Social norms marketing aimed at gender based violence:
A literature review and critical assessment

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Executive Summary

This review focuses on programs that employ *social norms marketing* as a means of reducing gender based violence (GBV) around the world but particularly in conflict-affected areas. Social norms marketing refers to traditional marketing techniques, including mass media and face to face campaigns, that are designed to alter individuals' perceptions about which attitudes and behaviors are typical or desirable in their community. These perceptions—that certain attitudes and behaviors are considered typical or desirable—are called social norms.

Of all the social norm marketing interventions aimed at GBV that were reviewed for this report (listed and summarized in the table in Appendix I), many do not rely on social norms theories or on previous research, and others have never evaluated their programming. Many existing evaluations are uninformative for the goals of knowing whether an intervention had a causal effect on its targeted audience.

The review provides an overview of social norms theory with special attention to its application in the GBV context. It presents three case studies of major social norms marketing programs that targeted GBV. These programs are informative with respect to the strategies used to address social norms surrounding GBV, and with respect to the populations and behaviors they targeted. This combination of social norms theory and previous social norms marketing experiences informs a concluding list of important considerations to guide the design and evaluation of future social norms interventions aimed at GBV.

I. Introduction

(A) The Focus of this Review: Social Norms Marketing to Reduce Gender Based Violence

This review focuses on programs that employ *social norms marketing* as a means of reducing gender based violence (GBV) around the world but particularly in conflict-affected areas. Social norms marketing refers to traditional marketing techniques, including mass media and face to face campaigns, that are designed to alter individuals' perceptions about which attitudes and behaviors are typical or desirable in their community. These perceptions—that certain attitudes and behaviors are considered typical or desirable—are called social norms.

The core idea of social norms marketing lies in the distinction between personal attitudes or beliefs on the one hand and perceived community norms on the other. That is, a person may have a positive attitude toward women, and may believe that some behaviors (like assisting a survivor of rape) are desirable. However, the person may perceive these actions to be unacceptable in his community because they are not "normal," i.e. typical or desirable. Very often, this perception of social disapproval is enough to discourage an action, such as reporting rape to the authorities, despite personal attitudes and beliefs that are oriented to the contrary. Of course, some individuals may internalize the social norm to the extent that their beliefs and attitudes align with the social norm.

Social norms marketing conveys messages aimed at convincing its audience that certain attitudes and behaviors will be received as "normal" (typical or desirable) by relevant community members. Messages carrying information about social norms (e.g., "men in this community believe in treating women with respect!") can thus be distinguished from marketing aimed at improving individual attitudes (e.g., "women are worthy of respect!") or at changing individual beliefs (e.g., "beating a woman does not prove your authority over her!").[1] These other kinds of messaging techniques may accompany social norms campaigns, but the distinguishing feature of social norms marketing is the attempt to change perceptions about *social norms*—attitudes and behaviors considered normal by the community. Social norms marketing attempts to shape and consistently activate positive social norms that apply to the community in question.

Social norms marketing can also aim to *discourage* certain attitudes and behaviors by spreading the idea that they are not considered typical or desirable by the community, such as a billboard featuring community members with a slogan proclaiming, "men in

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[1] We use the social psychological definitions of beliefs and attitudes. An attitude is an individual's *evaluative* stance toward the self or something in the environment (i.e. toward people, objects, ideas: "women are worthy of respect"), whereas a belief represents an *understanding* (thought of as factual) of the self or something in the environment ("beating a woman does not prove your authority over her").

this community don't believe in rape." The principles of social norms marketing are based on robust theory and research from social psychology and on a growing field of evidence from developing and developed settings that deals with health, agricultural, conflict, and sustainability behaviors.

Gender based violence is one type of behavior thought to be at least partially rooted in dysfunctional social norms pertaining to relationships among men and women. For example, norms governing violence against women describe typical or desirable ways to treat women—women who are members of a community where the norm applies, and women defined as 'outsiders' to the community by social or political divisions or by outright conflict. The hypothesized role of social norms in perpetuating GBV – in, for example, promoting the perception that women in a community *typically* tolerate domestic violence or that men *should* "discipline" their wives – suggests that social norms interventions would be a relevant avenue for efforts to reduce GBV. Social norms are, as mentioned above, different from personal attitudes: they communicate ideas about social approval, or perceptions about what is normal or desirable in a given community, such as perceptions of the prevalence and acceptability of GBV.

Using social norms marketing can be a cost-effective tool for behavior change, particularly in settings where legal, market-based, or other enforcement or incentive techniques are unavailable. Conflict-affected areas are one such type of place where many of these classic behavioral regulation and change methods are costly or logistically infeasible. For this reason, social norms marketing may be particularly appealing in conflict-affected areas.

In this review, we first define the problem, the scope, and the current state of gender based violence and interventions used to fight it, with special attention to conflict-affected areas. We then outline how and why social norms are powerful guides of behavior, and what kinds of social norms messages are expected to be most powerful for weakening a destructive social norm or creating a new one, particularly with respect to gender based violence. Next, we review studies of social norms marketing that have addressed GBV. Combining insights from this literature with the theory of social norms marketing, we make recommendations for future social norms marketing programs and evaluations.

Gender Based Violence: Definitions and Prevalence

Gender based violence exists in every corner of the globe, in varying degrees and forms. Its definition is contested and continually evolving. Gender based violence is characterized as a form of discrimination as well as a human rights violation (United Nations General Assembly 2006). In this review we use the International Rescue Committee's definition of GBV as "any harm perpetrated against a person based on power inequalities resulting from gender roles. The overwhelming majority of cases involve women and girls" (International Rescue Committee 2007). The acknowledgement that girls and women suffer overwhelmingly from socially constructed,

gender based power inequalities is reflected in the related United Nations definition of Violence against Women as "any act of gender based violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately" (United Nations General Assembly 2006). Reflecting this emphasis, most GBV interventions reviewed in this paper were aimed at sexual violence perpetrated against women; however, intervention targets include social norms pertaining to men, masculinity, and the acceptability of same-sex relations in addition to women and heterosexual couples.

The World Health Organization highlights that "violence against women takes many different forms, manifested in a continuum of multiple, interrelated and sometimes recurring forms. It can include physical, sexual and psychological/emotional violence and economic abuse and exploitation,[2] experienced in a range of settings, from private to public, and in today's globalized world, transcending national boundaries" (World Health Organization 2009-a). Violence may be perpetrated by an intimate partner, family member or acquaintance and can occur in the home, public arena or professional space. Violence can also be perpetrated by or among women and girls themselves (for example, female genital mutilation and women who assist in sex trafficking or rapes in a conflict).

Rape, perpetrated by strangers and intimate partners, is an especially common form of violence experienced by women and girls all over the world. Like other forms of GBV, rapes can occur in private or public settings and can lead to health problems, including HIV, unwanted pregnancy, isolation due to stigma, and psychological trauma. Rape is also commonly practiced as part of female trafficking. Forced sex work and intimate partner rapes are both legally and socially discounted in many countries.

Although different types of GBV are widely recognized, there is a dearth of robust statistics to describe their prevalence. This is best exemplified by the UN Secretary General's 2006 "In Depth Study on All Forms of Violence Against Women," which cites studies in various countries with prevalence estimates ranging from 10 to 70 percent. A 10-country study conducted by the World Health Organization finds, for example, that 24% of women in Peru, 28% of women in Tanzania, and 40% of women surveyed in South Africa report that their first sexual encounter was not consensual (World Health Organization 2009-b).

Uncertain statistics about GBV are in part likely a result of social and legal norms that minimize the importance and legitimacy of sexual violence, or that blame victims for the violence. In Uganda, where 59% of women report having experienced physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner, law enforcement officials often ignore intimate partner violence and urge women to return to their abusive partners rather than guiding them to appropriate services (International Center for Research on Women 2009, 4). Women who used police or justice services ranged from a low of 0.4% in Bangladesh to a high of 13.5% in Morocco, even though in both countries over 50 percent of women reported experiencing intimate partner violence. This supports findings by the WHO that most women do not report gender based violence to friends and family (World Health

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[2] Economic violence can include the refusal to pay for goods sold by women and denying women control of earned money or loans (Hunt et. al., 2001).

Organization 2005), even though the impact of GBV is documented to be extremely consequential for women's well being.[3]

Gender based violence often increases with the presence of alcohol and drugs. Studies from the developing world document a link between substance use, especially alcohol consumption, and GBV (e.g., Nasir and Hyder 2003; Wong et al. 2008). Several studies focus on substance use immediately prior to or during sex, and find that any alcohol consumption by a male partner increases a female's risk of exposure to GBV and forced sex (Koenig et al. 2003; Straten et al. 1998; Watts et al. 1998). Little research has systematically documented the sociocultural and contextual factors that increase chances of substance use and GBV. Rao, however, notes that perceived social norms surrounding GBV have an impact, and that when abuse is seen as legitimized by the community it is more common (1997).

Gender based violence is exacerbated by conflict

Risks to women are higher in conflict-affected areas due to the volatility of conflict situations, which often leads to displacement, the disintegration of community structures, and the increased need to exchange sex for protection and material goods (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 1999, 35).[4] Rape is especially prevalent in conflict zones and is often used as a weapon of war and a tool of genocide. For example, rape is so prevalent in the current conflict in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo that it has been labeled an epidemic, with estimates of victims reaching tens of thousands. Combatants perpetrating rape use it strategically as a weapon of war "to shame, demoralize and humiliate the enemy. By systematically raping women and girls, armed groups assert power and domination over not only the women, but their men as well" (HHI 2010, 1, 6).[5] A large body of work also points out that combatants also use rape and other forms of GBV for strategic purposes internal to their fighting unit, such as to increase unit cohesion and loyalty (e.g. Cohen 2010). Increased gender based violence is partnered with a decrease in reporting due to the exacerbation of factors leading to underreporting in non-conflict situations, including "fear of retribution, shame, powerlessness, lack of support, breakdown or unreliability of public services, and the

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[3] Several studies indicate correlations between GBV and poverty, low educational levels, and reproductive issues such as unplanned pregnancies (Ilika et al. 2002; Nasir and Hyder 2003; Wechsberg et al. 2008). In addition, several studies find that women who are exposed to GBV are more likely to use substances and suffer from depression or other negative health effects (Ilika et al. 2002; Jaoko 2010; Wong et al. 2008), as well as at an elevated risk of contracting HIV (Wong et al. 2008).

[4] "[D]uring armed conflict women and girls are particularly vulnerable to gender based violence. Rape is used by fighting forces as a strategy to terrorize and humiliate communities, force women and their families to flee, disrupt social continuity, and is used as a method of ethnic cleansing and genocide" (International Rescue Committee 2007).

[5] As with other forms of GBV, robust figures on the number of rapes committed in Eastern DRC are lacking. One tool of measurement has been the number of women who have sought medical assistance. In 2008 the International Rescue Committee reported that in South Kivu 40,000 rape survivors had received their services since 2003. Further, the UN estimated that 27,000 sexual assaults occurred in 2006 in the region. Finally, the chief gynecologist at Panzi hospital in Bukavu estimates that he treats over 3600 rape victims a year (HHI 2010, 6-8).

dispersion of families and communities" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 1999, 36).

Sexual violence is far from an inevitable feature of conflict; its form and prevalence depends on the forces that govern the conflict, whether they are state military or insurgent forces or local institutions (Wood 2009). Even when sexual violence is not a tool of war or an internal strategy for militants (Cohen 2010), trauma resulting from war can lead to higher rates of GBV in the affected population. Recent studies examining Vietnam-era veterans and their families in the United States found that domestic violence correlated highly with combat exposure (Prigerson et al. 2002). Recent military deployment has also sometimes been documented to coincide with perpetrating domestic violence upon return home in the U.S. context (McCarroll et al. 2000). Abuse in the family can perpetuate a trans-generational cycle of domestic violence: one study found that men's experience of abuse during childhood was the single largest predictor of their chances of perpetrating GBV as adults (Jaoko 2010). These examples suggest that the trauma of war can be manifested in the form of GBV.

Interventions Aiming to Reduce Gender Based Violence

Organizations working to reduce gender based violence have employed a broad variety of interventions depending on their program goals and the specific contexts in which they work. Interventions target not only women but also groups of men (particularly young men), youth, the general public, survivors of GBV, community leaders, and others. Intervention strategies include organizational initiatives, such as government and NGO coordination and capacity building, individual initiatives, such as the provision of health, education, and other social services to survivors of GBV, trainings, such as those for local personnel to improve health, mental health, justice systems and infrastructure, and media initiatives, such as social norms marketing.

Other interventions aim to reduce GBV more indirectly by increasing women's economic opportunity, self-esteem, or negotiation and interpersonal skills, all in light of the global goal of "empowerment." Microfinance and other cooperative programs intending to boost women's economic standing provide opportunities for women to interact with one another. Group interaction is thought to encourage sharing about members' difficult life experiences (e.g., domestic violence) and their successful coping strategies or positive initiatives (e.g., support they have found from families or neighbors). Discussion and support groups are a popular strategy of many gender based violence interventions. But like many empowerment programs, these groups have a strong potential for unintended negative outcomes, a topic to which we return below. It is worth previewing two such unintended consequences, however, because of their wide application to many GBV interventions: (1) interventions may, in the name of awareness raising, promote perceptions of descriptive social norms that GBV is typical—and thus too common or inevitable to resist; and, (2) men may react to interventions seeking to

empower women by increasing their political opposition to women's rights and their efforts to control individual women in their lives.[6]

Conflict compounds the difficulty of executing successful GBV interventions

Beyond destabilization due to ongoing violence and insecurity, conflict-affected areas also suffer from a dearth of government and civil society resources, as well as fractured infrastructure. Gender based violence interventions that seek to channel women to health or legal services run the risk of channeling women into outlets that are dysfunctional or nonexistent. For example, if women are advised to report GBV to police, and if police are not equipped to deal with reports and instead push women to return to their abusive partners, then not only will women not gain further support, but they may be dissuaded from reporting violence to police in the future. The same can be said for pursuing legal action. If the judiciary is not fully functioning or is overwhelmed, advising women to bring their cases to court may not produce fruitful results and could potentially aggravate the situation further by leading women into the often dangerous act of resisting abuse without providing proper resources.

In general, the infrastructure necessary to support basic services may not be available due to conflict, which often destroys roads, clinics, and makes travel dangerous. Communication is also limited in the midst or immediate aftermath of conflict, when radio and cellular towers may be down and internet may be limited or unavailable.

When legal and structural problems obstruct solutions to GBV, interventions that do not rely on the government or on expensive infrastructure become appealing. This is one of the primary appeals of social norms marketing—that as an intervention addressed to GBV, it can rely on less expensive technologies that can survive or reappear just after conflict (such as shortwave radio, phones, and face-to-face communication).

The appeal of mass media and social norms marketing interventions

Social norms marketing campaigns, specifically those that use mass media dissemination techniques, have become popular for organizations and states looking to reduce gender based violence. For one, it has become clear that gender based violence is promoted by dysfunctional social norms that perpetuate gendered power inequalities and gendered abuse, and that solutions are often stymied by social norms against reporting

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[6] Studies documenting men's reactions to women's empowerment programs are unfortunately rare. However, the available literature offers a few insights. First, researching local understandings of gender roles is key, as is understanding masculinity as a shifting, multifaceted concept (e.g., Ahmed 2008). Another observation is that employed or more securely employed men appear more apt to respond more generously to women's empowerment programs (Haque and Kusakabe 2005). This presents policy makers and program managers with a difficult mandate: to ensure that women's empowerment programs involve men without re-excluding women (Datta 2004). A critical element of program success, these authors conclude, is women's ownership of a project paired with men's engagement in the project. Paradoxically, the success of women's empowerment programs may depend on how they incorporate men.

and speaking out against such abuse. Thus, social norms are an important target of interventions. Second, mass media campaigns are remarkably low in cost compared to face-to-face individual or group training or counseling sessions and infrastructure-building interventions. Third, social norms marketing does not require the same amount of coordination demanded by legal initiatives or widespread initiatives in the health, judiciary, or policing sectors.

For all of these reasons, social norms marketing seems to have a special comparative advantage in conflict-affected areas, where government and civil society resources are constrained and infrastructure is substandard. This is not to say that social norms marketing is immune to the challenges of conflict-affected areas, particularly since social norms are more challenging to shift when a population is extremely fractured or geographically mobile, and since infrastructure may not even be able to support a recording studio or a cellular phone network. Nonetheless, social norms marketing is one of the more flexible and resource-efficient interventions of those listed above.

We now turn to explanations of the rationale behind social norms marketing, and strategies for shifting social norms based on past research and theory on social norms.

II.   Social Norms and Social Norms Marketing

(A)   An Introduction to Social Norms[7]

Why are social norms powerful?

Social psychologists have long recognized the powerful influence of group identity (whether this is a national identity, ethnic identity, or political identity) on individual attitudes and behavior. Out of a need for belonging, individuals have a basic drive to 'fit in' with valued and relevant social groups and to avoid deviance from the standards of those groups. Individual desire to conform to the standards of a group (Asch 1956), internal group pressure toward uniformity (Crandall 1988), and group sanctions of members who deviate from their standards (Brown & Abrams 2003) may vary according to context and culture. But the relative universality of these conformity processes demonstrates that conformity to a group is not a human weakness to be overcome, but a basic feature of human psychology that can motivate outcomes that are both prosocial and antisocial (Prentice in press). Individuals' drive to fit in with their group is the starting place for understanding the power of social norms.

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[7] This section relies heavily on the social psychological literature on behavioral interventions based on social norms theory, especially on the theoretical and empirical work of Robert Cialdini and Deborah Prentice. Please see the bibliography for suggestions for further reading from these authors.

Social norms are descriptive and prescriptive

A social norm is a perception of where a social group *is* or where the social group *ought to be* on some dimension of attitude or behavior. This definition identifies two major types of social norms. One type of social norm is a *descriptive norm*, or is the perception of where the group is. A descriptive norm identifies the typical attitudes or behaviors of the group. The second type is an injunctive norm, or the perception of where the group ought to be. An *injunctive norm* identifies the desirable attitudes or behaviors of a group. Descriptive and injunctive norms imply a certain kind of social consensus. Descriptive norms imply a perceived consensus about a descriptive pattern of behavior (for example, "in our group, men typically hit their wives"), whereas injunctive norms imply a perceived consensus about a prescribed or proscribed behavior (for example, "in our group, hitting your wife is not acceptable").

Social norms are widely enforced

Social norms act as powerful constraints on individual attitudes and behaviors for a few reasons. First, social norms function like actual laws and market incentives, but they are socially and informally enforced. That is, violators of social norms are sanctioned just as violators of the law or of the market are sanctioned, but they are sanctioned socially, by valued group members. Sanctioning occurs through shaming, shunning, or some other manner of social ostracizing. This means that social norms reach into all corners of peoples' public and private lives, just as far and perhaps farther than state-based laws or market incentives. Also, because any member of the group can enforce norms socially, resources to enforce norms are unlimited. Finally, because individuals wish to belong to a group, they are motivated to conform to the norm, at least in terms of external behavior (though they may privately disagree with the norm, which we discuss more below).

To take an example from the realm of gender based violence, a man's perception that men in his community do not hit their wives is likely to constrain him from abusing his own wife, which might invite community disapproval or isolation. Social norms do not only work to constrain behavior; they also license behavior. The perception that rape is common in a man's community might license him to force his partner to have sex with him, with the understanding that he will not experience any social sanctions (in the extreme, he might experience social approval). Thus, both positive and negative behaviors are enforced through such constraining and licensing forces of social sanctioning.

Norms are properties of social groups; some group norms are more powerful than others

Norms are properties of a group—they describe the typical or desirable behavior of a certain social group, rather than "humankind." Large groups have norms—for example, norms guide a person's behavior as a Croatian citizen regarding the typicality of civic

participation and the desirability of religiosity. However, if the group is very large or diffuse then the group's norm may not be as powerful an influence on each member of the group. Very small groups can also be guided by particular social norms—for example, a ten-person women's microfinance group may develop norms (e.g., regarding typical lending interactions and desirable cooperative behavior). Because these norms apply to a small group that occupies a smaller portion of each woman's life, these norms are also not as powerful an influence on that small group's behavior.

Norms that are extremely powerful are those applying to groups that are a salient feature of a person's everyday life. Thus, social norms that dictate how "men in this town" function may be more frequently activated for a man on a daily basis, more so than the norms that apply to his identity as a Colombian citizen, and more so than the norms about "women in this microfinance group" that apply to his wife, who attends a microfinance meeting every other week.

Behaviors may be motivated by the norms of more than one group. For example, the norm among mothers in many parts of Northern and Western Africa is to perform FGM on young girls before they are a marriageable age. Changing this norm among mothers so that they do not believe that other mothers approve of FGM, or that other mothers are ceasing to use FGM may not successfully stop the behavior. This is the case because, in this situation, norms governing the marriage market also play a large role in mothers' behavior. Mothers may believe that it is less socially acceptable to perform FGM *among other mothers,* but they must also consider the norms of the wider community, particularly norms governing the marriage market. Changing norms among mothers may not have any effect on what the family of the groom thinks, or the grooms themselves, who may still believe that most eligible bachelors select brides who have been cut (a descriptive norm), or *should* marry girls who have been cut (an injunctive norm). A social norms campaign to change norms for the entire community that participates in the marriage market would thus include parents of brides but also parents of grooms. Mackie (1996) shows how this was a successful campaign against footbinding in China, in which parents pledged publically that they would not bind their daughters' feet, and that they would not allow their sons to marry girls with bound feet.

Characteristics of norms determine their influence on individual and group behavior

Another way to gauge the relative power of a social norm on individual or group behavior is to assess its *central tendency* and its *dispersion*. The central tendency of a social norm is a way to refer to the location of the norm. For example, people in two different villages may perceive a norm that most girls do not attend school. In the first village, the norm refers to the fact that 45% of all girls in that village attend school; in the second village, the norm refers to the fact that 20% of all girls in that attend school. Both villages have a descriptive norm that fewer than half of all girls attend school, but in the central tendency of the second village's norm is lower than the central tendency of the norm in the first village. The descriptive norm weighs more strongly against girls' school attendance in the second village.

The dispersion of a social norm refers to how uniformly the group conforms to the norm. For example, in two communities girls may report an average of four unwanted sexual advances, but in one community the reports range from 3 to 5 sexual advances, where in another community the reports range from zero to 10. Thus, in some communities the norm may be so variable that it does not clearly or precisely describe or prescribe behaviors for the entire group. In other communities, the norm "fits the bill" for most of the group members it describes.

Norms with a clear central tendency, norms with very little variation, and norms governing a group that is salient in a person's everyday life exert the strongest influence on that person's behavior. One additional consideration is that norms guide behavior when they are salient in the situation where the behavior is enacted. Norms do not necessarily "follow" individuals into situations—norms are also properties of a situation itself. Thus, two different norms regarding how to behave as a man in a family and at work are activated in the context of the household and in the context of a workplace. This is not to say that the workplace cannot activate a man's identity as a father or husband (for example, if the workplace authority makes it clear that skills of fatherhood are useful for the job at hand).

In the case of sexual violence, it is challenging to alter social norms in the situations where violence occurs. Most marketing schemes are unlikely to have access to the moment of decision where a man forces sex upon a woman or reaches out to hit his wife. However, social norms marketing campaigns can be crafted to be relevant in that moment of decision, so that the potential perpetrator of violence thinks of the campaign's message in his moment of decision. For example, a campaign against acquaintance rape that features musical artists of sensual songs, likely to be played during sexual encounters, may have some potential to achieve relevancy in the moment of decision. By connecting artists likely to be playing in the background during sexual violence with a message that the prevalent norms in a given community are that consensual sex is the only acceptable form of sex, social norms marketing may be able to overcome some of the barriers to achieving saliency in the moment of decision.

Social norms can influence behavior despite conflicting personal opinions

Social norms are perceptions about a group, and thus they are distinct from an individual's personal beliefs and attitudes. An individual may hold personal beliefs about women's rights (e.g., that a country develops when women are granted rights), or have private attitudes that favor women's rights (e.g., positive views of political reservations for women on governing councils), but these beliefs and attitudes may conflict with the social norms that individual perceives in his local community (e.g., that most people treat women harshly, and that people think women should not be afforded rights that men have). Although it is impossible to predict what will guide an individual's behavior without knowing the exact context, research demonstrates that, particularly in public situations, individuals will behave in accordance with norms even when they privately

disagree. To extend the current example, an individual may comply with traditional harsher treatment of women or voice agreement with attacks on women's increased rights, despite his or her personal attitudes and beliefs.

Social norms can be perceived incorrectly and still influence behavior

It is critical to understand that social norms are only *perceptions* of a group's typical or desired behavior—individuals do not base their ideas about norms on representative opinion surveys or sociodemographic data. Rarely do individuals have access to an objective statistical summary of what is truly typical or desirable for their group. Thus, individuals often misperceive norms; their perceptions may be "exaggerated, outdated, or plain wrong" (Prentice, in press). Still, incorrectly perceived norms have a strong effect on behavior, because it is the *perception* of the norm that influences behavior.

There are many reasons why individuals misperceive social norms regarding their group. Descriptive norms that identify the typical behaviors of a group may be biased because some behaviors or people stand out or are discussed more often in the community. For example, sexual violence may not be widespread, but when the mayor's daughter and a popular schoolteacher are attacked, these salient episodes can create the impression that sexual violence is common in that community. (The very commonality of the act may decrease the perceived gravity of the violation—we discuss the perverse effects of descriptive norms and of social norms marketing below.)

Injunctive norms are even easier to misperceive than descriptive norms, because injunctive norms describe what community members believe to be acceptable or not, and it is difficult to gauge the internal thoughts or feelings of community members. Widespread private approval or disapproval is invisible to an individual perceiver, who may only know that she and her close friends and family disagree. Social roles that constrain people's behavior make it even more difficult to assess group members' private opinions; for example, the members of an army unit may dislike their unit's treatment of civilians, but may be constrained from speaking out due to their lower rank. For this reason, individual soldiers may never find out the extent to which their disapproval is socially shared.

Social norms can endure even when they are unpopular or believed to be dysfunctional

The failure to recognize that others privately disagree with the perceived norm is a phenomenon called *pluralistic ignorance* (Miller, Monin, & Prentice 2000). Pluralistic ignorance can account for why dysfunctional group behaviors (such as violence or discrimination) are sustained even when individuals privately disapprove of the normative behaviors: individuals do not realize the extent of private support for overturning the norm. Pluralistic ignorance can also account for the endurance of customs

that harm individuals (for example, female genital mutilation) even after many individuals in the group have been convinced of their harmfulness.

Pluralistic ignorance may be expected particularly during times of instability or social change, such as in post-conflict settings. When a situation is uncertain or is changing rapidly, individuals are unsure of what to do, and often lack the resources to respond, thus inaction becomes the descriptive norm. Individuals are unlikely to deviate from this norm since social support is relatively more critical to survival norms in times of rapid change or uncertainty, and norm deviants are socially sanctioned.

Contexts that feature a certain amount of discrepancy between group members' private attitudes and the prevailing group norms present fertile opportunities for attempts to shift social norms. For example, when many neighbors privately wish they could help women who are abused by their husbands but do not because they think that others would scold them for getting involved in the "private business" of their neighbors, a public campaign that emphasizes widespread support for getting involved should have a large effect, because people are already willing to enact the behavior (i.e. encourage their neighbor to go to the local women's center). On the other hand, when there is no private support for norm change, or when the norm is enforced by a dominant authority such as a powerful church leader or local state authority, attempts to shift social norms grow more complicated.

(B) Changing Social Norms

The success of efforts to shift social norms depend on the characteristics of social norms that we reviewed in the previous section: whether the norm is descriptive or injunctive, the kind of social group to which the norm applies, the way that the norm describes the average tendency or the uniformity of the group's attitudes or behavior, whether the norm is misperceived or whether there is private dissent against the norm. It is important to keep in mind that norms have the strongest influence on behavior when they are perceived to have a clear central tendency, with little variation (dispersion), when they describe a group that is valued by the individual, and when they are relevant to the context in which the individual is acting. All social norms marketing interventions should consider these principles of social norms.

Targeting social norms is a wise approach to changing enduring patterns of behavior especially when more formal (such as legal) and resource-dependent mechanisms are unavailable. Resource-intensive interventions might change the *actual* descriptive norms, for example by increasing the proportion of girls in a village who attend school. Social norms interventions, in contrast, attempt to change group members' *perception* of the social norm. Shifted perceptions of which attitudes and behaviors are typical or desirable can influence actual behaviors and, down the line, the *actual* descriptive norm. The difference is that social norms interventions are cheaper and have the potential to reach a greater number of people—for example, social norms marketing uses mass media campaigns, which are relatively cheaper than education programs delivered in classrooms

or small discussion groups (such as those used by Program H, described below) and have a widespread appeal.

What should be the target of norm change campaigns?

Interventions to change social norms can choose to target perceptions of what is typical or desirable (descriptive or injunctive norms), and can aim to change the perceived location (the central tendency) of the norm or the perceived dispersion (uniformity) of the norm. The current academic consensus is that interventions are wisest to target injunctive norms, and that attacking the perceived central tendency or dispersion of the norm will be differentially useful in different contexts, but that they should not be attacked simultaneously. Below, we describe examples of each, and why some strategies are better than others across different practical contexts.

Target injunctive norms rather than descriptive norms

An intervention aimed at changing a descriptive norm regarding levels of an unwanted behavior uses a message describing a level of behavior that is lower than the currently norm; for example, "most men in this community only have two drinks at the end of the day."[8] An intervention aimed at changing that community's injunctive norm would use a different message, like "men in this community don't support drinking to get drunk," or it might feature a prominent well-liked man from the community with the message "real men don't believe we should drink to get drunk." Messages about injunctive norms are more likely to produce behavioral change, for a few reasons. First, messages about injunctive norms are more difficult to disconfirm through observation than messages about descriptive norms. Individuals, particularly in small communities, can see that men are drinking many more than two drinks at the end of the day. They cannot observe, on the other hand, the private attitudes of the drinkers.

Second, injunctive norms ban or discourage behavior, whereas descriptive norms set a standard that acts as a magnet (Schultz, Nolan, Cialdini, Goldstein, & Griskevicius 2007). Consider the message that most men only have two drinks. What if two drinks is enough for some men to get drunk, and to beat their wives? What about the men who do not drink—after hearing this message they may feel abnormal for abstaining, and may strive to meet this new norm of two drinks per night. A new descriptive norm message may actually alert some members of the community to an unhealthy norm they were not aware of before, or to a new level of the behavior (e.g., "moderate abuse") that is actually higher than their own current level of behavior. In short, it is very difficult to pick a descriptive norm that will be a) believable and b) appropriate for all members of the

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[8] In another example, the organization Promundo sought to change an injunctive norm in its activities around the "International Day to Eliminate Violence Against Women." Its promotional materials featured the slogan: "A man who is a man does not beat a woman," with a picture below depicting a man handing a woman a flower. This poster did not seek to change perceptions of a descriptive norm, but instead to change the injunctive norms as informed by perceptions of masculinity.

community. Injunctive norms must also be acceptable to the public—they must not be so severe in their prescription that community members reject them (an extreme illustration is "men in this community think that there should be no drinking").

As mentioned previously, messages aimed at norm change should be salient in the situations where they are relevant for behavior. To establish a different norm about drinking for men, programmers should try to make that message salient in the drinking situation, or directly prior to the drinking situation, and in situations where drinking partners are around. Another example involves norms of help seeking for targets of GBV. If women tend to go to the market alone (as in many cultures they do), and if a social norms marketing campaign seeks to promote a community norm that encourages help-seeking behavior, promoting that message through pamphlets distributed at the market may achieve salience in an abused woman's one venture outside alone – perhaps her only opportunity to seek help.[9]

Maintaining the salience of the message is also advantageous, by using multiple strategies of communication, or reinforcement using prominent community members. For example, the Soul City social marketing program in South Africa uses television and radio dramas as well as leaflets distributed through newspapers and social networks. Promoting the positive social norm through a variety of media can create the impression of a groundswell supporting the positive norm. If an individual hears on television and radio and sees on pamphlets and billboards community endorsement of the idea that men and women should have equal power in relationships, the individual is aware that many other members of the community are being exposed to this idea. This perception that "everyone is hearing about this" increases the likelihood that an individual will believe that the idea is known and endorsed by community members.[10]

In some cases it is strategic to mobilize a new norm; in other cases, to weaken a negative norm

The choice between attacking a norm's perceived central tendency and a norm's perceived dispersion is essentially a choice between mobilizing a norm's influence and weakening a norm's influence. When a message addresses the central tendency of a norm, it directs an individual's attention to the norm's new location. For example, in a community where female genital mutilation is prevalent, a campaign might seek to move

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[9] Distributing pamphlets encouraging help-seeking behavior can, however, be a dangerous endeavor. When women keep the pamphlet, with or without seeking help, their abusers may discover it and that discovery could trigger further abuse. Special care is therefore essential in encouraging help-seeking behavior, as noted in more depth in other sections of this report.

[10] Endorsements of "community members" will only be credible if social norms marketers have done their homework by identifying models or actual community members who are perceived to be typical or desirable by the targeted population. There will never be an "off the shelf" norms marketing campaign because messages must be perceived to come from the local context. This is a challenge for social norms marketing when the production facilities (including script writers, actors, and producers) are not located near the targeted community. Writers and actors should come from those communities so that they will be as recognizable as possible to the targeted audience. Establishing a recording studio or publishing press, or finding talented and local writers may be more difficult in conflict-affected areas.

the location of the injunctive norm by convincing community members that most people privately believe it is a harmful practice. This strategy seeks to mobilize a new injunctive norm against FGM. Unfortunately this new norm may be too extreme to be credible – the practice's very prevalence speaks to the fact that some community members must support it. Instead, an effective social norms marketing campaign in this context might seek to weaken the norm's influence by advertising the fact that *some* people in the community believe FGM is wrong. This strategy seeks to increase the existing norm's perceived dispersion, so as to support any private doubts already held by community members. Where a campaign convinces a mother already hesitant about the practice that others in the community agree with her that the practice is wrong, that campaign may be successful in encouraging the mother to act on her privately held attitude and refuse to subject her daughter to the practice.[11] Other ways to weaken a norm's perceived dispersion include giving community members a platform to speak out against the norm, or conducting an opinion poll and publicizing the results to show that many fewer people support the norm than previously thought.

In sum, interventions that target injunctive norms and the perceived dispersion of the status quo norms have the most theory and evidence amassed to show that they can work. Interventions that target descriptive norms by proclaiming a "new" norm may fail because they are not believable (individuals' personal experience disconfirms it) or because they proclaim a new, more moderate level of attitude or behavior that actually represents an increase for some members of the community. Descriptive norms act like magnets, whereas injunctive norms act like bans. Descriptive norms may pull some behaviors down from their high levels, but pull up the incidence of behaviors among other members of the community. By contrast, injunctive norms make it clear to all members of the community that the particular behavior is not welcome.

Norm change is particularly likely in homogenous, tightly knit groups in which there is private dissent against the current norm

There are several circumstances that increase the chances of success of a norm change intervention. Norm change is difficult in large, heterogeneous, and very mobile communities where membership is often shifting. Social norms are most likely to affect behavior when individuals know that the norm will be enforced by people who are present in their everyday lives. In heterogeneous communities, individuals may follow the norms of smaller sub-communities, or may know that breaking a social norm will not result in sanctions from community members who live nearby, who matter to them, or who are often physically present. Thus, social norm interventions should be calibrated to social groups that are cohesive, important to their members, and salient in many aspects of the individuals' lives.

When there is some degree of private disagreement with an existing norm, attempts to change that norm will be more successful. Social norm campaigns to "license" behavior

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[11] As noted elsewhere in this review, however, acting on privately held beliefs often requires more than a perception that others in the community share one's beliefs. Particularly in the context of FGM, perceptions of the marriage market may be essential to actually eliminating or reducing the practice.

that is privately desired but that is proscribed by a norm are much more successful than attempts to motivate behaviors that are proscribed by private opinions and by social norms. For example, a campaign that aims to change social norms by licensing people to report a neighbor's domestic abuse may be relatively successful in changing perceptions of social norms. People have multiple reasons to want to report a neighbor's abuse, including concern for the abused spouse and her children, concern that impunity for abusers encourages further abuse throughout the community, and even simple concern for peace and quiet. However, individuals wishing to report abuse may be constrained by a perceived social norm that violence in the home is a private affair. A social norms campaign aiming to change the injunctive norm, promoting the idea that "in this community, violence anywhere is a community affair," may license the individual privately inclined to report abuse to do so.

By contrast, motivating behavioral change when people privately agree with a dysfunctional norm is much more difficult. In this case, norm change interventions do well to include an educational campaign that attempts to shift private opinion against the reigning norm, by explaining, for example, the harmful effects of that norm. Mackie (1996) documents that this kind of education and norm change combination campaign was successful at ending footbinding in China. Parents were educated about how footbinding was bad for their daughters' health, and they worked to establish a new norm against footbinding by forming parental associations that pledged not to bind their daughters' feet or to allow their sons to marry bound women. The associations created a new descriptive norm, but also increased the dispersion of the existing norm, by showing other parents that some parents disagreed with footbinding.

It is necessary to replace an old norm with a new one

A successfully weakened norm will rebound if a new one does not replace it. Norms exist for a reason: they provide the rules for how to belong to a group. Given that people feel a need for belonging, weakening a norm leaves a void that should be filled by a newer positive norm. Many domestic abuse interventions, for example, use skills training and relationship modeling to provide couples with a model of healthy relationship strategies following programming that seeks to disrupt dysfunctional ideas about what is typical or desirable in a relationship.

Norms campaigns should "channel" individuals into opportunities to act on the new norm

A final condition that ensures the long-term success of a norm change campaign is the connection of the social norms to an outlet that facilitates the newly normative behavior. Psychologists call these outlets 'channel factors.' Channel factor is a term for any feature of a context that makes it easy for individuals to act out a social norm. Channel factors quite literally channel people into, for example, services, activities, or social support networks. A campaign that is conducted with channel factors is more enduring because it

both changes perceptions of the norm and makes it easier for people to behave in accordance with the new norm.

An example of a channel factor is Soul City's promotion of a hotline in its series promoting social norms that discourage gender based violence and support help-seeking behavior. The hotline referred callers directly to service providers. This program is discussed in more detail in Section III below, but it is also worth noting that a campaign that included such a hotline could further take advantage of channel factors by placing stickers with the phone number in places where abused women might be able to make a phone call for help, such as in a payphone near a market frequented by women without their partners, in a women's center (perhaps one used for microcredit programs focused on women), or in schools where women work as teachers. Such targeted promotion of the hotline number, meant to be seen at a moment when a woman can pick up a phone without her abusive partner hovering nearby, could be one effective channel factor in a campaign that seeks to assist the audience to carry out the behaviors recommended by the new social norm.

In conflict affected areas, social norms marketing as well as any other intervention should be careful not to channel individuals into poorly-resourced or dysfunctional services, a point to which we return in the section on "perverse effects" of social norms marketing.

Types of social norms marketing techniques

Social norms marketing is a globally popular type of behavior and attitude change campaign that uses traditional marketing techniques to alter perceptions of descriptive and injunctive norms. Many, but not all, of the existing campaigns are based on the theoretical ideas outlined above regarding the power of social norms.

Social norms marketing uses several different media for the transmission of its messages. A central feature of social norms marketing campaigns is the promotion of messages about norms using mass media, including print media (newspapers, billboards, flyers, flags and pins), radio and television public service announcements, music and soap opera dramas, internet campaigns (email, Facebook), and cellular texting campaigns.[12]

Many successful social norms marketing campaigns use entertainment

Social norms marketing content often uses an entertainment format, including pop songs, music videos, and soap operas. This kind of programming is also called "education-entertainment" marketing, or "edutainment." Edutainment has been used to target norms regarding health, agricultural, democratic, cooperative, and gender-

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[12] For example, a recent SMS campaign to pass around messages against gender violence in Africa: http://www.wougnet.org/Alerts/speakoutgenderviolence.html.

normative behaviors. The logic of the program is to attract a large audience with quality entertainment, while weaving in "educational" messages that can pertain to facts (e.g., regarding social services available to women) or norms (e.g., regarding the desirability of equal rights for men and women).

An advantage conferred by the entertainment format is that programmers can select actors or singers who represent typical or desirable models for the targeted social group. Messages describing behaviors as typical or desirable for a particular community are thought to be even more effective when they are delivered by actors or singers who represent a typical or desirable community member. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that the audience's emotional identification with edutainment characters facilitates their acceptance of the messages these characters deliver (Perse & Rubin 1989).

Social norms marketing is often paired with other influence and communication strategies

Social norms marketing is often augmented by interpersonal communication, such as discussion groups, peer-to-peer role models or counselors, speeches, public forums or demonstrations, participatory theater or photography. Social norms marketers also include educational campaigns or consciousness-raising campaigns meant to educate people about the concepts involved in gender based violence, for example, the definition of intimate partner abuse. In this report we focus on social norms marketing that uses mass media, but we do not exclude programs that integrate other activities into their overall campaign.

In many cases we note drawbacks to, or perverse effects of, these additional forms of norm campaigning. For example, awareness-raising campaigns are needed when the community knows very little about an issue, or does not report any private support for changing a currently dysfunctional norm. However, many awareness-raising campaigns inadvertently communicate information about a descriptive norm; for example, "Rape is a big problem in the DRC—it is happening everywhere!" In this instance, the descriptive norm makes rape seem typical, with the implication that it is expected, less serious a violation, and so forth.

We categorize the social norms marketing programs in this review according to the place of social norms marketing within the given GBV intervention. First, where social norms marketing is *central*, use of mass media (in addition to other techniques) to target perceptions of social norms that influence GBV is the primary focus of the intervention. Second, social norms marketing that is *peripheral* focuses primarily on other interventions but incorporates some elements of social norms marketing such as billboard campaigns or brief radio spots. Third, programs that give equal attention to social norms

marketing and other forms of intervention (such as peer-to-peer discussion groups) are *equal emphasis* programs.[13]

Assessing previous research and evaluation of social norms marketing interventions

We adopt a widely accepted (though not uncontested) view on the hierarchy of research designs that can produce evidence of the *causal* impact of a social norms marketing program. We favor evaluations that use randomized controlled trials (although we found none of these for programs addressing gender based violence) and strong quasi-experimental designs that utilize pre and post-tests along with reasonably comparable non-intervention control groups. We also favor evidence of impact that is measured by surveys directly gauging social norms in addition to attitudes or beliefs,[14] and by naturalistic observations of actual behavior.

Across the entire body of literature on the *impact* of social norms marketing, there is quality research on marketing programs aimed at norms regarding HIV and reproductive health, which is relevant to sexual violence and gendered inequalities in power and resources. There is a small amount of research on social norms marketing that promotes reconciliation or cooperation following a conflict, which is relevant to all types of social norms marketing in conflict-affected areas. Unfortunately, there is a great gap in the research literature with respect to measuring the impact of GBV social marketing programs.

III.   Case Studies: The Impact of Social Norms Marketing on Gender Based Violence

The present review of GBV interventions is different from others in a few important ways. First, unlike other studies, this study provides a description of the intervention as informed by social norms theory. Wherever possible, we identify the social norms targeted by the intervention and place the intervention's overall strategy within the social norms theory described in Section II above. Second, this review describes and, where applicable, critiques the impact measures used from the perspective of what those impact measures tell us about social norms and their evolution and influence on the target audience over time. Third, this review examines the results reported by each intervention in light of method of data collection and analysis used – highlighting the weaknesses of the studies but also emphasizing the correlations that may legitimately be claimed by the interventions and their potential significance. In Section IV, we will combine this review

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[13] See Appendix I for an abridged table detailing social norms marketing interventions in each of these categories. A detailed version of the table in Appendix I is available for download at: betsylevypaluck.com.
[14] While social norms marketing seeks to shift social norms, surprisingly few evaluations actually follow up on this goal by asking target audiences to report their perceptions of normative behaviors. Most evaluations only inquire about personal attitudes, which may not change as a result of social norms marketing even when the marketing produces behavior change (Paluck, 2009).

of the evaluations with what is known in the literature regarding social norms marketing in general, to extrapolate lessons learned for future programming and evaluation.

There is a limited literature available assessing the impact of social norms marketing aimed at decreasing gender based violence. The most extensive previous review of social norms marketing to combat GBV is found within a broader review of programs promoting "gender based equity in health" that were specifically aimed at men and boys (World Health Organization 2007). The review included fifteen programs addressing GBV: eight "group education," three "community outreach, mobilization, and mass media campaigns," and four "integrated" programs (i.e. a combination of the other two categories). These classifications aggregate social norms marketing with all other forms of community outreach. The study focused on sexual and reproductive health, fatherhood, GBV, maternal and newborn health, and "gender socialization." It classified programs as gender neutral, gender sensitive, or gender transformative and found that gender-transformative programs were more likely than others to be "effective at changing male attitudes" (World Health Organization 2007, 4-5).[15]

The World Health Organization review does not provide an adequate basis to assess the impact of social norms marketing in particular because it combined social norms marketing with other community-based interventions. Its conclusion that gender-transformative programs are most effective points to the importance of targeting not just attitudes but also broader social norms. Barker et al. also conclude that programs that include many intervention mechanisms, such as "community outreach, mobilization, and mass media campaigns show more effectiveness in producing behavior change" (World Health Organization 2007, 5). The measures of behavior change were different in each program, and often subject to significant shortcomings, but the review does highlight the potential of social norms marketing to bring about attitudinal and behavior change.

Of all the social norm marketing interventions reviewed for this report (listed and summarized in the table in Appendix I), we discovered that many do not rely on theories of or research on social norms, and others have never evaluated their programming. Many existing evaluations are uninformative for the goals of knowing whether an intervention had a causal effect on its targeted audience.

This section describes the three interventions with the most robust social norms marketing agenda and with the largest body of evaluation research speaking to their impact. These three interventions include: Soul City (South Africa), *Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales* (We Are Different, We Are Equal) (Nicaragua), and Program H (Brazil, Mexico, and India). All three of these programs have been operational for more than three years, utilize multi-media social norms marketing techniques, and focus to a

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[15] Gender-neutral programs do not address gender roles, gender-sensitive programs are built on the assumption that different genders have different needs, and "[g]ender-transformative approaches seek to promote more gender-equitable relationships between men and women. Such programmes show in their programme descriptions that they seek to critically reflect about, question or change institutional practices and broader social norms that create and reinforce gender inequality and vulnerability for men and women." (World Health Organization 2007, 4, 11)

significant degree on reducing gender based violence. All three also include a focus on decreasing HIV/STI transmission, and each intervention has been evaluated extensively by the sponsoring non-governmental organization and by external consultants.

None of the evaluations are perfect, but each contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the possibilities and pitfalls of social norms marketing as an intervention to reduce GBV. Collectively, the case studies highlight the importance of baseline studies, careful interventions targeting injunctive norms and the perceived uniformity of descriptive norms, and the importance of evaluating programs in terms of not only personal attitudes but also social norms. These and other lessons from the case studies will be further discussed in Section IV below.

(A)   Soul City (South Africa)

Soul City is the most well developed and studied edutainment program targeting gender norms through a weekly drama that portrays characters enduring and confronting GBV, among other social problems. Soul City is produced and disseminated by the South African Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, an organization that focuses on reducing HIV transmission and violence, particularly through decreasing alcohol abuse. Soul City is the Institute's keynote project and is "South Africa's premier edutainment project."[16] The Institute's work focuses on social norms marketing through Soul City as well as a children's program called Soul Buddyz, a community make-over television series, and a television series aimed at reducing concurrent sexual partners.[17]

Soul City has now run for 10 seasons. A one-year series typically includes:[18]

- 13 one-hour episodes of a prime-time television series;
- 45 fifteen-minute radio drama episodes;
- Three booklets distributed at the end of the series; and,
- An "advertising/publicity campaign" on related topics.

The Soul City program and set of evaluations contain several important lessons for social norms marketing campaigns targeted at gender based violence. The highly popular drama series is correlated with more positive perceptions of social norms and with self-reported behaviors. These findings, unfortunately, rest on self-reported exposure and self-reported behavior, both of which are unreliable measures (e.g., Prior 2010). But without knowing whether the program did have a causal effect on behavior, it is clear that the program is well positioned to change behavior. The program is notable for its specific behavioral recommendations for how to respond to GBV, and for its use of channel factors to guide people into services to address the effects of GBV. The evidence for the success of this channel factor is relatively strong and positive. Even aspects of the Soul

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[16] http://www.soulcity.org.za/about-us/soul-city-edutainment-model.

[17] http://www.soulcity.org.za/about-us.

[18] http://www.soulcity.org.za/projects/soul-city-series/soul-city-series-4/soul-city-series-4-1

City evaluation that were uninformative about the program's causal impact provided useful evidence, for example focus group evidence that revealed men were interpreting messages about GBV in unintended ways (for example, that norms against rape were mostly important for avoiding HIV). Soul City is also an informative case for its cost analysis, which provides information on the cost effectiveness of single vs. multi-media campaign outreach.

In the subsections below, we review each of the Soul City series that included significant GBV message components. We focus primarily of Series 4, because it focused primarily on GBV, but also include brief sections on Series 3, 5, and 7. For each series, we describe the GBV-related plot of the series *in light of social norms theory* and then examine the evaluations of the series to report results and critique the studies, also with a particular emphasis on what the evaluations reveal (or fail to reveal) about social norms.

Series 4 promotes positive injunctive norms, weakens negative descriptive norms

Soul City typically *targets injunctive norms*, for example, by portraying neighbors who disapprove of a man who beats his wife, thereby communicating the message *"People in this community think that there should not be domestic abuse."* Because Soul City targets the general population rather than a specific identity group, the meaning of "this community" is very diffuse. This is a challenge for social norms marketing since, as reviewed above, influential norms are norms that belong to personally important groups. Groups are likely to be more personally important when they are more distinctive than a national identity. South Africa's diverse society makes it particularly difficult to target a social norms message to the entire population; most South Africans prioritize identities based on smaller sub-communities rather than on the large community of "South Africans."

Soul City also seeks to *replace an old norm with a new one* by modeling desirable community responses to domestic violence. For example, Series 4 portrays neighbors speaking out against domestic violence in the community by banging pots and pans in protest of a neighbor beating his wife. Series 4 also sought to *channel individuals into opportunities to act on the new norm*, particularly by supporting and advertising a national GBV hotline.

Soul City Series 4, aired in 1999, focuses more than any other series on gender based violence, specifically domestic and intimate partner violence. GBV is addressed in every episode except for the first, which serves to introduce the characters. Most of the exposition of the GBV occurs through the character of Matlakala, who is the wife of the emotionally and physically abusive man Thabang. The show portrays both negative and positive descriptive norms regarding domestic violence. On the negative side, the show depicts nonconsensual sex between a boyfriend and a girlfriend that is not recognized as abuse by males, sexual harassment of female secretaries by their bosses, attitudes of husbands and boyfriends that they are "captain of his own ship," and that women are the property of men and "deserve a slap" sometimes. Women are also pictured as facilitators

of domestic abuse, for example by advising Matlakala, the abused wife, that it is her duty to make the marriage work and that anything occurring between a man and wife is a "private affair."

The show promotes new injunctive norms against domestic violence, and uses important characters to weaken existing descriptive norms about the banality and frequency of domestic abuse. The show promotes new injunctive norms by portraying neighbors who disapprove of domestic abuse, and who demonstrate their disapproval by banging pots when they overhear Thabang beating his wife. They also promote new injunctive norms against domestic violence as recognized by women characters on the show, such as the friends of a girl who is forced into sex by her boyfriend, and women who reject their role as a "man's property" and go into business together. The show relies heavily on prominent characters (characters with status in their community such as the local police chief and a community elder) to weaken existing norms of domestic violence by speaking their minds against domestic violence. For example, the father of Matlakala gives her shelter when she is abused by her husband and fights to see his son-in-law prosecuted; the community police chief pledges to implement the terms of South Africa's Domestic Violence Act; finally, a magistrate eventually convicts the abusive husband.[19]

Soul City Series 4 collaborated with the National Network on Violence Against Women to establish and promote a hotline for victims of domestic violence and advocate for policy change to combat domestic violence in South Africa. The helpline offered crisis counseling and referrals to community-based service providers (Scheepers 2001-b, 8). The number of the hotline was displayed each episode, and Episode 6 featured Matlakala calling a women's organization for help after being abused by her husband. This kind of action has the potential to weaken an existing injunctive norm that women should keep domestic violence a private affair.

Evaluation of Series 4: National pre- and post-surveys and sentinel site studies

The Soul City Series 4 evaluation used a national survey conducted before the series aired and 9 months after baseline. The baseline and follow up surveys, each roughly comprised of 2,000 respondents, were two separate random samples (individuals were not followed over time). Soul City did follow certain "sentinel sites" over time, specifically one urban and rural location in which interviews of a sample of 500 people are conducted at baseline, during the programming, and after the series' conclusion (Scheepers 2001-a, 4). Soul City also evaluated their collaboration with the National Network on Violence Against Women, focused primarily on the results of the advocacy campaign to improve the legal framework for domestic violence in South Africa and measures of community mobilization surrounding domestic violence.[20]

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[19] All plotline information from Soul City Series 4 – The Story, http://www.soulcity.org.za/projects/soul-city-series/soul-city-series-4/tv-story.
[20] Because the NNVAW evaluation focused primarily on the advocacy campaign, rather than the social norms marketing campaign, we do not review that evaluation here.

Survey instrument measured personal attitudes and social norms

The national and sentinel site surveys focused on: (1) "knowledge and awareness of content themes;" (2) practices, behavior, and intended behavior; (3) personal attitudes; (4) "interpersonal or social influence;" (5) perception of risk of negative health outcomes; (6) "self efficacy;" and (7) "barriers to behavior change." All survey participants were asked about their level of exposure to Soul City; because participants had decided whether or not to pay attention to Soul City, the survey attempted to control for likely differences between followers of the program and non followers by asking questions about participants' background, their media habits, and information sources about health and violence against women (Scheepers 2001-a, 29-29; Scheepers 2001-b, 15-53).

The survey measured self-reported personal attitudes and behaviors as well as individual perceptions of social norms. For example, the survey asked the following questions (among others) about personal attitudes and behaviors regarding domestic violence:

- "Do you personally think that domestic violence is a serious problem?"
- "Have you, or anyone close to you, been abused by a husband or a boyfriend?"
- "In the past 6-7 months, have you talked to anybody about domestic violence?"
- "What did you do on an occasion when you or someone close to you was abused?"

The survey also asked questions about social norms regarding domestic violence, including the following:

- "Do people in your community think it is culturally acceptable for a man to beat his wife?"
- "Do your friends believe that women who wear short skirts are asking for men to touch them or make sexual remarks?"
- "Does most of your community believe that violence between a man and his wife are a private matter?

Mixed results: Some shifting social norms & behavior change

With respect to social norms, the survey results are mixed. People who chose to listen to the Soul City radio drama were more likely to perceive an injunctive norm that abused women should not tolerate abuse, and descriptive norms that their community shared their personal beliefs that domestic violence is not a private matter, that a man who beats his wife has no good reason to do so, and that no woman ever deserves to be beaten. The surveys observed no effect of choosing to watch Soul City on perceived injunctive norms stating that it is not culturally appropriate for a man to beat a wife, and on other perceptions of social norms regarding the appropriateness of sexual harassment.

The survey reported no negative effects of Soul City in terms of a backlash, and several other positive effects regarding self-reported awareness of domestic violence, sexual harassment, and laws against such behaviors; self-reported discussion and willingness to talk about or do something to address these problems; and self-reported behavior of reporting sexual harassment to the authorities.

There was a consistent correlation between Soul City exposure and support-seeking and support-giving behavior for domestic violence. The evaluation could not assess the relationship between Soul City exposure and change in abusive behavior, since very few individuals reported personal experience with domestic violence (Scheepers 2001-b,18-19).

The evaluation wisely sought to measure specific behaviors that were recommended by the Soul City program. Anecdotal reports indicated some communities adopted the pot-banging response indicating disapproval of domestic violence featured on Episode 6. Unfortunately, it does not seem as though the survey was able to record these anecdotes in a more systematic manner. One reason may be because the survey asked outright whether people would be willing to bang pots in response to domestic violence—at baseline, even before the pot-banging episode had aired, study participants indicated they were willing. A more reliable indicator might have asked an open-ended question about which actions neighbors take in response to observations of domestic violence in the community (Scheepers 2001-b, 75).

Even stronger behavioral evidence of the program's effect was that traffic to the violence against women hotline was dramatically higher on Thursdays, the day the show aired, than on other days. Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday had the highest call-in rates, with calls decreasing in volume each day removed from the show's airing (Scheepers 2001-b, 80). It is possible that some of the weekend hotline calling was due to abusive spouses being home more on the weekends, and drinking more on the weekends, leading to more abuse. However, the high rate of calls on Thursdays is likely indicative of some impact of the Series' promotion of the number on television.[21] Demonstrating the link between exposure to Soul City and calling, the evaluation survey showed a significant correlation between exposure and self-reports of writing down or keeping the hotline number (Scheepers 2001-b, 79).

A media analysis indicated that there was an "increase in the public debate [about themes of Soul City 4] in the media" during the Soul City 4 airing period (Scheepers 2001-b, 88). While there is no pre-intervention data, the consistent upward trend in media coverage from June 1999 through December 1999, in the absence of other confounding factors, is an encouraging suggestion of the partnership's influence on public discourse. Qualitative data supported this inference (Scheepers 2001-b, 94).

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[21] It is also worth noting that the higher volume on Thursdays may simply indicate a higher number of inappropriate calls to the hotline, as most incoming calls received a busy signal.

Cost-effectiveness study reveals very small per person costs

Soul City assessed the cost-effectiveness of its programming based on retroactive staff reporting and costs allocated to Series 4 over three financial years. The study compared financial costs to outcome measures of awareness, knowledge, attitudes, and self-reported action related to domestic violence from the national survey.[22]

The cost per-person exposed to a violence against women message was estimated to be 12 U.S. cents for television, 1 U.S. cent for radio, and 7 U.S. cents for print (Scheepers 2001-b, 96). The report also broke down costs according to types of outcomes: awareness was priced at 18 U.S. cents, knowledge at 16 U.S. cents, attitudes at 22 U.S. cents, and self-reported action at $6.92 (Scheepers 2001-b, 98). The cost-analysis also indicated that while multi-media exposure was beneficial, single medium exposure to a greater number of people was more cost-effective (Scheepers 2001-b, 99).

Soul City Series 5, 3, and 7 target injunctive norms

Soul City Series 5 focused in part on rape. The series was conceived after a period of background research using focus group discussions about how communities perceived descriptive and injunctive social norms surrounding rape—the typicality and the relative acceptability of rape. Focus groups indicated that rape, while common, does not lead to outrage except in cases of child rape. Focus groups indicated that injunctive norms against rape were not so strong as to be socially consequential, given the many acceptable excuses for rape, and the descriptive norms about rape that excluded the possibility that rape happened between intimates.[23]

As a result, Series 5 focused on promoting injunctive norms against intimate partner rape and against masculinity as defined by controlling the sexual behavior of women. The show also attempted to portray new descriptive norms, for example by showing people who believe that coerced sex is rape, that sex without force is "fun," and by showing communities that speak out about rape and take care of women and children.

Series 3 focused on alcohol abuse and violence against women. The show portrays negative descriptive norms of men's heavy drinking habits, which female characters do not like. It also portrays how drinking leads to abuse. While various characters agree and disagree with norms regarding alcohol use and abuse, the show ends by portraying a widespread injunctive norm against violence perpetrated on women when one of the abused women organizes a successful march to protest violence against women.[24]

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[22] Responses indicating positive outcomes (such as calling the domestic violence hotline and/or saying that domestic violence in unacceptable) were un-weighted, meaning that "two individuals answering one question correctly is of equal importance as one individual answering two questions correctly" and that attitude and action responses are weighted equally. Scheepers 2001-b, 10.

[23] http://www.soulcity.org.za/projects/soul-city-series/soul-city-series-5/message-brief.

[24] Soul City 3 – Story Synopsis, available at: http://www.soulcity.org.za/projects/soul-city-series/soul-city-series-1-3/soul-city-series-3/tv-story/view.

Finally, Series 7 attempted to weaken an injunctive norm against men seeking help for their alcohol problems, when one of the male leads joins a support group.[25]

Series 5, 3, and 7 provide limited, anecdotal evidence of attitudinal change

The evaluation of Series 5 included only focus group discussions with participants selected on the basis of their self-selected exposure to Soul City (Social Surveys 2002, 7).[26] These discussions provide anecdotes of audience members shifting their perceptions of rape; however, the data were not coded in any systematic way and it is not clear whether these anecdotes were at all representative. Other anecdotes suggest various other increases that are difficult to interpret as strong evidence of program impact, such as increases in women's sense of their own authority, understanding that victims are not to blame for rape, a sense of responsibility to report rape as a victim or witness, and so forth (Social Surveys 2002, 16-18). One unintended consequence noted from these focus groups was that several men internalized the anti-rape message as primarily important for the purpose of avoiding HIV infection (Social Surveys 2002, 18).

The Series 3 Evaluation, which focused in part on the messages about alcohol abuse and domestic violence, was conducted by the Community Agency for Social Research under contract with Soul City Institute ("Series 3 Evaluation", 1). The evaluation consisted of studies in four sites, and included surveys of approximately 200 people, focus groups, and in-depth interviews with community leaders. The baseline survey was conducted in August 1997 before Series 3 aired; the post-intervention study was conducted with a separate set of participants in November 1997 after its conclusion.

The quantitative data is limited to descriptive statistics, as well as some testimonials, including some from men who spoke of changed attitudes toward domestic violence as a result of the show (("Series 3 Evaluation", 14). The surveys indicated that Soul City 3 viewers were more likely than those who did not have exposure to Soul City 3 to believe that alcohol abuse was related to violence and that beating one's partner was a form of violence (("Series 3 Evaluation", 13); it is unclear whether these differences are statistically significant, and also whether it is attributable to Soul City or to the preexisting beliefs of the Soul City audience.

Series 7 focused to a large extent on HIV, but its evaluation also provided anecdotes from men that their attitudes regarding domestic violence had changed over the duration of the show (Soul City Institute 2007, 4). The full evaluation consisted of a national panel of 1,500 people (a single cohort) surveyed in 2004, 2005, and 2006 (Soul City Institute

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[25] This series is more heavily focused on HIV/ AIDS awareness and behavioral change: Soul City 7 TV Episode Synopsis, available at: http://www.soulcity.org.za/projects/soul-city-series/soul-city-series-7/tv-story

[26] Specifically, participants who viewed at least five of seven television episodes dealing with rape or HIV, those who listened to all or most radio episodes, or those who watched three TV episodes along with "some" radio episodes.

2007, 7); it reports mostly strong correlations between Soul City exposure and self-reported attitudes and behaviors regarding HIV.[27]

Conclusions on Soul City: Correlation between edutainment and positive change in individual attitudes and perceptions of social norms

The overall trouble with interpreting the results of the Soul City studies comes from the fact that most of the findings are based on self-reported (and self-selected) exposure to the radio drama, and on self-reported behaviors. Other research (Paluck 2006) has demonstrated that audiences who already agree with the messages in an edutainment program are more likely to listen and to report behavior consistent with the program. In addition, most of the baseline and post-exposure surveys are not comparable since they use different samples (for example, in the Series 4 study the baseline sample was, on average, "less employed and had less general use of the media;" in general there are probably many unobserved differences between samples). It is unclear in most studies whether changed responses indicate a trend or whether they in fact indicate different respondents with different views in different survey samples.

Still, there are important lessons to be learned from Soul City. For one, the show was a popular success, which shows that messages about serious social problems can be packaged into appealing marketing programs. Second, the surveys show that it is possible to measure social norms about gender based violence by asking people what they believe to be typical and acceptable in their community. It is comparatively more difficult to ask about personal experiences with violence; people do seem to be willing to report on perceptions of community behaviors and attitudes regarding GBV, which may in the end have more of an influence on their personal behaviors (Paluck 2009).

The Soul City program and evaluation suggests that providing specific behavioral recommendations (as opposed to simply "fight GBV!") can succeed in encouraging behaviors against GBV in the community. The pot banging in response to domestic violence in a community serves as anecdotal evidence of changes in community reaction. Additionally, we believe that Soul City's provision of behavioral channels for acting on new social norms received the strongest evidence of impact. The benefit of using behavioral channels is evident here in two ways: not only did the program manage to channel audience members into services, it provided evaluators with a very concrete way to assess whether the program was stimulating any community response to its norms messages.

With respect to evaluation, the Soul City program shows that focus groups may be better used for program development, and that understanding causal program impact

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[27] The study revealed correlations between Soul City 7 television exposure and self-reported positive attitudes and knowledge regarding HIV and AIDS (Soul City Institute 2007, 24-26). Exposure to Soul City print media was strongly correlated with increased likelihood of having an HIV test in the last year and increased likelihood of using condoms. There was no correlation between Soul City exposure and decreased patterns of concurrent sexual partners. (Soul City Institute 2007, 28-30).

would be improved with other techniques (such as quasi or randomized experiments) that can solve the issue of whether people subscribing to anti-GBV social norms tune into the program, or whether the program tunes social norms to be anti-GBV.

(B)   We Are Different, We Are Equal (Nicaragua)

The Puntos de Encuentros "We are Different, We are Equal" campaign is another widely recognized edutainment initiative targeting, among other things, norms surrounding gender based violence. Puntos de Encuentro (Spanish for "Meeting Places" or "Common Ground") is a Nicaraguan non-governmental organization that "works to promote women's and young people's human rights and daily life well-being."[28] The organization's central goal is to promote gender equity, focusing primarily on behavior change to reduce HIV transmission but also to reduce gender based violence (particularly domestic violence) and substance abuse/addiction, and to promote emergency contraception.[29]

Puntos de Encuentro uses social norms marketing through a weekly edutainment show on television, a call-in radio show, and a women's magazine. The television series *Sexto Sentido* (Sixth Sense) and the women's magazine *La Boletina*, are part of the overarching program "*Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales*" (henceforth SDSI, meaning "We Are Different, We Are Equal").[30] The television series is broadcast weekly on national commercial and local cable stations and incorporates story lines related to Puntos de Encuentros' mission. The related radio call-in show airs each night on national FM and 9 local stations, and features discussion of the week's Sexto Sentido television episode and the social issues that it raises. Three series of Sexto Sentido were broadcast on television between 2003 and 2005 (Bank et al. 2008, 23).

The organization also sponsors nightly youth call-in radio shows, youth leadership training with community leaders, and work with journalists and media outlets,[31] along with capacity and network building among organizations promoting sexual and reproductive rights and organizations working with youth (Bank et al. 2008, 3).

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[28] http://www.puntos.org.ni/english/about.php.

[29] The SDSI program grew out of a campaign to reduce gender based violence launched in the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch. Following indications that GBV was increasing in the aftermath of Hurricane Mitch in 1998, the organization launched the campaign: "Violence Against Women: A Disaster men CAN prevent." The campaign was propagated primarily through billboards, posters, and TV public service announcements. (Bradshaw 2001, 2) In the campaign, Puntos compared the data regarding the number of people affected by Hurricane Mitch with data regarding the number of women in Nicaragua affected by domestic violence. The slogan used the language of disaster in order to draw the connection between an unpreventable hurricane and preventable domestic violence. Posters included one featuring the line, "If you feel on the verge of mistreating your family . . ." and proposed actions to avoid violence, such as "take a walk and clear your mind," and avoiding alcohol. Another billboard began with the line, "An egalitarian family man . . ." and listed ways in which a man can respect his family, including avoiding violence (United Nations Development Fund for Women, 12-13).

[30] http://www.puntos.org.ni/english/about.php

[31] http://www.puntos.org.ni/english/about.php.

Evaluations of SDSI focus on attitudinal change rather than perceptions of social norms, and therefore offer only limited insight into the program's effectiveness as a social norms marketing campaign. We present this program as a negative example of focusing on attitudes rather than perceived norms in the evaluation, and as an example of the potentially destructive effects of raising the salience of negative descriptive norms for the purpose of promoting discussion. SDSI provides a positive example of using a multi-media approach to social norms marketing in order to create the perception of a groundswell around the new injunctive norm that SDSI promotes.

SDSI promotes the injunctive norm: "We should talk about sexual abuse"

From 2002-2005, Puntos de Encuentro's SDSI program used a "multi-media campaign" with the slogan "We need to be able to talk." The goal of the program was to raise taboo topics for discussion, and to encourage help-seeking behavior by promoting the injunctive norm that people in the community *should* address difficult topics like sex and violence. The campaign also included a focus on "machismo risk factors" that made men more likely to contract sexually transmitted infections or to perpetrate gender based violence. Along with radio, television, and magazine campaigns, billboards advertised the "need to talk" slogan in 17 cities in Nicaragua and identified health service providers "in each locality" so as to channel individuals into places where they could act on new norms about addressing sex and violence. The campaign also founded and published materials to guide local discussion groups. SDSI published manuals for discussion, and used some cast members of the television show Sexto Sentido to lead selected groups.

Sexto Sentido's first television series included 36 half-hour episodes, featuring six young people, including one girl who's father abuses her mother and "a young woman being pressured to marry by her controlling boyfriend." One episode featured a girl surviving rape and choosing to have an abortion as a result (Bank, Bradshaw, & Solorzano 2006, 9). In the second series, the plot also touched on familial sexual abuse. "Each story aims at challenging commonly held perceptions, revealing underlying power relations, breaking silences, and promoting discussion of taboo topics" (Bank, Bradshaw, & Solorzano 2006, 9).

SDSI promoted the injunctive norm that members of the local community should talk about sexual and other abuse. However, from the program descriptions it appears possible that the plot reinforced perceptions of negative descriptive norms, such as the perception that sexual and physical abuse are widespread problems. This is a frequent tension within awareness-raising campaigns: campaigns may emphasize the widespread nature of a taboo topic in order to encourage survivors to discuss the problem, but advertizing the commonality of a behavior can increase its perceived *normalcy*. A descriptive norm underlining the commonality of a negative behavior that is not accompanied by an injunctive norm emphasizing the disapproval of the community can license abusers to continue their violent behavior.

SDSI's impact evaluation: Relatively strong pre- and post-studies of three cohorts

Puntos de Encuentro staff and outside consultants evaluated the social norms marketing campaign. The evaluation included a quantitative, longitudinal panel survey in three research sites: three urban areas selected based upon their "differing social characteristics, including differing levels of community HIV initiatives and varying institutional capacity of the local organizations," as well as "different levels of local organizational collaboration with Puntos de Encuentro and differing intensity of SDSI implementation of non-mass media activities, such as workshops." (Bank et al. 2008, 4)[32]

Surveys were administered in each city in October 2003, 2004, and 2005, and qualitative interviews conducted concurrently with the surveys. Surveys sought to measure attitudes toward gender equality, self and group-efficacy for addressing domestic violence, and perceived control over sexual relationships. As mentioned previously, the evaluation did not directly measure perceived social norms.

Surveys sought representative samples of 1600 young people between 13-24 (as of 2003) using staged cluster sampling by block.[33] In 2003, the study included 4,567 people (a 95% response rate among those approached); 3,099 people participated in all three surveys.[34]

The surveys consisted of two parts: an oral survey conducted by a field worker examining "attitudes about gender norms and gender based violence" and a written questionnaire touching upon the most sensitive questions (including any history of sexual abuse), which was completed by the respondent and placed immediately in sealed envelope. Interviews lasted on average one hour and took place in the respondent's home. Interviewers and respondents were matched by gender (Bank et al. 2008, 14).

Survey participants reported their own exposure to the SDSI campaign. A range of 19-28% of participants in each site reported listening to Sexto Sentido radio; 55-64 % reported watching Sexto Sentido television in 2003 (Bank et al. 2008, 24). Rates of television watching grew to 72% in 2004, and dropped to 54% in 2005, possibly because of a time slot switch from Sunday evening to Sunday morning, as indicated by qualitative responses (Bank et al. 2008, 28-29). Nonetheless, by 2005 nine out of ten people surveyed were aware of the Sexto Sentido television series. The highest percentages of survey participants reported seeing the billboards (75-85%) and leaflets (66-91%) distributed by SDSI (Bank et al. 2008, 24).

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[32] The cities included in the study were: Estelí, León and Juigalpa.

[33] The study does not provide socioeconomic or other data for the sample and the census for each area to allow for verification of this claim.

[34] A total of 4,567 young people participated in the 2003 survey; in 2004 and 2005 there were totals of 3,682 and 3,366 respectively (Bank et al. 2008, 13).

Survey instruments: Gender-equity scale and power & control index

The surveys included two scales aimed at measuring the impact of SDSI: the gender-equity scale and the power and control index. The gender-equity scale focused on individual attitudes regarding heterosexual sexual relationships and gender roles. The power and control index focuses on individual behavior in heterosexual relationships. The survey also gauged "perception of the social context" with respect to gender roles and sexual relationships. Details on this measure are unavailable, which is unfortunate because they are relevant to an understanding of how the show may have shifted perceived social norms.

> *Unclear results: Unknown relationship of campaign to negative perceptions of "social context;" correlations with positive attitudes may be the result of selection bias.*

The index gauging participants' perceptions of the social context showed consistent *negative* change across the three surveys. The year-to-year trend toward more negative perceptions was statistically significant, and more pronounced among women than men (Bank et al. 2008, 22). However, changes in perceptions of the social context did not correlate with self-reported SDSI exposure (Bank et al. 2008, 23). It could be that perceptions of the social context for gender roles and sexual relationships were growing more negative, or that people were growing more comfortable reporting a negative context, but either way the data suggest that SDSI was not linked to social norms in the participants' minds.

The evaluation compared participants reporting lesser exposure to SDSI ("people who never watched Sexto Sentido, "hardly ever" watched it, or only watched one of the project's three seasons) to those reporting greater exposure ("people who watched "almost always" or "occasionally;"). [35] Higher exposure to SDSI (in television or radio) correlated with higher scores on a gender-equity impact scale. This included a decreased percentage of individuals who felt that women who carry condoms are "easy," a decreased percentage of individuals who believe that women are solely responsible for avoiding pregnancy, and a decreased percentage of individuals who believe that "women should be solely responsible for housekeeping and caring for the children" (Bank et al. 2008, 32). These results are exclusively in the domain of personal attitudes and are therefore not informative of social norms or shifts in social norms.[36]

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[35] Of the total sample, 41 percent had lesser exposure whereas 59% had greater exposure (Bank et al. 2008, 24).

[36] Higher exposure to SDSI also correlated with a 33% greater likelihood of "knowing a center that provides attention for cases of domestic violence" and a 48% greater likelihood of "having been to a center that attends to cases of domestic violence in the last six months." (Bank et al. 2008, 33) In addition, higher exposure to SDSI was also correlated with 53% greater likelihood of having spoken with someone about domestic violence in the last six months (Bank et al. 2008, 34). SDSI exposure also correlated with higher perceived self-efficacy "to do something together" (Bank et al. 2008, 23).

The impact evaluation also sought to assess self-reported behavior, finding that those with greater exposure to SDSI had a 48 percentage point greater probability than those with lower exposure of reporting that they sought service at a domestic violence service center.

Low costs for the entire multimedia campaign

Puntos de Encuentros did not attempt to calculate the cost-effectiveness of the programs, nor did it list the costs associated with the program. One source cites costs per TV episode (excluding originally infrastructure investment) at 30 U.S. cents per viewer per episode. Costs of the entire Puntos de Encuentro multimedia initiative were $2.00 per viewer (Guedes 2004).

Conclusion on Puntos de Encuentro: Evaluation shortcomings limit understanding of impact

Because the SDSI evaluation did not attempt to randomly or quasi-randomly separate a control group from the group of people who were given the opportunity to participate in their programming, it is impossible to verify the claim that the differences between participants and non-participants are in fact evidence of SDSI's impact. There are likely important differences between participants and non-participants that may influence the outcome measures. For example, participants were predominantly women, people with higher than primary education, and people without paid work (Bank et al. 2008, 26). It is possible that individuals choosing more exposure to Sexto Sentido had some pre-existing interest in the issues covered, such as personal experiences with gender based violence. As mentioned earlier, self-reports regarding how often media exposure occurs are notoriously unreliable due to desires to respond in a positive manner, biases in memory, or in the various ways people interpret response options like "occasional viewer" (Prior 2010). Finally, the analysis does not cross-check self-reported attitude or behavior changes with other data, such as utilization of service providers or reports from friends or family members.

The most dramatic lesson offered by the SDSI programming is simple: when an intervention seeks to target social norms, it should explicitly measure perceptions of those norms. Puntos de Encuentro evaluated the perceived social context, but its relative inattention to this feature of their survey and to the problem of assessing the causal impact of its program eliminates the opportunity to assess its effect on social norms. Puntos de Encuentro emphasizes that its goal is to promote "discussion of social norms" (Bank, Bradshaw, & Solorzano 2006, 22). However, as Section II demonstrated, social norms are too complex for so simple a goal – discussion can be both constructive and destructive, depending on the context. Data are not available to assess whether in this case discussions of negative descriptive norms contributed to an actual backlash against the messages of this highly creative and ambitious program.

(C)   Program H (Brazil, Mexico, India)

Program H is our third case of an intervention that targets social norms related to gender based violence, which has been the subject of extensive evaluation. Program H is a curriculum focused on reducing gender based violence by changing social norms of masculinity. Primarily a community intervention, Program H focuses on peer-to-peer education sessions facilitated by young men who are guided by Program H manuals. In some settings, these community interventions include a social norms marketing campaign to promote gender equality and reduce GBV. It was initially developed by four Latin American NGOs: Promundo, PAPAI, and ECOS (all in Brazil) along with Salud y Género (Mexico). The program was initially implemented in six cities in Latin America and the Carribean; it has since been implemented in two cities in India (Barker 2007).

Program H defines its goals as pushing men to be gender equitable. Program H defines gender-equitable men as those who: "(1) seek relationships with women based on equality and intimacy rather than conquest; (2) seek to be involved fathers; (3) assume some responsibility for reproductive health and disease prevention issues; and, (4) are opposed to violence against women." This includes men who were physically violent toward a female partner in the past but who currently believe that violence against women is not acceptable behaviour." (Barker 2003, 7-8)[37]

The peer-to-peer education session manuals cover sexual and reproductive health, violence and violence prevention (including GBV), "reasons and emotions" (including substance abuse), and fatherhood and care giving. The sessions also use videos to provoke group discussion, such as one that is a silent cartoon depicting undesirable behaviors: a young man passively witnessing violence, having unprotected sex, and contracting an STI (Barker 2003, 4). The male facilitators of the group are trained to model "gender equitable behaviors" (Barker 2003, 3). Facilitators have prior experience working as group leaders, but do not appear to be from the communities where peer-to-peer education takes place (Barker, Nascimento, Pulerwitz, & Segundo 2006, 7).

Program H's social norms marketing intervention (called a "lifestyles social marketing campaign") focuses on changing social norms surrounding masculinity.[38] The campaign includes: "radio spots, billboards, posters, postcards, dances, etc., to make it more cool and hip to be a gender-equitable man" (Barker 2003, 4). The social norms marketing materials are developed by the men who participate in the peer-to-peer workshops. For example, in the one community in Brazil, young men in the discussion groups chose the slogan *Hora H* ("in the heat of the moment"). The campaign included billboards displaying images "of young men from the same communities – acting in ways that support gender equality" (Barker 2003, 4).

We include Program H in this review both because of its widespread use in different regions of the world, its prominent place among programs discussed in the growing

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[37] The GEM Scale was tested and validated through a through community-based random household survey of 749 men between the ages of 15-60 (Barker, Nascimento, Pulerwitz, & Segundo 2006, 5).

[38] The campaign is promoted in collaboration with the makers of Durex condoms.

global literature on targeting *male* audiences to reduce GBV, and, in particular, the way in which its social marketing techniques are consistent with many of the principles of social norms theory. While Program H has been evaluated in more than one of the locations where it has been operative (including places where different variations of the program were tested along with a no-program control group), the evaluation is not informative for those interested in gauging social norm change and behavioral change. Program H is evaluated primarily with a self-report scale called the GEM scale, which focuses more on personal attitudes than on perceptions of typical and desired behaviors in the community. The scale asks participants to self-report their own violent behavior (which we consider to be an unreliable measure).

Program H's social marketing campaign promotes positive descriptive norms and weakens existing negative norms

Program H's social norms marketing campaign is designed in a way that is consistent with many of the principles of social norms outlined in Section II. The campaign *targets descriptive norms*, for example for example promoting the message "In this community men support gender-equity." In an attempt to increase the likelihood that this norm will be activated in relevant situations, the campaign's slogan "In the heat of the moment" is intended to evoke the moment before a man hits his partner, or insists on sex without a condom. This strategy is one recommended by theory, which argues that social norms are situation-specific and must be activated in situations where the targeted behaviors are also activated.

Program H's social marketing campaign also focuses on providing *models of gender-equitable descriptive norms,* for example, by showing men caring for their children on billboards. This tactic serves to promote a descriptive norm that men in this community are fulfilling equitable and peaceful domestic roles vis-à-vis their female partners.

Finally, in Brazil famous rappers are featured in the social norms marketing campaign, speaking out against the destructive effects of *machismo* (Ruxton 2004). Using famous men to speak out against existing dysfunctional gender norms is a strategy of *weakening the existing norm*, specifically increasing the perceived variability of a norm so that it is not thought to apply uniformly to all men. Using famous music artists to weaken a social norm has the added advantage that their message may be recalled or "activated" in the settings where GBV is most likely to occur, such as at (or immediately after) social gatherings at bars and parties where their music is played.

The quasi-experimental study of Program H

Promundo conducted a small quasi-experimental study by implementing different versions of the intervention in three "different (but fairly homogeneous) low-income communities" (Horizons Research Update 2004, 2). One community, Maré, only received the peer-to-peer education program. Another, Bangu, received the peer-to-peer education program combined with the lifestyles social marketing campaign. The third, Morro dos Macacos, did not receive any intervention until two rounds of evaluation were completed in the one year evaluation period.

A total of 780 young men ages 15-24 were surveyed across the three communities prior to intervention activities, then at 6 months and again 1 year. In addition, evaluators conducted qualitative interviews with a sub-sample of young men and their steady sexual partners, to explore the impact of the program on relationships from the perspective of both members of the couple" (Barker, Nascimento, Pulerwitz, & Segundo 2006, 5). Significantly more participants dropped out of the study in the control site compared to the intervention sites (66% participants retained compared to an average of 88%).

Survey instrument measures personal attitudes

The surveys upon which the evaluation relies were conducted by men, who gathered information on male participants' socio-demographic background, their "relationship history of physical violence," and safe sex practices. Program H relies on a Gender-Equitable Men Scale (GEM Scale) to evaluate its success in moving men toward being gender-equitable. The scale includes 35 "attitude questions" that cover household gender roles (including child care), "gender roles in sexual relationships," "shared responsibility for reproductive health and disease prevention," "intimate partner violence," and "homosexuality and close [implying homosexual] relationships with other men." (Barker 2003, 8; Horizons OR Toolkit)

The first half of the questions are categorized as "inequitable gender norms" and include statements such as: "It is the man who decides what type of sex to have," "A man should have the final word about decisions in his home," "There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten," "A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together," and, "It is ok for a man to hit his wife if she won't have sex with him." The second half of the questions are categorized as "equitable gender norms" and include statements such as: "In my opinion, a woman can suggest using condoms just like a man can," and "A man should know what his partner likes during sex."[39]

There are several reasons why GEM scale is an imperfect impact measure for a social norms marketing campaign. First, its primary goal is to measure personal attitudes and

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[39] The GEM scale has been investigated as a valid scale of behavior by correlating responses to the survey with participants' self-reported history of violent behavior in intimate relationships, and other self-reported behaviors such as condom usage (Barker 2003, 9). Ideally, a scale would be validated using objective and not self-reported measures.

not social norms. Second, the measure is not subtle, and is likely subject to bias toward more gender-equitable answers. Third, the scale is used as a substitute for measuring behavior: it inquires about participants' violent behavior, but the levels of self-reported violence are so low that they are not useful for analysis.

The evaluation combines results of the GEM Scale with results from a small subset of qualitative interviews within each site of men and their steady female partners (Barker 2003, 10). The sample size for female partners was apparently quite small, with 29 partners in the final wave of the study (Horizons Research Update 2004, 3).

Weak evidence shows increased positive attitudes among Program H participants

The evaluation reports that in the two Program H intervention sites, a significantly smaller proportion of participants reported support traditional gender norms over time, while a similar change was not found at the control site. Due to differential attrition between control and intervention sites and the fact that the study essentially compared three units of intervention, caution is advised for all such comparisons. Positive changes in the intervention sites at 6 months were maintained at the one-year follow-up, while no such change was found at the control site. In addition, at both intervention sites self-reported healthy sexual practices increased; in particular, self-reported condom use increased in the intervention site where group educational activities were combined with the lifestyle social marketing component (Barker, Nascimento, Pulerwitz, & Segundo 2006, 5).

While the study sample size (three sites, one per "treatment") is very small, these findings are strengthened somewhat by the similar findings from a similarly small study in India in areas using a local version of Program H. "Results from the study in India found significant changes in attitudes and a major decline in self-reported violence against women; there was no change in the control group in either the urban or the rural setting" (Barker, Nascimento, Pulerwitz, & Segundo 2006, 7). The India study is also questionable, however, for its reliance on self-reported violent behavior.

Cost-effectiveness

The cost of the social norms marketing campaign was $14,796.59, just over half the cost of the peer-to-peer education programs (Barker, Nascimento, Pulerwitz, & Segundo 2006, 7). The cost per person reached of the social norms marketing plus peer-to-peer program was $138.98, whereas for the peer-to-peer program the cost per person was $84.24. Cost calculations were not available for individuals reached by the social norms marketing campaign only, in part because Program H does not have an estimate of the portion of the population reached by the various aspects of their program. The cost figures therefore overestimate the per person reached cost of the social norms marketing campaign, and highlight the dramatically reduced per-person costs of media campaigns compared with other forms of community interventions to target social norms.

Conclusion: Program H social marketing campaign uses theoretically recommended social norms strategies but its impact is not well understood

In conclusion, Program H has been successfully implemented in a variety of contexts. Part of its success at transplanting itself surely comes from its wise use of its own participants (in discussion groups) to create social norms messages for its marketing campaign. Program H's attention to specific local groups and to that group's norms is a tactic recommended by social norms theory, as are many other of its programming facets, such its campaign spokespeople who weaken negative norms, and its promotion of new descriptive norms as a replacement for old ones. Program H is also interesting for its focus on changing the perceptions and behaviors of young men. Unfortunately, from our standpoint the impact of Program H is still not well understood. Learning more about behavioral change and social norm perceptions among participants would be useful, in addition to larger studies using their strategy of comparing no-program groups to groups receiving social marketing and to groups receiving education programs marketing.

IV.   Theorizing Effective Components of Social Norms Marketing to Combat Gender Based Violence

In this section, we use theory and the imperfect studies available to hypothesize about the most essential components of a social norms marketing intervention to combat gender based violence. Our conclusions are tentative because, as discussed above, the data are limited. However, we believe that we can advocate the following components as key elements of effective social norms marketing to reduce GBV, elaborating on in more detail below:

- Inclusion of a baseline study to: identify target social norms and target audiences, test messages through pilot projects, identify potential avenues for channel factors, and establish a baseline for future evaluations.
- Use of specific behavioral recommendations and channel factors to facilitate action on new social norms.
- Attention to the potentially perverse effects of social norms marketing in general and to discussion groups in particular.

Baseline studies can help identify the problem, the target social norms and behaviors, and the target social audience.

The importance of knowing the local context before designing an intervention is an obvious point for all types of community work, but it is critical to the development of a successful social norms marketing intervention. There will never be an "off the shelf" social norms marketing tool, given the need to tune a social norms message to the correct group, to the existing social norms within that group, and to the wider social environment in which that group exists.

In addition to providing an essential reference point for future impact studies, baseline studies allow for careful evaluation of the scope and contours of local problems. A context-specific understanding of GBV allows an intervening organization to understand the prevalence and intensity within a given community of the various forms of GBV outlined in Section I. Understanding the contours of the GBV in a given community also allows the investigator to identify the behavioral goals of the intervention. For example, is it appropriate to try to encourage women to seek help from the police, or from a hotline? What is the universe of safe and effective behaviors to encourage, in the sense that those behaviors would assist victims or prevent future GBV?

The identification of the form and intensity of GBV allows the investigator to identify the social groups who are involved in its perpetuation. Because social norms are the property of *groups*, all social norms messages should be targeted to those involved groups (the power of messages aimed at the general population will be relatively more diluted, at least according to theory). As demonstrated by Soul City's experience in Series 5 and by Program H's use of message generation through local discussion groups, research with the groups who are involved helps to identify the social norms that contribute to GBV. Norms can be uncovered by asking focus group or individuals questions that probe what kinds of behaviors toward women are considered "typical" in their community, and which behaviors are "desirable."

Once the social norm to be changed has been identified, baseline research can help to decide which members of the group should be targeted—for example, men, women, couples, or both (e.g., community members and bystanders). For example, if most members of the community report an injunctive norm that "women in this community must tolerate their husband's abuse," research could help to identify which members of the community might assist women who challenge this norm. Baseline research would thus help to identify power brokers in the community who could give support to women who react to a new social norms message that "women in this community seek help when they are abused." Related, the research would identify behavioral "channels" such as confidential and relatively easy-to-access hotlines for victims of GBV (the distinguishing feature of channel factors is that they function to allow people to act upon new social norms with relative ease). A baseline study can help an intervening group understand where and how help is currently available in order to channel women toward that help through social norms marketing. Finally, in order to effectively market the social norms message to a group, an investigator would also need to understand how that group accesses news and entertainment and interacts in their community.

Baseline studies add additional expense to programming; however, they are an essential investment in order to facilitate evaluation of the intervention and to develop the intervention itself. Even in resource-constrained settings the baseline study should be considered an essential element of social norms marketing programs. Without baseline studies, it is easy to misidentify the target audience, or even the norms to be changed, and to develop an intervention that will not resonate with the target audience. The next subsection elaborates on how baseline studies can be used to strengthen interventions.

Baseline studies should include pilot projects to test messages.

Before any intervention begins, a pilot period in which programmers test, redevelop, and retest culturally and normatively relevant messages is necessary. For example, in Southern Sudan, Greiner and colleagues used participatory sketching and photography exercises to understand how men and women in Khartoum, Sudan, understood the messages embedded in a radio soap opera (an 'edutainment' program) that weakened norms of female genital cutting and mobilized new norms in favor of women's empowerment (Greiner, Singhal, & Hurlburt 2007). Many social norms marketing interventions use "listening groups," which are ongoing focus groups of community members who listen and provide ongoing feedback to the program during its actual broadcast, but which also serve as sounding boards at the beginning of the program (Singhal & Rogers 1999).

Channel factors should facilitate behavioral compliance with the social norms messages, but take care not to "channel" people into a dead end.

Some of the most successful social norms programs in our review used "channel factors" in their campaigns—tools that made it easy for the audience to take the next step toward positive behavioral change. A prime example of this is a social norms campaign that partners with service providers such as health clinics. A program may promote a new norm that "all women should report to the police when have been sexually assaulted," but changing women's perceptions that this is a desirable behavior reaches a dead end if the women do not know where or how to report to the police, or if they are afraid to go to the police. A channel factor provides a way for women who adopt this new social norm to visit the police without hassles or fear. The social norms campaign could, for example, broadcast the locations of all local stations, and could also broadcast locations where a female police officer is located.

In conflict-affected environments, services are often nonexistent, and state-provided services may be inadequate or untrustworthy. Social norms marketing programs should only recommend behaviors that channel people into services where there is a chance of a positive experience. Some social norms marketing programs that we found created services where none were present. This is, of course, a much more costly programming decision. Other social norms marketing campaigns used ingenious techniques that drew upon easily available community services. For example, the Soul City campaign in South Africa recommended a hotline for victims of GBV. The program also recommended a specific behavior for combating domestic violence in local neighborhoods: banging pots when neighbors overheard abuse in another house. The edutainment soap opera portrayed the pot banging, in which the fictional characters banged pots as a way to communicate to a neighbor who abused his wife that they knew about it and did not approve. In a clear demonstration of the influence of this program on perceived typical and desirable behaviors among its audience, Soul City researchers observed that residents of Johannesburg shantytowns had begun to bang pots when they heard women being abused by their domestic partners.

Social norms marketing can have perverse effects.

Social norms marketing campaigns can backfire in many predictable ways: for example, if the television series is not entertaining and culturally appropriate for the target audience, then the appeal of the program will be low. However, there are other more subtle ways that social norms marketing may fail. One common problem with social norms marketing campaigns is their focus on awareness-raising. For example, in the DRC, a billboard campaign featured graphic pictures of gangs of men and their victims either just before or just after rape. The words on the billboards typically said, "Stop Rape"[40] but the image communicates the idea that "Rape is common. This happens in our community. This is normal." While awareness-raising campaigns have appeal because of their potential to reduce feelings of isolation among victims, they are a double-edged sword. Awareness campaigns often propagate a descriptive norm that violence behavior is prevalent in the community, perhaps licensing violent behavior rather than activating behavior to reduce GBV. Awareness messages should be accompanied by strong injunctive norms messages communicating that an influential or relevant social does not approve of the behavior.

> *Discussion groups are powerful tools of social influence, but their influence can be unpredictable.*

As noted in our review of programs in section III and in our overview table in Appendix I, many social norms marketing programs use small group discussions as part of their efforts to communicate new social norms. For example, norms marketing campaigns often use peer counselors to lead group discussions about individuals' perceptions of typical or desirable behaviors in their community. Counselors may be expected to weaken negative social norms through their example of speaking out against them, or to communicate or model the behavior of a new social norm.

Research demonstrates across many different contexts that social influence techniques are most powerful when they are delivered in a face-to-face context (e.g., Green & Gerber, 2008). Recent studies that that have examined the specific case of discussion groups in social norms campaigns reveal that this influence can powerfully boost and can significantly undercut the messages of the program (Paluck, 2009; Paluck, in press, Paluck & Vexler, in prep). Messages may be undercut when one member of the group does not agree with the message and speaks out against it. Particularly when group members know one another, disagreement from a fellow group member can have a much larger influence than the guidance of the discussion leader (who is often an outsider paid by the social norms campaign). This point underlines the importance of finding discussion group leaders who are perceived to be part of the community or the relevant social group, and not those who can be dismissed as outsiders with different standards. However, it is very difficult to control whether group members will voice disagreement

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[40] Note that "stop rape" is ineffective not only because it does not communicate an injunctive social norm, but it does not give message recipients any idea about what they should do to stop rape (i.e., specific behavioral recommendations or channel factors).

with the topics at hand. One possible solution is to ensure that the discussions take place over a long period of time, during which dissenters in the group have time to reconsider their positions.

V.   CONCLUSION

Given the limitations of data on the effectiveness of existing programs using social norms marketing to reduce gender based violence, and the critical importance of local context in determining the effectiveness of any given social norms intervention, we conclude this review by offering some guidance to those considering using social norms marketing to reduce GBV. We present these conclusions in the form of questions to ask prior to launching a social norms marketing campaign and throughout a baseline and or pilot study designed to shape the messages of the campaign. Without a detailed study of the local context, culture, and media, we cannot offer specific recommendations in response to the questions below. We hope instead that this review provides some insight into the essential considerations that are likely to determine the success of social norms marketing campaigns in changing social norms around violence and gender equality more generally, with the ultimate goal of reducing GBV.

Phase I Questions: Understanding community social norms

- What is the community (or communities) with and within which you are working?
- What are the types of gender based violence prevalent in these communities? How prevalent in that violence in fact? Who are the primary victims, perpetrators, and enablers?
- What are the exact behaviors you wish to change? Where do they occur?
- What are the predominant privately held attitudes within the community, and among community subgroups?
- How prevalent do group members believe this behavior to be? (*Outline the descriptive norms*)
- What do members of the community think about the community's general attitudes toward this behavior? Who in the community believes that the behavior is desirable? Is their opinion shared by other subgroups in the community? Who are the powerful members of the community who support this idea? (*Outline the injunctive norms*)
- How mobile is this community? How concentrated or dispersed is the community across a geographical location?

If the answers to these questions reveal that privately held attitudes are more positive than perceptions of community norms, one opportunity for change would be to target the perceived uniformity of community norms. If, however, privately held attitudes are generally negative, social norms marketing should be combined with other interventions that have as their goal achieving changes in personal attitudes. Keep in mind that the community's starting point affects the credibility of any intervention: where GBV is

prevalent, attack injunctive norms and the uniformity of descriptive norms rather than attacking the descriptive norms directly.

Phase II Questions: Devising programming to target social norms

- What are the potential messages of this social norms campaign? How are those messages perceived among community members?
- What behaviors do you recommend in place of the behaviors that you are seeking to change?
- How could you make it very easy for your audience to adopt these changed behaviors, i.e., how can you *channel* them into new behaviors?
    - o Are there other organizations (service providers, etc.) with whom you can partner to ensure the new behavior is safe and rewarding for individuals who adopt it?
    - o Is it currently safe and feasible to recommend these behaviors? (*protect against channeling people into dead end or even destructive services*)
- Who could write these messages in a language that resonates with the community? Are there members of the community who can devise the specific language of these messages – songwriters, entertainers, community or religious leaders, and/or members of the target audience (such as young men themselves)?
- Who could deliver these messages in a manner that is persuasive to this community and salient in the context of the behavior the campaign ultimately hopes to change? Singers, entertainers, community leaders, and/or representative community members?
- What kinds of popular programming already exist in the community? Is there an opportunity to work with an existing soap opera, music program, or other popular media outlet to insert messages about GBV? Would characters or personalities on existing programs be well suited to naturally communicate messages about seeking help after, or preventing GBV?
- What are the potential perverse outcomes of the program? Look for tensions between awareness raising and promoting negative descriptive norms—are all descriptive norms accompanied by an injunctive norm against them? Is our program encouraging discussions in a place where people will feel free to speak out against the messages?

Phase III: Monitoring, evaluation, and adaptation

Many of the questions above require a baseline survey to answer adequately, as discussed in Section IV above. The details of monitoring and evaluation are beyond the scope of this review; nonetheless, we would like to flag the following final considerations that are specific to the context of using social norms marketing:
- Measure both social norms and personal attitudes, and, where possible, actual behavior.
    - o When measuring behavior, be cognizant of the ways in which social norms marketing will create pressures for self-reported behavior change where no actual behavior change has occurred. Where possible, triangulate

self-reported behavior through private interviews with steady partners and figures from service providers about help-seeking behavior. Keep in mind that a reported increase in gender based violence may be indicative of the success of a campaign encouraging help-seeking behavior or of the perverse consequence of a misaligned social norms marketing campaign that perpetuates perceptions that GBV is common within the community.

- Maintain adaptability: modify the baseline survey questions throughout the survey to better understand the personal attitudes and social norms at play in the community.
  - Most importantly, be open to the possibility that you may have to modify your message as the community response becomes clear through pilot projects and even throughout the campaign.
- Set up a control group when possible—can the campaign be randomly allocated to different areas of the region or country? Can materials be randomly distributed, or invitations to television screenings randomly distributed?
- Find ways to measure exposure to the campaign that do not rely on simple self-report (e.g. "I listen occasionally…I watch regularly…I rarely saw a billboard…"). For example, ask informational questions that people could only answer if they have been exposed to your campaign. Ask them to identify (when played for them on a hand recorder) the jingle of your radio spot, invent a fictional brand of soda for your television program and ask people to identify it, show them a picture from a billboard and ask them to tell you what the billboard says.

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Program Name	Target Behavior/ Attitude	Target Audience	Social Norms Marketing Methodology	Centrality of Social Norms Marketing	Study Methodology Details	Results
Soul City (Soul City Institute South Africa)	HIV transmission and violence	General	Edutainment: soap opera on tv, radio, and print. Series 10 (March 2009) addressed alcohol abuse and violence, Series 7 included manhood and masculinity, Series 5 included rape; Series 4 focused on reducing GBV (esp. DV as a central message); Series 3 included violence and alcohol misuse.	Central	Two main components of Series 4 evaluation: (1) Multi-staged, stratified national random sample - baseline conducted in June 1999, post-intervention in February 2000 (n=2000). Limitations of national survey data: retroactive, data collection close in time to intervention; not always able to interview survey respondents alone; not gender-matched questioner and respondent. (2) Sentinel site studies - (one rural, one urban), longitudinal panel survey of given sample (n=500) (pre, post, two intermediate), studies included surveys, qualitative interviews, and focus groups, and were paired with data collection from service providers and police, local media monitoring, interviews with "opinion leaders." Limitations of sentinel site data: research effect; high rates of lost participants (144 of 500 in urban site; 27 of 500 in rural site).	Traffic to hotline is highest on the day show aired), but higher than capacity on all days except Tuesdays and "calls declined when Soul City went off the air". Participation in public protests (3% of survey population) correlated with exposure to SC (by level - up to 5 sources of SC); also anecdotal reports of pot-banging as community expression of intolerance for DV (behavior modeled on Soul City), but samples were too small to study effectively; exposure to Soul City significantly correlated with willingness to attend community meetings and workshops on GBV in future; improved attitudes on acceptability of GBV, esp. DV, correlates with exposure to Soul City.
We are Different, We are Equal (Puntos de Encuentro, Nicaragua)	Intimate partner violence and transmission of sexually transmitted infections	Adolescents and adult women	Edutainment: tv soap opera, call-in radio show for teens, women's magazine, billboard and poster campaigns promoting the slogans "We need to talk" and "Violence Against Women: A Disaster Men CAN prevent."	Central	Cohort survey (n=3099) asssessing attitudinal change (Bank, Bradshaw & Solorzano 2006). Respondents were grouped into high and low exposure groups and their responses were then scaled on an index of "gender-equitable attitudes." The study made causal claims on the basis of differences between the high and low exposure groups over the course of the study. However, exposure was not randomized and there were likely important factors cuasing individuals to choose to be high exposure audience members. Therefore, one cannot make causal claims on the basis of this study.	High exposure correlated with increase in "gender-equitable attitudes" measured on gender index and a higher likelihood of knowing of and using a local domestic violence resource center. However, exposure was not random and one cannot make causal claims on the basis of this study.
Program H (Brazil, Mexico, India)	Masculinity and intimate partner violence	Men ages 15-24	"Lifestyles social marketing campaign" focused on changing norms of masculinity through radio spots, billboards, posters, and postcards promoting the message that it is "cool and hip to be a gender-equitable man" and modeling gender-equitable behavior	Peripheral	Study staggered and varied interventions to create a control group that had no intervention in the initial phase (but later received the intervention), one intervention group that consisted only of peer-to-peer education, and one intervention that paired peer-to-peer intervention with social marketing, All interventions were evluated with the GEM scale, a scale validted only based on unreliable self-reported behavior. The GEM Scale also measures attitudes rather than social norms and does not address behavior change. Evaluations attempted to triangulate GEM measures with interviews with steady parnters, however, such data was not discussed in detail in studies.	Study identified statistically significant positive change in both intervention sites but did not identify significantly different outcomes in the community with social norms marketing compared to the one with only peer-to-peer education. Limitations of the GEM scale necessitate caution in interpreting results.

Program Name	Target Behavior/ Attitude	Target Audience	Social Norms Marketing Methodology	Centrality of Social Norms Marketing	Study Methodology Details	Results
Stepping Stones (Africa and Asia)	Intimate partner violence and transmission of sexually transmitted infections	15-26 year old women and men (in separate groups); some activities target the general public age 11 and older	Role play, theater and the use of radio, tv, and newspapers "to promote women's rights"	Equal Emphasis	One study in South Africa attempted to measure violent behavior and randomize exposure into the program; however, not enough detail about the study was found to understand the quality of the study. Stepping Stones was also reviewed in Uganda and Gambia.	South Africa: randomized control trial indicated that lower proportion of men in intervention group compared with control group "committed physical or sexual IPV" (in 2 years after program). Uganda: overall decrease in IPV following intervention, but some reports of increased IPV two years out. Gambia: qualitiative study following couples in control and intervention groups found those in intervention group fought less and men were more "more accepting" when wives refused sex and were "less likely to beat her."
Raising Voices (Uganda, Tanzania, and 63 other countries)	Intimate partner violence, violence against women, and gender norms	Activists, communities in general	Communications training materials, including posters	Peripheral	Online, retroactive survey of organizations using the Raising Voices tools in 40 countries (n=272) followed with in-depth interviews (n=26).	High self-reported satisfication by organizations using the Raising Voices tools. The "overwhelming majority" of organizations do not evaluate programming.
Young Men's Initiative (Western Balkans)	"Gender-equitable social norms" and gender based violence	Boys aged 13 19	School-based lifestyle campaign (man's clubs); Program Muski (modeled on Program H); Regional Young Men Forum	Equal Emphasis	It appears quantitaitve studies used the GEM Scale (see critique in Program H summary)	Unknown
IMAGE (South Africa)	Gender norms	Adult women	"Integration of gender norm change into microfinance" -- rape awareness campaigns	Peripheral	Evaluation included a randomized control trial, but the methodology for randomizations is unclear. There is likely a selection bias problem because women in the most controlling relationships likely choose not to accept the invitation to participate.	55% fewer women self-reporting victims as IPV in last six months (study done two years after intervention) compared to control, also report less controlling behavior than control group counterparts (despite higher levels of reported controlling behavior at beginning of project compared to control group); "more likely to disagree with statements that condone violence"
Center for Domestic Violence Prevention (CEDOVIP) (Uganda)	Intimate partner violence		Call in shows on national tv, plays, football matches, and campaigns focused on raising awareness of domestic violence (uses the Raising Voices materials but also goes beyond those materials)	Equal Emphasis	N/A	N/A
Men's Leadership Program (DRC)	Rape/ rejection of women after rape	male community leaders	First and second level trainings for male leaders + public awareness "campaign" (1 "broadly distributed" poster)	Peripheral	A quantitative baseline study was conducted, but there does not appear to have been a quantitative evaluation post-intervention. Post-intervention publications have relied on anecdotal evidence of individual attitudinal change.	Anecdotes indicate participants' "attitudes towards their wives" (self-reported) improved, including one man acknowledging that his wife must give him permission to have sex when before he would beat her if she said no