Hollaback!, some of this work being carried out in partnership with Green Dot providers.

Use of theatre/drama elements in programmes is noted in some reviews (Barker et al. 2007; Fellmeth et al. 2013; Fenton et al. 2016; Stanley et al. 2015; WHO 2015) with positive results, and the emerging evidence for effectiveness is added to by Alegria-Flores et al. (2017), Mabry and Turner (2016), McMahon et al. (2015b), and Plourde et al. (2014, 2015). Community mobilisation approaches are covered in three of the reviews (Barker et al. 2007; Lundgren and Amin 2015; Müller and Shahrokh 2016) and additional evidence of effectiveness is provided by Struthers et al. (2017) in respect of the R4Respect programme.
Table 2.4: Single studies/reports not included in any reviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme name</th>
<th>Primary focus</th>
<th>Target group/setting</th>
<th>References</th>
<th>Overview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Programmes with bystander and preventing violence against women/family violence focus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t be That Guy and Where do You Stand?</td>
<td>Sexual assault bystander intervention, social marketing campaigns</td>
<td>University, US</td>
<td>Mabry and Turner 2016</td>
<td>2x2x3 design investigating relative effects of positive versus negative injunctive norms, exposure, and relevant cognitive moderators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Dot</td>
<td>Bystander intervention</td>
<td>College campuses US</td>
<td>Coker et al. 2016</td>
<td>First multi-year, multi-college evaluation of Green Dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Dot</td>
<td>Bystander intervention</td>
<td>High schools US</td>
<td>Coker et al. 2017</td>
<td>First multi-year, multi-school evaluation of Green Dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Act</td>
<td>Interpersonal violence</td>
<td>University US</td>
<td>Alegria-Flores et al. 2017</td>
<td>Pre and post measures collected, it was also compared to response training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect and Responsibility</td>
<td>Violence prevention</td>
<td>Australian Football League</td>
<td>Corboz et al. 2016</td>
<td>Explores attitudes to bystander intervention and barriers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAPRO</td>
<td>Sexual assault prevention and response</td>
<td>Military, US</td>
<td>NDRI 2014</td>
<td>Random samples of active-duty forces conducted annually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCREAM Theater</td>
<td>Sexual violence prevention programme</td>
<td>University US</td>
<td>McMahon et al. 2015b</td>
<td>Tested 3 sessions versus one session</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TakeCARE</td>
<td>Sexual and relationship violence</td>
<td>Universities US</td>
<td>Jouriles et al. 2017</td>
<td>Tested 2 modes of delivery of video training versus study skills training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Intervention Initiative</td>
<td>Bystander intervention sexual and domestic violence</td>
<td>University, UK</td>
<td>Fenton et al. 2014, 2015</td>
<td>Feedback from participants on various measures, including knowledge, attitudes and confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You the Man</td>
<td>Bystander programme</td>
<td>Schools, universities, sports clubs, workplaces and community US and Australia</td>
<td>Plourde et al. 2014, 2015</td>
<td>4 year longitudinal study in 3 schools (US), mixed methods evaluation in Australia (all settings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Programmes with wider focus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Acres High</td>
<td>Adolescent dating violence</td>
<td>UK, Sweden, Germany and Belgium</td>
<td>Bowen et al. 2014, Bowen and Sorbring 2018</td>
<td>Preliminary evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollaback</td>
<td>Harassment that is based in sexism, racism, religion, xenophobia, transphobia, homophobia, ableism, sizism or classism</td>
<td>US</td>
<td><a href="https://www.ihollaback.org/resources/bystander-resources/">https://www.ihollaback.org/resources/bystander-resources/</a></td>
<td>Provides digital training (some work in partnership with Green Dot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R4Respect</td>
<td>Domestic violence prevention, using community mobilisation type approach</td>
<td>Community, Australia</td>
<td>Struthers et al. 2017</td>
<td>Qualitative process evaluation, no bystander measurement/ discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social norms toolkit</td>
<td>Reducing violence in communities through changing social norms</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>Berkowitz 2013</td>
<td>Evidence based in the research into social norms theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start Strong</td>
<td>Preventing teen violence promoting healthy relationships</td>
<td>Middle schools US</td>
<td>Miller et al. 2015</td>
<td>No bystander measurement or discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepping Up</td>
<td>Violence prevention</td>
<td>University, Canada</td>
<td>Warthe et al. 2013</td>
<td>Longitudinal study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STIRAPP</td>
<td>Teenage intimate relationships</td>
<td>UK, Norway, Italy, Greece, Bulgaria</td>
<td>Barter 2018</td>
<td>Evaluation underway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teen Choice</td>
<td>Healthy relationships</td>
<td>High schools, US</td>
<td>Levesque et al. 2016</td>
<td>Cluster RCT, no bystander measurement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 Summing up

Despite the limitations discussed above, taking the results of the reviews discussed in section 2.1 together with the findings from the recent single studies discussed in section 2.2, there are clear and positive changes reported consistently within the literature for participants in bystander programmes across behavioural, cognitive and attitudinal domains. Statistically significant changes have been reported for participants in bystander intervention programmes each of the following areas:

- knowledge (increased knowledge about violence, including consent, prevalence, definitions);
- attitudes (decreased rape myth acceptance, decreased sexist attitudes, increased empathy towards rape survivors, decreased perception of peer sexist attitudes, increased responsibility to make interventions, decreased denial of violence as a problem, increased confidence to intervene, increased intention to intervene);
- behaviour (increased bystander interventions made, decreased perpetration of violence, decreased likelihood of perpetrating violence);
- outcomes (decreased violence victimisation, decreased incidence of community violence (perpetration), decreased incidence of community violence (victimisation)).

This does not mean that every programme produces all these outcomes. For some programmes, evaluations reveal no significant improvement; this may be due to insufficient length of follow-up, or to the presence of barriers in the wider community surrounding those who participate in the programme, for example in a school or university where a very small proportion of the students receive the programme, the wider social norms in the school may not be supportive of the maintenance of any immediate change induced by the programme. For other programmes, evaluations may simply not have included measurement of all the areas listed above.

What is particularly important is that we have now some well conducted studies that demonstrate maintenance of positive outcome changes at the community level over the long term (up to 3 or 4 years) (Coker et al. 2016, 2017) in educational settings. The programme involved in these studies is Green Dot, where a short component is delivered to the majority of students in each school, followed by five hour intensive training delivered to student leaders. Coker et al. (2017) found a 17-21% reduction in sexual violence, consequent on delivery of the intensive training to only 12-15% of students. They argue that this represents a potentially highly cost efficient strategy.

The bulk of the research reported on covers adolescents and young adults and is in educational settings. There has been far less research for older age groups and other settings. Another particular gap is on research on the non-student adults present in educational settings. Only limited evaluations have been carried out in workplace and community settings, however those that have (reviews of Fellmeth et al. (2013), DeGue et al. (2014), Stanley et al. (2015) Barker et al. (2007), IPPF (2010), Müller and Shahrokh (2016), VicHealth (2013) and WHO (2015); and single studies by NDRI (2014), Taket et al. (2016b) and Struthers et al. (2017)) have produced promising findings, although not always reaching
statistical significance (small sample sizes being a particular issue in many studies). Stanley et al. (2015) in their review identified a need for interventions for disabled children and children and young people from black, Asian, minority ethnic and refugee groups and a particular lack of materials designed for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender young people, while IPPF (2010) identify the same need for the adult population. Finally very little evidence has been identified on costs and cost-effectiveness.

At the conclusion of this overview of the evidence on effectiveness, it is important to note that no attempt has been made to identify the strongest programmes since not all have had access to the same opportunities and resources for evaluation. We also note that the despite the considerable volume of research carried out, it is not possible to identify the relative effects of different programme components let alone compare different programmes. The current state of knowledge stops short of enabling full understanding of what exactly works, where, for whom, and why. One of the reasons for this is that evaluations have rarely measured all the different variables necessary to fully understand the interrelationships between programme components and programme outcomes in various domains.

### Section 3: Moderating factors, enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander behaviour

This section synthesises what is known about moderating factors, enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander behaviour (including preconditions, cultural settings and/or contexts), as well as exploring gaps in the current knowledge base. Section 3.1 summarises our knowledge about enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander action, drawing on information from the body of literature used in this review. Section 3.2 then examines age, gender and other individual level socio-demographic characteristics and section 3.3 discusses preconditions, cultural settings and/or contexts. Throughout this section, the coverage is restricted to those barriers, enablers and characteristics where statistically significant effects have been found.

#### 3.1 Enablers and barriers

From the literature used in this review, a summary is given about the consensus on enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander behaviour in the form of three tables. Table 3.1 summarises enables and barriers at the individual level; Table 3.2 deals with the community/organisational level, and finally Table 3.3 with the broader societal level. The main literature sources used are indicated in each table.
### Table 3.1: Enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander behaviour – individual level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enablers</th>
<th>Barriers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of what constitutes violence against women</td>
<td>Challenge of motivation and engaging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness of harm caused by violence against women</td>
<td>The ambiguous nature of some everyday sexism and heterosexism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of responsibility to intervene</td>
<td>Exclusive group identity; male peer groups based on violence/aggressive masculinities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived ability to intervene – skills</td>
<td>Fear of violence or being targeted by perpetrator; fear that masculinity will be called into question; fear of other consequences of being proactive (e.g. fear of being punished for underage drinking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived confidence to intervene</td>
<td>Perception that action would be ineffective/lack of confidence to act effectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to educate perpetrator</td>
<td>Lack of knowledge about how to intervene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathy for and desire to support victim</td>
<td>Rigid adherence to traditional gender roles; attitudes supporting male dominance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-validation, catharsis – expressing anger, disapproval etc.</td>
<td>Impression management, preserving interpersonal relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Younger age in relation to prospective perpetrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower position in relation to organisational hierarchy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 3.2: Enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander behaviour – community/ organisational level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enablers</th>
<th>Barriers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modelling of respectful behaviour by senior groups in the setting</td>
<td>Modelling of disrespectful behaviour by senior groups in the setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key groups in the organisation/ community have prosocial norms</td>
<td>Antagonism to programme from key groups in the organisation/community (e.g. parents or teachers for school-based programmes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policies supporting prosocial norms and accountability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: compiled from Corboz et al. 2016; Edwards et al. 2014; McMahon 2015; Stanley et al. 2015.
Table 3.3: Enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander behaviour – broader societal level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enablers</th>
<th>Barriers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Legal mandate</td>
<td>• Lack of appropriate legal mandate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Prosocial norms in key status groups in society</td>
<td>• Lack of prosocial norms in key status groups in society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Continuing funding</td>
<td>• Short term funding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: compiled from Pennay and Powell, 2012; Stanley et al. 2015

3.2 Age, gender and other individual level socio-demographic characteristics

Results regarding age and gender are mixed and further research is required. While some, for example Katz and Moore (2013), find greater effects in younger university students and suggest that starting university is a particularly developmentally appropriate time for greater responsiveness to messages about ability to be a prosocial bystander, many young people do not progress from school to university either directly or at all. Others find particular effects of hierarchy within different settings such as professional sports (Corboz et al. 2016), where junior players defer to those who are senior and hesitate to intervene for that reason, and workplaces more generally (McDonald and Flood 2012), where those lower in the managerial hierarchy hesitate to intervene with those higher up. There is more agreement on the importance of considering developmental appropriateness in targeting particular age groups of young people, distinguishing programmes with different focuses for different stages of education, so that for example, protective behaviour programmes are particularly developmentally appropriate for the youngest ages, then bullying prevention and respectful/healthy relationship at older ages, and finally, preventing violence programmes (de la Rue et al. 2017; Fenton et al. 2016; Scott 2017; Stanley et al. 2015; Storer et al. 2016; WHO 2015).

Summarising the literature on differences in helping behaviour between men and women, Banyard (2011) reports that women are more likely to intervene in instances of risk for sexual violence, and to provide emotional support, particularly to social network members, while men are more likely to help in emergency situations. Some studies indicate that men often misperceive peers’ support for stepping in against gender violence, seeing peers as less supportive than peers indicate they actually are (Banyard 2011). Bennett et al. (2017) illustrate how complex the interactions are in their study which examined bystander intentions in high versus low risk situations according to the gender of the bystander and whether they knew the victim or the perpetrator. They find that bystanders were more likely to intervene when the situation was more severe and when the bystander was a woman, and that women are equally likely to intend to help a victim whether they know the perpetrator or not while men are more likely to help a victim if the perpetrator is someone they do not know. These findings are not completely replicated in other studies however, Katz et al. (2015), examining response to a single scenario, found no gender differences in bystander intent to help or barriers to helping; they did however report more personal responsibility to help when the potential victim was a friend rather than a stranger. The situation is further
complicated by consumption and expectations in relation to alcohol use (Fleming and Wiersma-Mosley 2015) and in relation to the use of violent/degrading pornography (Foubert and Bridges 2017).

One important point in relation to gender is raised by Gidycz and Dardis’s review (2014) of feminist self-defence and resistance training for college students, where they conclude that the evidence supports the provision of self-defence training and resistance training in combination with bystander intervention and men’s programmes with the goal of providing synergistic effects on rape reduction. A similar conclusion is reached in McCaughey and Cermele (2017) in their exploration of campus rape prevention and education, as well as in Wanamaker’s (2018) analysis of feminist empowerment self-defence and Porter and Plourde’s (2018) exploration of addressing gender-based violence in the university setting.

Bystander education programmes provide men with an opportunity for camaraderie with prosocial, “like-minded men” (McMahon and Dick, 2011). Evidence of whether single gender or mixed gender programmes are to be preferred is however not consistent in terms of conclusions across different studies and interventions. Bystander training provides an important opportunity for male trainers to provide role models of masculinity that involve helping others (Katz and Moore 2013), and also for training by mixed gender trainers to model respectful relationships between genders (Taket et al. 2016a, 2016b). Multiple reviews have noted the challenge posed by engaging men in programmes that are voluntary, this is considered further in section 4. Many studies have also noticed that some programmes, particularly those focussing on changing men’s violence against women, have elicited a defensive or antagonistic reaction from men (for example Berkowitz and Mathews 2004; Kilgower 2014; Taket et al. 2016a, 2016b); this is part of the backlash phenomenon discussed by Flood et al. (in press).

Very few studies have specifically examined the issue of ethnicity in terms of the ensuring the effectiveness of programmes to non-majority ethnic groups or developing them especially for particular non-majority ethnic groups. None of the four bystander focussed reviews discussed in section 2.1 analysed results by race/ethnicity. Amongst the reviews with a wider focus covered in section 2.2, while DeGue et al. (2014) identify that 60% of the 140 studies reviews had a study population that was over 60% white, 13.7% of the studies were with diverse populations (no group >60%), 3.5% had a study population of over 60% Black, Asian/Pacific Islander or Hispanic/Latino and the other 22.8% did not report the ethnicity of the populations involved; however, their review does not analyse differences in results by race/ethnicity. McMahon et al. (2015b) find some differences by ethnicity in their study, and conclude that further research is needed to assess the role of ethnicity and race in the impact of bystander intervention programmes; this is also suggested by the findings of Miller et al. (2015) and Barker et al. (2007).

Coverage of different ethnicities is evident in some of the wider reviews, however the implications for programmes suited to different ethnicities are not explored in any detail. Malhotra et al. (2015), in their review of teen dating prevention programmes, identify three programmes specifically developed and evaluated for Hispanic teens, assessing them as promising, but noting only one had a long term evaluation. They emphasise the importance of
including factors specific to the experience of the group concerned such as acculturation, migration experience and family formation, i.e. factors above the individual level. In terms of single studies not included in any of the reviews, Stevens (2012) discusses the issue more generally in relation to the prevention of sexual violence, noting the importance of including race and ethnicity-related issues within training, reflecting population diversity. Gómez et al. (2014) report on a longitudinal study in two elementary schools in Spain that examined the participation of male community members from minority backgrounds engaged in the school, finding two major benefits: a reduction in the prevalence of cultural stereotypes and the development of spaces where bullying and other violence can be prevented.

People with disabilities also have received limited attention in the bystander literature. Stevens (2012) discusses some of the necessary tailoring of bystander intervention to be more inclusive of people with disabilities, for example the need to counter misperceptions, for example that women with intellectual and developmental disabilities are asexual.

Only one article was located that considered bystander intervention in specific relationship to the LGBT community (Potter et al. 2012) which discussing how bystander strategies are addressing or can address relationship and sexual violence in the LGBT community, identifying the need to address the stigmatisation of non-heterosexual relationships, and to address the issue of violence committed against people on the grounds of a non-heterosexual orientation. Stevens (2012) discusses the issue more generally in relation to the prevention of sexual violence, noting the importance of including LGBT issues within training, reflecting population diversity.

### 3.3 Preconditions, cultural settings and/or contexts

The vast majority of research discussing enablers and barriers to prosocial bystander behaviour included in this review is located at examining individual level factors. Reviews such as that provided by Hagemann-White et al. (2010) on factors at play in perpetration demonstrate what can be achieved in terms of understanding of factors operating at different levels; their work distinguishes four different levels (ontogenetic, micro, meso and macro).

Norms and expectations regarding alcohol use and the use of pornography can be regarded as part of the context for bystander programmes. Research mentioned by Fleming and Wiersma-Mosley (2015) in relation to alcohol use and Foubert and Bridges (2017) in relation to the use of violent/degrading pornography has shown that these factors can negatively affect bystander willingness to intervene in men.

Social norms can also be influenced by organisational subcultures, Harway and Steel (2015) offer a useful review focussing on particularly on military, law enforcement and professional athletics subcultures.

Identifying promising organisational contexts for bystander programming can be also informed by different theoretical approaches underlying successful organisational change, for example Pettigrew et al.’s eight factor model of receptive contexts for changes (Pettigrew et al. 1992), see Box 3.1.
Box 3.1: Eight characteristics of a receptive context for change

1. Quality and coherence of local policy
2. Key people leading change (especially a multidisciplinary team).
4. Supportive organisational culture, including the managerial and other subcultures.
5. Environmental pressure, moderate, predictable and long-term.
6. Simplicity and clarity of goals and priorities.
7. Positive pattern of relations between different groups in the organisation.
8. Fit between the change agenda and the locale

Source: derived from Pettigrew et al. 1992

Also important is the so-called ‘teachable moment’ (Lewis 1982; Nutting 1986), a moment or even period when life circumstances are such that people are particularly receptive to new knowledge, reflecting on attitudes held and consideration of behaviour change. One such teachable moment is the transition to parenthood. Programmes like Baby Makes 3, are explicitly designed to target this teachable period, a time when parents-to-be often seek out information to prepare for and respond to the arrival of a new family member and as evaluations show (Coady et al. 2018; Taket et al. 2016b) successfully change attitudes and behaviour in the direction of greater gender equity. Similarly, Casey et al. (2013) and the reviews by Barker et al. (2007), IPPF (2010) and Müller and Shahrokh (2016) identify the importance of strengths-based outreach that approaches men as partners in prevention, and of initiating conversations on issues of central importance to men, such as fatherhood and relationships.

Time and prior experience are also important aspects to be considered, for example McMahon et al. (2015a) demonstrate that an individual’s self-efficacy or confidence to intervene in sexual assault situations as a bystander as well as his or her willingness to intervene affect one another and evolve over time. Thus, not only do self-efficacy and bystander intentions both directly influence behaviour at different times, but they also act as mediators for influencing behaviour. This emphasises the importance of opportunities for skill development.

Section 4: Opportunity scan

This section provides an opportunity scan, identifying what is known about where, for whom and under what circumstances bystander programming and activity may be valuable. This section also draws out from the literature included in this review design principles, delivery methods, approaches for use in planning and implementing programmes supporting prosocial bystander action. First of all we say something about opportunity in terms of the different settings for delivery of programmes (section 4.1), before moving on to consider different aspects of programme orientation, scope, methods and approaches (section 4.2) and ending with a summary of design principles, based in the empirical evidence, that should underlie such work.
At the outset it is important to note that, despite the recent growth in research related to bystander intervention, the state of knowledge is not such that any definitive conclusions are possible about which particular components of programmes are most associated with different types of positive outcomes.

4.1 Opportunities in different settings

The educational setting

As we have identified earlier, the vast majority of research has taken place in educational settings, schools or tertiary education, and is dominated by American research. The research and intervention programmes also concentrate on students, despite knowledge about the importance of the institutional setting, including the staff groups present. Implementing and evaluating programmes that are truly whole of organisation is important. Many of the interventions reviewed are best regarded as components that can be assembled to make a comprehensive strategy: for example many of the Victorian secondary schools that are currently using the You the Man programme integrate this with delivery of their respectful relationships curriculum (informal communications).

Workplaces as settings for prevention

Chung et al. (2012) in their evidence review on preventing violence against women in the workplace report found little published research in the field – and this is reinforced in terms of the bystander reviews discussed earlier – despite bystander training being identified as a promising practice for this setting. Branch et al. (2013) in their review of workplace bullying and harassment identified that the role of groups (formal and informal) and bystanders in contributing to, or tacitly supporting, workplace bullying is still largely unclear and is an important area for future research. Strandmark and Rahm (2014) provide an example of a community-based participatory approach in a particular workplace that aimed to prevent and combat bullying, achieving some success.

In the workplace setting, bystander programming can form part of work towards gender equity or gender equality, framed with an asset-based or human rights-based approach, and some Australian examples have become available indicating the promise of such workplace based programmes (Crisp and Taket 2018; Taket et al. 2016a, 2016b; VicHealth 2013).

Opportunities exist particularly in public services such as the police, judiciary, and armed forces for incorporating such training as a requirement of service. Many workplaces provide anti-discrimination training, in some, e.g. Deakin University, it is online, and mandatorily repeated at set periods. Bystander components can be strengthened or added as necessary. Within the US armed forces, considerable use has been made of the Mentors in Violence Prevention programme, as a mandatory programme (see for example Hollingsworth et al. 2011), as well as to a lesser extent the Know-Your-Power social marketing campaign (Potter
and Stapleton 2012). A version of the *Mentors in Violence Prevention* programme is now being offered within Australia as the *MATE Bystander Program* by Griffith University (https://www.griffith.edu.au/griffith-enterprise/mate-bystander-program) and South Coast PCP in Victoria are planning to offer this training and to evaluate it (personal communication).

Workplace based components of the community wide *Generating Equality and Respect* programme included some bystander training (VicHealth 2016).

**The community setting**

Sporting clubs have long been recognised for their potential as effective community-based venues for engaging in health promotion activities due to their wide reach into all segments of the community (Crisp and Swerissen 2003), they are a particularly good route into community given the whole family involvement that often occurs, particularly in rural and regional areas. Faith-based communities also provide an opportunity at the community level, as well as at higher levels, see Crisp (2018) for further discussion on faith-based communities.

Community mobilisation (sometimes also referred to as social mobilisation) has been identified as an effective strategy for primary prevention (see for example Ellsberg et al. 2015). Most of the evaluated examples of such programmes are in low and middle income countries. The programmes are typically complex with multiple components, at multiple levels, bystander intervention being just one of these. Examples of effective programmes include SASA! originating in Uganda (Abramsky et al. 2014, 2016a, 2016b; Kyegombe et al. 2014, 2015), *Bell Bajao!* in India (Aleya 2012; Chakraborty 2010; Lapsansky and Chatterjee 2013; Silliman 2012; ), *Soul City* in South Africa (Gesser-Edelsburg and Singhal 2013; Usdin et al. 2004, 2005), and *One Man Can* in South Africa (Dworkin et al. 2013; van den Berg et al. 2013; Viitanen and Colvin 2015).

Within Victoria, *Generating Equality and Respect* was a three-and-a-half year primary prevention of violence against women programme, focussed on the suburb of Clayton in Melbourne’s South East. Bystander training formed one component of the work, other components included workplace based initiatives around gender equity (in both public and private sector) and youth practitioners delivering respectful relationship education. A full report of the programme is contained and its evaluation is contained in VicHealth (2016), the evaluation did measure self-assessed bystander confidence and skills, but did not make quantitative measurement of bystander behaviour, some examples of successful and unsuccessful instances were self-reported during interviews.
4.2 Programme orientation, scope, methods and approaches

Compulsory, opt out and opt in programmes

One major difference between programmes is the extent to which participation is compulsory or voluntary. There are only very few cases where programmes are effectively compulsory, as in most cases, opting out is an option that is available without penalty. Opportunities exist in settings such as education, both secondary and tertiary and this opportunity is often taken up by embedding programmes within the core curriculum. Workplaces can also make participation in training mandatory and have sanctions for those who do not participate.

Engaging men in programmes remains a challenge as they have been found to be unlikely to attend completely voluntary programmes (Rich et al. 2010). Hence, the next sections on transferability, programme orientation, scope and methods, present some key findings from research and practice reported in the literature which may encourage male participation. Careful steps need to be taken to ensure that patriarchal norms are challenged rather than reinforced and safety is maintained as (Müller and Shahrokh 2016: 4) express it:

Where work with men is building on men’s concern for women’s safety, as in work with men to address SGBV [sexual and gender-based violence], risks of strengthening patriarchal norms are high. Engaging men should not reinforce a sense of male supremacy, by simply appealing to men as ‘protectors’ of women and girls. Men should be engaged as agents of change holding themselves and their communities accountable for rejecting SGBV on the grounds of dismantling oppression and claiming human rights. Working together with women to challenge problematic gender roles and expectations amongst both men and women strengthens this accountability and provides space for mutual learning and redefinition of harmful gender norms.

Programme transferability

The transferability of programmes established as effective in one particular context to other different contexts cannot automatically be assumed. Hamby et al. (2012) report how one evidenced US programme was found to be ineffective within a European context. A process of ‘cultural translation’ can be required, which should include at least piloting of the new version in the new context, see Plourde et al. (2014) for an example of one programme where this was done. Use of specific terms needs to be tested out in particular contexts, for example, during the development work undertaken by Barter (2018) for STIRitAPP, the European young people felt the term ‘dating violence’ was not appropriate in a European context, they preferred the term ‘relationship violence’ which they argued reflected a wider range of relationships: casual, short-term or longer-term. Finally, Fleming et al. (2014) illustrates the importance of testing using the example of the inadvertent harmful effects of Man Up Monday, a media campaign to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted infections. The
campaign was not successful in producing a gender-transformative intervention that challenged harmful hegemonic masculine norms, instead reinforcing them.

Programme orientation

A distinction is made in some of the literature as to the orientation of the programme, in terms of whether it is gender-transformative, gender-sensitive or gender-neutral, definitions of these terms, taken from Barker et al. (2007) are shown in Box 4.1. Their review finds that programmes rated as being gender-transformative had a higher rate of effectiveness, a finding echoed by Fenton and Mott (2017), IPPF (2010) and Jewkes et al. (2015). Fenton et al. expressed the importance of this aspect of programme orientation somewhat differently in concluding: “A gendered understanding of sexual and domestic violence in universities is necessary for effective prevention. A bystander intervention framework grounded in a gendered approach is inclusive of all, regardless of gender or other characteristics, and can also address related forms of violence” (Fenton et al. 2016: 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 4.1: Defining gender-neutral, gender-sensitive and gender-transformative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>gender-neutral</strong>: programmes that distinguish little between the needs of men and women, neither reinforcing nor questioning gender roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gender-sensitive</strong>: programmes that recognize the specific needs and realities of men based on the social construction of gender roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gender-transformative</strong>: approaches that seek to transform gender roles and promote more gender-equitable relationships between men and women</td>
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</table>

Source: Barker et al. 2007.

Berkowitz (2001, 2004), writing specifically about the prevention of sexual assault, found that effective programmes offer positive messages which build on men’s values and predisposition to act in a prosocial manner. This is reinforced in the reviews with different focuses considered here (for example Fenton et al. 2016; Stanley et al. 2015). Katz et al. (2011) discuss how the social justice foundation of Mentors for Violence Prevention helps avoid defensive reactions by male athletes. This was the approach adopted in the design of You the Man (Plourde et al. 2014), where the programme introduces the participants to a variety of positive male role models in relation to prosocial bystander behaviour in a way that engages cognitive, affective and behavioural domains. Bell Bajao! and Soul City are designed similarly (Taket and Plourde 2018).

Intersectionality, social justice and human rights-based approaches

Recognising multiple factors implicated in discriminatory behaviour and hate crime, and the interacting nature of their operation presents a particular challenge and opportunity to the design and implementation of effective bystander programmes. The use of intersectional approaches is of particular importance. Tackling other sources of discrimination based on
race, class, dis/ability, sexuality, gender identity, ethnicity, religion and culture are also crucial, and there are synergistic benefits to be gained from joint work and endeavours (Allen and Solomon 2016; Casey and Lindhorst 2009; Gidycz and Dardis 2014; Guedes et al. 2016; Michau et al. 2015; Shahrokh 2015; Stevens 2012; Strid et al. 2013; White and Peretz 2010). Hollaback!’s web-based bystander training (https://www.ihollaback.org/resources/bystander-resources/) is an example of the sort of opportunity that exists to provide training that acknowledges the multiple different intersectional factors that result in discrimination and harassment.

Since the early 1980s, there has been a considerable growth in the development and use of rights-based approaches in health (Taket 2012), seeking to promote social justice and supporting upstream work in public health in terms of tackling the social determinants of health and in work in health promotion. This has included work directed at promoting gender equity and the primary prevention of violence against women and family violence, for example most of the programmes discussed as community mobilisation initiatives in this report are rights-based. Casey and Smith (2010) offer a useful discussion of models of social justice ally-building in connection with involving men in work preventing violence against women. Many of the individual programmes mentioned above adopt a social justice or human rights grounding, for example Fabiano et al. (2003), Imbesi (2008), Katz et al. (2011), Michau et al. (2015), IPPF(2010) and Müller and Shahrokh (2016); some of these also include education on human rights.

Some programmes that support bystander action are very generic in their aim to educate individuals about human rights and empower them to take action on behalf of their own and/or others’ rights. As just one example Bajaj (2012) reports on an evaluation of human rights education in schools in India, identifying impacts in terms of bystander action against family violence and in support of gender equity. Another example is the Hollaback! training mentioned elsewhere in this report. Linking programmes into the promotion and protection of human rights provides a very strong political and moral mandate for bystander programmes, which can be helpful in overcoming male defensiveness and resistance.

**Programme scope and working methods**

IPPF (2010) offer a comprehensive list of good practice and lessons learned for gender transformative work, reproduced in Box 4.2. This offers important messages about working with women as well as men, something that is also reinforced elsewhere in the literature, for example Moynihan et al. (2011).

Direct comparison of the relative effects of the use of mixed gender and single gender groups in programmes is examined by Storer et al. (2016). They could not identify any differential correlation of mixed-gender and single-gender groups with programme outcomes since both produced favourable short-term results in some outcomes but not others. It is important to note that participants in The Men’s Project discussed the importance of being in a single-gender group for their improved attitudinal and behaviour changes. Many of the participants discussed how peer support was crucial for them to process the challenges of adopting
bystander behaviours in their everyday lives. However, the extent to which this aspect of peer support is responsible for statistically significant improvements requires further research.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Box 4.2: Good practice and lessons learnt about gender transformative programmes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Target women as well as men and boys when working with men. This is because gender norms and the associated inequities are not maintained and produced by men alone but through relations between the genders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Some men, but not all, are resistant to change. Equally, some women, but not all, are supporters of change. Programmes should reflect these nuances in their implementation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Programmes benefit if they include both mixed and single sex group work.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Interventions with men should combine both challenging and supporting them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It is important for interventions with men to have goals and outcomes that are concrete, meaningful and useful to men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Equip men with skills that allow them to make changes to their behaviour as well as to address knowledge and attitudes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It is beneficial to base work on men’s and women’s needs and to involve them in consultation from the beginning of programme development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interventions should ‘go where men are at’; that is, to take interventions to settings where they are to be found rather than expect them to access interventions in settings with which they may be unfamiliar or in which they may feel uncomfortable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Consider how programmes can be integrated into existing structures and systems, for example subjects in school curricula, and teaching and professional training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ensure that programmes seek to acknowledge and validate men’s willingness to change and celebrate these changes when they occur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recognise that some men are extremely marginalised – especially men who have sex with men and male sex workers – and that interventions to reach these men need to recognize that their marginalisation is in part derived from stigma and homophobia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recognize that the public face of masculinity is often completely at odds with the private face of masculinity and that many men need the tools to negotiate the tension between the interface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It is important to set out with a positive message – aiming to correct the ‘faults’ in men does not appeal to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Recognise that many men are struggling to come to terms with social and cultural change that undermines previously-held certainties about male power, authority and roles, and are actively seeking new identities in relation to other men and women and children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Accept that men’s engagement with programmes may be inconsistent and irregular. This is often because other activities take priority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Be aware of the importance of transitions in men’s lives and the impact that these may have on their willingness and ability to engage with programmes and effect change in their lives.</td>
</tr>
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Source: IPPF 2010.

**Theatre-based approaches**

Use of programmes involving theatre or the arts more generally has been the subject of much recent development as a way of strengthening engagement and working across cognitive, affective and behavioural domains. The potential offered by theatre-based approaches is
identified by Katz and Moore (2013), with positive results demonstrated in a number of single studies (Ahrens et al. 2011; Belknap et al. 2013; Christensen 2014; McMahon et al. 2015b; Mitchell and Freitag 2011; Plourde et al. 2014, 2015), as well as in the review by Christensen (2013). The use of edutainment (education entertainment) also deserves some attention. Edutainment is a term coined to refer to arts based programmes that are designed to serve as both education and entertainment (Allen and Solomon 2016, IPPF 2010), for example the radio series that forms the basis of the Soul City programme, the programme described in Cameron et al. (2014), and the OneLove programme described in Jana et al. (2014).

**Use of apps**

The use of relatively new technology success as downloadable apps provides an interesting opportunity for further development. Two examples have been mentioned earlier in this report, STIRitAPP and the app associated with the Green Dot programme. Results from detailed evaluations have yet to be published.

**Serious Games**

Another avenue for the use of new technology is provided by serious games. So far only one example of this has appeared in the violence prevention literature (Bowen et al. 2014), designed for delivery in a school setting. This again provides a further opportunity for development.

**4.3 Supporting prosocial bystander action: design principles**

Using a review-of-reviews approach across four areas (substance abuse, risky sexual behaviour, school failure, and juvenile delinquency and violence), Nation et al. (2003) identified nine characteristics that were consistently associated with effective prevention programmes for the related problematic behaviour. Turning to the empirical research literature on bystanders and primary prevention of violence against women, where the aim is the promotion of prosocial behaviours as well as the reduction of antisocial behaviours; the empirical bystander evidence reviewed here supports the same nine characteristics. Table 4.1 shows Nation et al.’s original definitions (second column) and in the third column how these can be expanded, drawing on the bystander literature, to emphasise the promotion of prosocial behaviour as well as the prevention of problematic behaviour. The consensus from all the later empirical reviews is that these principles are appropriate for use. They are also broadly in agreement with recommendations in Flood et al. (in press).
Table 4.1: Effective programme principles

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comprehensive</td>
<td>Multicomponent interventions that address critical domains (e.g., family, peers, community) that influence the development and perpetuation of the behaviours to be prevented</td>
<td>Multiple components over different settings designed to reduce problematic behaviour and promote prosocial behaviour. Important to include content to address factors at all level in the socio-ecology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varied teaching methods</td>
<td>Programmes involve diverse teaching methods that focus on increasing awareness and understanding of the problem behaviours and on acquiring or enhancing skills</td>
<td>Ensure that there are interactive and active skills-based learning components</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sufficient dosage</td>
<td>Programmes provide enough intervention to produce the desired effects and provide follow-up as necessary to maintain effects</td>
<td>Ensure that refresher or booster intervention is provided and that programme is of sufficient length. Although brief programmes can have positive effects, they are less likely to be extensive or long-lasting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory driven</td>
<td>Programmes have a theoretical justification, are based on accurate information, and are supported by empirical research</td>
<td>The theory of change underlying the programme design needs to be clearly stated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive relationships</td>
<td>Programmes provide exposure to adults and peers in a way that promotes strong relationships and supports positive outcomes</td>
<td>Positive outcomes are associated with fostering strong relationships between participants and peers and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appropriately timed</td>
<td>Programmes are initiated early enough to have an impact on the development of the problem behaviour and are sensitive to the developmental needs of participants</td>
<td>Focus on respectful friendships and peer relationships at younger ages, important to tackle initially within the school years, as adolescence is a key period for prevention of sexually abusive behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioculturally relevant</td>
<td>Programmes are tailored to the community and cultural norms of the participants and make efforts to include the target group in programme planning and implementation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome evaluation</td>
<td>Programmes have clear goals and objectives and make an effort to systematically document their results relative to the goals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-trained staff</td>
<td>Programme staff support the programme and are provided with training regarding the implementation of the intervention</td>
<td>Use of professional or well-trained and supported educators is advantageous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sources: Casey and Lindhorst 2009; CDC 2014; DeGue et al. 2014; Fenton et al. 2016; IPPF 2010; Katz and Moore 2013; Lundgren and Amin 2015; McMahon et al. 2015a; Stanley et al. 2015; Storer et al. 2016; Scott 2017; WHO 2015
The transtheoretical model was noted in section 1 as an important body of empirically supported theory with application in the design of bystander and other violence prevention programmes. Programmes need to respond the stages of change that individuals pass through in changing behaviour, recognising that different components are needed for individuals at different stages of change. Fenton et al. (2016: 31) provide a summary of the ten processes of change identified in the transtheoretical model, and suggest that programme designers need to ensure that each of these is addressed within the proposed intervention, this is reproduced in Box 4.3.

**Box 4.3: Ten processes of change in the transtheoretical model**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consciousness raising</td>
<td>Seeking out information about the subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-liberation</td>
<td>Belief in ability to carry out prosocial behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social liberation</td>
<td>Noticing that it would be liberating to prevent/be free of the problematic behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-re-evaluation</td>
<td>Being disappointed in oneself for not preventing the behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental re-evaluation</td>
<td>Thinking about the harms caused in the environment by the problematic behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterconditioning</td>
<td>Wanting to find other ways to achieve perceived benefits of the problematic behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulus control</td>
<td>Understanding it is helpful to avoid or interrupt cues for the behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinforcement management</td>
<td>Social rewards for prosocial behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic relief</td>
<td>Emotionally moved by warnings about the dangers of the problematic behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping relationships</td>
<td>Access to social support for prosocial behaviour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: modified from Fenton et al. 2016: 31

Cismaru et al. (2010) offer a narrative review of mass media campaigns encouraging bystander intervention to stop partner violence. This was not included in section 2, since it was not a review that directly examined effectiveness, as instead it analysed 12 advertising campaigns in terms of their adherence to the Latané and Darley (1970) model of the bystander decision-making process. Their findings are interesting in that they identify a lack of theory incorporated within design and implementation, as well as in campaign evaluation. They also note a lack of formal research with the target audience (including a failure to pre-test campaign materials or conduct post-evaluations of the campaigns), a need also identified by Donovan et al. (2008).

**Section 5: Conclusions and recommendations for research, policy and practice**

In the six years since the publication of Powell’s (2011) review on the bystander literature, a considerable amount of new research has been published. This enables the conclusion that
bystander approaches are effective in addressing violence against women and family violence and promoting gender equity. The body of research also provides sufficient information to extract a set of principles for use in designing and implementing bystander programmes. There are still many questions that are not answerable from the knowledge accumulated. One of the reasons for this is that evaluations have rarely measured all the different variables necessary to fully understand relative effects of different programme components, let alone compare different programmes. Few studies directly compare different programmes. The current state of knowledge stops short of enabling full understanding of what exactly works, where, for whom, and why.

Transferability of specific programmes/interventions into different socio-cultural contexts cannot be assumed but must be tested in practice; this has been done in only very few cases in the literature. Programmes/interventions need to be tailored to different socio-cultural environments.

The knowledge represented by Latané and Darley’s (1970) framework for understanding bystander behaviour has stood the test of time, however we are still unable to determine precise recipes for successful intervention. The set of design principles encapsulated in Table 4.1 represents the furthest we can push the knowledge gained so far, and therefore the recommendations made in this knowledge paper are necessarily general.

In particular, what this means is that there is no possibility of identifying any best/most promising way forward in terms of a single project. There are opportunities in every setting within society, and the goal of achieving gender equality requires that we utilise all of these. Nothing less than coordinated and mutually reinforcing efforts across all sectors that are sustained over generations is necessary to achieve gender equality and reap the benefits in health, wellbeing, and economic growth that this will yield.

The remainder of this section presents recommendations for policy, practice and research.

Policy

As Coker et al. (2015) point out, US law requires bystander programming in public and private colleges and universities which are participating in federal student aid programmes. Fenton et al. (2016) make a similar recommendation for the UK. The lack of existence of appropriate federal or state mandate for programmes is identified as a barrier – and could usefully be considered for educational and workplace settings. A political and moral mandate for such work, particularly in terms of intersectional bystander programming is found in Australia’s ratification of international human right covenants and treaties, as well as in the oft-mentioned Australian values of respect for the equal worth, dignity and freedom of the individual.

It is also necessary to advocate for dedicated funding for primary prevention using bystander approaches, without compromising the necessary levels of funding for adequate response systems to violence against women and family violence.
**Practice**

Recognising the importance of social norms as evidenced in the behaviour of particularly high status/authority groups within society, the importance of groups such as MPs and CEOs adopting respectful behaviour in relation to their dealings with each other cannot be emphasised too highly. Provision of training and an appropriate code of conduct is necessary and should be mandatory.

The design principles set out in Table 4.1 should be disseminated for widespread use by programme designers and funders. In summary the principles are:

- Comprehensiveness
- Varied teaching methods
- Sufficient dosage
- Theory driven
- Promoting positive relationships
- Appropriately timed
- Socioculturally relevant
- Include outcome evaluation
- Implemented by well-trained staff

The inclusion of a bystander component in a wide variety of programmes even if affecting bystander behaviour is not the major aim of the programme should be encouraged. This includes bystander behaviour in relation to challenging sexism and other sources of discrimination, in relation to gender equity and can be positioned as based in protecting and promoting the human rights of all (or being a good citizen).

Opportunities to provide training that acknowledges the multiple different intersectional factors that result in discrimination and harassment (see for example Hollaback!’s bystander training) should be examined.

The use of new ICTs such as web-based training and resources, apps, and serious games should be further investigated. In particular, whether cultural translation of Hollaback!’s training and resources are necessary should be explored.

**Research**

The methods adopted for this rapid review have meant that a number of potentially important areas of research have not been fully explored, although insights they offer have been captured through the inclusion of selected reviews and articles/reports, these might usefully be investigated at a later date:

- Tackling racism and other forms of discrimination;
- Promoting gender equity and gender equality;
- Fathering, particularly promoting engaged fathering;
- Engaging men in sexual and reproductive health;
- Promoting healthy relationships/respectful relationships education;
- Criminology literature, particularly on peer influences on perpetrators;
- Environmental criminology, for possible further insights into preconditions, cultural settings and/or contexts.

This report has noted the small amount of research specific to people with disabilities, non-majority ethnic groups (including indigenous peoples), and lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and non-gender binary communities. This deserves urgent attention. Another area where research is limited is in settings other than educational ones.

Important specific areas for further research are:

- The relationship between programme outcomes and programme differential integration of gender-related content in bystander focussed programmes.
- Identification of community and setting-level factors such as policies and norms that have the potential to influence youths’ ability and desire to enact prosocial bystander behaviours. Research is also needed into programmes with faculty, staff and administrators in educational settings.
- Further exploration of mechanisms that leverage individual change in the service of transforming cultures in different settings
- The advantages and disadvantages of bystander training specific to prevention of violence against women and family violence compared to human rights-based bystander training that tackles all forms of discrimination and stigmatisation.

Research in each of these areas is needed in a range of settings, with a range of population groups and exploring a range of methods for promoting bystander behaviour. Identification of an effective one-size-fits-all approach to bystander training is unlikely, but approaches which align with the design principles in Table 4.1 and which have shown promise in particular settings or with particular populations, could in the short-term be prioritised for evaluation in other settings or with other groups. In the longer term, the development of new approaches to promoting the capacity of bystanders to intervene should prioritise those settings and populations where existing approaches have had limited success.

**Measurement in evaluation research**

It is important to include measurement of bystander behaviour in relation to opportunity in the evaluation of all programmes, **even** if there is no explicit bystander component. The modules developed for the VicHealth survey of bystander knowledge, attitudes and behaviours (Pennay and Powell 2012) provide a basis for such measurement, and the findings from this survey (Pennay and Powell 2012; Powell 2012) provide useful comparative data.
References


IPPF. 2010. Men are changing: Case study evidence on work with men and boys to promote gender equality and positive masculinities. London: IPPF.


Appendix A: Review methods

The overarching methodology used for the work is based on that of a rapid review\(^5\). The design was constrained by the resources and time available for the review. The literature used is based on three sources:

1. Recently published reviews
2. Selections from the literature used in the production of our book\(^6\), which focuses on primary prevention and included searches undertaken on bystander programmes and primary prevention programmes in particular settings carried out at various points from 2013 to 2016
3. Ongoing table of contents scan on the following journals, since 2007:
   - American Journal of Public Health
   - Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health
   - Child Maltreatment
   - Health Promotion Journal of Australia
   - Health Promotion International
   - Journal of interpersonal violence
   - Trauma, violence and abuse
   - Violence against women

The search strategy for source 1 above was:

- (review or synthesis) and (violence or abuse) and bystander

The search was carried out using two databases WOS (Web of Science) and Scopus, for years 2009 onwards.

This search strategy was deliberately not limited to studies of effectiveness of bystander programmes, since the wider coverage allowed us to pick up reviews that address barriers, enablers and other moderating factors.

The literature sourced for the review

Source 1

Search results (47), adding in reports from grey literature (6)

53 papers and reports

- 4 of these included a review of effectiveness of interventions that had a strong bystander focus (1 report from grey literature)


• 6 of these included a review of effectiveness of interventions with a less strong bystander focus
• 5 reviews from grey literature with wider focus
• 43 included discussion relevant to theory, enablers and barriers
• Exclusions, 10 in all:
  o Bystanders to risky driving
  o Bystander in literature
  o Cardio pulmonary resuscitation
  o Anti-Jewish violence in the second intifada
  o Reconciliation after genocide, mass killing or intractable conflict
  o Genocide (3)
  o Study of a psychoanalytic intervention in violent school
  o Student-teachers’ views on school violence

Sources 2 and 3

Sources 2 and 3 together yielded 1875 references in total, of which an additional 104 were used in the review.

Use of literature in the review

The overview of the Australian and international evidence base on bystander interventions, section 2, was produced from a review of effectiveness reviews (a subset of the literature obtained from source 1) plus evidence from recent single studies of interventions not included in the reviews; it focuses on primary prevention.

Other sections in the review draw on all sources listed above.