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IF THE NOISE COMING FROM NEXT DOOR WERE LOUD MUSIC, YOU'D DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT

Using Mass Media Campaigns Encouraging Bystander Intervention to Stop Partner Violence

Magdalena Cismaru, Gitte Jensen, and Anne M. Lavack

ABSTRACT: Up to one-third of intimate partner violence incidents involve witnesses. Bystanders play a significant role when it comes to reporting the incidents to authorities, but are often hesitant to get involved in domestic disputes. In this review paper, 12 advertising campaigns that encourage bystander intervention against intimate partner violence are evaluated in relation to Latané and Darley's (1970) model of the bystander decision-making process. The evaluation shows that these campaigns are sometimes contradictory or ambiguous, which may limit their effectiveness. Recommendations are provided.

Intimate partner violence is a critical problem—one that occurs along many dimensions, takes many forms, and arises under a range of different conditions (Mears and Visher 2005; Stephens, Hill, and Gentry 2005). Previous research suggests that bystanders witness up to one-third of the incidents involving intimate partner violence (Planty 2002). Bystanders can play an important role in ensuring that domestic violence is reported to the authorities, and that victims of domestic violence receive help (Felson and Paré 2005). However, bystanders are often uncertain how to react or what their role should be (Latané and Darley 1970; Liz Claiborne Inc. 2006).

The purpose of this paper is to identify ways that mass media campaigns can encourage bystander intervention in situations of domestic violence against partners. We first review the literature on intimate partner violence, and we examine the role of bystanders using theory developed by Latané and Darley (1970). We outline the search methodology we utilized to identify existing campaigns aimed at encouraging bystander intervention against intimate partner violence, and we analyze 12 existing campaigns in terms of their fit with the Latané and Darley (1970) model. Finally, we provide 10 recommendations for practitioners involved in developing campaigns to persuade bystanders to intervene against intimate partner violence.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AND THE ROLE OF BYSTANDERS

Also known more generally as *domestic violence, intimate partner violence* includes four types of spousal abuse—physical, sexual, property, and psychological (Carden 1994; Ganley 1981; Sonkin, Martin, and Walker 1985). Physical violence includes acts such as shoving, slapping, punching, kicking, choking, throwing, scalding, cutting, smothering, or biting (Koss et al. 1994). Sexual abuse involves forcing an intimate partner, through the use of verbal or physical threats or intimidation, to participate in sexual activities against his or her own will. Property violence includes breaking some symbolically meaningful or favored possessions, punching holes in walls, breaking down doors, or throwing things (Carden 1994). Psychological violence consists of verbal and nonverbal behaviors to isolate, humiliate, demean, or control an intimate partner (Carden 1994; Stephens, Hill, and Gentry 2005). Some have suggested that property violence and psychological violence have become more common in recent years because perpetrators believe that these are less likely to be reported than physical abuse (Stephens, Hill, and Gentry 2005).

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), 10% to 50% of women worldwide are physically assaulted by their partners at some point during their lifetime (Rothman, Butchart, and Cerdá 2003). Data from the U.S. National

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Violence Against Women Survey show that close to 1 in 4 women and 1 in 13 men report being "raped and/or physically assaulted by a current or former spouse, cohabiting partner, or date at some time in their lifetime" (Tjaden and Thoennes 2000, p. iii).

Intimate partner violence is a crime, yet the majority of this violence is not reported to authorities. Data from the 2005 Personal Safety Survey in Australia show that 63% of women who experienced physical assault and 81% of women who experienced sexual assault by their partner did not report it to the police (Government of Australia 2005). According to the Statistics Canada (2005) Family Violence report, only 27% of Canadian victims of domestic violence report the incidents to the police.

Bystanders play an important role in intervening in domestic violence. Berk et al. (1984) found that half the calls to the police in the United States regarding domestic violence incidents were made by bystanders. In an analysis of U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey data from 1993 to 1999, Planty (2002) found that 36% of violent incidents occurred in the presence of bystanders, and that the presence of bystanders drastically increased the likelihood of the violent incidents being reported to the police.

A public survey commissioned by Liz Claiborne Inc. and *Redbook* on bystanders to domestic violence found two-thirds of respondents were unsure of the signs of domestic violence, with over 90% failing to regard emotional, verbal, and sexual abuse as signs of domestic violence (Liz Claiborne Inc. 2006). Moreover, the majority of the respondents were unsure about what to do when confronted with domestic violence. Of the 52% of respondents who said they suspected that a close acquaintance was involved in domestic abuse, only 69% took action. Half of those who got involved talked to the victim, a family member, or mutual friends, 40% talked to the abuser, 35% contacted the police, and 19% contacted domestic violence groups.

Given high prevalence rates of domestic violence and low rates of police reports by victims of abuse, efforts have been made to increase reporting by third parties. Government and not-for-profit organizations use advertising and social marketing components such as mass media campaigns, educational kits, and community events to convey the message that domestic violence is unacceptable. These campaigns range from small community-based programs to nationwide advertising campaigns sponsored by multinational corporations. Campaigns have a variety of objectives, including (1) raising awareness about domestic violence and available help services; (2) combating social attitudes and beliefs that normalize and trivialize domestic abuse; and (3) providing advice for victims, perpetrators, professionals, and bystanders on how best to combat domestic violence. Campaigns that specifically focus on bystander intervention are the focus of this paper.

LATANÉ AND DARLEY'S MODEL OF BYSTANDER INTERVENTION

Bystander behavior has been widely researched by social psychologists following the highly publicized murder of Kitty Genovese in 1964, a murder reputedly witnessed by 38 neighbors who failed to help. Following Rosenthal's (1964) landmark book detailing the tragic death of Kitty Genovese, Darley and Latané (1968) and Latané and Darley (1970) conducted several psychological experiments, considered seminal for later research on bystander intervention in emergencies in general (Carlson 2008). Hoefnagels and Zwikker (2001) empirically tested Darley and Latané's (1968) and Latané and Darley's (1970) work in a domestic violence context.

Latané and Darley's (1970) model of bystander intervention as applied to the area of domestic violence (Hoefnagels and Zwikker 2001) outlines five steps that determine whether a bystander renders aid in an emergency situation. First, the bystander must notice the incident; this sometimes requires a shift of attention to an unusual event. Second, the bystander must interpret the incident as an emergency and realize that someone needs help. The interpretation of what is often an ambiguous situation depends on a number of personal and social factors, such as the person's willingness to believe that an emergency is actually happening and the reactions of other bystanders by which the individual is influenced. Third, after the interpretation of an event as an emergency, the bystander must decide that it is his or her responsibility to intervene. Several variables such as bystander characteristics, victim characteristics, situational factors, and characteristics of the relationship between the bystander and the victim determine whether the bystander will feel this responsibility. Fourth, when the bystander has decided to help, the form of intervention must be chosen. The most important choice to be made at this point is whether the intervention will be direct (e.g., jumping into the fight oneself) or indirect (e.g., calling the police). Finally, the bystander must act and the planned intervention must be implemented; this involves making practical choices. At this point, the bystander may begin to undertake actions that are not difficult to perform under normal circumstances; however, the stress generated by the situation may make even a potentially simple task much more difficult (Hoefnagels and Zwikker 2001; Latané and Darley 1970).

Bystander intervention may fail when any of these five steps fall short. A bystander can fail to notice the event, can fail to interpret it as an emergency, can fail to assume the responsibility to take action, can fail to identify what type of action can be taken, or can simply fail to act (Latané and Darley 1968). Understanding how to improve the success of bystander intervention is important in the context of reducing domestic violence. Some of the campaigns against domestic violence have been developed with the specific aim of encouraging ap-

propriate bystander intervention. In the following section, we outline the methods used to identify 12 such campaigns.

METHODOLOGY

We began our examination of domestic violence campaigns promoting bystander intervention by gathering relevant English-language communication and program materials posted on the Internet. Specifically, the first two authors independently conducted a Google search for campaigns using key words such as "victims of domestic violence," "antiviolence," "abuse," "abused women," "domestic violence campaign," "intimate partner violence campaign," and "family violence campaign." Using a snowball search methodology, additional key words were identified and added during the search process. Links were followed from initially accessed Web sites to locate additional Web sites of interest. Health-related government Web sites such as the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, National Institutes of Health, Health Canada, and similar Web sites from other English-speaking countries were also searched. Scholarly articles referring to campaigns against intimate partner violence were located through a variety of databases such as Blackwell-Synergy, JSTOR, PsycINFO, and ABI/INFORM. These scholarly databases were used not only to identify relevant campaigns but also to locate information about the theory, design, strategy, and evaluation of relevant campaigns.

We included all campaigns targeting bystanders of intimate partner violence that had mass media components such as television, radio, magazine ads, posters, Web sites, postcards, and so forth. We did not include the many Web sites that simply provided links to other Web sites or links to campaigns already located. Nor did we include campaigns targeting only social attitudes toward domestic violence (without directly addressing bystanders) or targeting victims of domestic violence or campaigns concerning child abuse or elder abuse. We included major campaigns running at the national and international level, and therefore did not include solely local initiatives. The recency or currency of the campaign did not affect inclusion; if it was a relevant mass media campaign whose components were available on the Internet, we included it.

While there are dozens of campaigns more generally directed at the issue of intimate partner violence, we were able to identify only 12 mass media domestic violence campaigns that specifically encouraged bystander intervention. The 12 campaigns were from five countries: the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, and India. Of these five countries, India is an outlier, as the other four are reasonably similar culturally; however, we included the campaign from India to illustrate cultural differences in what is considered acceptable behavior with respect to bystander intervention. Although domestic violence is a global phenomenon, its prevalence and related norms vary greatly around the world (Stephens, Hill, and Gentry 2005; WHO 2002).

For the 12 campaigns included in our analysis, the first two authors conducted a content analysis and assessed the salient components, including title and Web address, initiator, and target group. The objectives of each campaign were determined by looking for information about what the campaign was trying to achieve. While some campaigns had only one behavioral objective (i.e., encouraging bystanders to report incidents of intimate partner violence), the majority of campaigns had multiple objectives (e.g., raising social awareness, providing help services to victims and perpetrators, fund-raising). Our focus was solely on bystander intervention; therefore, for multifaceted campaigns, only the campaign elements addressing bystander intervention were analyzed. In the course of the campaign search, no theories or background documents guiding the development, implementation, and evaluation of these 12 existing campaigns were identified, in spite of a careful search for this type of information. Formal research data, such as pretesting of campaign materials with focus groups and postevaluations of campaign effectiveness, were not publicly available for any of the 12 campaigns. Therefore, we propose Latané and Darley's (1970) model of bystander intervention as an appropriate framework to guide and analyze campaigns aimed at encouraging bystander intervention. All components of each campaign were evaluated and campaigns were categorized in terms of their adherence to Latané and Darley's (1970) model of bystander intervention.

Disagreements regarding campaign coding between the authors were managed through discussion. The analysis was based solely on the information found on the Internet; the campaign designers were not contacted to obtain additional materials, and no attempt was made to contact campaign designers in order to discuss the target audience, establish the validity of this coding, or ask whether theory had affected the campaign design. Based on the coding and analysis, the Appendix was developed to list the salient components of each of the 12 relevant campaigns, including campaign title and year, campaign description and Web address, initiator of the campaign, campaign materials, target audience, and adherence to the Latané and Darley (1970) model.

LINKING THE 12 BYSTANDER CAMPAIGNS TO THE LATANÉ AND DARLEY MODEL

Of the 12 campaigns we located, 11 were concerned primarily with physical violence and one campaign (Tell a Gal P.A.L. [www.clicktoempower.org]) was concerned specifically with financial abuse and how financial concerns can deter women who want to leave abusive relationships. All 12 bystander intervention campaigns presented the victims of domestic violence as female and the perpetrators as male. Campaigns

consisted of a wide variety of materials, including Web sites, radio and television ads, and print materials such as posters, brochures, and guidelines. Some of the identified campaigns featured celebrity spokespersons or authorities (primarily police). Other campaigns included testimonials from bystanders, victims, or perpetrators of domestic violence.

The following sections describe the steps a bystander follows when considering intervening in a domestic violence situation, as proposed by Latané and Darley's (1970) model of bystander intervention. The 12 identified campaigns are analyzed in terms of their adherence to the five steps proposed in this model.

Step 1: The Bystander Must Notice the Incident

To date, little research has been conducted to evaluate how spousal abuse taking place in the privacy of a home influences bystander intervention (Hoefnagels and Zwikker 2001). The majority of people suspect or know someone who they believe has been the victim of spousal abuse (Sorenson and Taylor 2003). Most bystanders to domestic violence are in close physical proximity or are intimately acquainted with the victim or the perpetrator. In a study of calls to a child abuse helpline, Hoefnagels and Zwikker (2001) discovered that the majority of bystanders to child abuse were neighbors to the abused child (30.4%), parent figures (16.8%), or peers/friends (15.8%). Similar empirical studies have not been carried out to examine the characteristics of bystanders to spousal violence, but according to the Statistics Canada (2005) Family Violence report, the most frequently relied on sources of informal support for both male and female victims of spousal violence were family members (67% of female victims/44% of male victims) and friends/neighbors (63% of female victims/41% of male victims). Other sources of informal help include doctors, nurses, lawyers, and members of the clergy. Overall, 73% of victims of spousal violence stated that they had confided in someone close to them.

Consistent with the literature, most of the 12 campaigns encouraging bystander intervention were directed at individuals intimately acquainted with either the victim or the perpetrator. The most popular target audiences in these campaigns were friends and family (Crimestoppers Domestic Violence [www.crimestoppers-uk.org]; Family Violence: It's Not OK. Are You OK? [www.areyouok.org.nz/family_violence.php]; Tell a Gal P.A.L.; Reducing the Risk [www.reducingtherisk.org.uk]; See It and Stop It! [www.seeitandstopit.org]; There's No Excuse for Domestic Violence [http://endabuse.org]; Violence Against Women—Australia Says No [www.fahcsia.gov.au/sa/women/progserv/violence/Pages/default.aspx]) and neighbors and coworkers (Bell Bajao [http://bellbajao.org]; Family Violence: It's Not OK. Are You OK?; There's No Excuse for Domestic Violence). One campaign (CUT IT OUT [www.cutitout.org]) focused on educating hairdressers on the signs of domestic violence and where to go for help. The rationale for this campaign was that many women see their hairdressers as confidants and form close personal relationships with them. Two campaigns (White Ribbon Day [www.whiteribbonday.org.au]; Don't Ignore It [www.refuge.org.uk]) targeted broad audiences by criticizing the implicit social acceptance of domestic violence and hegemonic masculine norms. One campaign (Norfolk Constabulary Domestic Violence Campaign [www.mediaoutcomes.co.uk/casestudies/7/]) did not appear to be targeted at any specific audience but was simply aimed at the general public.

In terms of the actual "incident" being noticed, almost all of the Web sites for the 12 campaigns described domestic violence, types of violence, as well as warning signs of an abusive relationship, thereby making it possible for a bystander to identify abuse (i.e., Don't Ignore It; See It and Stop It; Tell a Gal P.A.L.; Violence Against Women—Australia Says No; White Ribbon Day). Some also contrasted characteristics of a healthy, respectful relationship with an abusive one (i.e., White Ribbon Day). However, most of the public service announcements (PSAs) focus on physical abuse. Some ads depicted neighbors hearing yelling, screaming, and other noises consistent with a physical assault (i.e., White Ribbon Day). Other ads showed people (victims, abusers, or bystanders) stating what physical or sexual abuse is, or is not (i.e., Violence Against Women—Australia Says No). However, few dealt with other forms of domestic violence, such as psychological abuse. One exception was the Family Violence: It's Not OK. Are You OK? campaign, which mentioned emotional abuse, name calling, as well as abusers making victims feel "worthless." The Bell Bajao campaign also had a PSA in which a female designer talks about verbal abuse. To better represent the full spectrum of potential abuse, future campaigns should broaden their focus to include psychological abuse. Most researchers agree that abusive behavior is likely to escalate over time from verbal to physical aggression (Worden and Carlson 2005), so it is important for bystanders to be aware of the signs of all types of abuse.

None of the 12 domestic violence campaigns depicted male victims. Because domestic abuse against men is less common, it is often trivialized. This trivialization is not only detrimental to facilitating bystander intervention, but the lack of male victims in public domestic violence campaigns may also result in bystanders being less likely to notice abuse involving male victims or to interpret such abuse as an emergency. Depicting men as victims might also make male bystanders more likely to pay attention and sympathize with victims of domestic abuse in general. Therefore, future domestic violence campaigns should broaden their conceptualization of victims/perpetrators to include male victims and female perpetrators.

Step 2: Interpret the Situation as an Emergency

Spousal abuse provides a very ambiguous situation, even for those most likely to detect it. Neighbors may have a hard time differentiating a loud argument from a violent assault (Paquin 1994). Therefore, detailing signs of abuse is a must in helping bystanders to evaluate a situation and decide if it is necessary to intervene. However, bystanders' attitudes toward domestic violence influence the degree to which they will perceive a domestic dispute as an emergency. Several studies show that many people attribute domestic abuse to women actively seeking, provoking, and tolerating violence, and this attribution may make bystanders less likely to interpret the incident as an emergency. Indeed, a survey conducted by Worden and Carlson (2005) showed that bystanders' assessments of an incident depends in part on what they believe are the causes of violence; if bystanders believe some level of violence is normal or justifiable, they are less likely to intervene in violent incidents. Nearly half the respondents indicated that women's treatment of men accounts for "some violence." Nearly one in four agreed that some women want to be abused, and nearly two-thirds believed that women could leave violent relationships "if they really wanted to." Similarly, Shotland and Straw (1976) found that participants in bystander intervention experiments were likely to regard domestic violence as a "private matter," "none of my business," and not particularly serious. Felson, Messner, and Hoskin (1999) found that bystanders are less likely to report domestic violence if the offender and the victim are a couple and if the abuse does not involve physical violence. However, bystanders generally do not view more serious assaults as private matters, regardless of the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. Therefore, one could expect bystanders to be more likely to intervene when witnessing a serious assault.

The Family Violence: It's Not OK. Are You OK? campaign was one that targeted the social belief that domestic violence is a private matter by having a former abuser testify that his friends cared enough about him and his partner to threaten to call the police if he did not get help. Several other campaigns also targeted this belief (e.g., Bell Bajao). However, more work needs to be done to discredit the belief that the victim causes the abuse or wants it. This belief is clearly addressed in domestic violence campaigns targeting the victim; nevertheless, bystanders also need to fully understand that nobody deserves to be abused. Domestic violence campaigns using slogans that urge bystanders to intervene might also consider including components portraying children as witnessing violence. While many people believe women have some responsibility and agency in violent relationships, children are perceived as far more helpless (Hastings, Stead, and Webb 2004) and thus may be a stronger impetus to encourage intervention.

Only two of the 12 bystander intervention campaigns explicitly appealed to a sense of emergency: the campaign entitled There is No Excuse for Domestic Violence and the Bell Bajao campaign. The campaign called There Is No Excuse for Domestic Violence included posters with the slogan "While you are trying to find the right words, your friend may be trying to stay alive," while the Bell Bajao campaign stated, "domestic violence will lead to a disaster." However, other campaigns, such as Family Violence: It's Not OK. Are You OK? and Violence Against Women—Australia Says No, warned against hasty intervention with statements like the following: "Some things we want abused people to do may put them in more danger. . . . What you consider reasonable action may be deadly for her. Keeping quiet may be less dangerous." While all these campaigns had sound reasons for recommending a particular behavior and all had the victim's well-being in mind, such conflicting messages may make it difficult for bystanders to decide whether a domestic dispute is an emergency that requires immediate intervention. Therefore, future domestic violence campaigns should provide clarification regarding when it is appropriate to consider intervening (as well as the best way to intervene) and when it might be wiser to abstain.

Step 3: Responsibility to Intervene

Bystander passivity fosters an implicit atmosphere of social tolerance of domestic violence. Latané and Darley (1970) identified several factors that influence whether a bystander feels responsibility to intervene: (1) bystander characteristics, (2) victim characteristics, (3) characteristics of the relationship between bystander and victim, and (4) situational factors. Other researchers have identified myriad personal and social factors that influence helping behavior in incidents of domestic violence, including cost-benefit analyses of helping and nonhelping, stereotypes, prejudice against women, and victim blaming (Garcia and Herrero 2007).

Bystander Characteristics

Although the social inhibition of helping was found to be a consistent phenomenon (Latané and Nida 1981), in general, the influence of bystanders' sociodemographic characteristics on helping behavior has yielded inconsistent results, in part due to the type of intervention needed in a particular situation.

For example, some researchers have found that men are more likely to help women, whereas women are more likely to help children (Levine et al. 2002); females and elderly people may be less likely to intervene if there is a high risk of physical confrontation, but may be more likely to intervene if the intervention involves calling authorities or talking to the victim. Other researchers have found no association between sociodemographic factors and bystander intervention in incidents of domestic violence (e.g., Frye 2007).

Nevertheless, bystander competence has been found to be of key importance in determining if a bystander will offer to help. Piliavin, Rodin, and Piliavin (1969) found that bystanders are less likely to intervene directly if the intervention appears to have an unwanted physical or psychological consequence, such as exposing oneself to danger or verbal harassment. In addition, given that more than half the women served by women's shelters eventually return to their abusive partners (Aguirre 1985; Giles-Sims 1983; Snyder and Scheer 1981; Stone 1984), bystander feelings of efficacy (or especially lack of efficacy) may constitute another factor affecting the likelihood that one bystander will intervene. Specifically, if one bystander chooses to intervene and observes that his or her efforts are in vain, it is likely that this person will abstain from intervening in the future. Therefore, future campaigns should emphasize the beneficial effects of bystander intervention.

While the 12 campaigns we reviewed generally portrayed domestic violence as an important social issue that requires intervention, most of the campaigns did not explicitly target the bystander's sense of competence and the bystander's safety. Because most bystanders are neighbors, friends, and family members who might also be well acquainted with the perpetrator, these bystanders may be hesitant to get involved if they fear for their own safety, are worried about the future of their relationship with the victims' family, or are concerned about the victim's or the abuser's well-being. The Bell Bajao campaign recommended intervening without an explicit confrontation (e.g., ringing the doorbell to borrow a cup of milk), thereby not providing reasons for the aggressor to get angry. Other campaigns, such as Crimestoppers, encouraged bystanders who do not want to get personally involved to call the police. More campaigns should highlight possible interventions that protect the safety of bystanders, such as an anonymous call to police or social services. Mass media campaigns could assist in increasing bystanders' feelings of competence by including explicit references to helplines, where bystanders can talk to domestic violence counselors who can help them decide if an intervention is appropriate and what type of intervention is recommended.

Victim Characteristics

Male aggression toward female victims is seen as less acceptable, more injurious, and more criminal than female aggression toward male victims (Bethke and DeJoy 1993). However, as discussed earlier, bystanders are much less willing to intervene in an assault on a woman when they perceive the perpetrator to be her husband or male partner. Shotland and Straw (1976) conducted a series of experiments in which a man physically attacked a woman in the presence of a bystander. In these experiments, bystanders intervened more frequently when led to believe the couple were strangers (65%) than married (19%). Furthermore, when bystanders were unsure about the relationship between perpetrator and victim, they were likely to infer an intimate connection and did not intervene. Hence, the perceived relationship between those involved in the violent incident can serve to legitimize the violence. None of the evaluated campaigns addressed this issue. Future domestic violence campaigns should point out that a preexisting relationship does not make violence acceptable, and it should not deter bystanders from intervening.

Characteristics of the Relationship Between Bystander and Victim

The literature concerning the personal relationship between bystander and victim/perpetrator is scarce. Evidence indicates that in most cases of domestic violence, the bystander knows the victim or the perpetrator intimately through family ties, friendship, or physical proximity (e.g., neighbors/coworkers). Indeed, in Hoefnagels and Zwikker's (2001) study of bystanders to child abuse, 96.7% were personally acquainted with either the victim or the perpetrator. However, the participants in experimental research concerning helping behavior (e.g., Latané and Darley 1968; Shotland and Straw 1976) typically were strangers to the victim and perpetrator (e.g., confederates hired by the researcher). Likewise, survey research often uses vignettes to examine what participants would do in a particular situation. In these vignettes, the participant does not have a personal relationship with the people described, which might influence their self-reported helping behaviors. Therefore, more research is needed to explore how the intimate relationships between bystander, victim, and perpetrator influence the likelihood of intervention.

Situational Factors

It is important to consider the influence of situational factors in the community, such as poverty, social isolation, lack of social cohesion, social disorganization, and community violence, on helping behaviors. Social disorganization theory (Hurley 2004) suggests that in neighborhoods characterized by social disorder (e.g., drug dealing, prostitution, crime, vandalism), residents feel there is a lack of social control or the neighborhood is a dangerous place (Garcia and Herrero 2007). Social disorder also signals neighbors' unwillingness to intervene against criminal behavior or to call the police (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999). Social disorder produces feelings of fear that weaken neighborhood cohesion and facilitate more crime and disorder (Markowitz et al. 2001). Collective efficacy (e.g., whether neighbors undertake actions such as breaking up fights on the streets or scolding disrespectful children) is an important predictor of violence rates at the neighborhood level as well as violent victimization at the individual level (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002).

Little empirical research has examined the relationship between social disorganization and reporting of domestic violence to authorities. Garcia and Herrero (2007) analyzed data from a national survey in Spain and found that respondents who perceived high neighborhood disorder were considerably less likely to report incidents of domestic violence than respondents who perceived low or moderate neighborhood disorder. Therefore, community campaigns should target feelings of social disorder and the resistance of residents to get involved in domestic disputes by fostering feelings of shared identity in the community and highlighting collective efficacy with regard to combating violence. Campaign efforts to target social disorder must be backed by law enforcement and the justice system through legislation, such as mandatory arrest laws or public campaigns that portray the police as being intolerant of domestic violence incidents.

Indeed, those U.S. states that have implemented mandatory proarrest policies in domestic violence cases have reported positive changes in attitudinal norms toward intimate partner violence since these policies went into effect (Salazar et al. 2003). In addition, studies show that arrest reduces reassault by the same perpetrator (Maxwell, Garner, and Fagan 2001), and reporting of partner violence to police by victims or third parties decreases repeat offenses (Felson and Paré 2005). Although further research is needed to clarify the effect of mandatory arrest policies on bystander intervention, Frye (2007) suggests that mandatory arrest policies may also increase the likelihood of informal responses, including reporting to police by third parties. None of the identified bystander intervention campaigns addressed community factors such as poverty and crime rates. However, police services in various communities have launched campaigns to promote new mandatory arrest laws and deliver a stern warning to perpetrators that the police do take domestic violence seriously (London Metropolitan Police Service Domestic Violence Campaign [www.met.police.uk/campaigns/domestic_violence_2010/index.htm]). Consequently, future domestic violence campaigns targeting bystanders should consider addressing the mandatory arrest issue in their communications.

The 12 domestic violence campaigns we examined used widely different methods to shape perceptions of the victim and perpetrator and induce a sense of responsibility to act. The Violence Against Women—Australia Says No campaign focused on debunking the sense of impropriety associated with interference in a private dispute by using statements such as "It is OK to get involved—you could save a life." Crimestoppers UK uses fear to encourage bystander intervention. Their Web site states: "Two women are killed every week as a result of domestic violence in England and Wales. If you suspect a friend or family member is experiencing abuse you can call the charity Crimestoppers anonymously on 0800 555 111." The Don't Ignore It campaign, the Norfolk Constabulary Domestic Violence campaign, and the Reducing the Risk campaign all used a similar approach. The Bell Bajao campaign also points out that the lack of intervention might lead to a "disaster."

In contrast, the hard-hitting There Is No Excuse for Domestic Violence campaign used posters with slogans such as "It is hard to confront a friend who abuses his wife. But not nearly as hard as being his wife." Their television ad featured a young child sitting alone and frightened on the stairs as his angry father screams and threatens his mother. The child cringes as his father hits his mother. The words appear: "Children have to sit by and watch. What's your excuse?" Both the television ad and the poster slogan convey the message that bystander intervention makes a difference and that nonintervention is inexcusable. The Family Violence: It's Not OK. Are You OK? campaign shows a man who is grateful to friends who intervened. This approach relieves bystander fears that an intervention might be unwelcome.

The CUT IT OUT campaign encourages hairstylists to enroll as a facilitator. The See It and Stop It campaign encourages bystanders to "recognize abuse, say something at the first sign of abuse and take it a step further," by doing things such as hanging a poster in one's school. The Tell a Gal P.A.L. campaign uses an indirect approach to convince bystanders to intervene by explaining in detail the negative consequences of experiencing abuse, by pointing out that the bystander can make a difference, and by providing advice on how to help.

The White Ribbon Day television ad uses a sarcastic approach to show that nonintervention makes the bystander an accomplice in the violent dispute. The television ad features a couple eating supper while overhearing a man next door abusing his wife. The husband picks up a baseball bat, walks across the hall, and knocks on the neighbor's door. When the abusive man opens the door, he hands him the baseball bat, saying, "You might be needing this." The concluding text reads: "Do nothing and you may as well lend a hand." A somewhat similar approach was taken by the campaign called There's No Excuse for Domestic Violence, which created an ad showing people overhearing a violent dispute and doing nothing about it.

Step 4: Appropriate Intervention

The research literature has little to say about what constitutes appropriate bystander intervention or how bystanders decide among multiple options for intervention. The 12 bystander intervention campaigns we examined provided many different interpretations of what is appropriate intervention. The Norfolk Constabulary Domestic Violence campaign encouraged victims and bystanders to report incidents of domestic violence to the police. The CUT IT OUT campaign encouraged hairdressers to talk to their clients about abuse and refer them to sources of professional help (helplines, shelters, women's

centers). The Tell a Gal P.A.L. campaign encouraged women to talk to their girlfriends about planning a financially secure future as a way to alleviate financial concerns if they have to leave a relationship.

The majority of the domestic violence campaigns stressed the primary role of the bystander as being a supportive ally. The Reducing the Risk campaign and the Family Violence: It's Not OK. Are You OK? campaign provided guidelines for friends and family members to open up a dialogue about current domestic violence with the clear aim of referring victims to a specialist in domestic violence. The latter campaign stressed that professional services are better equipped to help the victim than the bystander himself or herself: "There may be limits to what you can offer. New Zealand research shows that women feel best served and supported by specialist domestic violence intervention organizations and women's centres." The Violence Against Women—Australia Says No campaign also emphasized the role of bystanders as sympathetic and supportive. In their brochure, "What do you do when she tells you?" the bystander is encouraged to "Listen to her, believe her, support her whether her decision is to stay or leave." The bystander is also advised to make a safety plan and to find out about available help services. The Don't Ignore It campaign acknowledges that intervention can be dangerous for the bystander as well as the victim. The Crimestoppers Domestic Violence campaign suggested that bystanders who do not want to get personally involved can contact Crimestoppers and file an anonymous report to the police. This is one of the few campaigns that provided bystanders with the option of helping the victim without getting personally involved in the domestic dispute.

The See It and Stop It campaign was directed at youth ages 13 to 18 and included recommendations on how to talk to a friend who is suspected of being a victim of dating violence. Although the Web site advised the bystander to encourage the abused peer to contact a counselor, talk to their parents, and seek medical attention for physical injuries, it did not mention reporting the incident to the police. The campaign also did not provide any information regarding the potential danger for the teenager who decides to intervene.

Both the There Is No Excuse for Domestic Violence campaign and the White Ribbon Day campaign used strong slogans to encourage bystander intervention, but neither provided suggestions for appropriate intervention or action. Instead, their educational materials were focused on prevention. The campaign Web site for There Is No Excuse for Domestic Violence offered educational booklets for organizing community events to raise awareness about domestic violence. The White Ribbon Day campaign Web site included a list of helplines, but otherwise was concerned with promotion of social attitudes that defy the normalization of violence against women. Hence, their mass media advertising encouraged intervention without specifying a particular course of action, whereas other materials focused solely on prevention efforts.

The Bell Bajao campaign from India was the only campaign that depicted concrete examples of bystander intervention. Several television ads featured a male neighbor and a group of neighborhood boys, each ringing the doorbell to the house where a woman is being abused by her husband. The subtext to the television ads reads: "Asking for a small cup of milk is all you need to do to bring domestic violence to a halt." This television spot asks men to challenge men who engage in violence.

Sometimes, in the 12 campaigns that were reviewed, it was unclear whether a bystander should resort to immediate intervention (i.e., get physically involved or call the police) or proactive intervention (i.e., talk to the victim and devise a safety plan, but ultimately leave it up to the victim when to get help). It is also unclear how the bystander should decide on the appropriate intervention for the situation. This ambiguity can result in a bystander abstaining from intervening. Therefore, future domestic violence campaigns should consider clarifying appropriate courses of intervention in particular situations. These clarifications could be achieved by providing a helpline for bystanders, or a Web site to assist them in determining the best course of action, or by presenting campaigns that show examples of domestic violence situations and the appropriate course of action in each situation.

Step 5: Finally, the Bystander Must Act

After having decided on a preferred course of action, the bystander must then actually implement that action. One of the major deterrents of action at this stage is perceived danger. Piliavin and Piliavin (1972) have proposed that bystanders are less likely to help a victim if they feel helping may place them in danger, irrespective of how many other bystanders are present. Paquin (1994) conducted a study of bystander intervention by neighbors and found that in those cases where the bystander had called the police or physically intervened, the relationship with the violent family had subsequently deteriorated. Therefore, if bystanders are encouraged to report violence, it is important to enable bystanders to maintain their anonymity. Victim support is less likely to lead to deterioration of the relationship and could potentially provide critical assistance to the victim in a time of crisis. However, more research involving measures of actual bystander behavior is needed to further explore this topic.

As shown while discussing the appropriate intervention, most of the campaigns encouraging bystander intervention in domestic violence disputes include a call for action, ranging from simply encouraging people to donate, volunteer, or call the police to physically going to the place where the abuse takes place. Indeed, the White Ribbon Web site has a "Get

involved" section that asks people to buy a ribbon, make a donation, or volunteer. In addition to asking for donations and volunteers, the Crimestoppers UK campaign encourages bystanders to "Give information anonymously" online or by calling a phone number. One of the ads for the Australia Says No campaign says to bystanders who witness abuse and believe they cannot say anything, "Yes, you can," thereby encouraging action. In addition, the Family Violence: It's Not OK. Are You OK? campaign depicts a man who is given an ultimatum by his friends the day after he assaulted his wife: "Get some help or we'll call the police." Finally, the Bell Bajao campaign message "Bring domestic violence to a halt, ring the bell" encourages bystanders to go to the door of the neighbor where domestic violence is taking place and ask to borrow something or invite the perpetrator for a ball game, thereby interrupting abuse and possibly ending it at least temporarily.

CONCLUSIONS

In common with many types of social marketing campaigns, mass media campaigns designed to combat domestic violence are often developed with relatively limited funding. The result is a lack of theory incorporated within the design, implementation, and campaign evaluation, as well as a lack of formal research with the target audience (including a failure to pretest campaign materials or conduct postevaluations of the campaigns). This lack of research makes it difficult to judge which campaign strategies are most effective at increasing bystander intervention. This review examined 12 domestic violence campaigns encouraging bystander intervention. Although the individual campaigns draw on important aspects of bystander intervention, such as challenging social norms, emphasizing bystander responsibility, implying bystander capability, and stressing the need for intervention, collectively they are contradictory in many respects.

Latané and Darley's (1970) model of bystander decision making implies that campaigns should identify where and why a bystander might fail to intervene during the five steps in the decision-making process (i.e., notice a situation, identify the situation as an emergency, realize that the bystander has a responsibility to intervene, identify a clear option for intervention, and act). Campaigns that help bystanders move through these five steps of the decision-making process are more likely to promote action than those campaigns whose ambiguity or lack of consistency might cause a bystander to fail to intervene. As shown in the Appendix, the second step (i.e., "identifying the situation as an emergency") is the step least addressed by the 12 evaluated campaigns. Any type of domestic violence or domestic abuse should be considered socially unacceptable and wrong, and bystanders should be urged to intervene in some way, even when the bystander is not entirely certain that it looks like "an emergency."

It is clear that campaigns aimed at encouraging bystanders to intervene in situations of domestic violence can have a positive and beneficial effect by increasing the likelihood of intervention. To help improve such campaigns in the future, 10 key recommendations are offered:

1. The target audience for the campaign should include neighbors and friends, family members, teachers, doctors, nurses, lawyers, and members of the clergy.
2. The campaign's depiction of abuse should be expanded to include verbal and emotional abuse.
3. Men should be depicted as potential victims of domestic violence, and women should be depicted as potential abusers.
4. The various forms of abuse and signs of abuse should be described in detail.
5. Campaigns should emphasize that nobody deserves to be abused, that no form of abuse should be tolerated, and that abuse is socially unacceptable.
6. Campaigns should emphasize that a prior or existing relationship does not justify abuse, and that domestic violence is not a private matter.
7. Bystanders should be made aware of the positive effects of the mandatory arrest policies.
8. Campaigns should point out that bystanders should always intervene and, to help them do so, campaigns should provide a confidential phone line where bystanders can call and be advised of the appropriate course of action.
9. Bystanders should be provided with examples and clarifications regarding what they could or should do in particular situations.
10. Bystanders who intervene should be given positive reinforcement by praising them and showing testimonies of abusers and victims who are grateful to them.

The above set of recommendations is theory based and provides concrete and realistic advice for improving domestic violence campaigns aimed at encouraging bystander intervention. Following these 10 steps can help to create more effective campaigns.

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APPENDIX

Domestic Violence Campaigns Encouraging Bystander Intervention

Campaign/year/ initiator	Campaign description and Web address	Objectives	Campaign components	Target group	Adherence to Latané and Darley's model
Australia					
White Ribbon Day—November 25 (2005) by the United Nations	Promotes culture change around the issue of domestic violence. Encourages men and boys to wear a white ribbon on November 25 and urges men to speak out against violence against women. http://theinspirationroom.com/daily/2005/white-ribbon-day-tv-ads/ www.whiteribbonday.org.au www.youtube.com/watch?v=AvBKIBhfgPc	To change social norms by challenging social acceptance of domestic violence. To encourage victims to seek help.	Events, Web site, TV ads.	Everyone, primarily males and bystanders	Step 1 Step 3 Step 4
Violence Against Women—Australia Says No (2004–2007) by the Australian Government Office for Women	Increases community awareness of the issues of domestic violence and sexual assault and provides professional consultation (via helpline) to victims, family and friends, and perpetrators. www.fahcsia.gov.au/sa/women/progserv/violence/Pages/default.aspx http://theinspirationroom.com/daily/2007/australia-says-no-to-violence-against-women/	To change social norms. To negate the excuses of men abusing their partners. To encourage bystander intervention.	TV ads, helpline for victims, perpetrators, friends and family, publications (no longer available online), brochure, poster, Web site.	Victims, perpetrators, friends, and family	Step 1 Step 2 Step 3 Step 4
India					
Bell Bajao (2008) by the Breakthrough (international human rights organization) and Indian Ministry of Women and Child Development	Aims to change the zeitgeist and to encourage people to speak up about domestic violence (bystander intervention). In particular, it seeks men as direct partners ready to "ring the bell" and intervene in situations of abuse. www.bellbajao.org	To encourage bystander intervention.	TV ads, posters, radio ad debunking stereotypes about women's mobility (English and Hindi), mobile video van, Web site.	Neighbors, primarily men and boys	Step 1 Step 2 Step 3 Step 4
New Zealand					
Family Violence: Is Not OK. Are you OK? (2008) by the Government of New Zealand	Aims to increase the understanding of family violence and to promote changes in violent behaviors. www.areyouok.org.nz/home.php	To encourage bystander intervention. To change social norms.	Community Action Fund (provides financial support for community activities), community action tool kit, TV ads, helpline, Web site.	Neighbors/coworkers, friends, and family	Step 1 Step 2 Step 3 Step 4

United Kingdom					
Crimestoppers Domestic Violence Campaign (2008) by Crimestoppers UK	Encourages bystanders to take action by supporting the victim or calling the police/Crimestoppers. This is the only campaign that addresses options for people who do not want to get personally involved. www.crimestoppers-uk.org/how-we-help/our-partners/community-partners/making-communities-safer/domestic-violence	To encourage by-stander intervention.	Web site, posters.	Everyone, in particular friends and family	Step 3 Step 4
Don't Ignore It (2003–2005) by the Refuge and Women's Aid	Criticizes the implicit acceptance of domestic violence in the United Kingdom. The central message is that domestic violence is unacceptable and everyone has a part to play in preventing the problem. www.refuge.org.uk/about-us/prevention-and-education/campaigns/dont-ignore-it/	To encourage people who witness incidents of domestic violence to "step in" and "take action."	Cinema advertising campaign, national poster campaign, bill-boards in the London Underground, Web site.	Everyone	Step 1 Step 3 Step 4
Norfolk Constabulary Domestic Violence Campaign (2004) by the Norfolk Police and the Eastern Daily Press	Assists the police in increasing reporting of domestic violence by victims and their friends and families. www.mediaoutcomes.co.uk/casestudies/7/ www.norfolk.police.uk/safetyadvice/personalsafety/domesticabuse/aspx	To encourage by-stander intervention.	Radio ads, newspaper ads, campaign posters, Web site.	Not specified	Step 1 Step 3 Step 4
Reducing the Risk (2008) by the Thames Valley Police/Oxfordshire Domestic Violence Steering Group	Aims at increasing early reporting of domestic abuse and reducing repeat victimizations. www.thamesvalley.police.uk/crprev/crprev-domabu.htm	To provide advice to family members and friends on how to help victims of domes-tic abuse (men or women).	Web site, brochures, domestic abuse helpline.	Friends and family members	Step 1 Step 3 Step 4

(*continues*)

APPENDIX (*continued*)

Campaign/year/ initiator	Campaign description and Web address	Objectives	Campaign components	Target group	Adherence to Latané and Darley's model
United States					
CUT IT OUT (2001–ongoing) by the Salons Against Domestic Abuse Fund, National Cosmetology Association, Southern Living at Home	Mobilizes salon professionals and trains them to recognize warning signs and safely refer clients to local resources and the National Domestic Violence Hotline (based on the belief that many women form close relationships with their salon professionals). www.cutitout.org/adopt.html	To encourage bystander intervention. To provide services for victims.	Educational seminars, awareness materials (posters, safety card kits), Adopt-a-Shelter program, Web site.	Salon professionals	Step 1 Step 3 Step 4
See It and Stop It! (2008) by the Family Violence Prevention Fund, the Advertising Council, and Teens in Massachusetts	Offers information on how to recognize the signs of dating violence and how to stop it. Created by and for teens. www.seeitandstopit.org/pages/	To offer information on how to recognize the warning signs of dating violence and how to stop it.	Posters, online tool kit, and Web site.	Teens between 13 and 18, victims, perpetrators, and bystanders	Step 1 Step 3 Step 4
Tell a Gal P.A.L. (2008) by the Allstate Foundation	Encourages men and women to overcome the taboo and talk openly about domestic violence. P.A.L. stands for Pass It On—spread the word about domestic abuse; Act—plan for a secure financial future; and Learn—about resources available and protect personal and financial safety. www.clicktoempower.org	To encourage bystander intervention and to provide services for victims.	Celebrity spokesperson, Web site where the Allstate Foundation will donate $1 to the cause every time people click on a banner, links to specific information about rebuilding a financial future.	Friends, predominantly women (the Web site has a designer purse competition)	Step 1 Step 3 Step 4
There's No Excuse for Domestic Violence (2008) by the Family Violence Prevention Fund	Encourages people to question their tacit acceptance of domestic violence. www.endabuse.org/section/_get_help	To encourage bystander intervention to prevent domestic violence.	TV public service announcements, education materials (neighbors/person to person), posters, Web site.	Neighbors, friends, family members close to victims of domestic violence	Step 1 Step 2 Step 3 Step 4