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Original Citation

Retalic, Reece (2017) The growth of the White Ribbon Campaign UK and the charity's impact in engaging and educating men with regards to preventing violence against women and girls. Masters thesis, University of Huddersfield.

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"The growth of the White Ribbon Campaign UK and the charity's impact in engaging and educating men with regards to preventing violence against women and girls"

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A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Education (MA by Research)

The University of Huddersfield

September 2017

Abstract

This study focuses on the White Ribbon Campaign UK (WRC UK), a charity that works with men to prevent violence against women and girls (VAWG). The research was a small-scale exploratory study, with interviews conducted with the charity's founder, current CEO and other members of staff at the charity's office in Mytholmroyd, West Yorkshire. The study focuses on how the charity has grown to become a nationwide campaign and how it currently works to complete its objective of engaging and educating men with regards to preventing VAWG. The research will assess the impact that the charity has had on this subject and how it aims to continue its development in the future. The research concludes that the WRC UK is well positioned for a broader and more substantial engagement with men, which centres on challenging the stereotypes and expectations society places upon them and enabling men to better understand the implications of the systematic and institutional nature of patriarchy and sexism for both genders. Through this, men have the ability to redefine the meaning of masculinity and manhood and in doing so, can help prevent the occurrence of VAWG.

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

Thank you to all the staff and volunteers at the White Ribbon Campaign UK for taking part in this research.

Contents

1. Introduction and Rationale

Research Questions

"The growth of the White Ribbon Campaign UK and the charity's impact in engaging and educating men with regards to preventing violence against women and girls"

- How did the White Ribbon Campaign UK develop into a national charity?

- How does the charity currently engage and educate men on the subject of preventing violence against women and girls?

- How does the charity seek to bring about personal, cultural and structural change?

- What impact has the organisation had with regards to preventing violence towards women and girls?

- How can the White Ribbon Campaign UK continue to develop and ensure that it meets its future aims?

The motivation and rationale for this research project comes as a result of my own experiences working within the White Ribbon Campaign UK (WRC UK). Over time I have grown to understand this organisation's practices, beliefs, objectives and significance. Historically, violence against women and girls (VAWG) and gender inequality were predominately brought to light and challenged by females (Crooks et al, 2007, p.217). Indeed, it was largely the responsibility of women, referred to as feminists, to campaign for a change in the way that they were perceived by society and treated by men. However, the WRC UK offers a different perspective, recognising the need for public education campaigns that proactively challenge men to stop this form of violence, promote positive male behaviours and challenge negative attitudes towards women and girls (Kaufman, 2001, p.10).

Over the last three years, I have worked with the charity on both a voluntary basis, as part of a university placement and as a paid employee. During my time here I have helped the charity to develop partnerships with educational institutes, emergency services and local authorities. I have also been involved with the development of the WRC UK's merchandise. As well as this, I have assisted in the delivery of training and information sessions relating to the charity's work and the beliefs that underpin this. Inevitably, this has an effect on my positionality as a researcher. This is a subject that will be discussed in more detail in the methodology section of this study.

Notably, there is very little significant literature on the WRC UK specifically. Most published literature, in fact, focuses on the Canadian and Australian iterations of the WRC, as they are certainly the most high profile. Authors such as Connell (2005, p.1814), for example, speak broadly about the WRC overall, whilst acknowledging that the organisation has spread to other countries, including the UK. Indeed, before the charity was set-up in the UK, it was originally founded in Canada by Michael Kaufman. Here the values and beliefs that are intrinsic to the White Ribbon Campaign (WRC), including the WRC UK, were established. The idea that the WRC is built on the foundations of "equity, equality and justice" (Kaufman, 2001, p.13), for instance, is of relevance to the UK branch of the charity as well. This extends to the way in which the charity carries out its work, following the belief that "some of the most effective ways to address men and boys on these issues actually requires engaging them in the efforts to end VAWG" (ibid. p.10). Consequently, the idea that "males must be involved because, more than anything else, men and boys will listen to other men and boys" (ibid. p.11), is central to the WRC UK's approach. This takes what has been the responsibility of feminists and instead asks men to "take ownership of the issue" (ibid. p.11) of VAWG. By working in this way, the WRC UK has been able to grow exponentially for the last ten years.

However, it should be noted that this does not mean the charity fails to recognise the presence of violence against men or in same-sex relationships. On the contrary, WRC UK state that "every act of violence is wrong and everyone, whether male or female, has the right to live a life free of violence"

(WRC UK, 2017a). Therefore, whilst the charity's focus is to engage with men on the subject of ending VAWG, this does not mean that they deny or belittle other forms of violence (Ibid.). As well as this, the WRC UK explain that they are not 'anti-male', instead recognising that "most men are opposed to VAWG…[and that] restrictive gender roles harm men and boys, as well as women and girls" (Ibid.). These are points that should be kept in mind throughout this research, which discusses issues affecting both men and women in way that is generalised and not explicitly reflective of the behaviour or attitudes of the majority.

The WRC also recognises that VAWG occurs as a manifestation of factors that are deeply embedded in "culture, economy, law and the structure of masculinity itself" (Kaufman, 2001, p.19.) These factors can be looked at from two different perspectives. There is firstly the idea that "men's social power and privilege in male dominated societies, [as well as] the social permission of VAWG" (Ibid. p.10) enable this form of abuse. This refers to the patriarchal nature of society and a belief that there is an existent passivity towards the subject of VAWG within this. However, Kaufman also argues that the "impossible emotional demands patriarchy places on boys and men to fit into masculinity" (Ibid. p.10) must be taken into account. As a part of this, for instance, the "gender expectations placed on [males] tend to emphasis control through aggression - the ability to dominate becomes a display of manhood" (ibid. p.10). Whilst not used to excuse VAWG, this example identifies how social expectations can impact upon the behaviours and attitudes of men. As such, a large part of the charity's work involves educating men and boys around their inherent privileges as part of a patriarchal society and in doing so, hopes to enable and empower them to "confront and disavow [these] privileges…[in a way that seeks to] challenge the patterns of domination and control" (Ibid. p.12) associated with patriarchy.

The need to engage men in the prevention of VAWG has been raised by theorists such as Crooks et al (2007, p.218), who describe the WRC's work as "inspiring". However, they also raise the fact that there is a lack of any distinguishable theoretical framework that serves to highlight how to achieve

the successful engagement and education of men on the subject of preventing VAWG (Ibid. p.218). As such, they recognise that the work can prove challenging, as there is no method that will always prove successful in engaging men with the charity's cause. This raises some interesting points about the WRC UK's methods, whether these have developed over time and how, if it all, these may change in the future. As well as this, Crooks et al have also acknowledged the difficulty in being able to measure the impact these methods have in achieving their desired aims.

Nonetheless, the WRC UK has grown positively throughout its ten year existence. There are many possible reasons for this. The use of the White Ribbon itself, for example, offers the charity an identity and a symbol with which to raise public awareness (Moore, 2010, p.7). Those who wear the white ribbon "pledge never to commit, condone, nor remain silent about VAWG" (Kaufman, 2001, p.13). As well as this, White Ribbon Day occurs annually on 25th November and marks the start of sixteen days of activism on the subject of preventing VAWG (True, 2012, p.51). This period acts as a culmination of the campaigns efforts each year and provides a concentrated period of fund-raising. Again, further research would intend to reveal how the WRC UK manages to make the most of this period, both in terms of sustaining itself financially and in raising awareness of the charity's message.

Overall, the White Ribbon Campaign is collectively the world's largest effort of men and boys working to end violence against women and girls (VAWG) (WRC UK, 2017b). This research aims to gain an understanding of how the WRC UK specifically, has grown to become a national charity, as well as the impact the organisation has had over time. The study will look to provide an insight into the methods used by the WRC UK to become financially self-sustainable, as well as the ways in which the charity engages with men on the subject of preventing male VAWG. The WRC UK has become increasingly influential on this topic, with work taking place in sectors such as education and sport. The charity's efforts were also recently commended in Parliament. The charity's previous CEO and founder, Chris (see chapter 3 for a discussion concerning anonymity), has also recently retired. As

such, this represents a good time to do the study, as the WRC UK is undergoing a period of change. With this in mind, the research proposes to discover how the WRC UK intends to continue its development and meet any future aims.

2. Literature Review

By reviewing the literature associated with this study it is possible to gain an insight into the ways in which VAWG exists in society today and as such, this helps to recognise what the WRC UK is working to overcome. The review will begin by looking at different interpretations of the definition of VAWG. This is necessary to understand what various theorists believe should be classified as VAWG and how this relates to the WRC UK's own interpretation of the term, which in turn shapes the charity's identity. Further to this, the review will provide an historical background with regards to past perceptions of VAWG, including an overview of the impact of feminist groups in campaigning for women's rights. This provides a necessary context to the WRC UK's work, through which it is possible to understand the significance of the charity's approach in choosing to work specifically with men and encouraging them to "take ownership of the issue" (Kaufman, 2001, p.11) of VAWG. It will also highlight how better awareness of VAWG has developed and the positive progress that has been made around this, for example, the introduction of broader laws and higher conviction rates among perpetrators of abuse.

This section of the review will also introduce the concept of VAWG occurring as a result of a number of factors which are evident at different levels of society. As such, the final part of this review looks at VAWG in relation to Thompson's personal, cultural and structural model PCS Model (2003, p.17) and in doing so highlights a number of key themes that contribute towards the oppression of women and arguably have a causal effect on the existence of VAWG as a whole. Such factors include negative gender stereotypes, the prevalence of lad culture and representations of women in the media. Overall, this section will perhaps prove to be the most vital in relation to the research

analysis, as it recognises and provides an understanding of the type of issues that the WRC UK are educating men around and campaigning against and why this important in preventing and ending VAWG.

2.1. Defining 'violence against women and girls'

The phrase violence against women and girls can be looked at in relation to both 'narrow' and 'broad' definitions. With regards to the former, "VAWG" is used only to describe "physical abuse or sexual assaults" (Renzetti, Edleson & Kennedy-Bergen, 2011, p.4). Within this definition, the meaning of the term 'sexual assault' is also narrowed and is used to predominately refer to forced penetrative acts (DeKeseredy, 2011, p.7). Physical abuse, meanwhile, is described as acts that cause intentional bodily harm (Melton et al, 2007, p.499.) Sexual assaults of this nature and physical violence are perhaps the immediate connotations that the term VAWG evokes, however, such an interpretation pays less attention to the "psychological, verbal, spiritual and economic abuse" (Renzetti, Edleson & Kennedy-Bergen, 2011, p.4) women may experience.

Theorists such as Fox (1993, cited by Renzetti, Edleson & Kennedy-Bergen, 2011, p.4) argue that using a narrow definition of VAWG is beneficial in this way, as it avoids "combining what is debatably abusive with what everyone agrees to be seriously abusive" and as such, prevents the latter becoming trivialised. In this sense, Fox views psychological and emotional forms of abuse, for example, as secondary to physical and sexual violence and believes the term 'VAWG' should reflect this. Other researchers support this idea and see "emotional and psychological abuse as an 'early warning sign' of [potential] physical and sexual attacks, rather than as severely abusive in and of themselves" (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p.6). In other words, there is a belief that emotional and psychological abuse should be recognised as factors that culminate in VAWG, as opposed to actions that are explicitly classified as VAWG themselves.

However, Parmley (2004, p.1419) argues that accepting "a narrow definition of [VAWG] [denies] the totality of the experiences of the vast majority of women who are victimised by their intimate partners on a daily basis". In this sense a narrow definition of VAWG "minimises the true extent and nature of the problem" (Ibid. p.1419). To gain a better insight into this, the 'power and coercion wheel' associated with the Duluth Model (Fig.1) (Duluth, 1984, cited by Pence & Paymar, 1993, p.3) is shown below in order to outline the forms of abuse women may experience besides physical violence and sexual assault. This in turn enables a better understanding of the 'broader' definition of VAWG.

Although dated, the wheel still has relevance in highlighting how VAWG is a complex concept and demonstrates that physical violence "is part of a pattern of behaviours, rather than isolated incidents of abuse" (Pence & Paymar, 1993, p.2). By using these behaviours, an abuser is able to assert their control "through threats and fear, without actually engaging in physical violence" (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p.6). As a result, the women and girls affected by such actions can be "completely terrorised and suffer extreme trauma, but have no cuts and bruises" (Ibid. pg.6). Consequently, the effects associated with the types of abuse outlined on the power and coercion wheel can be harder to detect for those outside of the abusive relationship, as a victim may not show any physical evidence or sign that they have been abused. As a result, it could be said that, at times, "psychological and emotional abuse can be just as, if not more, injurious than physical violence" (DeKeseredy, 2011, p.9).

VIOLENCE

PHYSICAL — SEXUAL

POWER AND CONTROL

USING COERCION AND THREATS
Making and/or carrying out threats to do something to hurt them • threatening to leave them to commit suicide, to report them to welfare • making them drop charges • making them do illegal things

USING INTIMIDATION
Making them afraid by using looks, actions, gestures • smashing things • destroying their property • abusing pets • displaying weapons

USING ECONOMIC ABUSE
Preventing them from getting or keeping a job • making them ask for money • giving them an allowance • taking their money • not letting them know about or have access to family income

USING EMOTIONAL ABUSE
Putting them down • making them feel bad about themselves • calling them names • making them think they're crazy • playing mind games • humiliating them • making them feel guilty

USING MALE PRIVILEGE
Treating them like a servant • making all the big decisions • acting like the "master of the castle" • being the one to define gender roles

USING ISOLATION
Controlling what they do, who they see and talk to, what they read, where they go • limiting their outside involvement • using jealousy to justify actions

USING CHILDREN
Making them feel guilty about the children • using the children to relay messages • using visitation to harass them • threatening to take the children away

MINIMIZING, DENYING AND BLAMING
Making light of the abuse and not taking their concerns about it seriously • saying the abuse didn't happen • shifting responsibility for abusive behavior • saying they caused it

PHYSICAL — **VIOLENCE** — SEXUAL

Fig.1 (Duluth, 1984, cited by Pence & Paymar, 1993)

In light of this, the UN's definition of the term VAWG will be used for the purpose of this research. The UN's Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women terms VAWG as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (Krantz & Garcia-Moreno, 2005, p.818). This is clearly in line with a broader definition of the VAWG, as it recognises the type of acts that exist within the

aforementioned power and coercion wheel. This is in itself the description of VAWG that the White

Ribbon Campaign UK abides by, which is evident in the fact that the UN's 'International Day for the

Elimination of Violence against Women' on November 25th, is otherwise known as 'White Ribbon

Day'.

2.2. VAWG in context

Historically, the issue of VAWG and activism regarding the prevention of this has been seen as a

feminist or women's issue (Crooks et al, 2007, p.217). Feminist commentators state that the

"oppression of women and the right of husbands to abuse their wives is rooted in a long patriarchal

tradition...that men are rulers of their homes and that women are to obey them" (McCue, 2008,

p.5).   In adopting a patriarchal perspective, feminists believe that "an ideology of male dominance

over women is uncontested in larger society, as well as in the family, resulting in the exploitation

and oppression of women" (Miller & Knudsen, 1999, p.713). This raises an interesting point in terms

of the connection between the beliefs, actions and laws that exist in wider society and the impact

this has on the presence of VAWG. By analysing how VAWG was portrayed in the past and the ways

in which it was challenged, it is possible to gain further insight into this connection and in doing so,

better understand the work that the WRC UK carries out today.

One early instance of VAWG appearing on the political agenda in the UK came in 1857, when the

passing of the Matrimonial Causes Act allowed women to legally separate from a physically abusive

husband (D'Cruze, 2004, p.268). The act is in line with representations and discussions of VAWG in

Victorian England, which were in line with the narrow definition of this term by focusing solely on

physical violence and sexual assaults, usually as in relation to domestic violence in particular. Whilst

this act could be seen as a progressive move in terms of challenging patriarchal traditions at the

time, few women in Victorian England could "afford the expense and social scandal of a divorce

trial" (Kidner et al, 2014, p.700). Therefore, women who found themselves in an abusive relationship

were still often unable to escape it. This is an early example of the way in which laws and social policies can impact directly upon females experiencing violence.

With regards to public awareness of the issue, acknowledgement and representations of VAWG could be found in Victorian literature, however; these depictions were often "fraught with anxieties about the nature and effects of exposure" (Rintoul, 2016, p.1). Domestic violence, for example, existed as part of one's private life and therefore, explicitly drawing public attention towards the issue brought with it the disdain of many. As such, much Victorian literature on the subject shows an uncertainty between "a need … to cover up [VAWG] and a compulsion to make it public and consumable…to discuss and depict what was understood as a uniquely private form of abuse" (Rintoul, 2016, p.2). However there were some notable exceptions, with the work of Charles Dickens in particular acting to both acknowledge and effectively raise awareness of the issue of VAWG, in novels such as '*Oliver Twist*' (Surridge, 2005, p.43).

However, by the 1960's, women's rights movements campaigned to bring the subject of VAWG into the public consciousness. Its occurrence was no longer, they argued, to be accepted as a facet of private home life. The desire to bridge the gap "between the political [or] public sphere… and the personal [or] private sphere" (Chambers, 2015, p.267) was encapsulated in the slogan used by feminist groups at the time – "the personal *is* political" (Ibid. p.267). Such feminist movements recognised the realms of the political and the personal were not dichotomous but rather inherently connected; "the imbalances of power, resources and responsibilities between the sexes in the private sphere" (Okin, 1994, p.73), they observed, "are caused and sustained by laws and other governmental action" (Ibid. p.73). This distinction is today key to the work of the WRC UK, who acknowledge the need to not only influence individuals on a personal level but also campaign for political change.

With this in mind, it is important to recognise that there have been notable advancements in these areas in contemporary society. As initially discussed, the definition of VAWG has now broadened to

encompass behaviours that are harmful outside of physical violence and sexual assault. This is evident in the fact that emotional abuse was recently made illegal and can carry with it a prison sentence (Bowcott, 2015). Occurrences of domestic violence that were reported to the police also rose by 31% between 2013/2015 (BBC, 2015), with the Crown Prosecution Service reaching their highest ever conviction rate with regards to domestic violence, rape and sexual offences in 2015/2016 (Crown Prosecution Service, 2016). Although these statistics could be interpreted to mean that the these offences are happening more often, it in fact shows that "more women are seeking justice…[and] are starting to have more confidence in the criminal justice system" (Ibid.).

Yet despite changing attitudes and a greater awareness of VAWG, incidents of this nature are still all too common. In the Crime Survey for England and Wales, 27.1% of women who took part stated that they had experienced any form of domestic abuse, including stalking, since the age of 16 (Office for National Statistics, 2016). This is approximately 4.5 million female victims (Ibid.). It is also notable within the survey that women were more likely to have experienced any form of intimate partner violence when compared to men and that men were also the predominant perpetrators of these abuses (ibid.). Further to this, "the majority of women and girls subject to these crimes [still] do not report them to the police" (Crown Prosecution Service, 2016). This perhaps identifies that VAWG is a crime that is still a largely hidden part of many women's private lives.

2.3. VAWG and Thompson's 'PCS Model'

As outlined above, individual beliefs and societal culture, as well as political policies and legislation, can impact upon the subject of VAWG and those who both commit and experience this type of abuse. By applying Thompson's PCS Model (2003, p.17), this section will aim to discuss and analyse how some theorists believe patriarchal factors are still evident at different levels of society and consequently, continue to cause oppression and discrimination towards females. As the introduction to this research summarised, the WRC promotes gender equality and seeks to change negative perceptions and attitudes towards women and girls. The organisation maintains that the beliefs and

attitudes in society that work to oppress women and the existence of VAWG itself are

interconnected and as such, they recognise that the work of the charity needs to reflect this. This is a

particularly significant discussion when it later comes to analysing how the WRC UK specifically looks

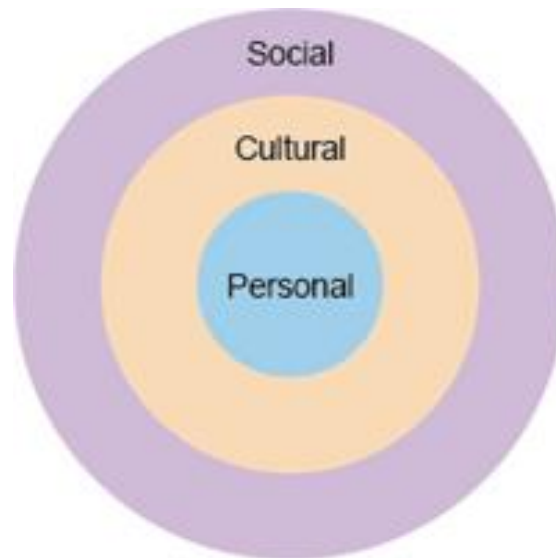to affect change on these particular issues.

Fig.2 (Thompson, 2003)

2.3.1. Personal

Thompson's PCS model reflects on how oppression and discrimination exist at "three separate but

interrelated levels: personal, cultural and structural" (Fig.2) (Thompson, 2003, p.13). This model

exemplifies the previously recognised connection between the personal and the political and as

such, can be utilised to recognise the implications this has in contemporary society. Thompson states

that discrimination at a personal level, which he defines as one's thoughts, feelings and/or actions,

exists predominately as "prejudicial judgements...based on stereotypes" (Ibid. p.13). A prejudice

judgement is one that an individual "refus[es] to alter or abandon [despite] evidence that

contradicts or undermines it" (Ibid. p.13) and can range from underlying, almost subconscious

thoughts to actively discriminatory or oppressive actions. In this sense, the personal level of the PCS

model "can have a significant bearing on inequality and oppression" (Ibid. P.13), particularly when

an individual in a position of power or indeed, a large number of people, display prejudicial judgements towards a certain group.

In relation to this research, gender stereotypes are specifically relevant. These stereotypes are generalisations about the attributes of men and women (Heilman, 2012, p.114). They can be either descriptive or prescriptive in nature, with the former used to label what men and women *are* like and the latter to designate what they *should* be like (Ibid. p.114). Take, for instance, Askew and Ross' (1988, p.109) assertion that "femininity exists in direct contrast to masculinity; what is feminine is defined by what is masculine, and 'women's roles'…are complementary [and supportive] to 'men's roles'". Here the authors describe that men are stereotypically "tough, strong, independent and brave", whereas women are "vulnerable, caring, kind and dependant" (Ibid. p.2). In this example the authors appear to infer that women have a secondary role in society, one that centres on supporting men and that their characteristics also reflect this. It could be argued that such descriptive gender stereotyping oppresses females. This can be seen, for example, in the world of work where traditionally male occupations and management positions are "believed to necessitate characteristics that coincide with the stereotypic conceptions of men but not with the stereotypic conceptions of women" (Gaucher, Friesen & Kay, 2011, cited by Heilman, 2012, p.116).

2.3.2. Cultural

However, it is important to recognise that the personal level has a limited influence when compared with wider society. As such, "the cultural context in which individuals operate" needs to be considered. The term culture "refers to the way of life of a group…including a society" (Kendall & Wickham, 2001, cited by Thompson, 2003, p.15) and within this exists "everyday behaviours, interactions and exchanges [that] are filled with meanings and [which] preserve and maintain the status quo" (Sandstrom et al., 2010, cited by Bemiller & Zimmer-Schneider, 2010, p.460). By analysing the cultural level of the PCS model, it is possible to gain an insight into the influence of society on the personal attitudes and behaviours of individuals. This includes the way people

communicate and interact with one another, as well as what is seen to be the features of everyday life.

Theorists such as Lakoff (1973, cited by Weatherall, 2015, p.410) believe that "women's secondary place in society is reflected both in the ways women are expected to speak and the ways they are spoken of". One of the most common examples of this is the use of "masculine generics or male terms to refer to people in general" (Weatherall, 2015, p.411), something that is evident in terms such as *mankind* or *chairman*. Feminist argue that the use of such androcentric phrases acts to marginalise women in society. Similarly, words for women often have "diminutive forms or negative and /or sexual connotation" (Ibid. p.412), which can be seen with words such as *mistress*. Conversely, male terms such as 'bachelor' often have positive connotations, particularly, in this example, when compared the feminine term 'spinster' (Ibid. p.412)

Further to this, Ford (2000, cited by Bemiller & Zimmer-Schneider, 2010, p.460) sees language that is associated with sexist humour as particularly powerful, given its ability to legitimise prejudice and stereotypes in society. Sexist humour is defined as humour that "denigrates, demeans, stereotypes, oppresses, or objectifies women" (Mallett, Ford & Woodzicka, 2016, p.272). Jokes and humour provides a context in which oppressive or discriminatory language is seen as less serious or light-hearted. As such, when language of a sexist nature is featured as part of a 'joke', "it simultaneously diminishes women and trivialises that diminishment" (Ibid. p.272). This can be specifically concerning when such 'jokes' are related to subjects such physical violence or sexual assault, as it detracts from the severity of such acts. As Ford (2015, cited by Romero-Sanchez et al., 2016, p.1) explains, "By trivialising sex discrimination, sexist humour creates a norm of tolerance [towards] sex discrimination. In this context, sexist behaviour can be more easily justified as falling within the bounds of social acceptability". With this in mind, it could be argued that jokes which demean or devalue women have the potential to reinforce and normalise gender inequality (Wesley, 2002, cited by Bemiller & Schneider, 2010, p.463).

However, language is just one aspect of how the cultural level of the PCS model impacts upon individuals with regards to discrimination and oppression towards women. Berger & Luckman (1967, cited by Thompson, 2003, p.15) identify that culture can also produce thoughts, behaviours and actions that become common occurrences within a society. In relation to this, the existence of 'lad culture', otherwise known as 'laddism', is of particular significance. Contemporary lad culture is seen as "young, hedonistic and largely centred on homosocial bonding" (Phipps & Young, 2015, p.461). This behaviour usually manifests itself as part of a male "'pack' mentality, [and is especially] evident [during] activities such as sport and heavy alcohol consumption" (Phipps & Young 2013, cited by Jackson, Dempster & Pollard, 2013, p.301). As outlined in the discussion regarding jokes and humour above, laddism is often associated with "'banter' that is sexist [and] misogynistic" (Ibid. p.301). Notably, lad culture and the behaviour associated with this has grown steadily, to the point where theorists such as Dempster (2011, cited by Phipps & Young, 2015, p.461) believe that "In the current economic and political context, laddism [has gained] a great deal of social and cultural power [to such an extent that it] has been described as the template masculinity for young British men".

As well as this, laddism has also been linked to the mainstreaming of 'sex object' culture, which theorists such as Phipps and Young (2015, p.461) argue has culminated in the normalisation of the erotic industries. This is evident, they suggest, in the increased availability of pornographic material, the development of 'lads mags' and the way women are often generally portrayed within the media. In this regard, theorists such as Daniels (2009, p.400) say that the pervasiveness of the media and the impact it has on people's perceptions, can have a negative effect on how women are viewed by males. With a particular focus on media depictions of women within sport, Daniels states that whilst females are sometimes recognised for their athletic skill and achievements, they are also often sexualised to the extent that some athletes become "widely known for [their] looks, rather than their athletic accomplishments" (Ibid. p.400).

When this idea is related to a labelling theory such as Becker's (1963, cited by Haralambos & Holborn, 2008, p.335) it could be determined that some sections of the media are responsible for constructing an identity and persona around certain female athletes, that is largely sexualised as a result of a distinct focus on body image and appearance. Consequently there is a danger that, in the eyes of some, this may grow to be the female athletes' dominant label or "master status" (Ibid. p.335), as they become known more for their appearance and sexuality than any other aspect of their personal or professional lives. Daniels (2012, p.79), in fact, gives the specific example of female tennis player Anna Kournikova. Throughout her career, Kournikova "failed to win a major singles title…[but] is well-known because of her sex appeal". Daniels (Ibid., p.82) describes that, in a way that is "consistent with the broader cultural trend to objectify women in media", Kournikova was "frequently portrayed in sexualised photographs in contrast to the more limited media imagery of her actually playing tennis". With this in mind, Daniel's discusses the damaging effect of this type of media. She explains that "the sexualisation of women athletes in mass media serves to reinforce patriarchal power" (Daniels, 2009, p.402), as it trivialises their achievements, as well as the competitive nature of female sports.

A similar line of thought is applied by some theorists outside the context of sport. McLaughlin et al. (2012, cited by Phipps & Young, 2015, p.461), for instance, believe that the existence of lad culture as a whole is "a defensive response to women's perceived success…[in which] sexism and sexual harassment functions to enable men to reclaim power and space". In other words, McLaughlin is describing how the culture that surrounds laddism works to oppresses and objectify women, whilst simultaneously providing men with a sense of gender superiority. Yet, as this culture has become increasingly embedded in contemporary society, it is arguably now less likely to be openly challenged or questioned than had perhaps been the case in the past. However this particular facet of our culture is part of a much broader picture.

2.3.3. Structural

That said, it is important to acknowledge that as much as a society's culture impacts upon an individual's attitudes and behaviours, this culture is itself very much shaped by a society's structure. The structural level of the PCS model "comprises the influences and constraints of the various social, political and economic aspects of the contemporary social order" (Thompson, 2003, p.13). Thompson describes that a "central theme within these three aspects is that of 'power'" (ibid. p.18) and its unequal distribution. Indeed, within each of the structural facets outlined by Thompson it is possible to highlight inequalities with regards to gender. As Grabb (1993, cited by Thompson, 2003, p.19) comments "structured inequality involves a process in which groups or individuals with particular attributes are better able than those who lack or are denied these attributes to control or shape rights and opportunities for their own ends."

The 2016 election of Teresa May as Prime Minister, for example, has been followed by the election of 208 female MPs, which equates to 32% of all MPs and represents a record high (BBC, 2017). Yet these gains are offset by the fact that women continue to be underrepresented within British politics. In comparison to a 193 other countries, the UK ranks 48th for the number of women its national parliament (Salami, 2017), this is behind several other European nations, as well as countries in Africa and Latin America. This has led to commentators such as Roberts (2015) to suggest that women "need a stronger voice in politics". Roberts explains that there is a continued "ignorance to many women's lives displayed within Westminster" (Ibid.), that she feels increased female representation may help to alleviate.

Grabb goes onto say that social structures work to maintain inequality, as "advantaged groups and individuals tend to obtain greater access to the various rewards and privileges that are available in society" (1993, cited by Thompson, 2003, p.19). Grabb states that this consequently "reinforces the control over rights and opportunities enjoyed by the advantaged factions" (Ibid. p.19). With regards to gender, it could be said that this inequality is evident in the existence of a 'pay gap'. Inman and

Walker (2017) discuss this concept, noting that "women entering work now would still earn significantly less than their male counterparts over [the course of] their careers". Whilst the gap in pay has now lessened to an average of 5% among male and female workers in their 20's within the UK, this difference increases once women begin to start a family to that extent that women can face almost a 30% difference by the time they reach their mid-40s (ibid.). The idea that women's careers are interrupted by pregnancy and childcare, is synonymous with the concept of females experiencing a "glass ceiling" in the world of work, that prevents them from achieving executive or higher-paid positions (Ezzedeen, Budworth & Baker, 2015, p.356).

2.4. VAWG and Bronfenbrenner's 'Ecological Systems Model'

In order to have an impact on the subject of preventing VAWG, it is clear that the WRC UK needs to demonstrate an ability to affect change at different levels of society. Bronfenbrenner's (1994, p.38) ecological systems model can be used to help identify these individual levels in greater detail, which will later be useful for the purpose of analysis. This theory divides society into four separate layers that exist around any given individual (Fig.3). The first of these layers and therefore the one most central to the individual is the 'microsystem'. This, as Bronfenbrenner describes it, is made up of the interactions that an individual has with "persons, objects and symbols in [their] immediate environment…on a fairly regular basis, over time" (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p.39). He describes these interactions as "proximal processes" (ibid.) and explains that these have a lasting effect on the behavioural and attitudinal development of an individual. The individual's microsystem may include such settings as family, school, peer group and work place. Interestingly, Bronfenbrenner describes that the content and structure of the microsystem impacts upon the next immediate layer, the mesosystem. This is reminiscent of the interconnected nature of the different levels of the PCS model, as outlined by Thompson. Indeed, Bronfenbrenner argues that the mesosytem is in fact "comprised of the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings" (Ibid. p.40). As such, this recognises that the attitudes and behaviours developed in one environment can permeate

into the next. How an individual is socialised within the home, for example, may have a bearing on their conduct at school or at a later stage, within the workplace.

Beyond this, Bronfenbrenner describes the exosystem and the macrosystem. The former consists of the wider community in which an individual lives, for example, as well as broader institutions that also impact upon an individual, such as the media. The macrosystem, meanwhile, relates to the "overarching patterns…of a given culture" (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p.40) and the institutions that influence these. This includes political systems, the economy and laws. Arguably, these 'outer layers' of Bronfenbrenner's model are the hardest to challenge and effect for organisations such as the WRC UK, as they encompass broader and powerful systems and institutions, as well as cultural beliefs that have debatably become ingrained as part of western society. Yet both Bronfenbrenner and Thompson recognise the connection between a society's culture and wider structures and effect this can have on the individual. It is therefore necessary to attempt to challenge and influence the systems that exist within the exosystem and macrosystem. As such, it is important to identify instances in which the WRC UK's work, to differing extents, has aimed to do this. This will then form a large part of the discussion regarding the charity's impact, as part of the analysis section of this project.
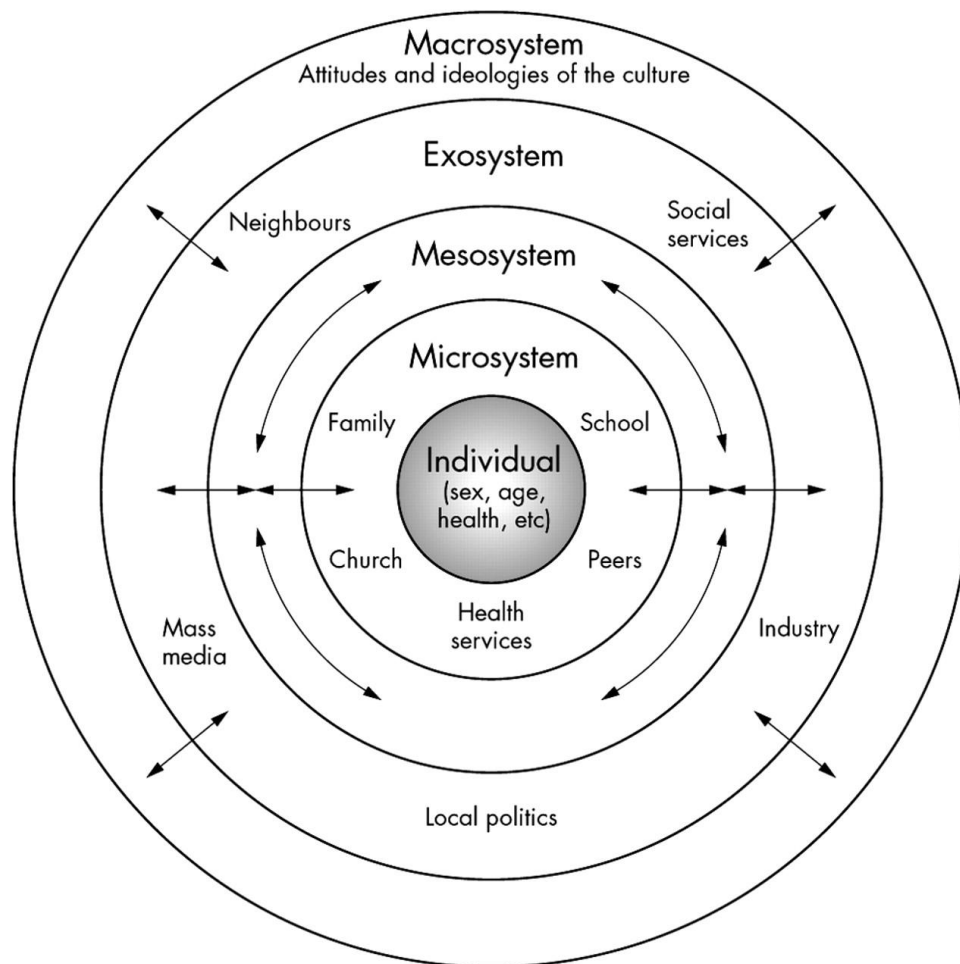
Fig. 3 (Bronfenbrenner, 1979)

2.5. Masculinity and the 'man box'

On a final note, however, it is also important to note how social structure and culture impacts upon the construction of masculine identity. It was argued, for example, that lad culture has become the "template masculinity for young British men" (Dempster, 2011, cited by Phipps & Young, 2015, p.461). The very idea that there is a 'template' brings with it the implication that lad culture is something that males should conform to. It acknowledges the existence of a pressure to behave and act in a way that is 'masculine'. This extends to the stereotypes that men should be "tough, strong, independent and brave" (Askew & Ross, 1988, p.2) or the belief that "the ability to dominate [is] a display of manhood" (Kaufman, 2001, p.10). The idea here is that whilst a patriarchal society operates to provide men with certain privileges, it brings with it weight of expectation and conformity.

The idea of masculinity constraining men's behaviour is taken further by theorists such as Allen (1993, cited by Hong, 1999, p.88), who outlined the concept of men being confined by the "man box". The man box acts almost as a masculine code of conduct and Allen believes this has led to men suppressing their emotions. Significantly, as part of this, Allen suggests that "cultural norms have made it difficult for men to express anger appropriately; instead anger is emitted in forms of violence" (ibid. p.89). This is supported by other commentators, such as Haider (2016, p.557), who suggests that "If violence is constitutive of masculinity, then violence becomes the mode by which one asserts one's masculinity. This assertion can take the form of symbolic violence and extend to physical violence too." Here, both Allen and Haider are outlining that VAWG can occur as a direct result of the societal expectations that exist around masculinity and are placed on men. With this in mind, Allen (1993, cited by Hong, 1999, p.89) concludes that a "solution is for men to rewrite the masculine code and replace it with more flexible codes for male behaviour and a broader range of life choices for men". This creative and more fluid form of masculinity, he argues, would challenge the 'man box' and in turn, allow men to feel more emotional freedom. Consequently, this could have potentially positive implications with regards to preventing male VAWG.

Allen's work, although now dated, is supported by commentators such as Miller (2017). Miller discusses the way in which boys are socialised as children and argues that this needs to change, before it is possible to create an "equitable society…in which everyone can thrive" (Ibid.). Miller explains that "even as we've given girls more choices for the roles they play, boys' worlds are still confined…they're discouraged from having interests that are considered feminine. They're told to be tough at all costs, or else to tamp down their so-called boy energy." Miller argues that through this, boys are taught to behave in a way that is almost robotic, as they're actions and emotions are confined. Instead she suggests that boys should be taught "that [they have] a full range of emotions…[to be able] to say 'I'm not angry; I'm scared, or my feelings are hurt, or I need help.'"

Mac an Ghaill highlights secondary school as an example of an environment in which this is particularly apparent, as he suggests that male students police both their own and others' sexuality. He notes that "heterosexual students [are] involved in a double relationship, of traducing the 'other', including women and [those who identified as] gay...at the same time as expelling femininity and homosexuality from within themselves" (Mac an Ghaill, 1994, p.90). Mac an Ghail goes on to explain that "student narratives contain shifting emphases of conflicting desires, anxieties, fears and confusions" (Ibid. p.89). In other words, secondary school and adolescence represent a time when young people are shaping their identities. As such, providing positive male role models at this time, to teach boys and young men to take care of themselves and others, to encourage them to build friendships with girls and allowing them to follow their interests, whether this is something that is traditionally associated with masculinity or not, can contribute towards the construction of a more positive masculine identity at an early age. This, in turn, provides the foundations for men to feel more emotional freedom in later life and escape the 'man box' as Allen (1993, cited by Hong, 1999. p.88) termed it. In turn, this can lead to men feeling more able to speak out against intolerance and help to prevent VAWG.

Of course, this discussion of masculinity is not intended to excuse those that commit VAWG. Indeed, it is worth reiterating that the vast majority of men do not commit VAWG and to generalise blame or guilt on the part of men is not conducive to helping prevent or end the occurrence of this form of abuse (Kaufman, 2001, p.12). Yet this conversation regarding masculinity helps to identify how the WRC UK's approach of working with men and boys can potentially have a positive impact upon people's perceptions of masculinity and in turn influence an individual's behaviour and attitudes to help prevent the occurrence of VAWG. The ways in which the WRC UK looks to do this, as well as any impact that this work has, will be discussed in greater detail later on as part of the analysis.

2.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, although there is little literature on the WRC UK specifically, this review has provided a general context to the WRC's work and outlined the issues that the WRC are seeking to change. It was initially identified that, in Victorian England, VAWG was perceived in a way that was in line with the narrow definition of the phrase, as abuse of this nature was depicted in relation to physical violence and sexual abuse. There was also a discussion around the attitudes towards VAWG at the time and how there existed an uncertainty between the "need … to cover up [VAWG] and a compulsion to make it public…and to discuss what was understood as a uniquely private form of abuse" (Rintoul, 2016, p.2). However, by the 1960's women's rights movements recognised that the abuse they experienced in their private lives, was linked too and influenced by much broader societal structures that worked to oppress females and reinforce patriarchy. Women's groups sought to bring about a change to this, which highlights the fact that the issue of VAWG and activism regarding the prevention of this was seen as a feminist or women's issue (Crooks et al, 2007, p.217).

This review has highlighted instances where progress has been made regarding some of the issues surrounding VAWG and the oppression of women, for instance, emotional abuse recently becoming illegal (Bowcott, 2015) and the 2015 election bringing with it a record number of women MPs. However, it is clear that there is still much that needs to be done. The discussion surrounding Thompson's PCS model (2003, p.17) helped to identify some of the behaviours and actions that exist at different levels of society, which serve to perpetuate the existence of VAWG. This was expanded upon using Bronfenbrenner's (1994, p.38) ecological systems theory, which relates closely to the PCS model and was useful in providing more detail regarding the societal layers that the WRC UK will need to affect if they are to have an impact with regards to preventing VAWG. As such, these models will form a vital part of the discourse surrounding this subject in the analysis.

Lastly, it was suggested that work undertaken with men and boys should be centred on the concept of trying to redefine their perceptions of masculinity. Theorists such as Allen and Miller note that

men are socialised and expected to behave in a certain way, which in turn confines their behaviour and hampers their emotional freedom. Allen refers to the existence of a 'man box' (1993, cited by Hong, 1999, p.88). Miller suggests changing the way in which men view masculinity will contribute towards creating a more "equitable society…in which everyone can thrive" (Miller, 2017), as men will feel more emotional freedom. As a result, this can lead to men feeling better able to challenge intolerance and speak out against VAWG. Therefore, the analysis will also look at ways in which the WRC UK seeks to change male perceptions of masculinity and whether this work is deemed as successful.

3. Methodology

A 'research methodology' is necessary in order to understand the various steps that were taken towards undertaking and completing the study. This section aims to systematically outline the chosen research approach, strategy, methods and coding techniques, as well as the logic behind these decisions (Kumar, 2008 p.5). Gaining insight into the epistemology of the research provides a necessary context and understanding for the reader, who can use this to better comprehend the ways in which the research was conducted and the implication this had on the study and the its subsequent outcomes. The methodology will also highlight and explore any ethical issues and concerns that were associated with the research. Lastly, an evaluation of the research will be provided, identifying which parts of the study went positively and which areas could perhaps be improved upon in future studies.

Within the context of research, normative ethics are used to address questions about morality and help researchers recognise actions or intentions that are good and bad (Wiles, 2013, p.4). As such, normative ethics provides a philosophical framework from which a researcher can identify the obligations and duties they should uphold with regards to both their research participants and the profession of research itself (Dhinesh Babu, 2007, p.19). This can then be used to shape moral principles and conduct. In particular, this research was guided by the British Education Research Association ethical guidelines (BERA, 2011) and followed this code of practice. As such, before conducting the research, a proposal was submitted, acknowledging my own position within the study, outlining any potential ethical issues, and detailing how the research would be conducted overall (Costley, Elliot and Gibbs, 2010, p.169). It was then approved by the relevant professional and academic bodies. This is significant as it shows that the research and the way in which it is conducted, is answerable to specific reputable institutions.

It was understood that the research participants have "the right to know that they are being researched, the right to be informed about the nature of the research and the right to withdraw at any time" (Ryen, 2011, p.418). As such, all affected individuals within the WRC UK, were informed about the research and agreed to the research taking place. Informed consent was also given by all participants with regards to the research interviews, including an acknowledgement that they were willing to be recorded as part of the data collection process. Indeed, "ethical issues permeate interview research and the knowledge produced by such research depends on the social relationship of the interviewer and the interviewee". It was earlier acknowledged that, as an 'inside-researcher', I began the research having already built existing relationships with the participants. However, it was important not to utilise this relationship to overstep boundaries and pursue information that a participant may not have felt comfortable with sharing in the context of research. As such, a conscious effort was made to show an ethical respect for the integrity of the research subject (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p.16).

However, the research did raise one specific ethical quandary. As the WRC UK is a small and known organisation, it is particularly difficult to ensure anonymity of the research participants (Costley, Elliot and Gibbs, 2010, p.32). The research makes specific reference to the 'founder of the WRC UK', for example and it would be generally easy to locate the name of this individual. This also applies to some other participants, such as the charity's CEO. As such, even if pseudonyms were used, confidentiality and anonymity could not be guaranteed for some participants. It was therefore agreed that those who had a high profile involvement with the charity, namely the WRC UK's founder, Chris and its current CEO, David, would be referred to by their forenames. Meanwhile, a pseudonym was used for those who held lower positions within the charity. It was felt that this would offer a level of anonymity, which in turn would benefit the validity of the data. For this very reason, the use of pseudonyms has been adopted by other theorists, such as Thomas (2006, p.46). Any data collected as part of the interviews was reported as precisely and as honestly as possible, as agreed with the participants beforehand.

3.1. Research approach

It has been argued amongst theorists that quantitative and qualitative research approaches are based on fundamentally different epistemological assumptions (Travers, 2001, p.6). The former, for instance, is usually adopted by positivist researchers who seek to "describe the world objectively from a scientific vantage point" (Ibid. p.10). As such, quantitative data is usually numerical. Qualitative data, meanwhile, is in line with an interpretivist philosophy and places an emphasis on understanding an individual's actions (Ibid. p.10). This is achieved through methods such as conducting interviews. This section of the methodology intends to outline why, in this instance, the collection and analysis of qualitative data was seen as the most appropriate approach for this research. A focus will be placed on recognising the benefits and limitations of this form of data, both within the context of this particular study and in direct relation to quantitative data more generally. The various other components of this research, including the specific strategy and methods used to collect this data, will be assessed in more detail later on within the methodology.

In contrast to quantitative data, conducting a study using qualitative research does not focus on examining the cause and effect of a given hypothesis (Lapan, Quartaroli & Riemer, 2011, p.8). Rather there is a desire to understand "how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, cited by Lapan, Quartaroli & Riemer, 2011, p.8). As a result, the outcomes of qualitative data can rarely be generalised beyond the context of the research setting itself. Generalisability refers to the process of "applying results to new settings, people, or samples" (Creswell, 2009, p.190). With this in mind, as this study focussed solely on the WRC UK and those affiliated with this charity, it is very difficult to generalise the outcomes drawn by this research and apply them to other organisations or individuals. The data also displays a lack of representativeness, as the opinions and views expressed by those affiliated with the charity may not reflect those of a broader, more general sample.

Consequently, this study and the genre of qualitative research as a whole, emphasises particularity rather than generalisability (Greene and Caracelli, 1997, cited by Creswell, 2009, p.193).

The nature of qualitative research also means that there is a focus upon providing rich and insightful data, which constitutes high validity. Validity can be defined as the "creditability and accuracy of the processes and outcomes associated with a research study" (Guest et al, 2012, cited by Hennik, 2014, p.177). Achieving a high level of validity within the research was ensured by the implementation of various validity strategies, such as triangulating the data gathered via semi-structured interviews, with the information obtained via reviewing and analysing documents relating to the charity (Creswell, 2009, p.191). Data triangulation is a process whereby data from one source is cross-referenced and supported by data from another source, in order to check and increase validity (Foster, 2003, p.89). Information about the charity's sports campaign that was gathered via semi-structured interviews, for example, was supported and reinforced by reviewing the organisation's report of its sports campaign, which summarised the work that the charity had conducted within sports in 2016. Triangulating data in this way contributes to the conformability and validity of the research as a whole, as it evidences a rigorous approach to gathering qualitative data (Ulin et al, 2005, cited by Watkins, 2012, p.157).

Further to this, it is also important to be aware of my own positionality as an inside-researcher within the WRC UK. The concept of positionality and inside-research relates directly to the idea of 'social situatedness' (Vygotsky, 1962, cited by Costley, Elliot and Gibbs, 2010, p.1) and an understanding that "organisational, professional and personal contexts will affect the way a piece of research is undertaken". In this instance, with regards to my own positionality, I have conducted the research having worked within the charity for a period of three years. Consequently, I have a good understanding of the charity's complexities, processes and nuances, as well as existing professional relationships with others who work for or are affiliated with the charity. In many ways this positively affected validity as I "not only had insider knowledge but [also] had easy access to people and

information that could further enhance that knowledge" (Costley, Elliot and Gibbs, 2010, p.3). This proved vital when conducting a detailed and thorough exploratory study (Ibid. p.3).

However, whilst the existing knowledge and relationships I had proved to be beneficial, my positionality may have also impacted negatively on the validity of the research project. It should be kept in mind, for instance, that "any criticism that the researcher makes in the [outcomes] of the research will be instantly perceived by the organisation and could cause tension between the researcher/worker and the organisation" (Costley, Elliot and Gibbs, 2010, p.32). It could be argued that this also affected the responses of participants during interviews, as they were conscious of avoiding comments that could be perceived as overly critical or negative. As well as this, as an inside researcher, I have knowledge that "will inevitably affect [my] analysis and evaluation of the [organisation] as a whole" (Ibid. p.32). In other words, whilst I approached the research in a way that was open-minded, it could be said that, even if only on a sub-conscious level, I invariably had preconceived ideas about the organisation in relation to the research questions and hypothesis, based on prior knowledge and experience. Nonetheless, by displaying 'reflexivity' and being conscious of my role within the organisation and the influence this had on the research data, I am again contributing to the validity of the research.

However, whilst the research data does benefit from high validity, a qualitative approach does not yield results that demonstrate a good level of reliability. Reliability is described as "the extent to which data can be repeated or reproduced at different times or by different researchers" (Curtis and Curtis, 2011, p.13). It is worth noting that steps were taken to improve reliability. Transcriptions of the interviews, for instance, were checked to make sure they were accurate and true to the original recordings. The coding of themes that took place as part of the analysis of this data was also checked to make sure it was consistent throughout (Gibbs, 2007, cited by Creswell, 2009, p.190).

However, it would be very difficult to reproduce the results of the study in a way that would be deemed reliable. After all, if the research was to be repeated at a different time, there is a likelihood

that the short-term goals the WRC UK would have altered. There is also a chance that the personnel within the organisation may have changed. My position as an inside researcher would also be challenging to replicate exactly. This is a rather specific situation to be in and as such, my relationships with members of the organisation would differ from that of another researcher, at a different time. This change in dynamic would likely affect any responses given and in doing so, produce a different set of results.

Overall, qualitative research is "exploratory and descriptive, it [recognises] the value of the context and setting and searches for a deeper understanding of participants experiences" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.60). By using this form of research, it became possible to gain an insight into the complexities and processes of the WRC UK and assess how these are interpreted by the individuals that work within the charity. As such, it was then possible to obtain what personal or short-term goals these individuals had for the WRC UK, as opposed to just analysing the over-reaching aims of the charity itself. This included, for example, a desire to secure funding or improving certain aspects of the way in which the charity works. Consequently, this provided a snapshot of the objectives of the WRC UK at the very moment that the research took place, as well as highlighting where the charity may continue to develop and how it may achieve its future aims.

3.2. Research strategy

The epistemological integrity of taking a qualitative approach is complimented by the research's chosen ethnographic strategy and methods. The term ethnography refers to a type of study that is attempting to analyse and describe a particular social context. In terms of the research strategy, for instance, it was clear that a case study of the WRC UK would need to be undertaken in order to achieve the level of detail necessary to provide the outcomes of the study. A case study is one which investigates an individual, organisation, institution or a community in order to gather evidence, which is then used to answer identified research questions (Gillham, 2010, p.1). The nature of a case

study means that it is constrained by time, bound to a specific physical and sociocultural context and encompasses more than one research method or data source (Gobo, 2011, p.16).

Through this, a case study allows for a researcher to "retain a holistic and real-world perspective" (Yin, 2014, p.4) and in doing so enables the collection of rich and insightful data that is associated with a qualitative approach. By conducting a case study of the WRC UK, I was able to further my knowledge of the charity's processes and collect data by holding semi-structured interviews and reviewing relevant documents. As a whole, this highlights how case studies can begin as an exploratory strategy, before later having a more descriptive purpose (Yin, 2014, p.7). This also coincides well with the interpretivist orientation that was taken to both conducting the research and analysing the collected data.

3.3. Research methods

As previously mentioned, semi-structured interviews and reviewing documents were seen as the most appropriate methods to collect data. Interviews were held with four individuals that are affiliated with the WRC UK, including both the charity's founder and CEO, as well as two full-time employees with the titled roles of communication manager and ambassador network manager. This is an example of 'purposive sampling', as "participants were specifically selected [as] they [could say] a lot about the issues that [were] of importance to the research" (Coyne, 1997, cited by Boeije, 2010, p.35). The interviews took place within a meeting room at the WRC UK's office, which was selected as it was easily accessible and also a familiar working environment that was both quiet and avoided distractions, which allowed for a productive discussion (Liamputtong, 2011). The interviews ranged from 20 to 30 minutes in duration and were recorded using an electronic device, before transcriptions of the dialogue were later made for the purpose of analysis. Transcribing data after the interviews have taken place benefits the quality of the research data, as it negates the need to take notes during the interview itself and thus it was possible to focus solely on conducting the

interview (Boeije, 2010, p.72). A discussion of the ethics relating to the study and the chosen research methods will be held later in the methodology.

Unlike document reviews, interviews are an interactive form of research that involves actively engaging with participants. Indeed, the research interview is one where "knowledge is constructed in the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee…[who] converse about a theme of mutual interest" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.2). In particular, the semi-structured interview was deemed to be the most appropriate interview type for this research. This genre of interview allows for the use of both open and closed questions, some of which are planned beforehand, to enable a communication between the researcher and participant that results in rich data being collected (Gillham, 2010, p.61). Another benefit of semi-structured interviews is that it allowed the exploration of specific points of interest through further questioning. As such, this "direct, open-response interaction…between the [researcher] and the participant allowed for clarification, probing and deeper levels of meaning" (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990, cited by Litosseliti, 2003, p.19).

This form of questioning followed the structure of what Tomlinson (1989, p.165) refers to as 'hierarchical focusing'. Tomlinson describes that "the principle of hierarchical focusing is that the interviewer seeks to elicit the interviewee's [perceptions, comprehensions and interpretations] of the world around them with a minimum of framing". In this sense, the concepts central to the research were outlined beforehand, as to ensure they were covered during the interviews, but the questions themselves were rather general to begin with. Hierarchical focusing allowed questions and topics to be raised in order of generality, as "further elaboration of anything that emerged [could be sought]" when necessary. As the key concepts of the research were planned beforehand, it was possible to ensure that these subjects were covered by the interviewee as the interview proceeded. In this sense, hierarchical focusing was a useful way of being able to keep track of how exhaustive the interview had been in terms of meeting the required criteria and prompting when certain topics need to be explored or discussed further. However, this approach to questioning also did not restrict

the interviewee's initial responses unnecessarily. As such, this ensured a more holistic account of a participant's thoughts and feelings, whilst also gaining a more detailed insight into the subject area that was being studied. As mentioned previously, this has significant benefits for the overall validity of the research.

The interviews described above were supplemented by the reviewing of relevant documents relating to the WRC UK. The collection and review of documents is "an unobtrusive method, rich in portraying the values and beliefs of participants in the setting" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p.116). Documents that related to specific areas of the WRC UK's work, such as the sports report, proved particularly illuminating and provided background and context to the data collected during the interviews. Utilising documents in this way is known as 'content analysis', which can be described as a process of "describing and interpreting the artefacts of a society or group" (Ibid. p.117). However, as this does involve interpretation by the researcher, one potential drawback of content analysis is the possibility of inferential reasoning. In other words, documents can sometimes be interpreted in different ways and this can affect perceptions of a documents true meaning. As such, care has been taken in the analysis section of this study, to display the logic behind certain interpretations used when inferring meaning from artefacts (Ibid. p.117).

3.4. Coding/analysing

Once collected, data the data had to be interpreted so that its overall meaning and the implications this has on the research could be identified. Creswell (2009, p.185) provides the following diagram with regards to analysing collected research data (Fig. 4):
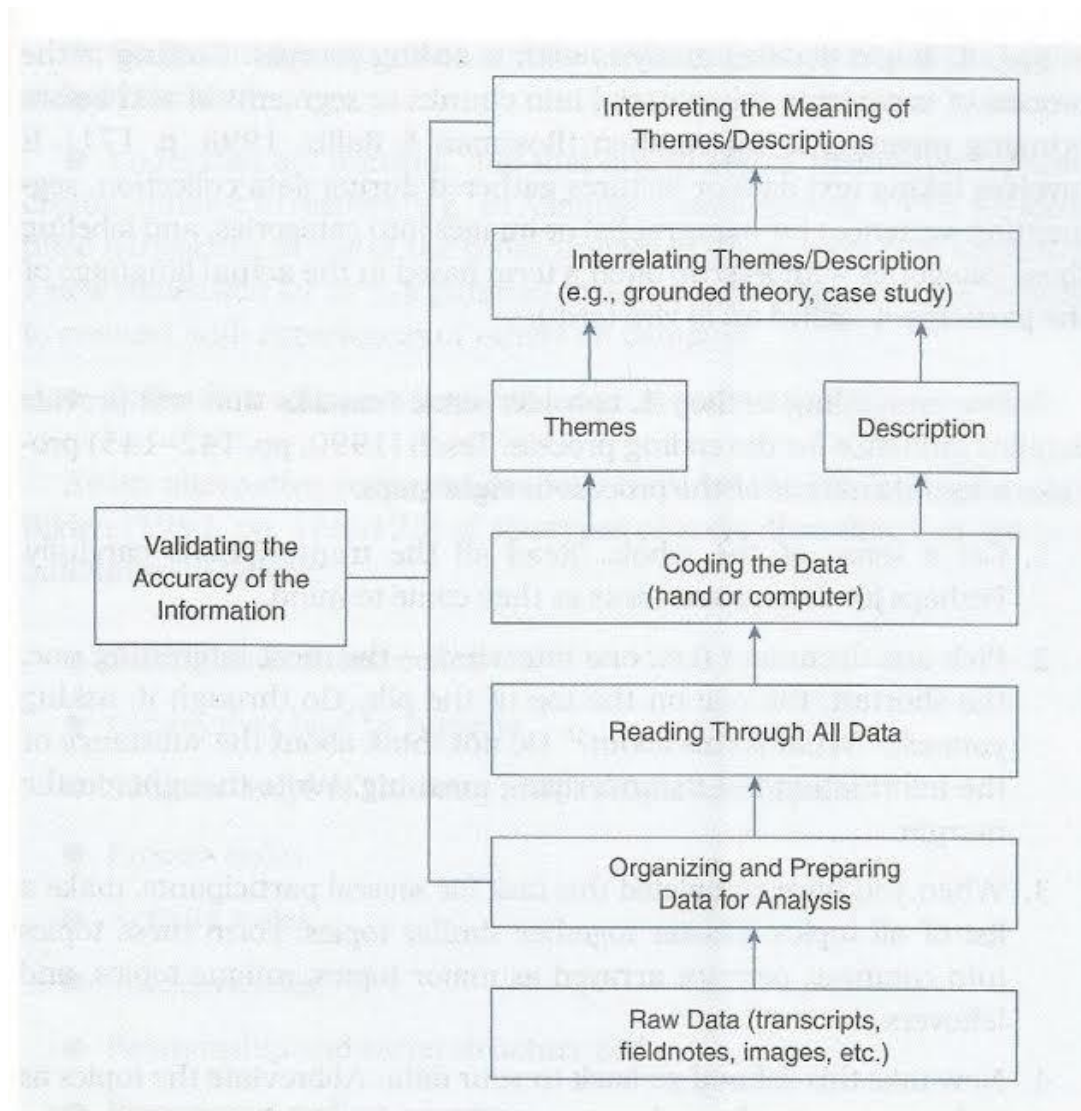
(Fig. 4: Creswell, 2009, p.185)

This model is useful as it helps to identify the different stages of data analysis in qualitative research.

Creswell describes that he sees the first step of the model as "organising and preparing data for

analysis" (Ibid. p.185). In the context of this research, this involved transcribing interviews from the

data that had been digitally recorded, as well as scanning and organising the documents that had

been reviewed. Transcribing interviews in this way provided "literal quotes that [could] be used in

the final analysis, for the readers to judge the relationship between the original data and the

researcher's interpretations" (Boeije, 2010, p.72).

After this, Creswell (2009, p.185) states that a researcher should read through all of the data that has been collected, in order to get "a 'general sense' of the information and reflect on its overall meaning". This was beneficial in gaining both an overview of common themes and an initial idea of the ways in which the collected data could be correlated. This then helped when beginning a detailed analysis via a coding process. Coding can be the described as "the process of organising the [research] material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to the information" (Rossman and Rallis, 1998, cited by Creswell, 2009, p.186). As such, coding enabled a dialectical analysis of qualitative data, as the "data [was] disassembled into elements and components…these were [then] examined for patterns and relationships" (Jorgensen, 1989, cited by Boeije, 2010, p.94). This outlines the process of using 'open coding', in which data from different interviews is divided and then grouped into common or reoccurring themes (Boeije, 2010, p.96). This allowed any correlating data to be identified and compared easily, as they were gathered under specific codes.

Following this, a process of 'selective coding' took place in order to find "connections between the categories [and] make sense of what [was] happening in the [research setting]" (Boeije, 2010, p.114). Although open coding is a rather general process, provides the context and framework for selective coding to take place (Strauss, 1987, p.33). Selective coding is defined by systematically grouping data together and coding it into categories that relate specifically to the key research topics or themes (Ibid. p.33). By correlating and interpreting the collected data in this way, it was possible to develop theories that provided potential answers to the proposed research questions.

4. Analysis

This section of the study centres around a critical discussion of the data gathered as a result of the semi-structured interviews which, as outlined in the methodology previously, were conducted with various individuals that are affiliated with the WRC UK. As part of this analysis, relevant documents that were reviewed as part of the research process will be referred too, in order to enable further insight and benefit understanding. The process of analysis and the resulting discussion that follows this is necessary in order to identify the outcomes and draw conclusions from the research data.

4.1. The origins of the WRC UK

In 1989, at the Montréal École Polytechnique University, a lone male gunman by the name of Marc Lépine shot and fatally wounded fourteen women (Tonso, 2009, p.1271). During the shooting, Lépine reportedly declared that the female engineering students were "all a bunch of feminists" and that he "hated feminists" (Eglin and Hester, 2003 cited by Tonso, 2009, p.1271). Lépine elaborated on this targeted attack in his suicide note, writing that feminists "want to keep the advantages of women, while seizing for themselves those [advantages] of men" (Mallette and Chalouh, 1991, cited by Tonso, 2009, p.1271). It was argued that this quote, alongside Lépine's decision to "deliberately [choose] women destined for a professional career still practiced manly by men" (ibid. p.1272), exemplified the use of violence to maintain patriarchal privilege. It was in response to "Montréal massacre", as it became known, that Michael Kaufman established the WRC in Canada. Kaufman recognised the need for public education campaigns that proactively challenged men to stop VAWG, promoted positive male behaviours and challenged negative attitudes towards women and girls (Kaufman, 2001, p.10).

In 2004, Chris founded the WRC in the UK. He describes the Canadian iteration of the Campaign as the "stimulus" for this, recognising that "a mass campaign targeting men and calling upon them to challenge violence against women had the potential to make a large impact". In the literature review

it was said that feminists believe "an ideology of male dominance over women is uncontested in larger society, as well as in the family, resulting in the exploitation and oppression of women" (Miller & Knudsen, 1999, p.713) and that historically, the issue of VAWG and activism regarding the prevention of this has been seen as a feminist or women's issue (Crooks et al, 2007, p.217). However, the WRC UK instead asks men to "take ownership of the issue" (Kaufman, 2001, p.13) of VAWG, arguing that "males must be involved because, more than anything else, men and boys will listen to other men and boys" (Ibid. p.11).

Today the charity works on a much wider scale than was initially possible and as outlined in the initial research question, has become a national charity. Having originally operated from Chris's home, the WRC UK now has a dedicated office based in Mytholmroyd, West Yorkshire. Chris also outlined how the charity was once a "drain on [his own] finances for many years, yet is now financially self-sufficient". Over the years this has mainly been achieved through donations and selling merchandise such as white ribbon badges, posters and t-shirts. However, the charity now also has an accreditation award scheme, which allows supporting organisations to officially affiliate with the WRC UK, once certain criteria has been met and a £500 accreditation fee has been paid. This scheme will be looked at in more detail as part of the discussion around the WRC UK's work with sports teams. The WRC UK's income has also recently been bolstered by Government funding. As a whole, this has meant that where there was initially a reliance on volunteers and part-time staff, the charity has now been able to employ more paid members of staff, including a new CEO.

4.2. Engaging and educating men

Yet despite the unquestionable growth of the campaign, Chris noted how difficult it continues to be to engage men with the WRC and explained that "men can feel isolated [because] it's hard just to get men to meet together and talk - but we need to talk to men". Whilst the WRC UK does receive invitations to speak at events and actively approaches organisations, Chris stated that "the invitations are mainly from women's organisations as opposed to men's organisations". In the

literature review, it was suggested that men's behaviour is constrained by what Allen (1993, cited by

Hong, 1999, p.88) called the 'man box'. The idea that men should stereotypically be "tough, strong,

independent and brave" (Askew & Ross, 1988, p.2), for instance, can lead to men suppressing their

emotions. As a result, it could be said that this makes it harder to engage with men in a meaningful

way with regards to difficult subjects such as VAWG. Chris believed this highlights one of the main

difficulties the WRC UK has in carrying its work , as the charity is "trying to target men and yet it's

women who hear the message and do a lot of the work."

This begs the question of how the WRC UK has adapted to this and in which ways it is currently

working to engage men. One example of this is the charity's ambassador network, which aims to

recruit men who will work to support and raise awareness of the charity. As well as this, the WRC UK

has a sports campaign that works closely with sports clubs and organisations to spread the messages

of the WRC UK. Chris explained that "sport helps in providing a way to engage men and get them

involved through an interest". To better understand how the charity currently engages and educates

men on the subject of preventing violence against women and girls, in line with one of the research

questions, both the ambassador network and the charity's sports campaign will be discussed and

evaluated in more detail below.

4.2.1. White Ribbon Ambassadors

White Ribbon ambassadors "are the public face of [the WRC UK]. [They are] positive male role

models, who commit to speaking out and standing up for non-violence and respecting women" **(see**

appendix 1 on p.79). At the time of writing, the WRC UK has an ambassador network of around 300

men, each of whom have signed a pledge never to "commit, condone or remain silent about VAWG"

(see appendix 1 on p.79) and to varying extents, have also agreed to work on behalf of the

campaign. The charity works across the UK and yet still has a limited number of resources and staff.

As such, the practicalities of attending events or taking advantage of public speaking opportunities,

for instance, can be difficult. This is especially the case if such an activity is located quite far away

from where the charity is based or if there are a number of events at a certain time, which can often occur around the time of White Ribbon Day on the 25th of November and the 16 days of activism that follows. With this in mind, the role of the WRC ambassador is significant as it means the charity can call upon men, situated across the UK, to attend events on the WRC's behalf.

In relation to Bronfenbrenner's (1994, p.39) ecological systems model, ambassadors help the WRC UK to expand their sphere of influence into environments that are predominately associated with the mesosystem, such as schools and the workplace. This enables the charity's message to spread further than would perhaps otherwise be possible. Significantly, Bronfenbrenner also noted that the mesosystem is "comprised of the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings" (Ibid. p.40). In theory, it is possible that engaging men and providing them with the appropriate training and resources could potentially influence their behaviour in other environments. It could be the case, for instance, that a male may have a perception of VAWG that is in line with the 'narrow definition' of this term and as such, believes this phrase only references "physical abuse or sexual assaults" (Renzetti, Edleson & Kennedy-Bergen, 2011, p.4). However, upon training, it may be the case that the individuals involved have a better knowledge of the damaging actions and attitudes that are associated with the 'broader definition' of VAWG, as evidenced by the Duluth model (Duluth, 1984 cited by Pence & Paymar, 1993). Therefore, this may mean that they are more conscious of their own behaviour or feel empowered to speak out against VAWG more generally.

The charity has recently brought in an ambassador network manager, Rachel, to both review and strengthen this network. Initially, Rachel believed her role would predominately involve increasing the number of ambassadors. However, after reviewing the ambassador network, her "priority …shifted from wanting to get as many ambassadors as possible, to thinking about the quality of that engagement and how [the charity] could best utilise its ambassadors". Rachel references the Australian iteration of the WRC as an example of why this is the best approach to adopt. "White Ribbon Australia…have an ambassador network of over 2000 ambassadors and they have had a

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focus on…recruiting high profile people and [have been] less focused on quality of engagement and vetting people". The detrimental consequence of this were apparent in 2015, for example, when an attorney general by the name of John Elferink, was forced to step down in his role as an ambassador after "telling a female MP he was 'really tempted to give her a slap'" during a debate (Davidson, 2015). Similarly, another White Ribbon ambassador, Tanveer Ahmed, agreed to step down in this role after writing an article which claimed that "male disempowerment was partly to blame for domestic violence" (Meade, 2015) sparked controversy. White Ribbon Australia claimed that the views expressed "were inconsistent with the message and focus" of the charity (ibid.).

These comments were reported on by the media, an institution that Bronfenbrenner (1994, p.40) identifies as belonging to the exosystemic layer of society. This recognises the media is an influential and consistent institution in people's daily lives. Consequently, Rachel notes that negative incidents such as those mentioned above cause "huge reputational damage, not just for White Ribbon Australia but also for White Ribbon as a global brand". As a result of this, White Ribbon Australia are undertaking a review of their current ambassador network, as well as revising the future process for becoming an ambassador. Rachel elaborated on this, stating that White Ribbon Australia are "going through a recommitment process, vetting all of their ambassadors and aiming to halve the size of their ambassador network overall." She highlighted that this again demonstrated a "quality over quantity" approach and that the WRC UK "need[s] to learn from that". As such, the implementation of a similar recommitment and vetting process within the WRC UK seems ideal in order to ensure that the ambassadors that are currently affiliated with the campaign, as well as those who look to become ambassadors in the future, are both suitable and dedicated to working on behalf of the campaign. Otherwise, further negative incidents may hamper the WRC UK's ability to engage and educate men and dilute the charity's overall message.

This focus on the quality of engagement also extends to the support and resources that Rachel would like the WRC UK to make available to ambassadors. She explains that she'd "[like to] make sure that the ambassadors that we have are getting good support, getting good training...so that they are given the ability to act and make a difference in their role as an ambassador". Again, due to a lack of resources, the WRC UK has previously been unable to provide a substantial level of support and training. However, the development of the aforementioned new website will "help to make information and resources much more accessible", as well as allow for a "more in-depth e-learning programme [that could be] certificated". This again goes to show how the WRC UK has grown over time and continues to develop and work towards its objectives, whilst seeking to enhance the way that it engages with men.

Whilst it is unlikely that Rachel will have the resources to meet each new ambassador, she instead hopes to hold regular regional training events and invite and engage with ambassadors on an individual basis during these. In this sense, Rachel recognises that communication with and between ambassadors is vital, not only in terms of "regularly engaging and checking in...or making them aware of opportunities or events" but also in being able to say "thank you...so that when ambassadors do great work for us we are able to acknowledge that". It was mentioned before that men are arguably less likely to talk about issues such as VAWG, especially with other men, as a result of what Allen (1993, cited by Hong, 1999, p.89) terms the 'man box', which serves to provide a restrictive masculine code of conduct. Rachel's hope is that the regional training events and a stronger ambassador network, will help to change this and provide space for men to talk about VAWG, preventing VAWG and the strategies surrounding this much more openly. This will enrich the WRC UK's engagement with men, whilst also offering an environment where men can, in theory, educate one another and share experiences that are relevant to the WRC UK and its messages. Regular contact, as well as training, also ensures that all ambassadors have a good understanding of their role, as well as the campaign and its aims. This helps reinforce that there is an appropriate and

consistent way for ambassadors to behave and speak about the campaign and again works to prevent incidents that could potentially damage the WRC brand.

However, this is proving to be a time-consuming process. It is notable that White Ribbon Australia has substantially more resources, both financially and in terms of personnel, compared to the WRC UK and consequently, it is both simpler and quicker to design campaigning materials and implement procedural changes. As such, this does pose an issue around the time it will take to implement a similar due diligence and vetting process for potential and existing WRC UK ambassadors. Beyond this, the practicalities of arranging regional training, as well as the time involved with designing e-learning and resource packs, all present potential challenges. However, given the experiences of White Ribbon Australia and the reputational damage that was eventually incurred as a result of a focus on recruitment, as opposed to the quality of engagement, it is seemingly a necessity for the WRC UK to learn from this and seek to avoid a similar occurrence in the future.

As a whole, organising the WRC UK's ambassador network is vital to the charity's work. In the literature review it was argued that VAWG can occur as a direct result of the societal expectations that exist around masculinity and are placed on men and that a "solution is for men to rewrite the masculine code and replace it with more flexible codes for male behaviour and a broader range of life choices for men" (Allen, 1993, cited by Hong, 1999, p.89). This creative and more fluid form of masculinity, he argues, would challenge the 'man box' and in turn, allow men to feel more emotional freedom. In this sense ambassadors are not only the face public face of the charity, but should also act as role models for others in terms of their attitudes and behaviours that should work to challenge stereotypical concepts of masculinity.

With this in mind, it is worth noting that the majority of the WRC UK's ambassador network is made up of men who hold a position of power, such as MPs or councillors, or work in a role associated with significant social stature, such as police officers. Rachel is again evaluating this - "one of the reservations I have is whether [this structure] reinforces some of the ideas around masculinity –

alpha-males and so on. If you are saying that change comes from the top all the time, then what message is that sending about power, equality and whose voices are important?" Consequently, this could mean that the WRC UK's ambassador network becomes more varied and the message behind the campaign spreads further. Rachel believes that "there is room for both, [as long as] they are genuinely committed to the campaign and the changes we want to see."

Overall the ambassador network works to engage men by offering them the chance to become more closely associated with the WRC UK and its cause. It is clear that the charity values its ambassadors and recognises their importance in helping to achieve its future aims. In return the WRC UK are investing time in making sure that ambassadors are suitable, experience better training, have additional resources and are better able to communicate, both with the charity and one another. It is hoped that this will not only improve the standard of work that ambassadors do on behalf of the charity but also establish a strong network of men, who are ready to challenge people's pre-conceptions of masculinity and what this entails and in doing so, help to prevent VAWG.

4.2.2. Sport Campaign

The charities 'White Ribbon Tackles Sport' report, completed in 2015, explains that "sport has a tremendous influence over men and youth culture. [Consequently], sport provides an avenue for promoting safe and respectful behaviours amongst men and young people." **(see appendix 2 on p.81)**. This is supported by theorists such as Milner and Baker (2017, p.269), who argue that "sport is more than a form of recreation [but also] an established structure that is meaningful to individuals and society". As such, it provides a valuable context through which the charity can engage with men and boys around issues relating to VAWG. In 2015/2016, the WRC sports campaign set out to approach 50 clubs, 1000 players and 10,000 spectators **(see appendix 2 on p.82)**, with the aim of not only discussing the issue of VAWG but also the concept of masculinity more generality. Indeed, "sport offers an opportunity to show men and boys that you can be masculine without being violent or excessively aggressive".

In the literature review it was argued that contemporary lad culture and the behaviours associated with this, often occur as part of a male "'pack' mentality, [and is especially] evident [during] activities such as sport" (Phipps & Young 2013, cited by Jackson, Dempster & Pollard, 2013, p.301). In the foreword of the sports report, the WRC UK's sports campaign manager, Adam, acknowledged that "there is still…a dressing room culture within the sporting environment, whereby derogatory remarks or 'banter', [for example], goes unchecked" (**see appendix 2 on p.81**). The significance of this was detailed in the literature review, where it was said that jokes which demean or devalue women have the potential to reinforce and normalise gender inequality (Wesley, 2002, cited by Bemiller & Schneider, 2010, p.463). The WRC sports campaign seeks to change this by providing professional and grass roots sports teams with training that works to raise awareness of the WRC UK, the aims of the organisation and how the players themselves can help to make a difference. In this way it encourages the players to recognise their influence and responsibilities as potential role models to fans, the majority of whom are often young men. Again, Adam explains that "men and boys are influenced by role models, both as followers and supporters of professional clubs and as members and players in community level clubs" **(see appendix 2 on p.81)**. In a sense, this means that the players at these clubs are able to reach a wider audience and arguable have more influence than the WRC UK through its usual methods of campaigning. Yet it isn't just the players that the WRC tries to engage with but rather all those that work at the club but the staff as well.

Consequently, instead of attempting to only change individual behaviours and attitudes towards women, there is an attempt to implement a different culture with regards to this within the club as a whole. Thompson's PCS (Thompson, 2003, p.17) model recognised culture as one of three areas in which discrimination can exist. Here, it was said that the term culture "refers to the way of life of a group" (Kendall & Wickham, 2001, cited by Thompson, 2003, p.15), including the way individuals communicate and interact with each other. Berger & Luckman (1967, cited by Thompson, 2003, p.15) also identified that culture can also produce thoughts, behaviours and actions that become common occurrences. In this sense, if dressing room culture within a club goes unchallenged, there

is the potential for it to become common place. This can be particularly damaging. Ford (2015 cited

by Romero-Sanchez et al., 2016, p.1) described that "by trivialising sex discrimination, sexist humour

[or remarks] creates a norm of tolerance [towards] sex discrimination. In this context, sexist

behaviour can be more easily justified as falling within the bounds of social acceptability". Therefore,

the work that the WRC UK undertakes with sports teams is important in seeking to change this.

This is furthered by the fact that the WRC offers sport teams the chance to officially affiliate with the

campaign via its accreditation process. This encourages the club to have a clear plan in relation to

preventing VAWG, as well as raising awareness and motivating others to engage with the campaign

too. Accreditation is only awarded to clubs who are successful in demonstrating that they adhere to

certain requirements **(see appendix 2 on p.84)**. Alongside a commitment to undertake relevant

training, the plan also includes criteria such as the charity being endorsed at every level of the club

and a "clear system for reporting, assessing and dealing with incidents of abuse, sexual assault, or

violence towards women and children". Currently the WRC UK has affiliations with clubs such as

Doncaster Rovers F.C., Rotherham United F.C. and Hull Rugby Football League. However there can

be issues around the £500 accreditation fee that sports teams are expected to pay as part of their

affiliation with the WRC UK. This is a necessary contribution that benefits the charities sustainability,

yet not many clubs are able to afford the payment. Instead the funds are often raised 'in-kind',

through sponsorship and fundraising match-days (**see appendix 2 on p.87**).

Sponsorship provides the WRC UK with increased visibility, particularly if the charity's logo is

included on a team's kit, for example. However, the charity has also increased its profile "as a result

of targeting individuals, such as sport stars, celebrities and politicians" in order to convey the WRC

UK's key messages to a broader audience. This has led to "coverage in local and national

newspapers, on radio and TV and through websites and social media." It is notable, for example,

that both cricketer Adil Rashid and Gary Schofield OBE, who was inducted into the British Rugby Hall

of Fame in 2013, are White Ribbon ambassadors. In terms of Bronfenbrenner's (1994, p.38)

ecological systems theory, it is noted that the layers outside of the mesosytem, known as the exosystem and macrosystem, are the hardest to influence. From the WRC UK's perspective, they are also the hardest to reach. Therefore, the kind of coverage outlined above helps the charity to get its message further afield than would otherwise be possible.

Interestingly, the 'White Ribbon Tackles Sport' report details the findings of an attitudinal survey that was used to "determine the impact the [WRC UK's] involvement, particularly relating to challenging sexist behaviour [and] to gain an understanding of the demographics of participants" **(see appendix 2 on p.83)**. This is significant as, overall, the WRC UK has rarely undertaken evaluative measures in order to measure the impact of its work, either within sports or otherwise. The report highlights that of the participants who took part in the training, a total of 76%, were aged between 16 and 35 **(see appendix 2 on p.85)**. As such, this confirms that the sports campaign predominately engages with young men. As well as this, it is notable that players and staff often "haven't heard of White Ribbon", with 95% stating that they were unaware of the WRC UK before the training took place (**see appendix 2 on p.85**). Again, this statistic is useful when reviewing the charity's growth, as it raises questions around why this awareness is so low and how it can be increased further in the future. This will form part of the discussion regarding the charity's impact later in this analysis, as well as helping to shape the conclusions and recommendations that will follow this.

However, after the training took place, participants showed a much increased awareness of the charity and its aims, with 80% of respondents indicating a knowledge of the WRC's pledge to never "commit, condone or remain silent about VAWG" (**see appendix 2 on p.86**). As well as this, a total of 95% agreed that "ending violence towards women is an issue for everyone" (**see appendix 2 on p.86**). This shows an understanding that men should be involved in the efforts to end violence against women. There was also a sound understanding that VAWG was not just inclusive of physical violence and instead involved the type of behaviours explained by the 'broader' definition of VAWG,

as explained in the literature review. Overall, 98% stated the training had made a positive impact on their attitude towards women and girls (**see appendix 2 on p.86**).

As a whole, the WRC UK's sports campaign provides a platform through which the charity can engage with men in a relevant context and educate them around the subject of VAWG and masculinity. It also offers the opportunity to discuss issues such as lad and dressing room culture with players and in doing so, work to improve the culture of a club overall. In return, the charity receives increased publicity and at times men involved with these clubs are also interested in becoming WRC ambassadors. The attitudinal survey included as part of the sport report highlights the positive impact that this work has done, yet also shows that there is still work to do as the WRC UK had a low recognition rate before the training took place.

4.2.3. Website and merchandise

Aside from the ambassador network and sports campaign, the WRC UK also looks to engage men and raise awareness of the charity via its website and through branded campaign materials and merchandise. Emily, who is employed as the WRC UK's communications manager, is currently tasked with reviewing the charity's website and merchandise and recognises the importance of both. Emily reasoned that "people buying and wearing our [merchandise] mean[s] that people are starting to recognise the brand and understand who we are". In this sense, Emily believes that merchandise does help to raise the profile of the charity and in turn, potentially work to engage men who were otherwise unaware of the campaign. She continued by saying "brand recognition is important and can be done through repetition...you see the same thing more often and you recognise it." This is supported by theorists such as Dahlen, Lange and Smith (2010, p.300) who suggest that "repetition is the most effective tool when recall is the communication objective". In theory, the more brand recognition the WRC UK receives as a result of selling merchandise or campaign materials, the more likely individuals are to visit the charity's website and engage further. However, Emily noted that it is

"hard to measure the trickle effect of [this]". The impact of the charity's website and merchandise will be looked at in more detail later on in this analysis.

4.3. The WRC UK in relation to Thompson's PCS model

Now that examples of the ways in which the WRC UK engages men have been discussed, it is appropriate to assess how the charity looks to influence and affect society with regards to the prevention of VAWG. In the literature review, Thompson's PCS model was used to highlight how oppression and discrimination exist at "three separate but interrelated levels: personal, cultural and structural" (Thompson, 2003, p.13). The model was used to evidence how VAWG exists or is perpetuated at each of these levels and to exemplify the connection between the personal and the political. Bronfenbrenner's (1994, p.38) ecological systems model, meanwhile, is useful for identifying the societal layers that the WRC UK needs to work within in order to engage men in preventing VAWG and the institutions they will need to impact upon to make a difference with regards to this subject. Consequently, both models will be used as part of the discourse surrounding the ways in which the WRC UK seeks to affect change with regards to both engaging men and preventing VAWG.

In the literature review it was said that gender stereotypes and prejudice are examples of the type of sexist discrimination that may exist at the personal level of Thompson's PCS model (Thompson, 2003, p.13). Thompson defined this level as consisting of one's thoughts, feelings and/or actions. It was noted that these stereotypes are generalisations about the attributes of men and women (Heilman, 2012, p.114) and can be either descriptive or prescriptive in nature, with the former used to label what men and women *are* like and the latter to designate what they *should* be like (ibid.). With regards to masculinity, for example, it was said that 'lad culture' has become the "template masculinity for young British men" (Dempster, 2011, cited by Phipps & Young, 2015, p.461), whilst

the stereotype that men should be "tough at all costs" (Miller, 2017) continues to have relevance in modern society.

However, David, the WRC UK's current CEO, explains how the charity is challenging this concept by "promoting a healthier and broader masculinity". He notes that the as an organisation they are encouraging a "change in…attitude towards gender equality, respect for women and what it means to be bloke". As such, David believes that the WRC UK has a "broader agenda around masculinity…that is necessary to have an affective anti-violence strategy". Interestingly, theorists such as Haider also highlighted the link between the characteristics that society expects of masculinity and the existence of VAWG. Haider (2016, p.557) suggested that "If violence is constitutive of masculinity, then violence becomes the mode by which one asserts one's masculinity". In this sense, the WRC UK sees the work to change men's perceptions of masculinity as directly linked with the prevention of VAWG. This is supported by theorists such as Miller (2017), who argued that men "should be taught that [they have] a full range of emotions…[to be able] to say 'I'm not angry; I'm scared, or my feelings are hurt, or I need help'".

In order to promote a healthier and broader masculinity, the WRC UK understands that there is a need to challenge the actions and behaviours involved with template masculinities such as lad culture. The existence of the WRC's ambassador network and the work done within the sports campaign around changing room culture, as outlined previously, are examples of the WRC UK undertaking this type of work at the personal level of Thompson's PCS model. The personal level of this model is closely associated with what Bronfenbrenner would describe as the microsystemic and mesosystemic levels of his ecological systems theory. This is significant as Bronfenbrenner's model highlights the interconnected nature of society and identifies how behaviours and attitudes can permeate from one environment into the next. As such, by working to engage men and change their perceptions of masculinity at a mircrosystemic or personal level, there is the potential for this work to have a broader impact.

Yet the broader layers of society, described by Bronfenbrenner as the exosystem and the macrosystem, are certainly the hardest to influence. As outlined in the literature review, the exosystem consists of the wider community in which an individual lives, as well as broader institutions that also effect upon an individual, such as the media. The macrosystem, meanwhile, relates to the "overarching patterns…of a given culture" (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p.40). Such facets of society are often ingrained into our way of life and as such, it is very difficult for an individual or an organisation to change this. Sandstrom et al (2010, cited by Bemiller & Zimmer-Schneider, 2010, p.460), in fact, argued that a society's culture consists of "everyday behaviours, interactions and exchanges [that] are filled with meanings and [which] preserve and maintain the status quo".

It was suggested in the literature review that the sexual objectification of women within the media, for instance, remains an issue in society. This fits both the cultural level of Thompson's PCS model, whilst also acting as an example that exists within the exosytem of Bronfenbrenner's theory (1994, p.40). The depiction of female athletes was used as a specific example and it was noted that theorists such as Daniels (2009, p.402) believe that "the sexualisation of women athletes in mass media serves to reinforce patriarchal power" (Daniels, 2009, p.402), as it trivialises their achievements, as well as the competitive nature of female sports. Daniels also stated that some athletes become "widely known for [their] looks, rather than their athletic accomplishments" (Ibid. p.400). With this in mind, the WRC UK has partnered with the charity 'Opening Boundaries', to "promote positive health, equality and end gender based violence" (Opening Boundaries, 2017). The Opening Boundaries charity aims to "use sport as an educational engagement platform, to inspire more people to reach their full potential [and] provide them with the necessary resources and support to succeed in making the world a [safer] and more equal society to live in" (Ibid.).

Through their partnership, the two charities collaborated on an event held at the Headingly stadium in Leeds, as part of a campaign entitled 'bowling out domestic violence'. With the intention of "raising awareness of both women in sport and VAWG" (Cricket Beyond the Boundary Line, 2016),

the event saw two women's teams, including an "inspirational women XI" and two men's teams play throughout the day. Notably, the event was attended by the local community and featured by a variety of press and media outlets in the UK, including the BBC Radio Asian Network. In total, news of the event and reporting of the message behind it reached over 1,000,000 people (Ibid.). By engaging the local community in this way and gaining media coverage, both charities were arguably successful in communicating the messages regarding VAWG and the positive portrayal of women within sports, not only to men but also into areas that are associated with the exosystem, as Bronfenbrenner describes it.

The WRC UK has also helped to influence political change. Political systems form part of the structural section of Thompson's PCS model, whilst also belonging within the Macrosystem of Bronfenbrenner's theory (1994, p.40), as politics contributes towards the overreaching attitudes and ideologies of a culture. Chris, previously identified as the WRC UK's founder, described how the charity "was part of a taskforce that helped to formulate the Istanbul Convention". The Istanbul Convention is the "most comprehensive legal framework that exists to tackle violence against women and girls" (IC Change, 2017) and sets "minimum standards for governments to meet when tackling VAWG" (Ibid). Chris explained that his "contribution to the convention was article 12", which states "Parties shall take the necessary measures to encourage all members of society, especially men and boys, to contribute actively to preventing all forms of violence covered by the scope of this Convention" (Council of Europe, 2014, p.7). This statement clearly reflects the beliefs of the WRC UK. The bill is currently law in a number of countries around Europe; however, the UK did not ratify the agreement until February 2017, despite signing up to it in 2012 (Walker, 2017). In the years between, the WRC UK worked alongside a volunteer led initiative entitled IC Change, to campaign for the bills ratification.

Overall, there is evidence to suggest that the WRC UK has at times been involved in bringing about personal, structural or cultural change. The charity's ambassador network and the sports campaign,

for example, shows the charity working with individuals on a personal, or individual, level. Indeed, the WRC UK also appears to have a presence at each level of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1994. P.40). The work done in partnership with 'opening boundaries', for instance, shows how the WRC UK not only managed to engage the local community, but also gained wider coverage via the media, an area associated with the exosystem (ibid.). Yet, despite this, whilst the charity has clearly worked to meet its aims in a variety of ways, it is difficult to measure what impact that the WRC UK and its activities have had on the subject of VAWG and on the attitudes of men that the charity seeks to influence both directly and indirectly.

4.4. Assessing the impact of the WRC UK

Indeed, although the WRC UK has seemingly had an influence on the subject of VAWG and the way men perceive this issue, it very difficult to measure the extent of this impact in a way that is quantifiable. As David described:

> "[the WRC UK does not] have any formal evaluations, so it is hard to provide evidence of what impact [the WRC UK] has had in the past. We know that some things have changed and some of that is to do with the activities that White Ribbon Campaign and those that support us and engage with us. We know there has been a lot of awareness-raising about the issue of VAWG as a result of the campaign, for instance. What we don't know is what impact this has had on behaviour and attitudes or on the safety of women and girls".

It could be said that this raises an uncertainty around how effectively the WRC has engaged and educated men around the issue VAWG and in many ways, makes any discussion around the true impact of the charity, at any of the levels outlined by Thompson and Bronfenbrenner, largely subjective.

It is interesting to note that each individual member of staff has set key performance indicators (KPIs), many of which involve quantifiable objectives or aims that are linked to organisational

growth. To an extent, these KPIs can be used to acknowledge the growth of the WRC UK and in theory, give an impression of the potential impact that the campaign is having. Emily, for example, outlined that through her work she would expect to see "a better 'bounce rate' [on the website], which means people stick around on the website for longer, also…an increase in donations through the website [and] increased sales (of merchandise)". Rachel, as mentioned previously, is looking to strengthen the WRC UK's ambassador network. Yet again, whilst both Emily and Rachel's work will provide quantitative data that can be assessed to see whether they have met their objectives, the further impact of their work is harder to evaluate. As Emily explains, "in the long-term and much less quantifiable, is whether the website is able to engage people in such a way that they become connected to the issue and [as a result] actually change their attitudes because they stick around and start learning more about us, domestic violence and how they could get involved… we can measure the success of the website and our growth in simple ways…more clicks on the website, more Twitter followers, more sales, more ambassadors. But then what we can't measure is people's feelings."

Overall, Emily believes that it is "hard to measure impact because sometimes [the WRC UK's] impact is fleeting." Yet, annually, November 25th (White Ribbon Day) and the 16 days of activism following this, provides a focal point the WRC UK's campaign. Around this time, the charity sees a surge in engagement and support for the campaign, alongside increased visibility through merchandise sales. As current CEO, David, comments that "[November 25th and the 16 days of activism] provides a time for…activity around our messages and …gives [the WRC UK] a higher profile. It's a specific period of time in which the charity becomes particularly busy and receives a larger amount of publicity." In terms of Bronfenbrenner's ecological system model (1994, p.40) this means that the charity can reach beyond its usual sphere of influence, as it attracts attention from politicians, the media and local authorities. As such, the charity and its cause are recognised by institutions that are associated with the exosystem and macrosystem (ibid.). Consequently, the potential impact the charity can have is higher around this time, as there is an increased awareness of the WRC UK's work. This is a

vital for the charity, not only in relation to its sustainability but also in terms of the potential to engage men with the subject of preventing VAWG. However, David also acknowledges that "there's a risk attached to this… because [the WRC UK] want these kind of activities [to take place] all year around". In this sense, there is an argument that having a period of time in which means that people may be less likely to engage with the WRC UK's work throughout the rest of the year. With this in mind, November 25th and the 16 days of activism beyond this, may hamper the charity's ability to have as much of an impact at other times of the year.

Further to this, Emily also recognises that selling merchandise does not necessarily always mean that the charity is having an impact with regards to preventing VAWG. Emily explains that "selling… a lot of stock…does show that the movement around the issue and support for the charity is growing but I'm conscious. That…sometimes people wear stuff without necessarily fully supporting the charity in a meaningful way. Wearing a White Ribbon doesn't necessarily mean action." Indeed, the idea of the WRC selling branded merchandise, including awareness ribbons, is in line with what theorist such as Moore (2008, p.137) describes as "the commercialisation of charity and the commodification of compassion". Given the increased focus on branding and selling, Moore argues that in some contexts "the awareness ribbon seems less like a charity token and more like a product…or a fashion accessory" (Ibid. p.140). Moore conducted a study on the subject of 'ribbon culture' and interestingly, found that some participants "wore awareness ribbons on a temporary basis. [For some] the decision [to wear a ribbon at all] was dependant on the coat or clothes that they were wearing." (Ibid. p.98) She also found that the same participants "had difficulty in remembering exactly what causes they supported" (Ibid.).

Of course, this is evidence taken from an isolated study. Yet it does raise the issue that whilst wearing a ribbon or other merchandise can be taken as a gesture of support, it is nonetheless a simple and noncommittal act, which often does not go beyond a financial contribution. Moore also claims that "the awareness ribbon is…susceptible to shifts in trends", as people choose to wear "the

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ribbon of the moment" (ibid. p.140). This perhaps explains why people are seemingly more inclined to wear such merchandise in order to support the WRC UK in November. As such, wearing a ribbon at this time could be viewed as little more than "a particularly fleeting expression of empathy" (Ibid.). However, Moore also notes that for many, wearing a ribbon also demonstrates an individual's desire to feel and show a sense of "self-possession; after all 'showing awareness' is, first and foremost, about showing that one is aware." (Ibid. p.94). This indicates that an individual must at least have a particular level of motivation for a cause in order to buy merchandise in the first place.

Yet overall, it is still very difficult to assess the impact that individuals wearing WRC UK merchandise has, beyond the financial benefits for the charity. Without a formal evaluation, it is in fact difficult to judge the true impact of much of the WRC UK's work more generally. David believes that "the type of work [the WRC UK has] done will have made men think…that it's an issue that matters and that they should do something about it. So whilst it's difficult to prove whether they have actually done anything differently, I'd suggest that those men who are more likely to be supportive or reflective have been nudged into actively doing things as a result of the campaign." This is a sentiment shared by Rachel, who notes that the WRC UK has "managed to get some really high profile support and put this issue on the agenda. So that even if men haven't heard of White Ribbon, they've certainly heard of the of idea male VAWG being an issue that men should be involved with…I think it's made the issue part of the national conversation."

Perhaps as the campaign continues to develop, it will become increasingly necessary for the WRC UK to undertake a formal evaluation of the charity as a whole. Notably, Rachel discussed that she will be introducing an annual survey as part of her work with the ambassador network:

> "Do we actually prevent any violence by doing this work? Do we shift someone's behaviour with regards to someone's relationships and treatment of women? There's a sense that we might be preaching to the converted a little bit…. how you prove that you are influencing

behaviours is the hard part. I will be introducing an annual survey for ambassadors that will

be later in the year. Hopefully we will get a reasonable completion rate and some feedback

from that. That's a few months down the line though but it will take much longer to really

assess impact.

It is possible that this survey would be useful in identifying the strengths and weaknesses of some

areas of the charity but it would only provide a limited insight and would mainly provide detail

relating to Rachel's work, rather than the charity as a whole. With this in mind, one potential

framework that could be used in the future is the institutional and organisational assessment model

(Fig.5) (Rojas, 2016). This model is effective in enabling an evaluative overview of an organisation's

performance, by viewing this as a "multidimensional idea, that is, as the balance between the

effectiveness, relevance, efficiency, and financial viability of the organisation" (Ibid.). Interestingly,

the model also acknowledges that organisations develop and change over time, in response to both

internal and external factors. This includes financial and human resources, as well as the

environment in which the organisation is based. Both internal and external factors can result in a

shift in "organisational climate, culture and ways of operating" (Ibid.). As such, for the WRC UK, this

can either positively or negatively impact upon the ability of the charity to achieve its aims of

engaging with men and preventing VAWG.

Fig. 5 (Rojas, 2016)

It was previously mentioned, for instance, that the charity has recently employed a new CEO, David, whilst its founder and previous CEO, Chris, retired from working with the charity. This has brought with it several changes that can be looked at in relation to the institutional and organisational assessment model (Rojas, 2016). In terms of the WRC UK's "organizational performance", for example, David's decision to employ more members of staff impacts directly upon the charity's "financial viability", "efficiency" and "effectiveness". With regards to finances, for example, the simple fact that the charity employs and pays more people can mean increased pressure with regards to sustainability, as the charity will need to maintain an income in order to both pay staff and meet running costs. However, the increase in personal and job roles should mean that the WRC UK are better placed to be both more efficient and effective and consequently, will be more capable of raising funds that will meet the increased financial demands that have been placed on the charity.

Notably the change of CEO also which has implications for the charity's culture. Under its previous CEO, the WRC UK culture was most applicable to what Handy (1993, cited by Mullins and Christy, 2013, p.697) would described as a "power culture", with influence of a central figure running

throughout the organisation. Indeed, in the past the charity worked towards the vision of its

founder, Chris and as Handy describes, "there [were] few rules and procedures, and little

bureaucracy" (Ibid. p.697). However, with David now appointed as the CEO, the charity has

undergone a change in "strategic leadership", as the institutional and organisational assessment

model (Rojas, 2016) terms it. With the introduction of new staff, there has been a move towards

having more "bureaucracy…logic and rationality" (1993, cited by Mullins and Christy, 2013, p.697)

with interaction and communication between various members of staff. These is synonymous with

what Handy would call "role culture" within an organisation.

Often a change in culture at an organisation can be positive and at times even signal the beginning

of an evolutionary process (Schein, 2010, p.273). Yet transition can also cause uncertainty. A change

in inter-personal dynamics within an office environment, brought about by the introduction of new

staff and CEO, as well as a different office culture, can mean that there is the potential for conflict.

This may occur not only between staff members but also between the charity's new CEO and its

founder, if this transition is not handled carefully. As such, it is important that the charity ensures

that the 'handover' of the charity from Chris to David is well facilitated so as to limit any unnecessary

disruption. Over time it is likely that the WRC UK, although functioning differently to how it has in

the past, will continue to grow and experienced an increased "organisational capacity" (Rojas, 2016)

as a result. However, a further study would need to be done at a later time in order to confirm this.

4.5. The future of the WRC UK

One of the barriers to the WRC UK running an evaluation of this nature is cost. This was mentioned

briefly by Chris, who outlined said that "as an independent organisation, we've never had to offer a

formal evaluation…it can cost quite a bit of money to do that". This quote touches upon one of the

biggest concerns those involved with the charity have, with regards to the WRC UK being able to

carry out its future work - financial sustainability. With the charity currently having more paid staff

than ever before, this consequently means that there is an increased financial strain and a need to meet certain aims and objectives. However, having additional staff provides the WRC UK with the opportunity to progress and develop further than it has previously. David, for instance, outlined that the charity are now better positioned to take advantage of potential funding opportunities: "There's loads to do so I don't want the team to get smaller but we need money. We'll be as big as we can afford to be. I think we can expand by develop by looking towards things that trusts, foundations and possibly the government want to happen, that's attractive for them in terms of their objectives."

Whilst this sounds rather open-ended, David identified that the WRC UK could, for example, "have a training programme in schools or universities, [with] outputs that are measurable, [so that you can identify] whether they are effective…That could create change and it might be fundable". Notably, Rachel also mentioned the idea of working in educational institutions in her interview : "We are a primary prevention programme – so again I'd love to be doing work in schools and colleges… we need to be getting to young people, to talk about healthy relationships and to shape and influence attitudes…there's an intervention opportunity there at that age." Erikson (1968, cited by Zwozdiak-Myers, 2007, p.87) believed that during adolescence (ages 12-18) young people go through a stage in their psychological development that is defined by them shaping their identity and role. He explains that "young people develop a desire for independence from parents, achieve physical maturity and face the task of finding out who they are and where they are going". As such, Erikson continues by saying that "adolescence seek leadership and inspiration, gradually developing their own set of ideals". Beyond adolescence, Erikson detailed that young adulthood often sees individuals establish intimate relationships with another person. With this in mind, Rachel's statement that the WRC should engage with young people during their teenage years, to discuss healthy relationships, the subject of VAWG and the role men and boys can play in preventing this, could well be very significant.

Working in schools and colleges in this way, with a structured and funded training programme, would be an interesting development for the WRC UK's work, yet it could also prove time-consuming, particularly there would not currently be a member of staff dedicated to progress this work. Alongside this, David also mentioned environments such as "youth justice systems and prisons" as places where the WRC UK could look to conduct further training. Yet, in contrast to any work that would be undertaken in educational institutions, David argued that "the men whose attitudes are more problematic – sexist, disrespectful, aggressive, and controlling – would need more intensive programmes". The idea of working in areas such as prisons shows that there is substantial scope for the WRC UK to expand upon its current work and as David phrased it, " the fact we haven't done [this] means that there's more people that we can reach." However, he also recognised that whilst there are a lot of "different possibilities or opportunities…we can't make the most of all of them…[and will] need to decide where to focus our energies". Consequently, it could be said that the WRC UK should look to build upon its current work, with a view to achieving more funding which can be used to expand this work into the areas identified. This work could then be made viable through the hiring of additional staff who could take this forward. In turn, this would lead to increased specialisation within the charity and accelerate the WRC UK's growth.

It was mentioned towards the start of the analysis that the WRC UK also benefits from a significant revenue stream provided by merchandise sales. It is interesting to note, then, that Emily is looking to rethink the charity's approach towards the way it sells merchandise. Currently the WRC UK has a substantial selection of items available, with more than 60 different items available. However, Emily is "in the process of working out exactly what [the WR UK] are going to continue to sell." She believes that the charity "needs to slim down what [they] are selling as it's too overwhelming". It was mentioned earlier in the analysis that the charity's merchandise provides them with a recognised brand, which helps to communicate the messages behind the WRC UK's work, however, Emily believes the amount of merchandise the charity sells is "diluting" the charities main message regarding the prevention of VAWG.

As well as cutting down on the amount of merchandise the charity is selling, Emily is also aiming to redesign the charity's logo, as well as design and implement a new website. Clifton (2009, p.15) argues that "the [a brand's] name is one element that should never change but all other elements can change and evolve over time". Indeed, Emily believes that with a new logo and updated website, the charity will be better placed to engage with others, as she explained: "The website will help because it'll be the face of the organisation. I think it starts with a new, clearer logo, website and merchandise and then you get more supporters…it kind of snowballs. It continues itself at a point. One thing sparks another." As well as the website, the WRC UK continues to engage with people through social media. The charity currently has a presence on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, however Emily has also spotted a further opportunity to engage with a younger male audience via Youtube: "a lot of teenagers are watching YouTube now for just hours on end. So we should get more into that…vlogs or even just one good standard video. People don't read as much these days but if you can see a video is just two minutes, you more inclined to watch. That's a channel where we can get more men involved." By developing and updating the WRC UK's website, merchandise and logo, as well as looking to build upon the way the charity utilises social media, the charity will potentially engage with a larger number of people and this will help towards ensuring it meets its overall aims in the future.

Arguably, the WRC UK could also find more opportunities to engage by changing the location of where its office is based. Currently, the charity's office is situated in Mytholmroyd, West Yorkshire, a small village with a population of approximately 4000 according to estimates based on the last census, which was taken in 2011 (ONS, 2011 cited by City Population, 2016). Chin (2010) notes that working in an area with a limited population can be useful. He states, for example, that it is possible to "foster a strong sense of community" (ibid.) both in terms of those working within the organisation and between the organisation and local residents. As a result, Chin recognises that the relationship between an organisation, its employees and the community can be close-knit. This is true of the WRC UK, which benefits from the support of local organisations, including Calderdale

Council. However, Chin also notes that "there are undoubtedly fewer events happening at any point in time" in small communities, as opposed to larger cities. This perhaps highlights that the WRC UK experiences limited opportunities as a result of being based in Mytholmroyd.

With this in mind, it could be argued that the WRC UK is geographically isolated. This has several implications. If the charity's office was instead based in the nearby major cities of Manchester or Leeds, for instance, with respective estimated populations of 503,000 (Manchester City Council, 2011) and 751,000 (Leeds City Council, 2011), the charity would almost certainly benefit from increased visibility. Although the exact outcomes of this visibility are uncertain, it is nonetheless worth speculating as to the impact this could have on the charity's growth. As, Chin (2010) states "[bigger cities] provide…tremendous learning and growth opportunities". It could be said, for example, that the charity would have better prospective networking opportunities on a daily basis, simply by being visible and becoming known within a city such as Leeds or Manchester. In the discussion regarding the charity's sport campaign, it was argued that there was a tendency to focus on sports clubs and organisations within Yorkshire and Lancashire. However, it is also notable that a large part of the WRC UK's work overall, takes place within these regions. Through being better located and growing its professional network, the charity may garner more recognition further afield and consequently, have increased opportunity to engage men and work beyond the areas it has currently tended to frequent.

Overall, the ability of the WRC UK to continue its work and meet its future aims depends heavily on the finances of the organisation. Yet, if the WRC UK was to look to branch out and conduct training in schools, for example, this could lead to additional funding. Working with young people in this way would represent a large opportunity for the charity and as a result of this work, it may mean that additional staff is required in the future to both share this workload and provide increased specialisation. As well as this, the WRC UK can enhance its potential for broader engagement via selling redesigned merchandise, updating its website and building upon its current social media

presence. There is also an argument to say that the charity's location should possibly be reviewed, with a view towards moving to a larger city. Again though, this will be dependent on finances. However, the WRC UK should look to undertake a formal evaluation in order to better identify the weaknesses of the organisation. This will then help in formulating a more specific plan through which future work can be developed.

5. Conclusion

Overall, this study has analysed the successful launch of an organisation that has grown over time. Since its establishment in 2004 the WRC UK has developed into a national charity. With a focus on selling and developing merchandise, as well as some recent government funding, the charity's capacity to engage with men has now grown further and as a result of new staff, as well as the creation of a new website and better training and resources for ambassadors, this is expected to continue. However, it can still prove difficult for the WRC UK to engage with men, who can be reluctant to recognise VAWG as a male issue or shy away from discussing the topic. This could be the result of the socially constructed expectations of masculinity. Allen (1993, cited by Hong, 1999, p.88) argues that this leads to men suppressing their emotions and consequently argues that men are trapped within the confines of a 'man-box'.

Yet the idea that it may be possible to recalibrate the socially constructed gender expectations that surround masculinity and that through this, men may feel more secure in campaigning for gender equality and directly challenging VAWG, underpins the work of the WRC UK. The focus on developing an improved ambassador network, for example, will enable the charity to have a broader and better impact in locations such as schools and workplaces. These areas are associated with the microsystem and mesosystem of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1994, p.39), which is significant,as actions and behaviours from one of these environments can permeate into another. Therefore, with the appropriate training and discussion, men and boys may feel they are better able

to recognise, discuss and challenge different forms of VAWG. The charities sports campaign also provides a platform through which the charity can engage men via an interest. Here the charity seek to implement a more positive culture within sports teams, whilst also raising awareness of the issue of VAWG and the behaviours associated with dressing room culture.

Indeed, as a whole the WRC UK works to challenge the negative and often behaviour and attitudes that can be associated with lad culture more generally. Laddism was recognised as a part of the cultural layer of Thompson's PCS model and it was suggested that this is often associated with "'banter' that is sexist [and] misogynistic" (Phipps & Young, 2013, cited by Jackson, Dempster & Pollard, 2013, p.301) and has also been linked to the mainstreaming of 'sex object' culture (Phipps and Young 2015, p.461). Yet the charity's CEO has said that the WRC UK are "promoting a healthier and broader masculinity" which involves "chang[ing]…attitude[s] towards gender equality, respect for women and what it means to be bloke". In this sense the WRC UK are looking to challenge lad culture as the "template masculinity for young men in the UK" (Dempster, 2011, cited by Phipps & Young, 2015, p.461). Through this, the WRC UK is promoting greater respect towards women and girls.

However, whilst the WRC UK appears to have made a difference with regards to educating and engaging men in preventing VAWG, it has hard to measure this impact as the charity has not undertaken any formal evaluation with regards to its effectiveness. As such it is difficult to determine the success of the charities work or what impact people wearing a white ribbon, for instance, has in terms of raising awareness of the charity and its cause. Indeed, Moore (2008, p.140) suggested that "the awareness ribbon is…susceptible to shifts in trends", as people choose to wear "the ribbon of the moment" and in this sense the ribbon itself "seems less like a charity token and more like a product…or a fashion" accessory" (Ibid. p.140). Whilst individual staff members do have KPIs, which serve as personal objectives, the charity itself perhaps use an on-going formal evaluation

through which to consistently measure its position. It was suggested that the Organisational

Assessment Model (Rojas, 2016) could potentially be used in order to do this.

It was also argued that the charity should look to expand its work and have a bigger role either

working with perpetrators or more consistently within schools, for example. This may not only

provide opportunities for increased funding and consequently further growth, but it may also be the

next step that the charity needs to take in order to have a larger impact in terms of engaging and

educating men in preventing VAWG. Eriksen (1968, cited by Zwozdiak-Myers, 2007, p.87) believed

that during adolescence (ages 12-18) young people go through a stage in their psychological

development that is defined by them shaping their identity and role. As such, this would appear to

be a key time for the WRC UK to engage with young men and boys of this age and to engage them in

conversations regarding healthy relationships, consent and VAWG.

Perhaps the WRC UK could benefit by changing the geographical location of its office, so that more

opportunities of this nature become apparent. There is a likelihood that moving away from

Mytholmroyd and establishing an office in the nearby cities of Leeds or Manchester would provide

increased visibility for the charity and its cause. As Chin (2010) explained, "[bigger cities]

provide…tremendous learning and growth opportunities". The larger populations offered by

Manchester and Leeds means that there are much better prospective networking opportunities in

these cities. However, the financial impact of moving the office to a different location should be

considered. Also, the effect of this upheaval on staff, particularly those who have recently joined the

charity, is another factor that will need to be taken into account before a decision on changing

location can be made.

A discussion of the WRC UK's work was underpinned by both Bronfenbrenner's 'ecological systems

model' (1994, p.38) and Thompson's PCS model (2003, p.13). Although these models were effective

as analytical tools, there are ways in which both models could be altered in order to relate more

closely to the subject of domestic violence. The ecological systems model, for example, displays the

networks that surround an individual, from a person's peer group through to the mass media and wider societal ideologies. However, domestic violence is a notably hidden crime. It is often the case that when domestic violence occurs few, if any, beyond the affected individual will be aware that it has taken place. Bronfenbrenner's (1994, p.38) theory places neighbours in the exosystem layer of the ecological model and therefore, further away from the individual than health services, for example. Yet when domestic violence occurs, it is more likely that neighbours will be aware of this and overall, will largely be better positioned to take preventative action than health services. With this in mind, the model could be reconfigured with the subject of domestic violence in mind.

Similarly, the PCS model (Thompson, 2003, p.13) predominately recognises and discusses various forms of discrimination. As such, it is useful when analysing more overt forms of sexism and sexist behaviour. However, it does little to recognise the act and impact of physical domestic violence. In other words, the PCS model is better applied to societal attitudes and behaviours that contribute towards domestic violence than acts associated with domestic violence itself. Again, the model could be adapted to include domestic violence and the actions associated with this, as well as displaying the societal factors that it is suggested underpin this kind of behaviour.

It is clear that there are still some aspects of this research project would necessitate further exploration. It has been highlighted that this study was conducted at a time when the WRC UK was going through a period of transition that has seen its founder and previous CEO, Chris, retire and a new CEO and additional staff come into the charity. The potential positive and negative impacts of this have been discussed in detail, although in order to assess how this move actually shapes the charity in the future, a further study would need to be conducted. Such a study could also provide insight into how role of the new staff members develops, whether they are able to meet their current targets and how their aims and objectives change over time. It was also outlined that there is the need for more of an investigation into the charity's impact and that a formal evaluation of its

effectiveness should took place. Another researcher, at another time, would also have a different positionality to my own and it would be interesting to see how this influenced the research.

Nonetheless, this research has identified that the WRC UK is well positioned for a broader and more substantial engagement with men. This helps form the recommendation that the charity should work in a wider range of environments. The idea that the personal, cultural and structural levels of society are interconnected and to influence one can affect the others, as outlined by Thompson's PCS model (Thompson, 2003, p.17) and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1994, p.39), means that there is the potential for a ripple effect and in this sense, men are uniquely placed to be the agents for change. The WRC UK encourages men to challenge the stereotypes and expectations society places upon them, to educate each other, to better understand the implications of the systematic and institutional nature of patriarchy and sexism for both genders. Through this, men have the ability to redefine the meaning of masculinity and manhood and in doing so, can prevent the occurrence of VAWG.

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7. Appendices

7.1 Appendix 1 (Ambassador Role Description)

Ambassador Role Description

White Ribbon Ambassadors are the public face of our movement. They are positive male role models from all walks of life who commit to speaking out and standing up for nonviolence and respecting women

They can be politicians, faith and community leaders, businessmen, public and third sector managers and staff, trade union leaders, teachers, students, police chiefs, musicians, sportsmen etc - anyone who can help the Campaign achieve its objectives. They are men who can have an impact on the way that men and boys think and act about this vital issue.

Ambassadors put their own time into the Campaign on a voluntary unpaid basis, and we are very grateful for their support.

Essential Requirements

White Ribbon Ambassadors

- understand the issue of male violence against women and girls, and men's and boys' roles in preventing it
- encourage men and boys to take a stand against male violence against women and girls
- actively oppose the gender inequalities and stereotypes that underpin male violence
- help raise the profile and influence of the White Ribbon Campaign nationally and locally
- pledge not to commit, condone or remain silent about male violence against women and girls

Responsibilities

Male violence against women and girls is an issue for men as well as women. Men have a vital role to play in creating a culture where it is unacceptable, and in taking active steps to challenge male violence against women and girls in their families, workplaces and communities – on White Ribbon Day (25th November) and all year!

Ambassadors should:

- Wear a white ribbon and encourage others in the community to do the same
- Talk about the Campaign to colleagues, friends and family
- Attend and speak at public engagements
- Host meetings, social events, fundraising activities
- Approach other organisations (e.g. local councils, businesses, schools and colleges, community groups, sports and service clubs, music venues and festivals) and encourage them to get involved
- Promote the Campaign in media and social media opportunities (in accordance with our media guidelines)
- Maintain active and regular communication with us
- Help identify other potential White Ribbon Ambassadors
- Abide by all relevant Campaign policies

We ask ambassadors to write a short report each year about their activities.

The names of Ambassadors are published on our website.

If the behaviour of an Ambassador is inconsistent with the goals of the campaign, or an Ambassador Campaign reserves the right to end his role as an Ambassador.

Support provided by White Ribbon UK

The White Ribbon Campaign Team will ensure that Ambassadors are fully briefed and comfortable with their role and have the information and support to represent the Campaign. They will receive:

- An Ambassadors starter pack.
- Campaign updates in our monthly e-newsletter.
- Face-to-face and online training.

Membership of our national Ambassadors Network

7.2 Appendix 2 (White Ribbon Tackles Sport)

1. OVERVIEW

The White Ribbon Tackles Sport Campaign is the latest initiative led by White Ribbon UK, which is a branch of the world's largest movement of men and boys, working to end violence against women and girls, promote gender equality, healthy relationships and a new vision of masculinity through the medium of sport.

The statistical evidence of domestic violence is alarming and highlights the need for change. The National Coalition against Domestic Violence states that two women are killed every week in England and Wales. One in four women experience domestic violence over their lifetime. Domestic violence has a higher rate of repeat victimisation than any other crime.

The threat of violence is very real for millions of women and girls all over the world. Unfortunately the abuse faced by many, whether it's physical, emotional or psychological, comes from people that are meant to be trusted, meant to love and meant to protect. As a result, much of the abuse is rarely talked about or reported, especially not in a male dominated environment. While young women are the group at highest risk of being sexually assaulted, most perpetrators of sexual assault are men.

Tackling the sporting arena seemed logical for White Ribbon as it would allow access to and the ability to influence the mind-set and attitudes of men and boys. Sport has a tremendous influence over men's and youth culture. Young men and women play sport, watch sport, and participate in sports culture socially. Sport provides an avenue for promoting safe and respectful behaviours amongst men and young people. Men and boys are influenced by role models, both as followers and as supporters of professional clubs, and as members and players in community level clubs.

In my experience as a former professional rugby league player, I have witnessed first-hand inexcusable behaviour that when I look back now, by being a bystander and not speaking out, I was just as guilty as the perpetrators. At no point on any occasion, did any person speak out against what was being said. The comments and behaviour were accepted as harmless, and allowed boys and men to continue in an unconscionable manner and mistreat and abuse females without any hesitation. As far as we were aware, there were no groups, organisations or agencies to address and challenge this behaviour, or offer any kind of education or training to tackle it.

Unfortunately, there is still very much a dressing room culture within the sporting environment, whereby derogatory remarks or 'banter' goes unchecked. Without the presence of females, the boys and men are uninhibited and unashamed to discuss, or brag about their exploits and conquests.

For this reason, working with men is crucial to encourage them to report violence and not be bystanders because domestic violence is one of the most chronically under-represented crimes.

Ikram Butt

The White Ribbon Tackles Sport application was submitted to the West Yorkshire Police and Crime Commissioner's Safer Communities Fund, to work with organisations involved with sports and physical activities across West Yorkshire and other areas.

The aims of the initiative:

- Increase awareness of the White Ribbon Campaign.

- The project to be run across Calderdale and the adjacent areas in West Yorkshire to use sport as a way of communicating with men and boys aged 16, on issues of violence to women and to ascertain the views of men involved either as fans, professional players or players at community level clubs.

- The opportunity for men to be involved in the White Ribbon Campaign as ambassadors for the organisation or become mentors working with younger men within the club, or visiting schools to promote the work of the White Ribbon Campaign.

- Men to be encouraged to sign up to the White Ribbon Campaign and take the pledge. Clubs will be encouraged to become accredited at a cost of £400 for Premiership, Super League and County Cricket clubs, with a lower figure in place for smaller organisations.

A number of case studies were carried out, to highlight the issue of domestic violence and the impact on individuals. In addition, the case studies showcased the good practice of individuals and organisations through the work they have carried out.

The campaign focused on targeting a wide audience reflective of the differing communities within Yorkshire and the Humber. These included schools, colleges/universities, community centres, professional and community clubs, faith organisations and sporting role models. The project set out to target 50 clubs, 1,000 players and 10,000 spectators. The campaign has had a high profile through targeting influential individuals such as sports stars, celebrities and politicians. This has led to coverage in the local/national newspapers, radio, TV appearances, websites and social media.

The impact of the campaign has resulted in:

- The issue of domestic violence being discussed in the public domain and consequently the creation of a culture that supports victims and encourages male bystanders to speak out against and challenge violence against women and girls.

- Sports players and fans have an increased understanding of the extent of the violence and a wider knowledge of the underlying issues.

- Sports Organisations benefit from knowing that they are playing their part in developing community cohesion.

The White Ribbon Tackles Sport Campaign has started the ball rolling (literally!) through this initial piece of work and has provided food for thought. Despite the work that has been undertaken, there is a recognition that much remains to be done.

The project ran across West Yorkshire to use sport as a way of communicating with men and boys aged over 16, on issues of violence to women and to ascertain the views of men involved either as fans, professional players or players at community clubs, colleges and universities. Geographically, the project also worked with sports clubs outside West Yorkshire. This addressed the first objective which was 'to increase the awareness of the WRC in sports organisations across West Yorkshire'.

The organisations were contacted and meetings were held to raise awareness of the issues of the campaign. The necessity for clubs and their members to be involved was highlighted, in order to engage and commit to working with the sports campaign in reaching out to the players, spectators and the wider community. In this way we fulfilled the next two objectives which are 'to work directly with sports organisations, particularly rugby league, rugby union, football and cricket to create a safe environment for men and boys to discuss being masculine without the need to be violent and highlighting any gaps in provision' and 'to work with sports clubs affiliated with colleges and universities.'

Specifically devised accreditation materials were used as a tool for discussion at the start of any event and then revisited in order to review action and progress. Accreditation status was awarded to clubs who were successful in demonstrating that they had adhered to the campaign's requirements: this allowed us to fulfil the final objective which was 'to assist the region in developing strategies for improving work to challenge violence to women.'

Towards the end of the process with each club / organisation, one to one meetings and focus groups were held and a questionnaire was compiled and distributed to a cross-section of people from the whole club / organisation. This was 'to determine the impact of involvement with the White Ribbon Campaign particularly relating to challenging sexist behaviour,' and 'to gain an understanding of the demographics of participants, in particular issues relating to age, ethnicity and geography.' and the results are in section 8.

The campaign focused on targeting a wide audience reflective of the differing communities within West Yorkshire. These included schools, colleges/universities, community centres, professional and community clubs, faith organisations and sporting role models.
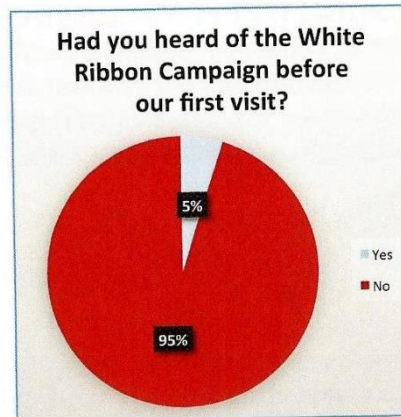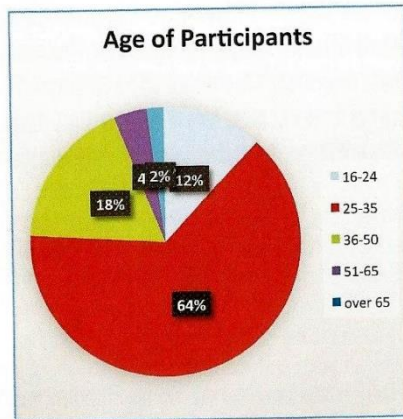
ACCREDITATION CRITERIA:

- Accreditation to last for two years

- Have endorsement of Chief Executive of Club

- Committee endorsement at every level of the Club

- Information about WRC in match programmes/website/social media

- Club statement to challenge sexist behaviour backed up by a policy

- Identify WRC ambassadors from the club who accept the responsibilities of the role i.e. mentoring younger players, giving talks to local schools

- Encourage players and supporters to sign the pledge

- Participate in a seminar about the campaign and the players' responsibilities

- Plan events to celebrate White Ribbon Day on 25th November

- Commit to submitting follow up form at the end of the two year period in order to assess the impact of the work and how behaviour has changed

- Nominate a key member of management to lead the WRC strategy

- Use a clear system for reporting, assessing, and dealing with incidents of abuse, sexual assault, or violence towards women and children. Encourage all to report such incidents

- Develop a commitment that club members and supporters do not engage in sexist or homophobic behaviour, with a sign saying that perpetrators will be asked to leave

- Display appropriate information promoting and raising awareness about respectful relationships

- Include a session on issues concerning violence against women and girls during a training session at all levels of the club

- Involve the local community, holding at least one local fundraising/awareness event each year

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8. ATTITUDINAL SURVEY

FINDINGS FROM THE WHITE RIBBON TACKLES SPORT ATTITUDIUAL SURVEY
BEFORE OUR INVOLVEMENT:

Age of Participants

- 16-24
- 25-35
- 36-50
- 51-65
- over 65

4 2% 12%
18%
64%

Had you heard of the White Ribbon Campaign before our first visit?
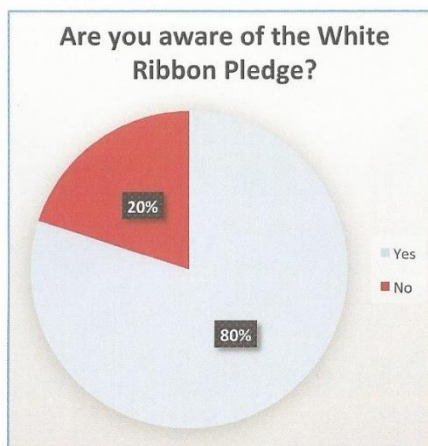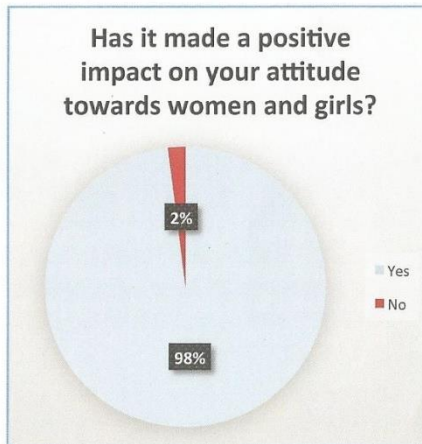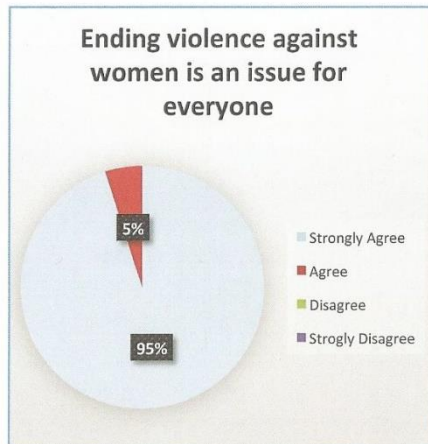
5%
95%

- Yes
- No

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE YEAR:

- White Ribbon launch at Hull FC against Warrington Wolves at their first home game of the Super League season in front of a crowd of over 11,000 spectators.
- Rotherham FC White Ribbon game against Nottingham Forest in front of a crowd of over 12,000 spectators.
- Yorkshire & England Cricket star, Adil Rashid, agreeing to become an Ambassador.
- Legendary Rugby League star, Garry Schofield OBE, agreeing to become an Ambassador.
- Eden Hazard, international football star and current PFA Players Player of the Year award proudly wears the White Ribbon badge.
- Minister for Sport, Helen Grant MP, applauds the work of the White Ribbon Campaign.
- The Lords & Commons RUFC team show support by holding the White Ribbon banner prior to the 6 Nations game.
- Doncaster & Castleford Tigers squad members running out in White Ribbon T-shirts.
- Bramley Buffaloes, become the first rugby club to adopt the White Ribbon logo on their jerseys.
- The Lega Italia Rugby Football League embrace the White Ribbon Campaign.

AFTER OUR INVOLVEMENT:

Ending violence against women is an issue for everyone

5%

95%

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strogly Disagree

Has it made a positive impact on your attitude towards women and girls?

2%

98%

- Yes
- No

Are you aware of the White Ribbon Pledge?

20%

80%

- Yes
- No

The pie charts clearly show that there has been a positive response towards the White Ribbon Tackles Sport Campaign. As the final chart shows, a huge majority strongly favour action towards ending violence against women.

www.whiteribboncampaign.co.uk   33

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9. CONCLUSION

There has been a need to address the realities of working for a small charity with a very limited budget – this has resulted in the Project Manager only being employed for two days a week during 2014/15 and this has had an impact both on the number of teams involved in the project and the nature of teams. There has been a natural propensity to lean towards both codes of rugby, and it is accepted that future work would want to look at a wider range of sports with funding for a full time post.

Another pull has been the desire to undertake work with more teams, whilst accepting that some smaller teams are not able to afford the accreditation fee of £400. It has been a reality, however, that some larger clubs have claimed that they are not able to afford this figure and it has been a dilemma to ensure that the work has been undertaken, whilst essentially doing it for free. Whilst Doncaster RLFC, for example, might be at the bottom of the league, they are top of the league for White Ribbon giving their fundraising. This would need to be a clearer condition of future work, and potentially a move towards the 1% club – with teams contributing 1% of a games takings on the gate – which ironically for some larger teams would be considerably more than £400!!

In retrospect, we are encouraged by the progress made, but we realise that this is a long term initiative to tackle a firmly embedded mind-set that needs to be changed. For the most part we were warmly welcomed and the campaigned was enthusiastically embraced.

At other times clubs were already committed to supporting other charities and not readily open to taking on a new one. However, these are earmarked for the future when they appreciate the need to continue the work throughout each season.

The past year has shown that there is considerable support for our campaign that works to end violence towards women and girls. We have found that attitudes from all those involved have in the main been very positive, whilst appreciating that regular engagement needs to continue for changes to happen.

The decision to target sports to tackle the issues of violence has been a natural direction for the campaign to take. Although there is much work to be done, it is obvious that it will make a huge impact to the clubs, players, spectators and the lives of domestic violence victims. Success has been demonstrated by the enthusiasm of the clubs and organisations who have adopted the White Ribbon Campaign and are working towards the accreditation.