

UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL NORMS UNDERPINNING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN INDIA

Technical Background Paper
for Oxfam India's Campaign on
Elimination of Violence Against
Women and Girls

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 India

Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG)¹ is a gross violation of human rights and one of the most persistent forms of gender inequality and discrimination. One in every two women in South Asia face violence in her daily life.² An estimated 50 million women are 'missing' from the population due to gender-discriminatory practices.³ Though all forms of violence are a grave concern, domestic violence is particularly so as it is perpetrated within the

'safety' of homes, by people who are related to women (intimate partners and/or relatives), who are socialized to endure in silence or even rationalize it. According to the UNFPA (2005),⁴ about 70 per cent of Indian women in the age group of 15-49 face domestic violence. The third round of the Indian National Family Health Survey 3 (NFHS) conducted in 2005-06 recorded that 40.6 per cent of ever married women aged 15-49 years face some form of domestic violence. Pan-India data of the most recent NFHS 4 is not currently available.⁵ More recently, a study⁶ in 2013 by the International Centre for Research

1 The definition of violence against women and girls in this paper is the same as the UN definition "violence against women" means 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."

2 Mehta.M., 2004, Towards Ending Violence in South Asia. Oxfam Briefing Paper.

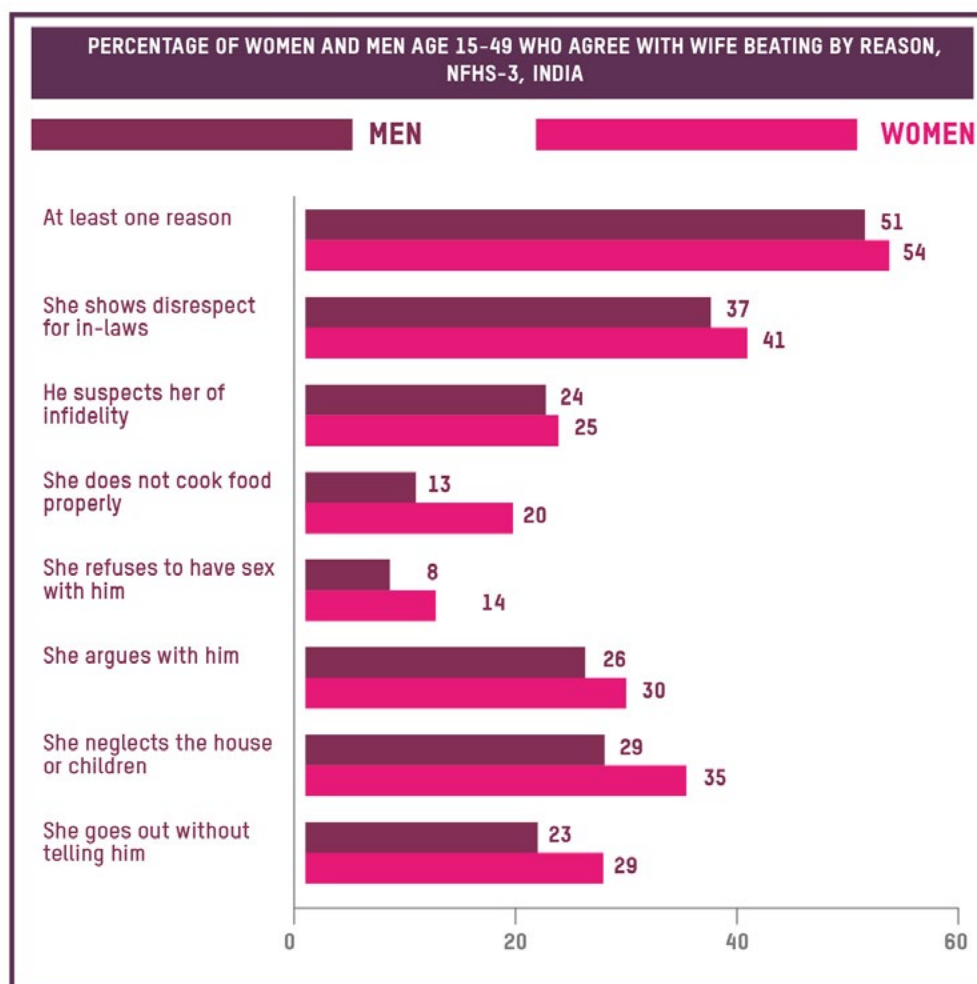
3 Sen, A., 2003, "Missing Women Revisited", British Medical Journal, Volume 127, cited in Mehta.M. 2004

4 UNFPA, 2005, State of World Population. Promise of Equality Gender Equity, Reproductive Health and MDGs.

https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/swp05_eng.pdf Accessed in April 2016.

5 Data sets are available for only 16 states.

6 Nanda, P. et.al. 2013. Masculinity, Son Preference & Intimate Partner Violence in India. International Centre for Research on Women and UNFPA. Delhi.



on Women (ICRW) reported that 52 per cent of its female respondents in India had faced some form of domestic violence ever in their lives, while 60 per cent of male respondents admitted to have perpetrated violence on women.

According to NFHS 3,⁷ the prevalence of physical or sexual violence ranges from 6 per cent in Himachal Pradesh and 13 per cent in Jammu and Kashmir and Meghalaya, to 46 per cent in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan and 59 per cent in Bihar. Other states with 40 per cent or higher prevalence of spousal physical or sexual violence include Tripura, Manipur, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, and Assam.

A religious disaggregation of women between 15-49 years who face physical violence is highest among Buddhist women (41 per cent), followed by Muslim and Hindu women (34-35 per cent), then Sikh and Christian women (26-28 per cent) and Jain women report the lowest levels of violence (13 per cent). Prevalence of violence is also much higher among women belonging to the dalits⁸ and adivasis⁹ than among women who do not belong to these categories.¹⁰

NFHS 3¹¹ also reports that only one in four women have ever sought help to end the violence they have experienced. Two out of three women who have ever experienced violence have not only never sought help, but have also never told anyone about the violence. A

large majority of women who have experienced only sexual violence have never told anyone about the violence (85 per cent), and only 8 per cent have ever sought help. However, what is also important to note is that a critical number of these men and women did not perceive violence as criminal or even condemnable, but as something which is a given. The NFHS 3 showed that 54 per cent of women age 15-49 and 51 per cent of men age 15-49 agree with one or more reasons for wife beating. Data from both women and men suggest that being a respectful daughter-in-law, properly looking after the house and children, being a dutiful wife by not arguing with the husband and seeking permission to go out are perhaps essential roles that, when not properly fulfilled, are most deserving of beatings. For every reason, women are slightly more likely than men to agree that wife beating is justified.¹² The ICRW study (2013) showed that 76.9 per cent men and 78.7 per cent women believed that if a wife does 'something wrong', a man had the right to punish her. A high 93.6 per cent of male respondents believed that it is the duty of a woman to obey her husband. A multi-country study in 2012 showed that in India, 51 per cent of 13,078 male adolescents had supported wife beating.¹³

1.2 Global

Even after 20 years of the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, one in three women still experience physical or sexual violence mostly by an intimate partner.¹⁴

7 International Institute of Population Sciences. 2005-06. National Family Health Survey. Chap 15. [http://rchiips.org/nfhs/NFHS-3%20Data/VOL-1/Chapter%2015%20-%20Domestic%20Violence%20\(468K\).pdf](http://rchiips.org/nfhs/NFHS-3%20Data/VOL-1/Chapter%2015%20-%20Domestic%20Violence%20(468K).pdf), accessed in April 2016

8 Dalit literally means oppressed. The word is used to denote members belonging to the lowest order in Indian caste hierarchy. Officially, they are termed as 'scheduled castes'

9 Adivasi, officially termed as scheduled tribes, is an umbrella term for various ethnic and tribal communities in India

10 International Institute of Population Sciences. 2005-06. National Family Health Survey.pg 510 http://rchiips.org/nfhs/NFHS-3%20Data/VOL-1/India_volume_1_corrected_17oct08.pdf Accessed in May 2016

11 International Institute of Population Sciences.200506. National Family Health Survey.Chapter 15. [http://rchiips.org/nfhs/NFHS-3%20Data/VOL-1/Chapter%2015%20-%20Domestic%20Violence%20\(468K\).pdf](http://rchiips.org/nfhs/NFHS-3%20Data/VOL-1/Chapter%2015%20-%20Domestic%20Violence%20(468K).pdf) Accessed May 2016

12 S. Kishor, K. Gupta (2009), "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in India", National Family Health Survey 3, Mumbai: International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), p. 96. http://www.rchiips.org/NFHS/a_subject_report_gender_for_website.pdf, Accessed May 2016

13 Dalal, K., M.S.Lee, M. Gifford (2012) Male Adolescents' Attitudes Toward Wife Beating: A Multi-Country Study in South Asia. Society for Adolescent Health and Medicine. Volume 50, Issue 5, [http://www.jahonline.org/articles/S1054-139X\(11\)00335-1/abstract](http://www.jahonline.org/articles/S1054-139X(11)00335-1/abstract) Accessed May 2016

14 UN Women (2016), Facts and Figures: Ending Violence against Women, <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures> Accessed April 2016

At least 1 of every 10 ever-partnered women is physically or sexually assaulted by an intimate partner or someone she knows at some point in her life.¹⁵ In the majority of countries, less than half of the women who experienced violence sought help of any sort, and among those who did, most looked to family and friends as opposed to the police and health services. At least 119 countries have passed laws on domestic violence and 52 have laws on marital rape.¹⁶ Research also shows that boys who witness intimate partner violence during childhood are more likely to exhibit delinquent behaviour and to perpetrate intimate partner violence in adulthood. And girls who witness violence are more likely to experience intimate partner violence in adulthood. Therefore, violence can often be seen as a vicious cycle within homes and communities.¹⁷

Though VAWG is a global pandemic, it does not often receive the attention and urgency that is needed to address it. Underlying this lack of political will is the justification and rationalising of violence within individuals, communities at large and even duty bearers. This justification and rationalising is deep rooted within the accepted social norms within countries and globally.

This paper is therefore, a review of existing literature on social norms. Beginning with the reason for a renewed focus on social norms, this paper goes on to clarify for the common person the concept of social norms and its many aspects. It looks at evidence from existing programmes and campaigns on ending violence against women and the approach to changing social norms within them. It

talks about a possible framework for changing social norms while touching upon the complexities of measuring social norm change over a period of time. It highlights some of the principles that need to be kept in mind while initiating social norm interventions within any context. In conclusion, it attempts to bring to the forefront some key lessons to be kept in mind while designing a campaign on changing social norms that underpin domestic violence in the context of the Indian realities.

¹⁵ World Bank. 2012. World Development Report. Gender Equality and Development. World Bank Publication. Washington DC
<https://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/Complete-Report.pdf> Accessed May 2016.

¹⁶ World Bank. 2016. Violence against Women and Girls: Citizen Security, Law and Justice Brief. World Bank Publication. http://www.vawgresourceguide.org/sites/default/files/briefs/vawg_resource_guide_citizen_security_brief_april_2015.pdf Accessed May 2016

¹⁷ World Bank 2016.

2.1 Why focus on Social Norms?

VAWG, and domestic violence in particular, is partly a result of gender relations that assumes men to be superior to women. Given the subordinate status of women, much of domestic violence is considered normal and enjoys social sanction. In the past two decades, there has been much research on the many forms of violence, the underlying risk factors that contribute to VAWG, interventions by an increased number of donors and civil society actors. Despite this increased attention, globally there is limited evidence on what works in preventing as well as responding to violence, with a bias towards published literature from high-income countries¹⁸.

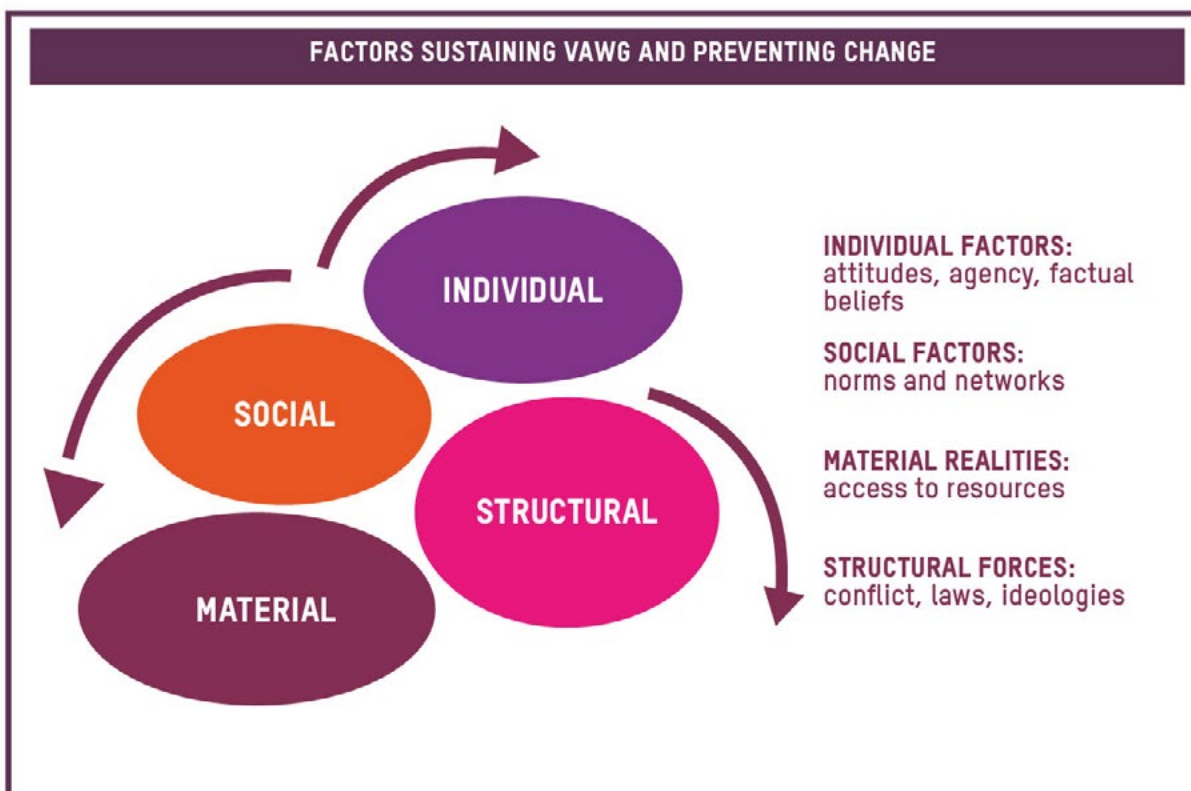
In recent years, the need to work on social norms has gained prominence. This is based on the understanding that possibly VAWG is a complex phenomenon for which

no one factor can be held responsible. Rather, it is seen as a combination of different factors interacting within different levels of society or the 'social ecology'. The Ecological Framework highlights the fact that in order to have more effective interventions on ending VAWG, there is a need to understand how different levels interact to drive and sustain harmful behaviours.¹⁹ Individual, social, material, structural factors work within this framework.²⁰ Individual factors, such as inequitable gender attitudes condoning VAWG and mistaken factual beliefs, as well as women's agency, aspirations, and self-efficacy. Social factors, such as harmful social and gender norms; Material realities, such as household poverty and lack of economic opportunities for women and girls and weak infrastructure; and Structural forces, such as conflict, weak or discriminatory legal and institutional frameworks,

19 Heise, L. 2011. What works to prevent partner violence? An evidence overview, Working Paper, <http://www.oecd.org/derec/49872444.pdf> Accessed in February 2016.

20 Heise, L. and Manji, K. 2015. Introduction to Social Norms. Briefing note for DFID. London: DFID http://www.gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Social-Norms_RP.pdf

18 Solotaroff, J.L. Pande, R.P. 2014. Violence Against Women and Girls – Lessons from South Asia. South Asian Development Forum. World Bank Group. Washington DC.



racism, rules about who can own and inherit property and gender ideologies that underpin gendered differences in power.

Historically, VAWG programming has focused on the individual, material or structural factors. For instance, empowerment programmes focused on expanding the aspirations of women and girls and building their agency (individual level), savings and loans groups (material), and advocacy to change discriminatory or punitive laws or introduce new laws protecting women and girls (structural).²¹ While it is important to address each of the factors in the diagram above, evidence is showing that when social norms hold in place a certain behaviour, the behaviour is unlikely to change without addressing social motivations. Therefore, the social factors act as a 'brake on social change'.²² It could be the missing link in how change happens on VAWG. A word of caution here is that working on social norm change should not be seen as the magic bullet to address the issue of VAWG. In fact, it is the additional factor that needs to be addressed systematically and consistently to ensure that existing work on the other factors would bring the change that is aspired to. In short, it means that more holistic approach to all the four factors needs to be taken into account.

2.2. Unpacking social norms

A social norm is a shared belief about:

what others in a group *actually do* (i.e. what is typical behaviour);

what others in a group think they *ought to do* (i.e. what is appropriate behaviour)

Beliefs shape the 'social expectations' within a group of people. Behaviourists²³ have termed the first category as descriptive norms or empirical expectations and the second category as injunctive norms or normative

expectations.²⁴ For example, a descriptive norm might be that men believe that other men in their community commonly hit their wives if they disobey. An example of an injunctive norm might be that a good woman should respect her husband's authority. Injunctive norms ban or discourage certain behaviours, whereas descriptive norms set an expectation that encourages others to follow.

2.3 Difference between attitude, behaviour and social norms

Often social norms are used interchangeably or confused with attitudes and behaviours. The three concepts are different in the following manner.

Attitude refers to an individual's favourable or unfavourable evaluations or appraisals of [a specific] thing, phenomenon or behaviour.²⁵ It is internally motivated or based on external factors such as religious or family teaching. For example, a boy may look at hitting his girlfriend for flirting with another boy as a favourable evaluation. It is his personal attitude.

Behaviour is what someone actually does. From the previous example, when the boy begins to hit his girlfriend at instances of flirtation with another boy, his attitude has translated into this behaviour.

Although a belief and an action are separate from a social norm, they are linked: often a social norm will influence a behaviour, and in turn, the behaviour of many people can influence the perpetuation or changing of an existing social norm. Here, the major difference is that attitudes and behaviours are mostly found at the individual level whereas social norms are collective in nature. In other words, attitudes and behaviours are closer to independent actions of individuals whereas social norms are grounded in interdependent actions of a collective.

21 Alexandra-Scott, M. Bell, E and Holden, J. 2016. DIFID Guidance Note: Shifting Social Norms Against Women and Girls. London. VAWG Helpdesk

22 Alexandra-Scott, M et al 2016.

23 Cialdini (1998), Ajzen and Fishbein (2010), Bicchieri (2006)

24 Haylock. L. 2015. Conceptual framework on Oxfam's approach to changing negative attitudes, social norms and behaviours to end violence against women and girls/gender based violence (unpublished)

25 De Leeuw et al 2008, cited in Haylock. L. 2015

They are interconnected and have some level of influence on each other. Working on the individual attitudes and behaviour will not be sufficient to change social norms. For that there would be a need to promote coordinated behavioural change.

2.4 Elements of social norms

There are three elements²⁶ that make a social norm:

Firstly, social norms are based on interdependent actions of individuals. They provide or lay out the **social expectations** of what is typical and appropriate. Since these are shared beliefs about others, these beliefs can sometimes be based on assumptions. Sometimes, people may think that a belief is more typical (prevalent) than it actually is. Moreover, a majority of a group may privately reject a particular belief but they publically follow the belief, assuming that others think it is appropriate.²⁷ A husband abuses his wife for being late (though he personally feels inappropriate to abuse her) assuming his parents will disapprove him if he does not abuse her for being late.

Secondly, social norms exist within **reference groups**. A 'reference group' or 'reference network' is the group of people important to an individual when he or she is making a particular behavioural decision. It is not necessary that a reference group is the immediate neighbour or community of an individual. It could also be dispersed and distant. For example, honour killings within the South Asian community in United Kingdom could be due to the beliefs related to family honour back in their respective parent countries.

Thirdly, social norms are maintained by **social sanctions** - approval (positive sanctions), or disapproval (including

negative sanctions ranging from direct punishment or loss of opportunity through ostracism). This is what makes the desire to adhere to social norms higher and can often override the threat of more formal punishment by the state. For example, partner violence is still common despite the fact that the practice is illegal in many countries.

2.5 Gender manifestations of social norms

An analysis of social factors reveals that social norms can be manifested in two ways. They can be gender norms and gender norms perpetuating violence against women.

Gender norms are the "social norms that relate specifically to gender differences...[or] refer to informal rules and share social expectations that distinguish expected behaviour on the basis of gender."²⁸ They are about gender roles and power relations. This norm would form the root cause for gender discrimination and the existing gender inequality in society. An example of a negative gender norm is a community or reference group could be that people value the contributions of men and boys more than those of women and girls. This is a descriptive gender norm. An injunctive gender norm would be women and girls should be subservient to the needs or desires of men and boys.²⁹

Social norms that perpetuate VAWG are norms that normalize violence within a specific reference group or community. A descriptive social norm would be that it is common for women to experience violence in intimate relationships or it is typical for men to hit their wives for not doing the housework well. An example of an injunctive norm here would be that violence in the home or in a relationship should be treated as a private affair.³⁰ A common link in this kind of social norms underpinning VAWG is the association of masculinity as a justification of violence.³¹

26 Alexander-Scott, M et al 2016; Mackie, G. F. Moneti, H. Shakya, E. Denny. 2015, What are social norms? How are they measured? UNICEF/ University of California, Centre on Global Justice http://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4_09_30_Whole_What_are_Social_Norms.pdf Accessed February 2016

27 This is also termed as pluralistic ignorance (Prentice and Miller 1993) as cited in Mackie, G. et al. 2015

28 Marcus and Harper, 2014, cited in Haylock. L., 2015

29 Hughes, C., 2016, Guidance Note on Social Norms, Oxfam (unpublished)

30 Hughes, C., 2016.

31 Haylock. L., 2015

These norms would be the root cause for the actual perpetuation of violence. This association of masculinity with violence is also indicated in the study³² undertaken by International Centre for Research on Women and United Nations Population Fund - India in 2014, where the findings emphasized that accepted notions of masculinity, that is, men's controlling behaviour and gender inequitable attitudes, strongly determines their proclivity for violence against their partners.

Positive social norms also exist, though less prominent but equally important to recognize and reinforce. Examples of these are:

- Descriptive gender norm: Men and women share household authority equally
- Descriptive VAWG norm: Girls do not generally get married before adulthood or by arranged marriage
- Injunctive gender norm: Men should respect women who assert their rights
- Injunctive VAWG norm: It is never appropriate for men to resolve a conflict with violence³³

2.6 Social norms and power relations

Given that the perpetuation of violence is also an expression of dominant power, it is natural that social norms and the concept of power are closely linked. First, gender-related social norms are based in and reflect gender power relations. There is power at stake, which makes them difficult to change because there is resistance to changing the status quo that has worked so well for many centuries. So, in order to drop a harmful norm or bring about a new positive norm it is important that a sufficient number of people in the same reference group changes their social expectation and therefore, behaviour. It is natural that in any group, there would be strongly influential members and barely

influential members. It is important to note that a small number of highly influential members can more easily bring a change through a whole community rather than a larger number of less influential members. This would tie up with the theory of role model which is explained later in the paper.

Power within social norms can be ascertained in another manner. In the perpetuation of social norms, there could be two groups of actors: one is the sanctioner or enforcer and the other group is the sanctioned or the one on whom the sanction is applied. According to Coleman,³⁴ when the sanctioner and sanctioned fall within the same reference group, he calls it as a conjoint norm.³⁵ For example, women in a community in some instances, can be the sanctioner and in others, the sanctioned. If a mother-in-law justifies wife beating for not serving food to her son on time, then she becomes a sanctioner and her daughter-in-law the sanctioned, as both women belong to the same reference group. Here, the target group of the norm are also the enforcers of the norm. A disjoint norm is one where the members of a dominant group enforce a social norm only to the members of a subordinate group. For example, when men/boys perpetuate VAWG, they become the sanctioners while women/girls become the sanctioned. Caste norms are the mixture of conjoint and disjoint norms. Members of the dominant group sanction both the subordinated and sometimes, those in the dominant group who fail to sanction the subordinated. Members of the subordinate group are sanctioned by the dominant group and by some of those in the subordinated group. An example of this would be a daughter-in-law being subject to violence by both her husband and mother-in-law.

Therefore, in order to change social norms, it is important to address the unequal power relations. There are different constructs of power,³⁶ that will need to be addressed in order to change social norms.

32 Nanda, P. et al. 2014. Masculinity, Intimate Partner Violence and Son Preference in India: A Study, International Centre for Research on Women and United National Population Fund - India

http://www.icrw.org/sites/default/files/publications/Masculinity%20Book%20Inside_final_6th%20Nov.pdf

33 Hughes, C., 2016

34 As cited in Mackie et al 2015

35 Mackie et al 2015.

36 The different constructs of power are visible, hidden, invisible and faceless power. There are other expressions of power – power over, power to, power within and power with. www.powercube.net accessed February 2016.

For example, there would be need to work with the notion of 'power with' which talks of the collective agency of a group to attain a desirable end. This is not to say that working with the other notions of power is not important. Moreover, in order to change social norms it would be important to address the hidden and invisible power within communities. It is important to promote an early decrease in hidden power.³⁷

Most theories that talk about behaviour changes have been taken from other disciplines like agriculture, economics and public health. They have been analysed to understand the determining factors for certain behaviours, and processes or methods for changing these collective behaviours, which lies at the bottom of shifting social norms. Often, theories and models are used interchangeably and hence, could be confusing but there is a difference between the two. Theories of behaviour change are more process-oriented and generally aimed at changing a given behaviour. Whereas models of behaviour change are more diagnostic and geared towards understanding the psychological factors that explain or predict a specific behaviour. This section attempts to look at both the existing theories and available models that could help in providing an understanding to shifting existing social norms.

37 Mackie et al 2015

BEHAVIOURAL APPROACHES TO CHANGE SOCIAL NORMS

3.1 Theoretical perspectives of behaviour change

The theories discussed in this section details the factors and processes on changing social norms.

Theory of Reasoned Action Approach³⁸ analyses the relationship among belief, attitude, social norm, intention and behaviour. It explains behaviours as a result of an individual's intention to perform that behaviour. The

³⁸ The Theory of Reasoned Action in 1975 theorised and measured the relationships among belief, attitude, social norm, intention and behavior. Over time, the writers collaborated with other behavioural theorists to develop the Integrated Behavioural Model (1991) and then building on that to create the Reasoned Action Approach (2010) by Fishbein and Ajzen. Cited in Mackie, G. et al., 2015

intention is influenced by 1) the individual's attitude towards the behaviour or ii) the belief that others important to the person think she/he should or should not perform the behaviour. The individual's ideas are influenced by the society she or he lives in. The approach is applied to behavioural campaigns that VAWG is a crime and must be stopped. For example one of the campaigns using this approach is the Zero Tolerance Campaign³⁹ initiated in 1992 by Edinburgh Council (UK). It could also be applied to behavioural campaigns that make changes to end VAWG appear attractive and rewarding. An example of this type of campaign is Consent is Sexy campaign initiated by a South African organisation Nisaa.⁴⁰

³⁹ As cited in Raab, M and J. Rocha. 2011

⁴⁰ As cited in Raab, M and J. Rocha 2011

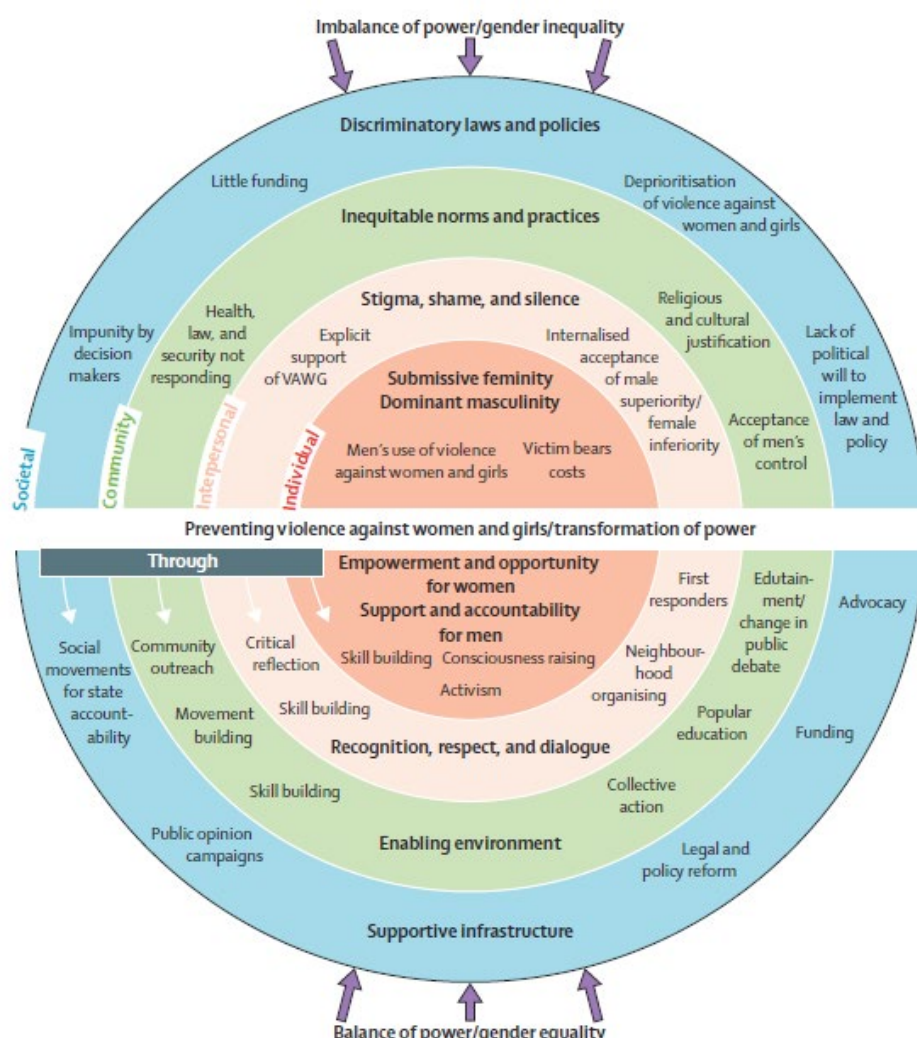


Figure 3: Heise's Ecological Model showing the need to target across levels for long-term change

Social Cognitive Theory suggests that self-efficacy (or the belief that an individual has the skills and abilities necessary to perform the behaviour) and motivation are necessary for behaviour change. In other words, an individual has to believe that she/he can perform the behaviour in various circumstances and she/he has an incentive (positive or negative) to do it. This theory has been applied to VAWG campaigns that make survivors aware of the possible interventions and encourage them to take actions. An example of this type of campaign would be Bursting the Bubble campaign in Australia (explained in details in a subsequent section) to encourage the youth to intervene during incidences of domestic violence in their families.⁴¹

Theory of Interdependent Action (or Game Theory) a way to describe, understand and explain human actions that are interdependent on more than one individual - the collective (which is the nature of social norms). It explains certain conditions –

i) the state of coordination where it is in most people's interest to coordinate on one way of doing something. For example, individuals in most countries either drive on the right or the left.

ii) state of convention, a higher order from the first, where the collective expects its members to coordinate on the preferred way of doing something in a repeated and coordinated manner. For example, due to the past history of driving to the right, there is an expectation each time that people would drive to the right;

iii) state of social dilemma where each individual in a group seeks to maximize his/her profits by capitalising on the collective action. For example, in a common fishery, all are better off if they cooperate on a limited catch, the total not exceeding the sustainable limits of fishery. In the absence of any regulation, each is tempted to overfish. Applying this to changing social norms, there is a need to develop coordinated behaviour within the collective (state of coordination). In this process, many individuals

⁴¹ As cited in Raab. M and J. Rocha 2011

may go through the state of dilemma which needs to be resolved. Only then can the collective move to the state of coordination. The purpose in the long run would be to create a state of conversion with the new positive social norm.

iv) Theory of Diffusion of Innovations explains different ways of communicating about innovations through one-way, two-way and many-way interdependence. In most applications of this theory the assumption is that of a one-way interdependence. For example, if person 'A' benefitted from adopting a new norm, then person 'B' will be motivated to adopt the same. Even if A stops adopting the norm, B might continue with it. Rogers⁴² explains that adoption of a norm is slow in the initial stage, accelerates towards the middle and then decelerates as adoption becomes widespread.

3.2 Models of behaviour change

As mentioned above, models are different from theories as they provide an insight into the understanding the psychological factors that explain or predict a specific behaviour. This section looks at some models which have worked positively in changing beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. These models have often been used in the context of VAWG and have resulted in much gains.

i) Ecological Model (Figure 3) looks at the issue of VAWG across the levels of the individual, inter-personal, community and society. This model is based on the understanding that to create lasting change to end VAWG, gender power relations must shift across the entire ecological framework. This model explains why interventions should be aimed at both women and men given that both support the practice of gender norms at the societal level.

⁴² This theory was developed in the United States in 1930s in the adoption of hybrid corn.

The stages of change model views behaviour change as a sequenced learning process in five main stages (pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action and maintenance). The model holds that to get people to change their behaviour, it is necessary to determine at which stage they are and then develop interventions that move them to the following stages.⁴³

The **input/output persuasion model** emphasizes the hierarchy of communication effects and considers how certain aspect, for example, message design, source and channel, as well as audience characteristics, influence behavioural outcomes of the communication.⁴⁴

Emotional response model suggest that messages which provoke an emotional response have better chances to prompt behaviour change than those low in emotional content.⁴⁵

Tipping point indicates the critical juncture at which the new norm has the potential to be more widespread than the old norm. Usually this happens when a critical mass of early adopters can persuade others to adopt positive norms. Once a tipping point has occurred, people whose attitudes are not yet in alignment with the new social norm may choose to adjust their behaviour for fear of disapproval from others.⁴⁶

Role Model is based in Social Learning Theory,⁴⁷ as role models are seen as being key catalysts for broader changes in both individual attitudes and social norms.

43 Raab. M. and J. Rocha. 2011

44 Raab. M. and J. Rocha. 2011

45 Raab. M. and J. Rocha. 2011

46 Marcus, Rachel and Caroline Harper (2014). Gender justice and social norms – process of change for adolescent girls. Towards a conceptual framework 2. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).

<http://www.odi.org/publications/8235-gender-justice-social-norms-processes-change-adolescent-girls>

47 This theory is by Albert Bandura (1970s) which posits that people learn from each other via observation, imitation and modelling. It is a bridge between behaviourist and cognitive learning theory because it involves attention, memory and motivation. It is also stated that it is related to Vygotsky's Social Development Theory and Lave's Situated Learning, both speaking of social learning. Source: <http://www.learning-theories.com/social-learning-theory-bandura.html> accessed in February 2016

Influential role models, such as celebrities, religious and community leaders, and duty bearers, may persuade people through their own attitudes, actions and practices to adopt new attitudes and norms.⁴⁸

Positive deviance model is to look at the outliers who succeed against the odds. For example, understanding the families who do not adhere to female genital mutilation of their daughters as is the practice in Egypt in order to be a suitable bride. In changing social norms that underpin violence therefore, it would be better to understand the thinking of those men and boys who do not beat their women under any circumstances.

Modelling positive behaviour is also based on Social Learning Theory. The underlying premise is that abusive behaviours are learned through observation, most commonly from the family of origin, and they can be unlearned or replaced when positive alternatives are modelled.⁴⁹ As with other behavioural theories, self-efficacy is seen as a key component in the capability and willingness to change. Interventions that use this strategy help participants to develop the skills and confidence in themselves to pursue the positive behaviours being modelled.⁵⁰ This strategy would differ from the role model strategy, which is based on key influential individuals.

Engaging men and boys through the bystander approach, also use this type **empowerment model**, where men and boys or bystanders are empowered and encouraged to be 'change agents' and speak up and out against violence. For example, Bell Bajao campaign which asked men and boys to engage with the issue of domestic violence with a simple call to action, ringing the doorbell.

Integrated Behaviour Model ⁵¹ is structured around an

48 However, there is some apprehension in using this method as noted in the literature. There are chances of hegemonic masculinity is inadvertently promoted for example 'strong' men supporting women's causes. This suggests that a role model strategy must be accompanied with deconstruction of the notion masculinity and change the discourse rather than reinforcing already entrenched gender power hierarchies.

49 Ricardo and Barker 2011 as cited in Haylock. 2015

50 Manjuri et.al 2015 as cited in Haylock. 2015

51 Rootman. Irving. 2010. Theory of Reasoned Action, Planned Behaviour

individual's intention to adopt a specific behaviour. The Integrated Behaviour Model suggests that an individual's attitude, in combination with the perceived norms and personal agency, inform an individual's intention to perform a specific behaviour. This type of model is most commonly used in models to combat VAWG.

Health belief model⁵² seeks to influence the individuals by exposing the harmful effects of behaviour and offering practical guidance as to how such potential harm could be averted. It exposes the benefits of adopting positive health behaviour.

Social movements can also be incredibly influential in recasting alternatives to specific social norms or promoting entirely new social norms to create social change. Marcus and Harper (2014) cite social movements using mass campaigning around ending female genital mutilation (FGM) and early and forced childhood as particularly successful in reframing social norms linked to violence. Campaigns for behaviour change aim to prompt citizens as well as those in positions and authority to change their knowledge, attitudes and practices related to VAWG. Since the factors that contribute to behaviour change depend on many elements, the above discussed approaches emphasise the aspects that are likely to trigger a change. Through a behaviour change campaign, we aim to appeal to people's minds so as to influence their beliefs and attitudes about a certain behaviour (Theory of Reasoned Action Approach and Game Theory), enhance their motivation and opportunities to test a different kind of behaviour. Campaigns can guide the members of target group through a learning or unlearning process (Stages of Change Model) to encourage a behaviour change through social influence. Appealing to people's emotions (Emotional Response Models) is also considered a key element in prompting behaviour change. Finally, communication theories trace processes by which a new idea or practise is communicated in society (Theory of Diffusion of Innovations) and ways in which certain aspects of communication can influence behavioural outcomes (Input/Output Persuasion Model).

and Integrated Behavioural Model. PPT for SFU class on Principles and Practices of Health Promotion.
52 Raab, M. and J. Rocha. 2011.

EVIDENCES ON CHANGING SOCIAL NORMS FROM EXISTING INTERVENTIONS

4.1 Existing approaches to campaigns on EVAWG

A quick analysis of the existing campaigns on gender based violence or violence against women⁵³ shows the following trends in addressing the issue. Though these campaigns may not be specifically centred around social norm change, they give a sense of the existing approach to the issue. Most of the campaigns mentioned in this section will be analysed in more details later in the paper.

i) Showing VAWG is a crime that must be stopped:

This approach is grounded in the Theory of Reasoned Action. It aims to influence behaviour by making perpetrators, survivors and witnesses of VAWG aware of the fact that VAW is unacceptable and by inviting its audience to speak up against VAWG, seek support or report it (for example, Zero Tolerance Campaign).

ii) Making VAWG survivors aware of solutions and encouraging them to take action:

This approach is inspired by the health belief model and Social Cognitive Theory. It is essential to ensure VAWG survivors protect themselves from further harm (that is, what is known as secondary prevention). It is usually combined with raising awareness for women's rights. An example of this campaign would be Bursting the Bubble in Australia.

iii) Showing that VAWG affects the entire society and must be stopped:

This approach is inspired by the health belief model which aims to encourage people who consider they are not directly affected by VAWG to recognize it as a problem that needs to be addressed. It can be an effective element in campaigning for policy and institutional change.

iv) Addressing the perpetrators and encouraging them to change

v) Making change to eliminating VAWG appear attractive and rewarding: Grounded in the Theory of Reasoned Action, this approach seeks to convince the target audience that adopting a specific behaviour is good for them and appropriate for society. It has been used in family planning campaigns, HIV prevention and health related issues.

vi) Providing models for target audience to take action against VAWG: All the theories mentioned above inform this approach.

vii) Guiding target audience through a personal development process:

It is a relatively complex campaign approach to VAWG which consists in provoking and supporting personal development processes for the target audiences to unlearn harmful behaviour over an extended period of time. Such campaigns require a mix of mass communication and person-to-person contact.

4.2 Scan of existing campaigns for social norm change

Going beyond campaigns on GBV/VAWG, an analysis of other campaigns and programmes in bringing about a social norm change in society as either prevention of or response to VAWG would be beneficial. Some of these interventions are programmes which were not explicitly designed with social norms change in mind. This would be equally true for some of the campaigns too. Therefore, they have not been measured in terms of changes in social norms (being distinct from changes in individual attitudes and behaviours). Nonetheless, they do provide insights on possible entry points and promising practices for social norm change.

i) We Can campaign (2004 -10),⁵⁴ was a campaign implemented by Oxfam Great Britain, on addressing violence against women and girls, implemented in six South Asian countries, including India.⁵⁵ The focus was to change perceptions and practices that support violence against women leading to a social revolution to end VAWG

⁵³ Raab, M. and J. Rocha. 2011.

⁵⁴ Source: <http://india.wecanglobal.org/> Accessed February 2016

⁵⁵ We Can has become an independent entity and currently has campaign interventions across 15 countries in Asia and Africa.

and gender equality. This campaign is based on *the stages of change model* which uses the five sequenced learning process of pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action and maintenance. Promising practices within the campaign were creating and engaging with change makers to enable shift in individual attitudes and beliefs, using the medium of stories from within the change makers to demonstrate the new norm, dissemination of widespread interactive Information Education Material (IEC) to engage communities to adopt new norms. A critical mass of early adopters persuaded others to adopt new positive norms. However, it was limited to changing individual attitudes and was not able to attain a collective behaviour change of social norms. The campaign also fell short of influencing the external environment, that is, formal and informal institutions.

ii) The Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women (MASVAW) (2001 – present) is a network of over 700 male activists in India. This network has worked towards building capacity among individual champions to challenge gender stereotypes within institutions.⁵⁶ Lessons from this intervention are that men benefit from the privileges of patriarchy and are usually silent in the face of discrimination and violence. In order to engage men with the idea of equality, there is a need to provide them with opportunities to use their power and privileges creatively and responsibly rather than making them ashamed of the power and privilege they enjoy. The change should be a shared aspiration among all. A peer group is necessary as a mechanism for developing an alternative discourse. MASVAW is also a part of Forum to Engage Men (FEM), MenEngage Alliance. This kind of work aligns with the modelling positive behaviour approach of building capacities and skills towards a positive behaviour change.

iii) Parivartan (2009 -10)⁵⁷ was a Mumbai-based

⁵⁶ Das, A. & S. Singh. 2014. Changing Men: Challenging Stereotypes. Reflections on Working with Men on Gender Issues in India in Institute of Development Studies Bulletin Volume 45 Number 1 January, pg 69 - 79

⁵⁷ Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM) is a comprehensive programme that aims to reduce violence against women and girls and alter norms that foster gender inequity. Developed in the United States by Futures Without Violence in 2000, the programme engages coaches as positive role models and trains them to deliver messages to their male athletes about the importance of respecting women and understanding violence never

programme⁵⁸ which engaged cricket coaches in schools and cricket mentors and the community to (a) raise awareness about abusive and disrespectful behaviour; (b) promote gender equitable, nonviolent attitudes; and (c) build skills for speaking up and intervening when witnessing harmful and disrespectful behaviour. Piloted by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), this intervention is rooted in Social Cognitive Theory and has also used the positive deviance approach. Promising lessons from this intervention were that a closer age gap between the mentors and the athletes helped in building more momentum for change. The school coaches were much older than the boys they coached and also held more rigid views about gender than the mentors. As the mentors shared a similar social and economic background with the athletes, they demonstrated greater support at follow-up for gender equity than the coaches in schools. One area in which the coaches and mentors wrestled with was women's and girls' mobility. It showed that male coaches and mentors need continuous support and hand-holding in dealing with their own dilemmas on issues relating to women's rights and equality.

iv) Program H Brazil (2002- till present) is a peer-to-peer education session facilitated by young men in the community and implemented in six cities in Latin America and the Caribbean and two cities in India. It works on the rigid notions of masculinity, gender roles and responsibilities; acceptability of gender based violence and violence against children. According to the evaluation,⁵⁹ Programme H focuses more on personal attitudes in the community.⁶⁰

Their approach is in line with Diffusion of Innovation

equals strength.

⁵⁸ Das, Madhumita et al. 2015. Community mentors as coaches: Transforming gender norms through cricket among adolescent males in urban India. Gender and Development Journal.23:1 pp 61-75, accessed in May 2016

http://www.ungei.org/resources/files/Das_et_al_2015_Community_boys_Parivartan_GD.pdf

⁵⁹ Ricardo, Christine et al. 2010. Programme H and Programme M - Engaging with young men and empowering young women to promote gender equality and health. Pan American Health Organisation and Promundo. Washington DC.

<http://www1.paho.org/hq/dmdocuments/2011/2010-Brazil-ProMundo-Ingles.pdf> Accessed on May 2016

⁶⁰ Alexander-Scott, M. et al. 2016

Theory and the modelling positive behaviour. The programme was focussed on working with community members to assess their own attitudes and training them to diffuse messages throughout the community. Promising practices of Programme H are peer-to-peer education sessions encouraging gender equitable behaviour, developing positive role models who are early adopters of positive behaviours to encourage change in others, safe spaces where men could try out new ways of being men under the guidance of positive male leaders, materials included in government-mandated sexuality education in Brazil, materials for the social norms marketing⁶¹ intervention developed by the men who participated in the peer-to-peer workshops to increase relevance and impact. As an adaptation of Program H, the **'Yaari Dosti' programme** in India (2004-05) which promoted gender equitable norms and behaviour attempted to stimulate critical thinking about the rigid gender norms that promote risky behaviour and to create support for young 'gender equitable' men to promote care and better communication. The Gender Equitable Men Scale⁶² in the evaluation reports stated that participants reported less support for inequitable gender norms than control groups. Self-reported violence against a partner declined in the intervention sites.⁶³

v) SASA! (2008- till present) programme aims to prevent VAW and HIV in Uganda through mobilising communities to reassess the acceptability of violence and gender inequality. It supports trained community activists to engage with family, friends, neighbours and key stakeholders, including local and religious leaders,

61 Social norms marketing is an approach to alcohol education that attempts to change or correct prevailing norms within a population. Programmes using this apply a marketing approach to changing behaviours. Targeted primarily at young people, this is to correct the conception that excessive drinking is widely prevalent.

<http://www.icap.org/policytools/icapbluebook/bluebookmodules/3socialnormsmarketing/tabid/164/default.aspx>

62 Verma Ravi et al. Challenging and Changing Gender Attitude among Young Men in Mumbai, India. 2006. Reproductive Health Matters. El Sevier Publication. 14 (28) pp-135- 143.

<http://promundoglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Challenging-and-Changing-Gender-Attitudes-of-Young-Men-in-Mumbai-India.pdf> Accessed on May 2016

63 Solotaroff, J.L and Pande, R.P. 2014

the police and health workers. Over the (evaluated) intervention period, activists led over 11,000 activities, including community conversations, door-to-door discussions, quick chats, trainings, public events, poster discussions, community meetings, film shows and soap opera groups in order to engage a variety of community members. The programme challenged the following norms: Social acceptance of physical violence in relationships among both women and men; and women cannot refuse sex from her partner. SASA! promotes injunctive norms (such as 'non-violent relationships are happier and healthier') rather than descriptive norms (such as 'men use violence against women'). Evaluation has found a reduced acceptability of physical violence in relationships and the increased social acceptance of women's refusal to sex with the partner.⁶⁴ This programme seems to have used the Theory of Reasoned Action by enabling the target group to realise that eliminating VAWG is beneficial and rewarding.

vi) Community Care (CC Programme) (2004 - present), in Somalia and South Sudan, aims to transform harmful social norms that contribute to sexual violence (specifically in emergency contexts) into social norms that uphold women and girls' equality, safety and dignity. The programme uses two mutually reinforcing strategies: the first is to strengthen care and support for survivors of sexual violence; the second is to engage the community in collective action to prevent sexual violence. Each community identifies the collective actions that are relevant and achievable to their particular context at the family and community levels, including across different sectors. Exploring shared beliefs and practices, supporting collective public commitment to taking action and making changes, communicating change and building environment that supports change are the positive reflections from the programme.⁶⁵

64 Alexander-Scott, M. et al. 2016

65 Alexander-Scott, M. et al. 2016

vii) The Gender Equity Movement in Schools⁶⁶ (GEMS) (2008-present) is a school-based approach to foster more gender-equitable norms among adolescent female and male students (age 12-14). Group activities included role-playing games, interactive extracurricular activities, and critical reflection-centred lessons which explore topics like girls attaining higher education, reducing gender based violence, delaying marriage, and more equitable sharing of household tasks with men and boys. Although this intervention did not focus on social norms specifically it offers lessons regarding effectiveness of different and combined approaches. Following the success of the pilot phase in Mumbai, the Maharashtra state government has integrated key elements of GEMS in the school gender programme for all of its nearly 25,000 public schools. Promising practices of the programme include participatory methodologies to engage students in meaningful and relevant interactions and reflection about key issues, sessions conducted by trained facilitators and held during the regular school day, GEMS school campaign involving a week-long series of events designed in consultation with the students involving competitions, debates and short plays. The campaigns seems to have drawn from the empowerment approach.

viii) Breakthrough's Bell Bajao! campaign⁶⁷ (2008 – 2010) a media campaign that calls on men and boys to take a stand against domestic violence. The campaign aimed to reduce domestic

violence and to highlight the role that men and boys can play in reducing violence. The campaign heavily draws from the empowerment model of behaviour change where the focus is to empower the passive bystanders to intervene and speak up during incidences of VAWG. The one norm challenged was that domestic violence is a private family matter and that women should tolerate domestic violence. Promising interventions are modelling a new norm in a manner that is effective and also relatively safer to implement; using new and traditional media (extensive media coverage (print, TV, radio) leading to one of the few recent social campaigns in public memory. The international commitment to the cause was demonstrated through the engagement of the UN General Secretary Ban Ki Moon. Celebrities like film actor Boman Irani also catalysed public attention and coverage in mainstream media. However, the campaign focused heavily on individual attitude and behaviour change rather than collective expectations of the reference groups. It demonstrated the new norm to intervene in incidences of domestic violence but it fell short of enabling a shift in the negative norm itself ('it is acceptable for men to beat their partners'). The benefits of the new norm, men moving from being bystanders of violence to intervening in incidences of violence, were also not demonstrated through reinforcements from the community, family etc.

ix) Soul City (1994 – present) active in South Africa uses edutainment – television and radio drama, and mass distribution of booklets – to address empowerment of women and girls, inequitable masculinities, VAW, women's self-efficacy, and all aspects of HIV. This campaign uses the empowerment model to reduce the

66 P. Achyuth et al.(2011). Building Support for Gender Equality among Young Adolescents in School: Findings from Mumbai, India. ICRW, New Delhi.

http://www.icrw.org/files/publications/GEMS%20Building%20Support%20for%20Gender%20Equality%20Adolescents_0.pdf Accessed on May 2016

67 <http://www.bellbajao.org/home/research/> Accessed February 2016

social acceptance of domestic violence in the neighbourhood. Soul City seeks to change the broader social and community environment, for example to increase access to services, support giving behaviour increase debate, increase collective efficacy, and facilitate community action and community social norm change. A series focused on intimate partner violence was also developed. The programme challenged the norms of tolerance of VAW; intimate partner violence is a private matter; rigid ideas of masculinity. Promising practice was the process of norm change and modelling specific new behaviours through soap opera, using multiple strategies of communication and reinforcement at community level, modelling new norm of safe community response to domestic violence by banging pots and pans in protest of a neighbour beating his wife, partnership with National Network on violence against women to promote dialogue for legal advocacy and support to survivors of violence.⁶⁸

x) Raising Voices⁶⁹ in Uganda (since 2000) programme describes the main phases of individual learning processes related to behaviour change. It aims to provoke and support personal development processes for the target audience to unlearn harmful behaviour over an extended period of time and thus draws from the Social Cognitive Theory. This behaviour change programme is structured in five phases – a) community assessment to gather information on attitudes and beliefs about domestic violence, b) raising awareness within the general community of domestic violence and its negative consequences on family and community life, c) building networks of support, d) integrating action

⁶⁸ Alexander-Scott, Metal. 2016

⁶⁹ Raab. M. and J. Rocha. 2011

against domestic violence and e) consolidated efforts to sustain the change. In each phase, five strategies (providing learning material, building capacities, local activism, media and events and advocacy) and a variety of activities are used to influence attitudinal and behavioral change at the individual and community levels. Evaluation⁷⁰ of the programme reveal that the communities where Raising Voices project was undertaken shows a significant change in the experiences of domestic violence as reported by community members. The communities felt that their extended families, friends and neighbors influenced their beliefs and behaviors about violence and rights. Men also sought advice from friends and family and were more likely to feel accountable to them than their wives. Men feared being publicly shamed by having their problems exposed to local councils or other community leaders and this played an important role in reducing violence in relationships. In terms of resistance, many men were genuinely struggling with what they perceived to be a loss of power within their homes and intimate relationships. Women were patient and understanding toward their partner's fears and resistance toward change. The programme encountered some challenges.⁷¹ Change is dependent on community members taking up the call of activism themselves, and leading efforts within their own community. This has great potential, yet also means that the process is organic, and as such cannot be monitored or controlled in all aspects.

⁷⁰ Raising Voices. 2003. Impact Assessment- Mobilising communities to prevent domestic violence- Kawempe division Uganda. Raising Voices and Centre for Domestic Violence Prevention. Kampala. Uganda http://menengage.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Raising_Voices_Impact_Evaluation_2003.pdf

⁷¹ Michau, Lori. 2007. Approaching old problems in new ways: community mobilisation as a primary prevention strategy to combat violence against women. Gender and Development. Vol 15 (1) Oxfam GB. Pp 95-109 http://raisingvoices.org/wpcontent/uploads/2013/03/downloads/resources/Apporaching_old_problems_in_New_ways.pdf

xi) The Zero Tolerance campaign⁷² was initiated in 1992 by Edinburgh District Council with the objectives to raise awareness for the manifestations, effects and extent of VAW; unmasking the preconceptions and myths on VAWG; show such acts of violence to be criminal offences which must be subject to judicial sanctions; inform victims about their rights and the support that is available and demonstrate the need for effective legislation. Following the first phase of the campaign, a second phase (Zero Tolerance Justice Campaign, 1995) and third phase (Zero Tolerance Young Person's Campaign Respect, 1998) was initiated. As a part of the campaign, posters were displayed on billboards and walls and in public buildings throughout Edinburgh. Other campaign elements were a folder with information about the campaign, a bookmark distributed in the Municipal Library, and postcards and information folders which were sent to anyone interested. A partnership arrangement with a local newspaper made it possible to keep the people of Edinburgh up-to-date with developments. Assessment⁷³ of the campaign reveals that majority of the general public - and above all women - voiced a positive assessment of the campaign. Only a minority felt provoked and insulted by it. The implementation strategy has been rated extremely effective and can serve as a model for other cities and countries. However, assessment of the campaign criticizes the absence of background information about violence. The study recommended first testing the effectiveness of the posters in order to ensure that they got their message across intelligibly. They also suggested including more background in the compilation of information material (individual experiences of violence, legal information etc.). The second phase of the campaign did not get a significant response from lawyers, judges and prosecutors - who made up one of the most important target groups. This campaign is grounded in the Theory of Reasoned Action which aims to influence behaviour by making perpetrators, survivors and witnesses of VAWG aware of the fact that VAWG is unacceptable and to highlight that it is important to speak up against VAWG and seek support

72 Raab. M. and J. Rocha. 2011

73 Appelt, Brigit and Kaselitz Verena. 2000. Prevention of Domestic Violence Against Women. European Survey Good Practice Model. Wave Training Programme. Wave Office. Austria. <http://wave-network.org/sites/default/files/goodpractice.pdf>

or report the incidence of VAWG.

xii) Look at Me⁷⁴ (2015) where Women's Aid in England in collaboration with an advertising agency (WCRS) designed a campaign Look at Me for the 16 Days of Activism. The objective of the campaign was that if we want to stop a man abusing his partner, there are two approaches advertising typically takes: either target him to make him stop or target her to get her to seek help. A third approach was identified. The campaign targeted the people around the women who are survivors of domestic violence. The campaign showed the target group that they actually had the power to change it – that if they noticed the problem going on around them, they could start to end it. This insight led to an idea that drew on the latest digital technology to put the public in control: using giant screens at shopping centres around the country, that they would let the public “heal” a woman who had been abused, just by looking at her. The screens would first show a woman who was beaten and bruised. But when people stopped and noticed, she would start to heal. And the more people who looked, the more she would recover. Facial-recognition technology was used to make this happen, employing cameras that could detect when someone was looking towards the screen and then triggering the change on screen.

xiii) White Ribbon Campaign⁷⁵ started in London in 1991 and has since spread across 60 countries with the objective of educating men and boys on VAWG. Campaign participants wear a white ribbon as a symbol, that wearer has a commitment to never commit, condone and speak up against violence. This campaign relies on local networks to determine what will most effectively reach men and boys in their community, school, workplace. Through awareness-raising, technical assistance, capacity building, partnerships, White Ribbon is helping to create tools, strategies and models that challenge negative concepts of manhood and inspire men to understand and embrace the incredible potential they have to be a part

74 <https://www.womensaid.org.uk/16-days-look-at-me/> Accessed April 2016

75 <http://www.whiteribbon.ca/who-we-are/> Accessed April 2016

of positive change. Based on the Theory of Reasoned Action and the Social Cognitive Theory, the campaign aims to influence the behaviour of the witnesses of VAWG to be aware of the fact that VAWG is unacceptable and invites them to speak up against VAWG. The campaign evaluation highlights that the challenges⁷⁶ encountered include accountability barriers (lack of men taking ownership to address violence against women), awareness barriers (men do not understand severity of issue), privilege barriers (blaming other men) and men's silence - about violence against women and girls.

xiv) Bursting the Bubble Campaign⁷⁷ is an initiative of the Domestic Violence Resource Centre of Australia initiated in 2005. This online campaign reaches the teenagers who have witnessed physical domestic violence against their mother or step-mother, or who have experienced physical, emotional or sexual abuse by a parent or caregiver. This campaign was designed to "help you to work out what's okay in a family and what's not. The campaign draws from the Social Cognitive Theory which establishes making VAWG survivors aware of the solutions and encouraging them to take action.

xv) Freedom from Fear campaign⁷⁸ (2000) started in Australia shows that domestic violence is a crime that can result in legal sanctions, that spouse abuse also harms children and that violence prone men need special treatment. Through this campaign a mass media 'umbrella' is supported by a combination of strategies that work to reinforce the key campaign messages, and create environments that promote and sustain intentions towards and actual behaviour change. Public relations activities were used to raise awareness and reinforce

⁷⁶ http://www.whiteribbon.ca/pdfs/Lit_Review_2014.pdf Accessed April 2016

⁷⁷ Raab and Rocha, 2011

⁷⁸ Gibbons, Leonie and Paterson Donna. 2000. Freedom from fear campaign against domestic violence: An innovative approach to reducing crime. Paper presented at the Conference Reducing Criminality: Partnerships and Best Practice convened by the Australian Institute of Criminology, in association with the WA Ministry of Justice, Department of Local Government, Western Australian Police Service and Safer WA and held in Perth 31 July and 1 August 2000 http://www.aic.gov.au/media_library/conferences/criminality/gibbons.pdf

the campaign messages. Strategies included an official campaign media launch, resource displays at relevant public venues, articles in stakeholder newsletters and journals, participation in radio interviews, and strategic press releases. An integral element of the campaign is the men's domestic violence helpline. This campaign has demonstrated the input/output persuasion model of behaviour by using media and communication channels to achieve voluntary behaviour change that complements the current justice response. It is also based on the health belief model that seeks to influence the targets by exposing the harmful effects of behaviour and offering practical guidance as to how such potential harm could be averted by seeking socio-psychological treatment. It addresses the perpetrators and encourages them to change their negative behaviour.

xvi) The Consent is Sexy⁷⁹ Campaign initiated in South Africa was designed in close cooperation with the students from the University of Witwatersrand. The campaign sought to show that saying 'no' to non consensual sex can be perfectly cool. In order to engage the audience in discussions, the communication materials asked questions rather than offer ready made solutions. The messages were developed and tested with the support of focus groups in the university. Grounded in the Theory of Reasoned Action, this campaign sought to convince its target audience that adopting a specific behaviour is good for them and appropriate within the society.

vxii) Stop Violence against Women⁸⁰ initiated in 2004 by Amnesty International is based on the human rights framework. The campaign focussed on different issues depending on the specific problems facing different countries. It is a public awareness and action campaign which focusses on ending impunity for those who commit VAWG. The campaign also aims to pressurise governments to prosecute those individuals who are practising VAWG. Amnesty International provides reports and provokes certain actions like signing on the I-VAWA

⁷⁹ Raab and Rocha, 2011

⁸⁰ Delahanty, Julie. 2008. Mapping Gender Justice Campaigns. Oxfam International (unpublished)

petition, television clips etc thereby drawing from Social Cognitive Theory that a person has the skill and ability to adopt a positive behaviour and is encouraged to take action against VAWG.

iii) He For She (2014) is a global solidarity movement by UN Women to end gender inequality by 2030. The goal of the campaign is to engage men and boys as advocates and agents of change in the effort to achieve equality. As the pilot effort, the campaign aims to engage with governments, corporations and universities as instruments of change positioned within some of the communities that most need to address deficiencies in women's empowerment and gender equality.

xix) One Billion Rising⁸¹ One Billion Rising is a global movement since 2012 which is aimed at ending rape and sexual violence against women. The billion refers to the UN statistic that one in three women will be raped or beaten in her lifetime, or about one billion. The campaign expands each year and has a different theme each year. The theme of the campaign for 2016 is Rise for Revolution. The campaign will escalate the collective actions of activists worldwide, and amplify their call for systematic changes towards ending violence against women and children. The promising practices of this campaign included mass awareness of the need to stand up for the protection of women and girls against rape and sexual violence. More than 200 countries participated in this campaign and stands as one of the biggest campaigns taken place in history. The limitation for this campaign could be that the activities peak during the months before Valentine Day and there is not much follow up after that.

xx) WEvolve⁸² is a global campaign initiated by the World Bank to bring men and women together to end gender inequality using the power of art and media to inspire action and change. The campaign provides a platform and community for men and women to come together, share stories and seek new ways to end gender violence. WEvolve focuses on the causes of gender violence and

looks to understand and address the social norms and deeply engrained cultural values at the root of it. The promising practices of this campaign is that it encourages youth-led creative ventures such as performing arts, films, music, fashion, etc. to attract its audience therein spreading awareness through a digital campaign that engages men and women to end gender inequality.

xxi) Abused Goddesses⁸³ is an initiative of Save our Sisters Project of the Save the Children. An advertising agency (Tarapoot) helped Save the Children in designing this campaign where portraits of goddesses with bruises were shown to address the problem of domestic violence and sex trafficking. The campaign worked with the emotional response model attempted to link the fact that no woman would be spared even our goddesses. While it was rather visually disturbing, the critique of the campaign is that it is unclear if there is any concrete action suggested by the campaign.

xxii) Time to Sound the Red Siren⁸⁴ (2013): UNICEF India launched a social media campaign Time to Sound the Red Siren, which tackled violence against children and placed a special focus on sexual violence against girls. UNICEF India aimed to urge citizens, lawmakers and governments to speak out more forcefully to fight violence against children, with a special focus on sexual violence against girls, as part of UNICEF's global campaign End Violence against Children. The promising practices of this campaign was that through social media sites like Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr, using #ENDviolence, shared messages with its audience to inform them about the issue of sexual violence against girls and the potential solutions including the protective environment needed to prevent girls from sexual abuse. UNICEF India also engaged citizens into action and laid emphasis on speaking out and breaking the silence and making the invisible visible. It used Amitabh Bachchan as its Goodwill Ambassador.

⁸³ <http://www.thefeministwire.com/2013/09/abused-goddesses/> Accessed April 2016

⁸⁴ <http://unicef.in/PressReleases/23/Time-to-Sound-the-Red-Siren-UNICEF-urges-louder-voices> Accessed April 2016

⁸¹ <http://www.onebillionrising.org/>

⁸² <https://www.weevolveglobal.org> Accessed April 2016

xxiii) Beti Zindabad⁸⁵ (2012 - present) is a campaign initiated by Action Aid India to address the declining child sex ratio in India. Through this campaign, Action Aid India and its allied organisations and movements, aim to make gender equality a reality in the country. The underlying assumption in the campaign is that society needs a collective action to defeat the dominant mind-set that has always treated women as inferior to men and girls as inferior to boys. The promising practices of this campaign includes collective action, led by men and women, and especially the youth, from across the country, to take a stand for social justice and gender equality. This campaign reached over 16 States. This campaign has used the tool of a pledge (both individuals and institutions (Gram Sabha)) to highlight the need to strengthen the implementation of the relevant law and punish the violators of the law.

⁸⁵ <http://www.betizindabad.org/#!/homepage/mainPage> Accessed April 2016

5

FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL NORM CHANGE

Recent literature⁸⁶ has shown that in order to work on social norms, the following three-stage framework, based on both theory and evidence of successful approaches could be potentially useful.

5.1 Along with shifting individual attitudes, social expectations regarding the behaviour within the reference group must also be changed.

The possible ways to do this would be to follow some of the points given below:

- If inaccurate beliefs are present, then raise awareness to dispel misconceptions. Intuitively, this may not have been a very obvious strategy that many interventions have adopted. More research would be required to ascertain the impact of such a strategy.
- Shift individual beliefs and attitudes towards a harmful behaviour in order to gather a critical mass to, in some senses, weaken the existing norm. Research and existing evidence from existing interventions suggests a number of ways attitudes towards a behaviour can be tackled.

⁸⁶ Alexander-Scott, M.et al. 2016s

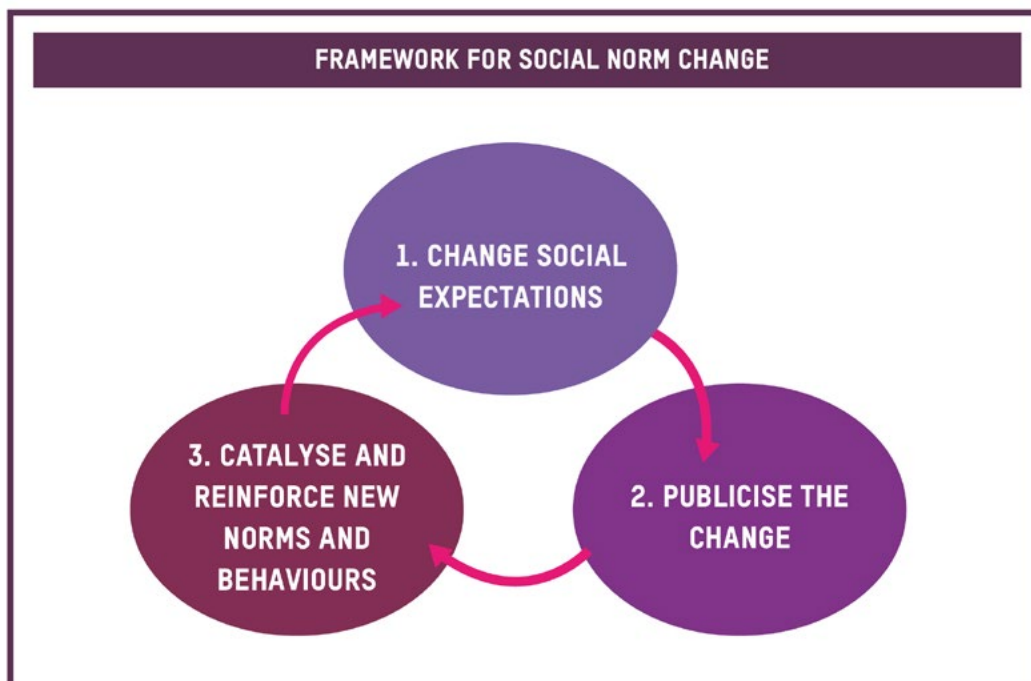
These could be the basis for some of the messaging.

- Promote public debate and deliberation around the existing norm, through community workshops, group discussions, edutainment, mass media, radio call-ins, social media and mobile technologies
- Promote a positive alternative, where the new behaviour is highly visible and so are the benefits.
- Provide opportunities for public and collective change, like public pledges and public commitments.

5.2 These changes in attitudes, expectations need to be publicized.

The ways to do this would be through the following: Publicise role models and benefits of new behaviour, through social norm marketing⁸⁷ and edutainment, posters, comics, information sheets. Avoid reinforcing the negative behaviour, wherein

⁸⁷ Accessed February 2016



messages need to be screened to ensure that they are not reinforcing the existing norm. For example, in the messaging with one in three women worldwide face some form of violence in her lifetime, the focus and therefore the recall is 'one in three' which could reinforce the perpetuation of violence through a message that violence against women is a common feature across the globe. This then would have implications on the messaging of the campaign.

Develop a diffusion strategy to catalyse broader societal change through mass media. According to social network theory,⁸⁸ individual change-agents should be better connected and more influential in their communities to increase the chances of successful diffusion at scale.

5.3 New norms and behaviours need to be catalyzed and reinforced through rewards, sanctions and opportunities to conform.

The way to ensure the reinforcement of new positive social norms could be through the following:

- Provide opportunities for new behaviour, suggestion could be to have a hotline that could encourage help-seeking behaviour
- Create new rewards and sanctions, a possible reward could be to meet your champion celebrity. Alongside to this, shifts in legal systems/sanctions need to be worked at so that it enables shifts in social norms. This would mean an analysis of the possible links between social norms and existing policy frameworks within the country, for example, the debates on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the indicators to measure change in the gender goal.

⁸⁸ Social network theory is the study of how people, organizations or groups interact with others inside their network. There are three types of social networks as research shows: ego-centric networks are connected with a single individual or actor (example, you and your close friends), socio-centric networks which are closed networks by default (example, children in a classroom or workers in an organisation) and open-systems network where the boundary lines are not defined (example, the chain of influencers of a particular decision).

Source: http://socialnetworking.lovetoknow.com/What_is_Social_Network_Theory Accessed in February 2016

One of the major challenges in social norm change is being able to capture the actual change in society. Often a Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice (KAP) measure of individual behaviour change is projected as a measure of social norm change. KAP strategy is based on the assumption that improved knowledge would shift negative attitudes, then change the actual practice of that belief and attitude. But there is a growing recognition that this a simplistic view of how change happens. It is for this reason that the monitoring, evaluation and learning framework of a campaign intervention with behaviour change as the long-term goal must seek to capture the right kind of change.⁸⁹ Most of the programme evaluations on intimate partner violence identified by World Bank in a recent study⁹⁰ are qualitative, with quantitative data used mainly to track output indicators.⁹¹ Most evaluations do not examine the expectations that members have from one another in the group which goes to form social norms.

Since social norms are shared beliefs about typical or appropriate behaviour, as a “proxy” or alternate way of seeing norms, one can ask:

- Ask individuals or groups what they think people in their reference group say, do, or think

- Ask individuals what they think would happen if someone else acted in a particular way

A formative research could be helpful in identifying a social norm, and also understanding the prevalence of that identified social norm. Some basic questions that could be asked are the following:⁹²

- What is the community with which you are working?

⁸⁹ Haylock, L. 2015

⁹⁰ Solotaroff, J.L. and Pande, R.P. 2014.

⁹¹ A few notable exceptions are mass campaigns such as the Bell Bajao! campaign in India and the regional We Can and Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women (MASVAW) campaigns.

⁹² Mackie, G. et al. 2015 & Heise, L. 2016. Shifting Social Norms to tackle violence against women. London. Violence against Women and Girls HelpDesk

- What are types of gender based violence prevalent in these communities?

- Who is the reference group? Or Whose opinion matters to the target population?

- Is the behaviour perceived as typical among the reference group?

- Is the behaviour perceived to be appropriate among the reference group?

- Are there consequences for departing from this behaviour? (i.e. social sanctions)

- Would the majority of people still act this way even if others disagreed? (i.e. social vs moral norm)

How mobile is this community? How concentrated or dispersed is the community across a geographical location?

- What do people in this village say about whether or when a man has the right to hit his wife?

- What would an abused woman in your community be most afraid of if she tried to leave a situation of domestic violence?

- Some people say that a man should never hit his wife. What do you think people in your religious group would say about that?

There could be both qualitative and quantitative methodologies by which answers to these questions could be ascertained. Measuring changes in social norms in this way actually complements the measuring of individual attitudes and behaviours.

Mackie et al (2015) and Alexander-Scott et al. (2016) have suggested some principles for the measurement of social norms and their change, which needs to be studied further to ensure that the right questions on social norms are asked during evaluation processes.

7 PRINCIPLES FOR SOCIAL NORM CHANGE INTERVENTIONS

There are some key principles that need to be kept in mind while designing interventions on social norm change. Some of these principles as indicated by the research⁹³ overlap with Oxfam's existing Guiding Principles to end VAWG as given below.⁹⁴

Changes in Social Norms are critical to lasting, transformative change:

Changes in misogynistic gender social norms as well as those that specifically underpin VAWG/GBV are the lynchpins to creating meaningful, lasting, transformative changes to end VAWG/GBV as well as shifting power imbalances that subjugate women, girls and gender non-identifying people. Changes in individual attitudes in combination with social norms, as well as a variety of other catalysts for a positive enabling environment (i.e. positive anti-violence policies) are critical in creating long-term changes in behaviours.

⁹³ Raab, M. and Rocha, J. 2011

⁹⁴ Haylock. L. 2015

Programmes/projects should target multiple levels, sectors and timeframes:

Programmes/projects that target multiple levels of change across the social ecology, and across multiple sectors and timeframes are most likely to contribute to a long-term impact on changes in individual attitudes, social norms and behaviours that perpetuate VAWG. Figure 5 provides a conceptual framework based on the Ecological Model for dealing with intimate partner violence.

Intersectional and contextual analyses are central to changes in social norms:

Change to attitudes, norms and behaviours must be viewed through a contextual lens. Changes in social norms in one community that seem relatively easy to achieve may be nearly impossible in another context. An intersectional analysis is vital to understanding the root causes of VAWG and for the proper scoping of strategies that could be effective. This would be particularly important in the Indian context where caste and tribal norms ma

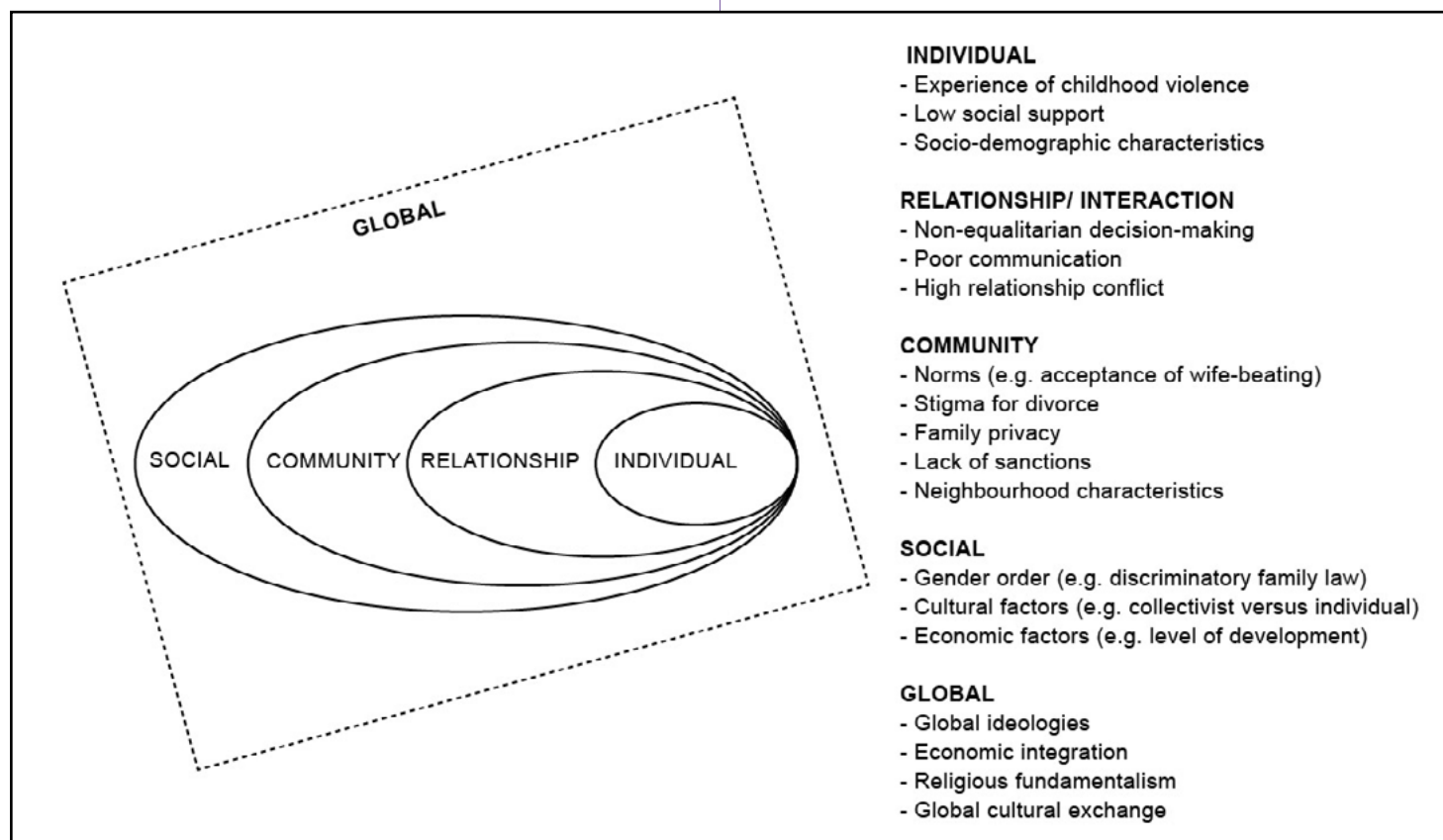


Figure 5: Conceptual framework for dealing with intimate partner violence

have a strong impact on the possible interventions.

Women and their organizations are vital to creating lasting changes in social norms.

Supporting women's rights organizations is critical to ensuring lasting and long-term sustainable change to end VAWG. For this reason, they are seen as the key drivers to change.

Engaging men and boys are critical to sustaining change in social norms:

The current emphasis placed on working with men and boys presents both an opportunity and a challenge in terms of ensuring a focus on women's and girls' rights as well as accountability to them. Interventions that work with men and boys need to be firmly rooted in the feminist perspective on violence, should complement the work on promoting women's rights and changing unequal gender power relations.

Empowering women, girls and non-gender identifying people⁹⁵ is central to shifting imbalances in power and critical to targeting gender inequality.

This may challenge the existing gender status quo. Interventions should seriously consider the principle of 'do no harm' or backlash before implementation and have strategies to address the backlash in case it arises.

Influential norm-setters, including tradition and community leaders, are powerful allies in this work who can both reinforce positive social norms within their social institutions as well as the broader public.

Duty bearers are critical in both modelling positive attitudes and influencing their institutions to creating a positive enabling environment.

National government, and in the Indian context, the state governments, are ultimately responsible for creating and implementing strong laws, policies, and services to both respond to and prevent VAWG.

Essential service provision is key to preventing and

⁹⁵ Though well-aware of the issues related to non-gender identifying people, in the proposed campaign, Oxfam India will not be addressing the specific issues of this section.

responding to VAWG.

Research and evidence from the ground suggests that adequate access to services is key to preventing violence from re-occurring. In addition, individuals (such as police officers) and their respective organizations are often the first people a survivor of violence interacts with following an act of violence. They play a critical role in reinforcing positive attitudes and social norms with survivors and can shape the path the survivor takes across the entire ecological framework.

KEY LESSONS FOR DESIGNING A CAMPAIGN ON CHANGING SOCIAL NORMS

Based on the existing literature and the current review, there are some key lessons that should be considered when designing a campaign on changing social norms.

i) Focus on the most prevalent form of violence:

There are many forms of violence that may be equally important in any given context, particularly if one applies the intersectionality lens. But research (Heise 2011) has shown that intimate partner violence is the most prevalent form of violence against women. Therefore, it might be useful to begin with interventions that could address the factors associated with men's perpetration of intimate partner violence as captured in Figure 6. Later, with the campaign gaining momentum, other aspects of violence within private and public spaces could be added to help build a nuanced understanding of domestic violence. Though intimate partner violence could be narrow in its definition,⁹⁶ addressing this form of violence could have

⁹⁶ Intimate partner violence refers to any behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, psychological or sexual harm to those in the relationship. Domestic violence as per the Indian law, includes violence against "women who are or have been in a relationship with the abuser where both parties have lived together in a shared household and

rippling effects to other forms of violence within private spaces, for example, violence against young girls, sisters, widows and elderly women.

ii) Changing social norms is a long-term process.

Therefore, the measures of success for the campaign as a whole and for each year of the campaign should be realistic. As per the current thinking for the Oxfam Confederation, the initial years would be based on bringing the issue of social norms and the link with VAWG as part of everyday debate and discussions. Since violence is so normalised, bringing the issue of social norms to the forefront would involve working on making people (both women and men, citizens and duty bearers) aware of existing attitudes and behaviour, before one can begin to showcase new and positive social norms. This would hold true for new intervention sites with this campaign thinking. In communities where Oxfam India (and other organisations) has been working for the past six years, the ground may be ripe for strategies that promote alternative behaviours while providing safe spaces for dialogue and discussion.

are related by consanguinity, marriage or through a relationship in the nature of marriage or adoption.

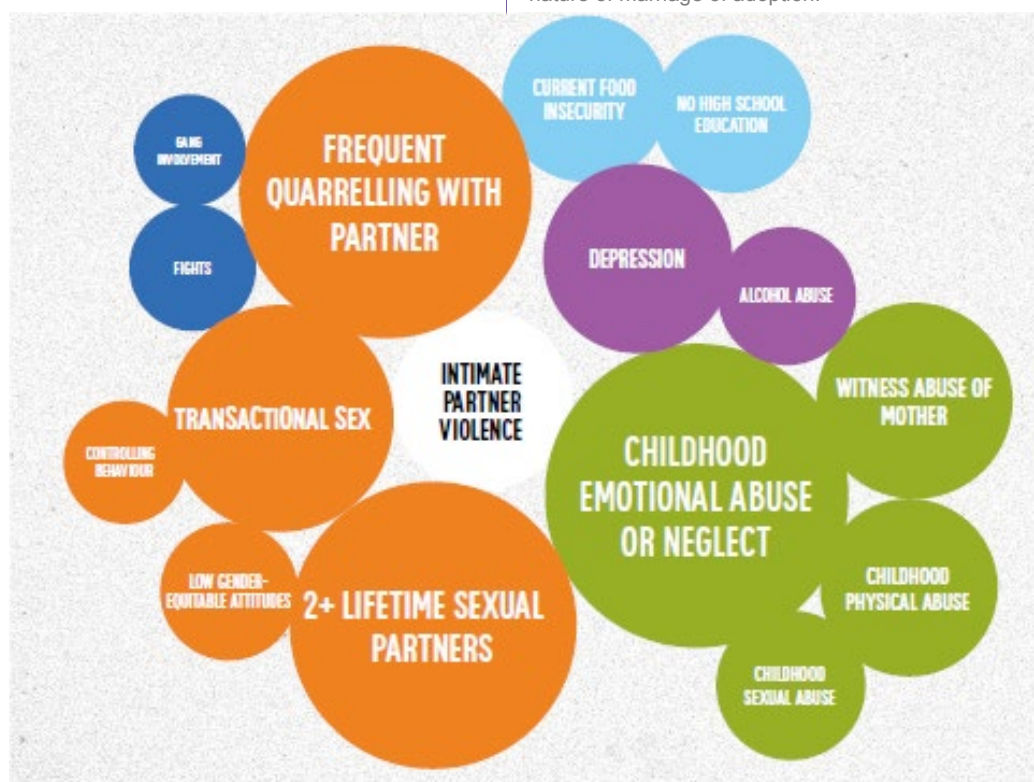


Figure 6: Factors associated with men's perpetration of intimate partner violence

iii) Identifying the reference group: For shifting social norms, the notion of appropriate behaviour for the reference group becomes important. In the communities that Oxfam India (and other organisations) works in, the reference group may be concentrated and located in physical proximity to the individual. A formative research would be required to identify this reference group. Once that is done the appropriate strategies can be identified. The formative research would also throw up the strength of looking at mothers-in-law as being a part of a reference group.

iv) Multi-level interventions: In order to change social norms that underpin domestic violence, it would necessitate interventions across the levels within the ecological model. This would imply working with individuals, interpersonal, community and societal levels. The formative research would help identify best the kinds of interventions. Many of these factors are also substantiated from Oxfam India programme evaluations reports, which are as follows:

- Man is seen as the head of the household and should be able to control his wife.

- Disputes of the house should not be discussed externally. It is alright for the husband to hit the wife if she goes out without informing, neglects house chores/children, argues with the husband, is suspected of being unfaithful or disrespects the in-laws.

- At the same time, awareness generation activities would be needed to ensure that women and girls are aware of their rights and the means to access their rights. This could also be helpful in understanding the particular age group that the campaign could address. Since the use of violence would be more within the age group of 14 and above among boys, this group could be part of the direct intervention group whereas a systematic and focused intervention in schools would lead to awareness generation among a younger audience. This would have to be verified through the formative research.

v) Integration of campaign thinking and interventions within existing projects: Currently, Oxfam India has

some projects that have aspects of prevention of violence which need to be articulated in the language of social norms. This would also help in developing strategies for specific stakeholders and working with the identified stakeholders in an intensive mode as changing social norms would involve deeper engagements. This would also enable a more obvious reference to the existing power dynamics within communities and intervening to bring about fundamental shifts (while addressing the possible backlash if any) in the power relationships. Only then would programmatic and the campaign thinking work in a complementary fashion for transformative change.

vi) Lessons drawn from existing campaigns on VAWG: It will be useful to design the campaign framework in alignment with the behaviour change theories as mentioned in this paper. The review of the campaigns have demonstrated some promising interventions on behaviour change approaches which could be built upon while designing this campaign.

vii) Three-step framework for social norm change: It explains the change social expectations, publicise the change and re-inforce the new norms and behaviours. The messaging during the campaign should look at promoting injunctive norms like 'non-violent relationships are happier and healthier', rather than reinforcing the idea that men use violence with their partners. It would be crucial to let communities set out the pace of change that they are comfortable with rather than forcing them to change. Including the idea of positive modelling by prominent influencers like film actors and sports personalities could help in achieving a critical mass of early adopters of an alternative. The process of creating the critical mass of supporters could be taken from the interventions listed above. The campaign should explore the potential of developing a mass media awareness intervention that would reinforce the alternative behaviours initiated on the ground. Working within educational institutions could also help to reinforce alternative behaviours.

To sum it up, addressing the existing social norms is the additional element that may be currently missing in the interventions on ending VAWG. Changing the existing, and often negative, social norms is a

long-term process. Commonly held social norms within collectives have to give way to new and positive ones which highlight the fact that violence against women and girls is unacceptable under any circumstances and that girls and women have the same value within society as compared to boys and men. This has to fit in with the aspirational outlook of the younger generation, the demographic dividend for India. It is possibly the only way that there would be a visible reduction in the acceptance of violence by all (girls, women, boys, men, communities, duty-bearers and institutions) within the foreseeable future.

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