

**FREEDOM FROM FEAR  
CAMPAIGN AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE:  
AN INNOVATIVE APPROACH TO REDUCING CRIME**

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## **Abstract**

In 1995 the Western Australian government Family and Domestic Violence Taskforce produced a number of key recommendations addressing service and support to victims; programs for perpetrators; 'grass roots' partnerships; and changing community attitudes and behaviours through a ten year community education campaign.

In response to these key recommendations the challenge was to develop a non-punitive campaign focussing primarily on perpetrators (and potential perpetrators), asking them to seek help to change their violent ways. The logic behind the campaign is that if violent men voluntarily change their violent behaviour, this will not only reduce the incidence of violence, but also reduce the fear felt by their women partners and children. Elements of the Campaign include mass media supported by a combination of strategies that reinforce the key messages and create environments that promote and sustain intentions towards behaviour change.

This paper describes the research program that has underpinned all stages of the campaign development and evaluation to date.

## **Campaign Background**

Violence against women by their partners is now recognised as a major international public health problem, in both developed and developing countries (WHO, 1997). Domestic violence is defined as 'behaviour which results in physical, sexual or psychological damage, forced social isolation, economic deprivation, or behaviour which causes the victim to live in fear. It includes partners who are married, de facto or otherwise emotionally connected, ex partners and any family members'.

Estimates of the prevalence of domestic violence against women vary widely because of definitional and response issues. In a 1993 Canadian survey, 3% of women in a relationship reported a physical or sexual assault in the 12 months prior to interview; in a 1996 survey in Australia (ABS, 1996), 8% of women reported a violent incident at some time during their current relationship, and 23% of women who had ever been married or in a defacto relationship had experienced an incident of physical or sexual violence by a partner. In the US, using the Conflict Tactics Scale, 12% of husbands in a 1985 survey reported at least one physical assault on their wife and 3.4% reported at least one act of severe violence (Tomison and Wolcott 1997). In a 1999 study of Australian young people aged 12-20 years (Donovan Research, 1999), 21% of young people reported that their mother had been the victim of a violent incident perpetrated by a male partner.

Most programs that aim to reduce domestic abuse have been based around the criminal justice system, targeting both Police and the judiciary. The public education components that have accompanied some such campaigns have aimed at increasing the public's (and perpetrators') perception that domestic violence is a crime (Buchanan 1996).

The extensive formative research undertaken to develop the *Freedom From Fear* Campaign indicated that a unique approach, one that was not described anywhere else in the literature, should be taken in Western Australia.

The Western Australian *Freedom From Fear* campaign is a long term community education program complementing criminal justice and other community interventions. This campaign is unique, being the first non-punitive campaign focusing primarily on perpetrators of domestic violence, asking them to seek help to change their violent ways. The logic is that if violent men voluntarily change their violent behaviour, this will not only reduce the incidence of violence, but reduce the fear felt by their women partners and children.

There were many challenges that faced the Campaign; these are summarised in the section below.

## **Challenges**

### ***Working within Government***

The Western Australian Government's Family and Domestic Violence Action Plan (1995) was endorsed by Cabinet. One of the key recommendations was 'To change attitudes and behaviours through long term community education programs'. The ongoing success of the Campaign has been assisted by a high level of bipartisan support as well as contributing to the development of an integrated response to domestic violence. The challenge that faced the program coordinators was to work with all relevant stakeholders across government in a highly political and sensitive area.

### ***Working with the Domestic Violence Sector***

The domestic violence Sector in Western Australia is very much victim (and therefore female) oriented. There was a risk that the sector would not support resources targeting men and it was important that it be understood the Campaign's primary aim was safety for women and children. It was recognised that the Sector not only needed to be informed of the Unit's intentions very early on, but their knowledge, advice and support would be sought where possible. To address these issues an intensive statewide consultation process was put in place. Key stakeholders such as regional domestic violence committees, with government and non-government membership and the judiciary were also involved.

### ***Appropriate Service Provision***

As the intention of the media strategy was to provoke men to think about their violent behaviour and to seek help to change their behaviour it was therefore essential that a helpline be set up for men to provide information, counselling and referral into behaviour change programs. It was also critical that there were sufficient behaviour change programs for perpetrators, as well as services for women and children.

### ***A Comprehensive Campaign Design***

The Campaign provides a comprehensive mass media 'umbrella' which utilises television, radio press and poster advertising. It is supported by a combination of strategies that work to support and reinforce the key Campaign messages as well as promoting and sustaining intentions towards actual behaviour change (See figure 1, Campaign Framework section). The mass media supported by the Men's Domestic Helpline, counselling services and other strategies, are all essential elements of the Campaign.

## ***Research and Evaluation Underpinning the Campaign***

Extensive research, careful planning and consultation has minimised the risk of backlash and facilitated wide acceptance. The research, evaluation and social marketing models and frameworks made a substantial contribution to the development of the Campaign. It is the research challenges in particular that will be the focus of this paper.

### **Formative Research**

In the initial stages of campaign planning, formative research was commissioned to inform the development of appropriate communication strategies / messages for the proposed campaign.

Given that the campaign messages were to be clearly directed towards males, the formative research was carried out entirely with men, together with some input from professional experts with direct experience in the field (eg. counsellors; therapists; social workers etc.)

### **The Research Approach**

**Qualitative research** was carried out (Donovan Research, 1996) with two distinct target groups:

- i) 'general population males' aged 15-40 years;
- ii) perpetrators of domestic violence.

The broad objectives of this research were to examine:

- the awareness, knowledge, attitudes, perceptions and behaviours of men, with respect to domestic violence.
- the acceptability, credibility and potential effectiveness of five possible 'message themes' for a community education campaign:
  1. *Criminal Sanctions*
  2. *Community Intervention*
  3. *Social Disapproval*
  4. *Consequences*
  5. *Help is Available*

#### **i) General Population Males**

A total of 15 focus groups were conducted, stratified by age and social economic status (ie. 'blue collar' and 'white collar').

Nine of the groups were conducted in Perth; the remaining 6 groups were spread across four regional towns: Albany, Narrogin, Karratha, Port Hedland.

In order not to pre-sensitise participants to the issues of domestic violence, and to reduce any bias in group composition, all group participants were kept 'blind' as to the purpose of the groups, being told only that the groups would be discussing 'some important social issues'. In fact, as part of the group recruitment screening, all men

who were contacted were asked to rate each of a number of social concerns in terms of "how important you personally think it is." This provided an indication of the relative salience of domestic violence as an issue.

In developing protocols for the group sessions with general population males, it was acknowledged that domestic violence might prove to be an uncomfortable topic of discussion for some respondents, while others might claim insufficient knowledge of, or exposure to the issue to make much contribution to the group. There existed a possibility therefore that discussion would be stilted and the 'group synergy' essential to successful group discussions would fail to be established.

In order to minimise the potential for this to occur, the issue of "violence in society", was introduced as the initial topic of discussion. Discussion moved to issues of domestic violence spontaneously during the discussion of "violence in society". This approach was successful in two respects; firstly the discussion of "violence in society", about which many men had strong opinions, allowed 'group synergy' to be quickly established and this 'synergy' was maintained throughout the discussion of more challenging topics. Secondly, it provided some insight into the relative salience men attribute to domestic violence in the context of violence in general.

The moderator then probed men's general beliefs and attitudes about intimate partner violence (ie. causes; definitions; awareness of and reaction to previous campaigns; etc). The groups focused on examples in participants' current or previous relationship(s), or their friends' and relatives' relationships, of physical or verbal / emotional abuse.

## ii) **Domestic Violence Perpetrators**

A further three group discussions were held with identified perpetrators of domestic violence. These groups were arranged through organisations currently providing counselling programmes for domestic violence perpetrators. All participants were currently in treatment programmes, some voluntarily and others court mandated. Their participation in the research discussions was voluntary.

Given the nature of this task, Donovan Research sought the expert advice of a criminologist (from the University of Western Australia's Crime Research Centre) to assist with planning and moderating the perpetrator groups.

In terms of the research process, participants in the perpetrator groups were obviously not 'blind' to the topic of discussion. The researchers found that a direct, straightforward approach was most effective. A 'warm up' discussion, common to most focus groups, was superfluous; instead the moderators got straight to the point of eliciting how a communication campaign could most effectively prevent and / or reduce perpetration of physical violence.

A search of the research literature revealed very few instances in which direct research with perpetrators has been conducted as part of a campaign development process; thus, the fact that the *Freedom From Fear Campaign* is informed by direct input from domestic violence perpetrators stands it apart from most other campaigns of this type.

## The Key Results

### Awareness, Attitudes and Beliefs

- Domestic Violence was perceived by most men as a very important issue which is already firmly on the social agenda. Thus increasing the awareness / salience of domestic violence as an issue does not need to be a primary campaign objective.
- There was a fairly good understanding of what constitutes domestic violence, and what are the common causes of physical violence against a female partner.
- There was broad support for the idea of a media campaign targeting perpetrators (and potential perpetrators). This support was evident amongst 'general population males' as well as perpetrators themselves.
- Three important points emerged specifically from the research with perpetrators:
  - i) the 'first time' (ie the first actual act of physical violence) is a critical event, often leading to a pattern of subsequent violence, often of increasing severity;
  - ii) many perpetrators are dissatisfied with their behaviour, and feel ashamed and guilty about their behaviour;
  - iii) many perpetrators exhibit a 'siege mentality' and feel persecuted. They consider the allocation of 100% blame for domestic violence to men as being grossly unfair. For some perpetrators, this was part of a general feeling that "*the world is against me*".

Thus, the research identified the need for a prevention focus, and identified that potential perpetrators should be targeted as well as current perpetrators. Messages would need to avoid an accusatory or blaming tone otherwise the campaign was likely to be rejected by the majority of perpetrators.

### Reaction to Potential Message Strategies

#### *Criminal Sanctions*

A focus on criminal sanctions was not seen as a 'deterrent' nor as entirely credible. Many of the perpetrators we spoke to had had considerable experience of the criminal justice system, for reasons other than domestic violence. Those 'in the system' made the comment that criminal sanctions were often not particularly severe and therefore did not have a deterrent effect. "*The first couple of times you'd probably just get probation.....it wouldn't make you stop doing it*".

Furthermore, many perpetrators had seen men, particularly of their father's generation, 'getting away with' domestic violence over the course of many years, with no (or very minimal) sanctions being applied. While many of the perpetrators acknowledged that the situation had certainly changed and that criminal prosecution/punishment was far more likely than it had been in the past, a 'credibility gap' still exists for some.

The researchers felt that the potential backlash of proceeding with a criminal sanctions message was twofold:

- i) interference with the campaign message: if the credibility of the initial campaign message is questioned, all subsequent messages and strategies may be rejected. A criminal sanctions message would strengthen the siege mentality of perpetrators which would again result in the rejection of the whole campaign;

ii) interference with the campaign objectives: it was felt that a criminal sanctions message might lead to greater cover up of domestic violence, and the potential for increased violence, or threats of violence, to maintain secrecy.

For these reasons a Criminal Sanctions theme was not recommended for the mass media campaign, however support for the enforcement of criminal sanctions should certainly continue.

### **Community Intervention**

Messages around the theme of Community Intervention (encouraging people to report suspected cases of domestic violence) were also not recommended. This idea was largely rejected by perpetrators as it was not seen to be consistent with behaviour norms (ie. 'dobbing in' was not acceptable in Australia), nor credible as an outcome (most people would be reluctant to get involved).

### **Social Disapproval**

The theme of Social Disapproval focuses on the notion that violent behaviour towards a female is unacceptable behaviour for a man, and that men who engaged in such behaviour should / would be rejected by their peers. Reactions from non perpetrators to messages such as "real men don't hit women" and "your mates will reject you" were quite favourable. Perpetrators, however, doubted the credibility of such an approach, and several of them reacted quite angrily to the 'peer rejection' message - it seemed to exacerbate the siege mentality alluded to earlier. Thus, the Social Disapproval theme was not recommended as a stand-alone strategy for early phases of the campaign, but could possibly be considered in combination with other strategies, for later phases of the campaign.

### **Consequences**

Two separate themes centred on a 'Consequences' strategy were tested:

- *damage to partner*;
- *damage to children*.

The theme of *damage to partner* was not a salient issue amongst perpetrators and lacked credibility amongst men in the general community who (correctly) doubted perpetrators cared about the damage to their partners. This theme was dismissed as likely to be ineffective.

In contrast, the *effect on and damage to children* was universally seen as a very powerful notion amongst perpetrators:

- all expressed strong feelings for their kids (while very few expressed any feelings of fondness for their partners);
- their children's reactions to specific instances of domestic violence had a very vivid impact on many perpetrators;
- many of the younger perpetrators could relate to their own feelings when they were kids, and some talked about how domestic violence had affected them as children. Thus, this theme had relevance whether or not they themselves had children.

This was also considered to be an effective and resonant theme by the majority of men in the general community, and thus was recommended as **the key strategy for the initial phases of the campaign.**

- **Help:** The theme of 'Help is Available' was universally endorsed by perpetrators and strongly endorsed by men in the general community because it was seen as a positive message that addressed the 'siege mentality' syndrome. The view of most perpetrators was that the focus should clearly be on sources of formal help (ie. counselling programs, treatment programs etc.) rather than informal help.

**Thus, a positive 'help is available' theme was recommended to support and complement the 'effect on children' strategy.**

### **The Outcomes**

As a result of the Formative Research, the **primary target audience** was defined as:

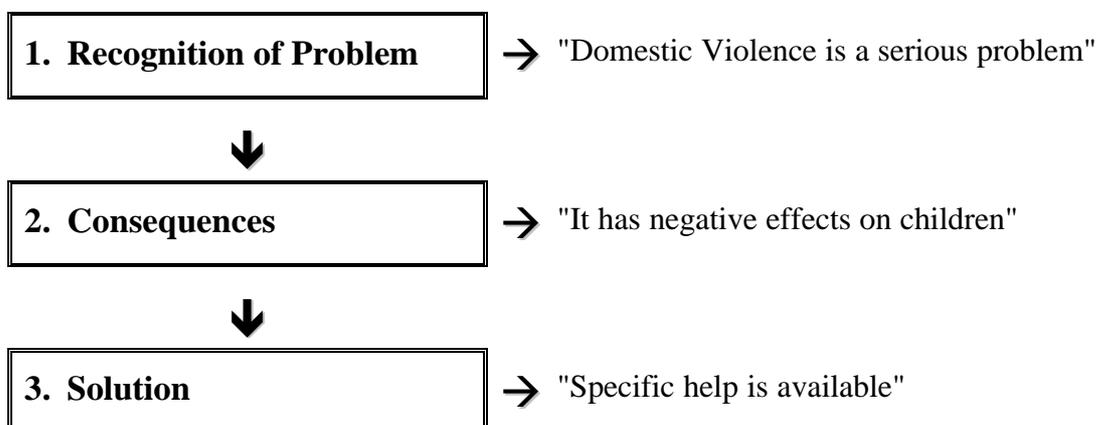
- i) *'reachable' perpetrators; and*
- ii) *'at risk' males aged 15-40 years.*

Targeting 'reachable' perpetrators has the potential for immediate benefit to current domestic violence victims. Targeting 'at risk' males offers the opportunity for the prevention of future violence amongst a much larger group of potential victims and potential perpetrators.

The term 'at risk' males refers to the population of males who for behavioural or attitudinal reasons, or due to childhood exposure to or socialisation of domestic violence, are to some extent 'at risk' or perpetrating domestic violence. This includes males perpetrating some 'non-physical' forms of spousal abuse, such as psychological abuse, imposition of social isolation, economic deprivation etc who have not (as yet) been physically or sexually violent to their partners.

When faced with the identification of two key primary target audiences, the campaign coordinators made a strategic decision not to select or prioritise one over another even though this would complicate further the communication challenge.

The **campaign strategy** to reach and engage these two audiences comprised three integrally linked elements:



The **next step** was to develop advertising concepts within this clearly defined strategy.

### **Pre-Testing Advertising Materials**

Five advertising agencies were asked to submit preliminary creative concepts for a community education campaign based on the findings of the formative research discussed previously.

The Domestic Violence Prevention Unit commissioned Donovan Research to pre-test a selection of these creative concepts. The pre-testing was conducted in two phases:

1. **Concept Screening** (qualitative);
2. Pre-testing of selected advertising executions, using the quantitative Donovan Research **ADTEST<sup>®</sup>**.

### **Concept Screening**

Six concepts were selected for concept screening which was undertaken with the following stakeholder groups:

- perpetrators and 'at risk' males (ie. primary target audience);
- 'mainstream' males and females (including victims);
- children exposed to domestic violence.

A total of 17 focus groups and 8 interviews were conducted in Perth and country areas during this phase of the research. In these groups, individual written reaction to the concepts was obtained prior to any group discussion about the concepts. In the groups with perpetrators, counsellors were on hand to assist non-literate men with completing the questionnaire.

A key part of the overall campaign strategy was a focus on the consequences for children (and thus several of the concepts portrayed small children being exposed to domestic violence). Thus, it was felt to be imperative to test the concepts with children from violent homes to ensure that the ads did not:

- further traumatise these children; or
- make children think that they were being asked to call the helpline, or that they should ask their father to call the helpline.

Donovan Research engaged a child psychologist to assist with the concept testing with children. Groups of children at selected women's refuges were exposed to the advertising materials; the child psychologist observed and probed the children's reactions. It was crucial that the ads, although scheduled to be run only at 'adult times', did not trigger clinical stress symptoms in children, especially children of victims.

### **ADTESTing**

Three concepts "*Nightmare*", "*Horror Movie*", and "*Back Seat*" were developed to animatic stage and then tested quantitatively to ascertain how well each of the executions met the overall campaign objectives and to provide diagnostics on how to improve successful executions.

A total of 302 interviews were conducted in the metropolitan area with 18-40 year old males, a proportion of whom were defined as 'at risk'<sup>1</sup>.

Apart from message comprehension, credibility and motivational (ie. 'call to action') measures, the ads were assessed on the extent to which they appeared to be an unwarranted 'attack' on all men, and the extent to which they appeared to suggest that the violence depicted was in some way provoked by the women - both undesirable responses.

## ADTEST<sup>®</sup> Findings

Firstly, there was **overwhelming support** for the Campaign, with 91% of 'at risk' males in favour of the government running this campaign. Other ADTEST<sup>®</sup> results included:

- the ads were seen as powerful and impactful;
- the ads elicited the desired emotions from the target audience, such as feeling sad, guilty, angry;
- understanding and acceptance of the message was high across all three commercials;
- the ads had high credibility amongst the primary target audience - almost 90% rated the scenarios as believable;
- there was minimal counter-argument. It is always a risk with a campaign of this nature that the dialogue will provoke an unwanted negative reaction amongst the primary target audience, for example the view that the woman may 'deserve it' in some way, or that the commercial is 'against men'. This was not the case with any of the commercials.

## The Campaign Framework

The Campaign was launched on 26 August 1998. It was a multi-faceted campaign, utilising multiple media and other communication mechanisms. As depicted in Figure 1, a **mass media 'umbrella'** is supported by a combination of strategies that work to reinforce the key campaign messages, and create environments that promote and sustain intentions towards and actual behaviour change.

Figure 1: The Overall Campaign



<sup>1</sup> Based on their responses to specific attitudinal questions on a screening questionnaire.

The main periods of flighted media activity have been:

- August - December 1998;
- February - April 1999;
- June - July 1999
- January - February 2000
- February – April 2000
- April – June 2000

**Three 30 second television commercials** (and three 15 second cut-down versions) "*Nightmare*", "*Horror Movie*", "*Back Seat*", and one additional **15 second commercial** "*Break the Cycle*", were used to create impact and awareness of the campaign messages and lead men 'at risk' to call a **Men's Domestic Violence Helpline**. These commercials make up the first suite of television advertisements. New television advertisements were developed to address 'wear out' of the previous commercials. The second suite consisted of **two 15 seconds tops** and **two 15 second tails**. The 'tops' focused on the effects of domestic violence on the family in particular on children and the tails communicated the message that help is available. These advertisements were broadcast from February 2000 onwards. Further evaluation will identify the timing of a third suite of commercials and their messages.

**Newspaper advertisements** were used to support and reinforce the television messages and promote the Helpline number. Six 45 second **radio commercials** depicted a range of (potential) conversations between a caller (perpetrator) and a Helpline counsellor, in an attempt to reduce the stigma attached to calling a Helpline. As part of the second suite of commercials four new radio advertisements were developed which featured anecdotes about how calling the line had assisted men, their partners and children. These commercials were aired from January 2000 onwards.

**Public relations activities** were used to raise awareness and reinforce the campaign messages. Strategies included an official campaign media launch, resource displays at relevant public venues, articles in stakeholder newsletters and journals, participation in radio interviews, and strategic press releases.

An integral element of the Campaign is the **Men's Domestic Violence Helpline**. The Helpline was established to offer information about domestic violence, telephone counselling by people who are trained in counselling men about domestic violence, and active referral into men's behaviour change programs.

The Helpline is provided by the Western Australian Department of Family and Children's Services, and is staffed 24 hours every day of the week, although counselling is only available after 9.00am daily. Calls to the Helpline are free to STD callers.

**Other Resources and Information:** A comprehensive suite of **publications** was produced to support the Campaign. These were used to inform stakeholder groups and to provide the primary target group with direct access to information about domestic violence and help services. Briefing sessions were also held with Magistrates, court staff, and service providers prior to the launch of the campaign.

A *Freedom From Fear* **campaign website** ([www.freedomfromfear.wa.gov.au](http://www.freedomfromfear.wa.gov.au)) was also developed to improve access to campaign information and publications.

# Evaluation Research

## Post Campaign Evaluations

A **long term evaluation model** was designed for the Campaign, incorporating process, impact and outcome measures.

To date, four random telephone surveys have been undertaken of males 18-40 years old:

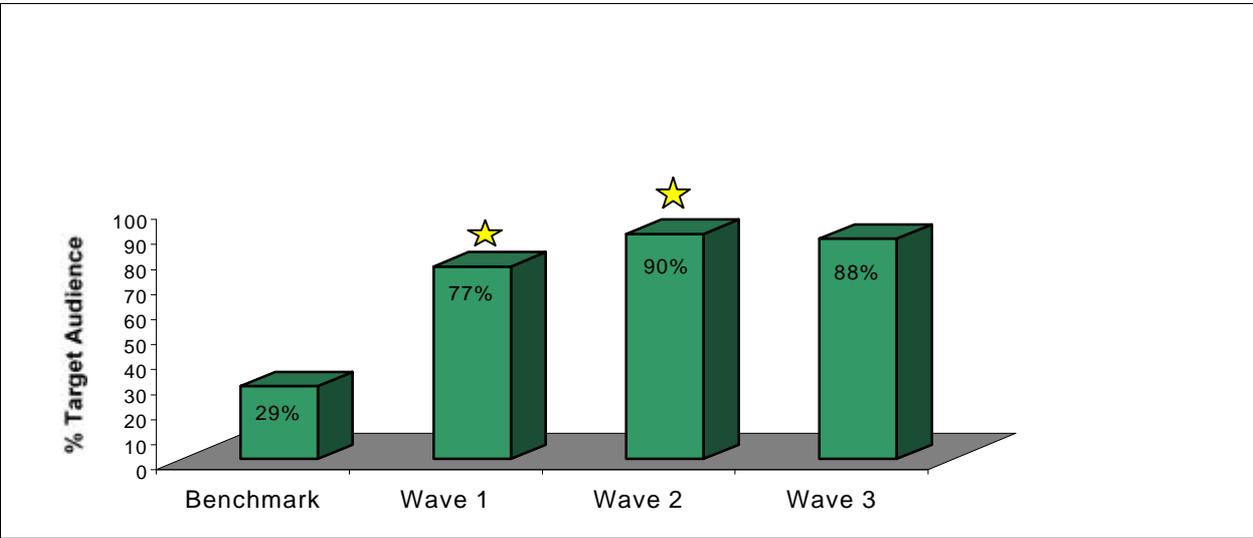
- one survey prior to the campaign (N=359; designated '**Benchmark**');
- one four weeks into the campaign (N=400; '**Wave 1**');
- one seven months into the campaign (n=385; '**Wave 2**') and
- the fourth at fifteen months into the campaign (n=400; '**Wave 3**').

Wave 1 was carried out primarily to assess advertising reach and impact so that any deficiencies could be detected and rectified as soon as practicable. Wave 2 was expected to show significant changes in awareness of sources of assistance, particularly the 'Men's Domestic Violence Helpline', and was to identify any early changes in beliefs and attitudes. However, it was felt premature at this stage to expect any substantial shifts in long-term beliefs and behaviours in relation to domestic violence. At Wave 3 it was envisaged that there would be some shifts in attitudes and behaviours therefore there was an increased emphasis on the measurement of these aspects. Selected results from the evaluation surveys are shown below.

## Program Reach

Figure 2 shows that spontaneous awareness for any advertising about domestic violence increased substantially from Benchmark (28%) to Wave 1 (77%) and Wave 2 (90%). The latest survey, Wave 3, indicates that there has been a small tapering off effect (88%) in spontaneous awareness. The 28% awareness at Benchmark (ie Prior to the launch of *Freedom From Fear*) related to other campaigns about family and relationship issues that were perceived by some to address Domestic Violence.

*Figure 2: Awareness of any ads about domestic violence in past few months*



★ Statistically significant difference at 0.05 level

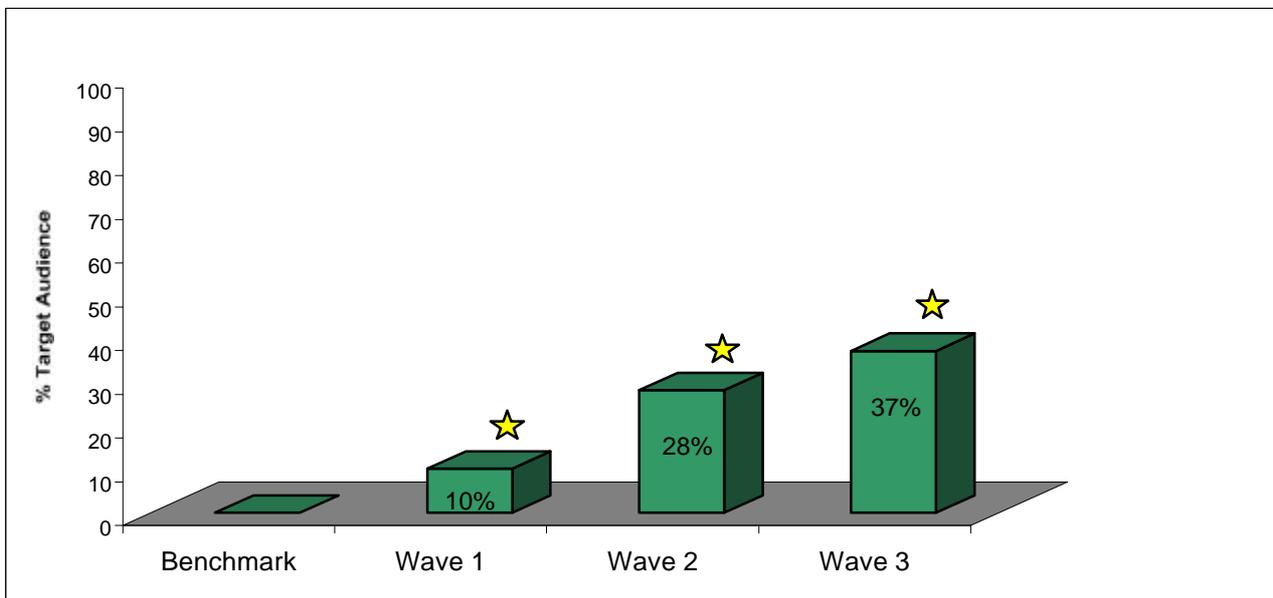
## Message Take Out

The primary perceived message is *effect of domestic violence on children*. However since October 1998, the communication of the *help-related* message has improved significantly to now be the clear secondary message. A new commercial introduced after the Wave 1 evaluation (ie "*Break the Cycle*") has been very effective in communicating a help message, with 87% (Wave 2) and 86% (Wave 3) of those who saw the ad taking out a help-related message.

## Awareness of the (Men's Domestic Violence) Helpline

Figure 3 below shows the proportion of respondents nominating a telephone helpline when asked the open-ended question "where can violent and potentially violent men go for help?"

*Figure 3: Where violent men can go for help: Per cent nominating telephone helpline*



★ Statistically significant difference at 0.05 level.

## Attitudes / Beliefs About Domestic Violence

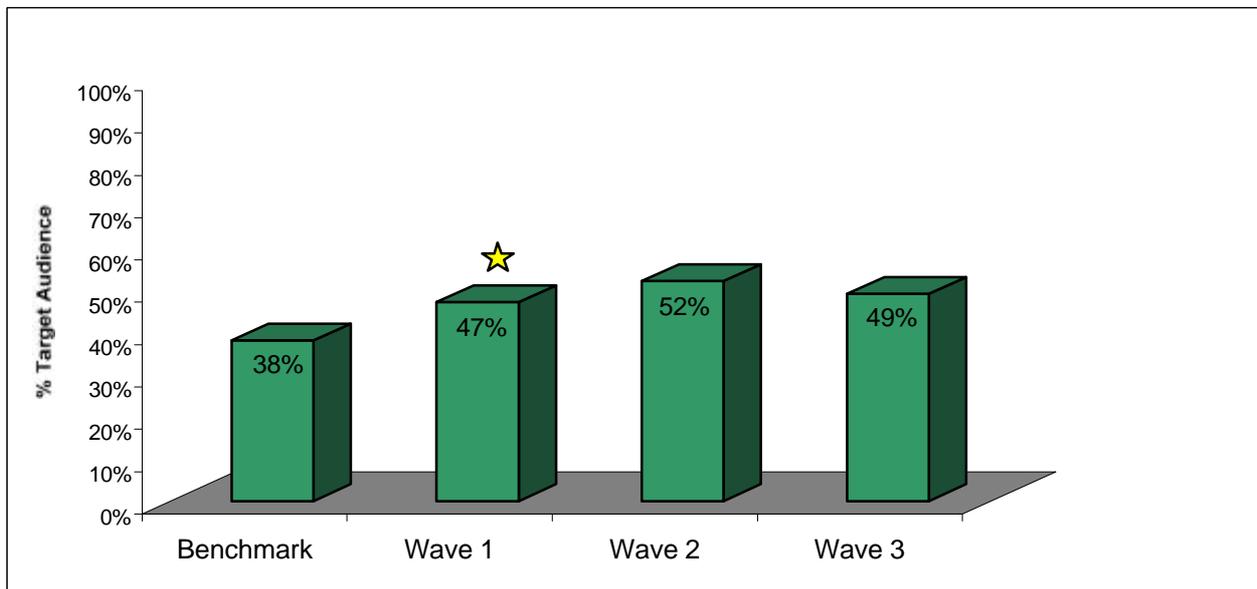
Significant changes in specific beliefs were noted in Wave 1, 2 and 3.

	Benchmark	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 3
BASE: All Respondents	359	400	385	400
• Self reported effect of campaign: "Campaign has changed the way I think about Domestic Violence"	9%	14%	21%*	23%
• "Domestic Violence affects the whole family"	21%	34%*	58%*	66%*

\* Statistically significant difference at 0.05 level.

In addition, the proportion of the total sample agreeing that "occasional slapping is never justified" has increased at each evaluation stage with the exception of Wave 3 which tapers off slightly, as shown in Figure 4 below.

**Figure 4: Occasional Slapping Never Justified**



★ Statistically significant difference at 0.05 level.

These results indicate that the campaign's success in reaching the target audience, together with its effective communication of two key messages:

- Domestic Violence affects children;
- Help is available for violent men;

has resulted in favourable changes to some transitory beliefs which will hopefully lead to eventual shifts in longer term attitudes and behaviour.

### **Men's Domestic Violence Helpline**

The response to the Men's Domestic Violence Helpline has exceeded expectations. In the first twenty one months (Sept '99-May '00) over 6000 calls have been received. A large proportion (64%) of those calling are men in the Campaign's primary target group (ie. perpetrators or men 'at risk'). A total of 2,543 (42% of calls) have self-identified themselves as such. Approximately half (53%) of these men (1,352) have accepted a voluntary referral into men's behaviour change (counselling) programs.

Notably, there has been a strong correlation between the number of calls and the advertising schedule.

### **Men's Domestic Violence Helpline Follow-up Evaluation**

A follow up survey (n=49) of men who had called the Helpline took place at eight months into the Campaign. The purpose of the survey was to gain feedback from callers about: their satisfaction with this service; whether or not referrals had been contacted and had entered into counselling; and what impact, if any, their contact with the Helpline or subsequent

counselling had had on their violent behaviour. Telephone counsellors from the Men's Domestic Violence Helpline contacted a sample of men who had previously called the Helpline and agreed to be contacted by the counsellor at some later stage. This methodology was utilised as it was considered inappropriate for the details of these men to be disclosed outside the Helpline service agency.

The key findings of this survey were that over 80% of respondents reported that their life was 'better' since calling the Helpline. Also when prompted the vast majority of men reported that they had: more anger control; less abusive behaviour; and were more able to talk to and understand the effect of their behaviour on their partner.

## **Conclusion**

This innovative Campaign has demonstrated the potential of using social marketing principals to achieve voluntary behaviour change that complements the current justice response.

This has been a significant breakthrough in the domestic violence area where support for funds directed at perpetrators has not been readily forthcoming. The success of the Campaign has been facilitated by:

- the integration of all aspects of the campaign;
- the extensive and sensitive use of research;
- the use of conceptual frameworks (ie., stages of change; communication principles in message design);
- the ability of the program coordinators to work with all relevant stakeholders across the public and private sectors in a highly political and socially sensitive area; and
- the persistent and consistent use of appropriate promotional strategies, often resisted by government for social-issues prevention campaign, that has created and sustained high campaign awareness.

The *Freedom From Fear* Campaign will continue to build upon its success to date. Further research and evaluation will closely guide future directions of the Campaign.

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