Helpdesk Research Report

Digital tools and changing behaviour in relation to violence against women

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Question

What are the most effective tools developed for digital platforms (social media, mobile phone apps and websites) that have been successful in changing behaviour in relation to violence against women?[1]

Contents

1. Overview

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) is the most widespread form of abuse worldwide, affecting on average one third of all women in their lifetime. No single factor alone causes VAWG. Rather a combination of drivers operate at different levels, risk factors include a person's genetic predisposition, developmental history and attitudes or beliefs; their relationships and household dynamics; community factors such as social norms and levels of poverty; and macro-level factors such as religious ideologies, gender regimes, and market forces that affect realities at all the other levels.

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[1] This report explores ***Digital tools and changing behaviour in relation to violence against women*** and is the first report of a two part query. The full list of queries is provided below and reports should be read in conjunction:
1. What are the most effective tools developed for digital platforms (social media, mobile phone apps and websites) that have been successful in changing behaviour in relation to violence against women?
2. What digital tools have been proven to improve women's safety and access to domestic and family violence support services?

This five day help desk review provides an overview of academic, policy and practitioner literature that examines the extent to which digital tools can facilitate behaviour change in relation to violence against women. A violent behaviour can be said to 'be a social norm' (or more accurately 'held in place by social norms'), when there are shared beliefs that the violent behaviour is both typical and appropriate, and consequent expectations in a reference group that the behaviour will be adhered to. Evidence suggests that when social norms hold in place certain behaviours, the behaviour is unlikely to change without addressing social motivations. In this way, social norms can act as a 'brake on social change'

Mass media can focus attention on issues, generating public awareness and momentum for change. Research on agenda setting has shown that the amount of media coverage of a given issue correlates strongly with public perception about its importance. Agenda dynamics refer to the relationship between media agenda (what is covered), public agenda (what people think about), and policy agenda (regulatory or legislative actions on issues).

A behaviour change method is considered to be any process that has the potential to influence psychological determinants Examples of such determinants include attitude, risk perception, self-efficacy and habit. When designing initiatives to tackle VAWG and affect behaviour change, it is important to recognise the interlocking factors that prevent change from happening and to design interventions and strategies that address the most relevant factors in any given context

VAWG interventions that aim to transform these gender norms and inequalities have proven more effective at reducing violence than those that only address individual attitudes and behaviours without tackling gender norms (such as harmful notions of masculinity) which perpetuate VAWG. Evidence and insights from practitioners suggests that in order to shift harmful social norms programmes need to:

- shift social expectations not just individual attitudes,

- publicise the change and

- catalyse and reinforce new norms and behaviours.

The media, as a 'culture creator', can be a powerful ally in shifting public opinion on VAWG. A range of media strategies (including digital) have proven effective in disseminating information, rallying support and instigating dialogue which can challenge gender norms around violence against women and girls – from mass media to less conventional community and participatory media approaches.

Mobile and internet-technology based interventions to tackle VAWG deploy a number of strategies and combine a number of different objectives, from mapping violence to gathering data, using data gathered to advocate for change and providing survivors with access to essential information and support. More broadly, ICTs are also being used to access support from a community of peers, raise awareness of the violence faced by women and girls amongst their families and communities, use entertainment and social media forums, and monitor and evaluate interventions and measure their impact.

The advent of technology-based solutions brings with it both opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, technology has the potential to play a key role in transforming gender inequality and unequal social relations. On the other, they may encourage new forms of violence against women. A number of factors have been identified that contribute to the success of digital campaigns. Key messages that can be drawn from this diverse literature include:

- Campaigns are likely to be more successful when they include messages about legal penalties for non-compliant behaviour, fresh information (i.e. a new recommended behaviour to solve a health problem) and reaching a large proportion of the intended audience. Digital campaigns must therefore work alongside laws and policies. Legislation can be a key tool in changing behaviour and perceptions of cultural and social norms. Laws and policies that make violent behaviour an offence send a message to society that it is not acceptable.

- Success is more likely if messages are tailored to audiences using social marketing principles and creating a supportive environment that enables the intended audience to make changes – e.g. by mobilising communities in support of the campaign.

- To develop effective campaigns, it is also important to use research, such as interviews with key stakeholders and focus groups with members of the target audience, to determine existing attitudes and beliefs and ways of motivating people to change their behaviour.

- Campaign messages should also be pre-tested among target audiences to ensure they are understood correctly and to minimize any unintended negative effects on other audiences.

- The most successful interventions work with experienced organisations to develop and deliver sophisticated television/radio programming and communications combined with community mobilisation strategies aimed at changing gender-related norms and behaviours.

2. Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG)

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) is the most widespread form of abuse worldwide, affecting on average one third of all women in their lifetime (DFID, 2016: 4; WHO, LSHTM, SAMRC, 2013: 2). VAWG undermines the mental and physical health of women and girls, violates their human rights and can have a negative impact on long-term peace and stability.

Whilst data regarding the prevalence of VAWG are difficult to gather, attempts have been made. The WHO, LSHTM and SAMRC (2013: 2) present a global systematic review and synthesis of the body of scientific data on the prevalence of two forms of violence against women: violence by an intimate partner, and sexual violence by someone other than a partner. It presents aggregated global and regional prevalence estimates of these forms of violence:

- Overall, 35% of women worldwide have experienced physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence.

- Most violence is intimate partner violence. Approximately one third of all women who have been in a relationship have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by intimate partners.

- Globally, as many as 38% of all murders of women are committed by intimate partners.

- Women who have been physically or sexually abused by their partners report higher rates of a number of important health problems. For example, they are 16% more likely to have a low-birth-weight baby. They are more than twice as likely to have an abortion, almost twice as likely to experience depression, and, in some regions, are 1.5 times more likely to acquire HIV, as compared to women who have not experienced partner violence.

- Globally, 7% of women have been sexually assaulted by someone other than a partner. Evidence suggests that women who have experienced this form of violence are 2.3 times more likely to have alcohol use disorders and 2.6 times more likely to experience depression or anxiety.

According to Heise (2011) no single factor alone causes VAWG. Rather a combination of drivers operate at different levels, risk factors include a person's genetic predisposition, developmental history and attitudes or beliefs; their relationships and household dynamics; community factors such as social norms and levels of poverty; and macro-level factors such as religious ideologies, gender regimes, and market forces that affect realities at all the other levels.

Behaviour change

A behaviour change method is considered to be any process that has the potential to influence psychological determinants (Glanz et al., 2005). Psychological determinants are theoretical variables that influence individuals (and communities) behaviours (Glanz et al., 2005). Examples of such determinants include attitude, risk perception, self-efficacy and habit. These determinants are included in theories of behaviour explanation such as the Health Belief Model. Other theories explain how such determinants may be changed, for example Social Cognitive Theory etc. There are a large number of theories and approaches towards behavioural change derived from disciplines such as psychology, sociology, communication, and political science (CommGAP, 2009). These can focus on the enabling environment level, the community level, the interpersonal level, or the individual level (C-Change, 2010). It is important to note that no single behaviour change method is universally applicable; some methods may be more appropriate choices than others depending on context, target population of intervention and the practical applications that can be used.

When designing initiatives to tackle VAWG and affect behaviour change, it is important to recognise the interlocking factors that prevent change from happening and to design interventions and strategies that address the most relevant factors in any given context (DFID, 2016: 7). A number of elements may interact to drive and sustain harmful behaviours:

- Structural forces, such as conflict, weak or discriminatory legal and institutional frameworks, racism, rules about who can own and inherit property and gender ideologies that underpin gendered differences in power;

- Social factors, such as harmful social and gender norms;

- Material realities, such as household poverty and lack of economic opportunities for women and girls and weak infrastructure;

- Individual factors, such as inequitable gender attitudes condoning VAWG and mistaken factual beliefs, as well as women's agency, aspirations, and self-efficacy.

Figure 1 highlights the elements of the 'social ecology' that may interact to drive and sustain harmful behaviours:

Figure 1: Factors sustaining VAWG and preventing change
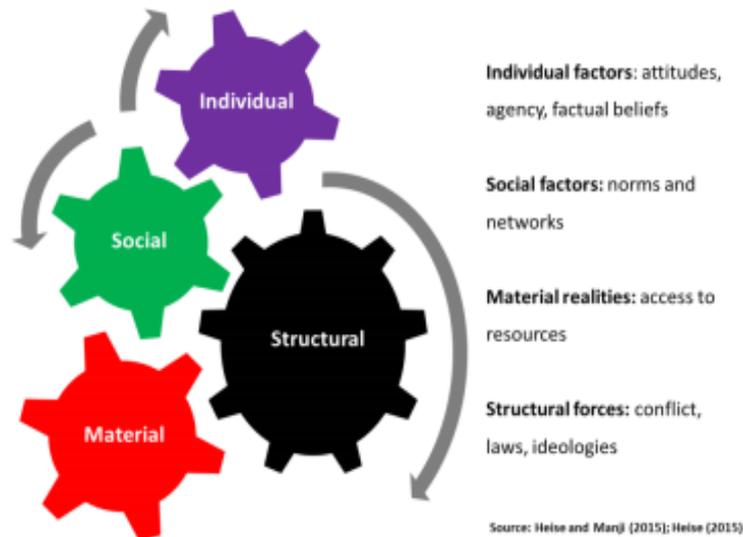
Source: Heise & Manji (2015)

Although the development community has long recognised the importance of attitudes, norms, and beliefs in perpetuating VAWG, there has been a lack of clarity about the definitions of and relationships between these constructs and the practical implications for programme design and evaluation. Further to this the application of theories of behaviour change to international development initiatives has been mixed.

The World Bank (2015) notes that interventions need to take into account the specific psychological and social influences that guide decision making and behaviour in a particular setting. That means that the process of designing and implementing effective interventions needs to be an iterative process of discovery, learning, and adaptation. The translation of theoretical methods to specific contexts, populations, cultures is often challenging. This distinction between theoretical methods and practical applications is crucial for two reasons:

1. Evidence of the effectiveness of behaviour change methods is generally only available for generic behavioural methods.

2. Behaviour change methods are only effective if the parameters for effectiveness are met. Intervention descriptions are incomplete when they do not describe both which theoretical methods they use and to which practical applications these were translated.

Finally, there are ethical questions regarding whether it is right or proper to change behaviours and in what instances change is mandated. Further, if the recommended behaviour is absent, then the more appropriate term to use may be "behaviour development" rather than "behaviour change". Ideally the causes of non-optimal behaviour (for example in relation to health or development) should be understood and addressed (UNICEF, 2005: 7). To affect behaviour change a number of models and approaches have been developed which are detailed below.

The behaviour change wheel

The Behaviour Change Wheel (BCW) was developed from 19 frameworks of behaviour change identified in a systematic literature review (Michie et al., 2011). It consists of three layers. The central hub identifies the sources of the behaviour that could prove fruitful targets for intervention. It uses the COMB ('capability', 'opportunity', 'motivation' and 'behaviour') model, which recognises that behaviour is part of an interrelated system. Interventions need to change one or more of these components in such a way that will minimise the risk of it reverting.

Figure 1: Behaviour Change Wheel
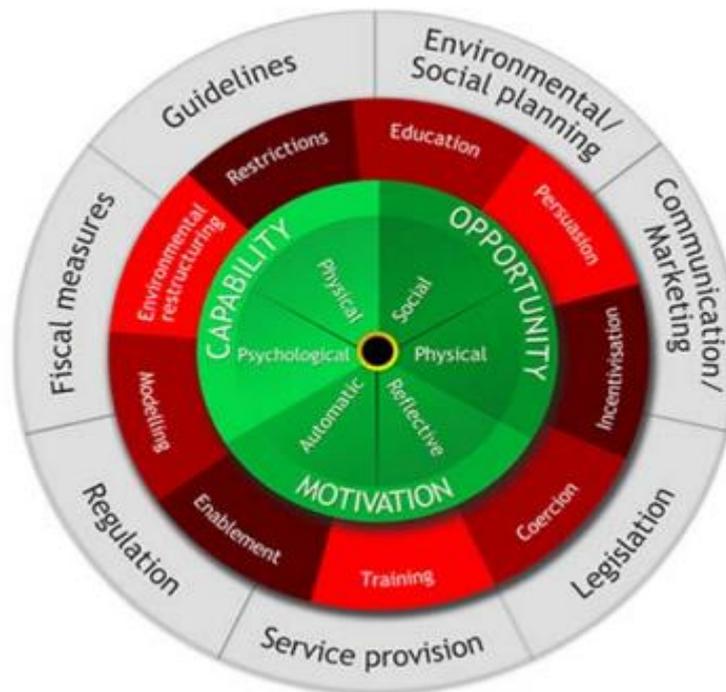
Source: Michie et al., (2011: 7)

The second layer includes nine intervention functions to choose from, based on the particular COM-B analysis undertaken. The outer layer, the rim of the wheel, identifies seven policy categories that can support the delivery of these intervention functions.

FHI360: Social and behaviour change communication

FHI 360 (nd) use a socio-ecological lens to view the complex interplay between individual, interpersonal, community, and societal factors that affect behaviours. They select interactive, participatory strategies to ensure a holistic view of people's desires, needs, and barriers and facilitators to change. They employ the following tools and approaches to inform their projects (FHI 360, nd):

- Theory-based socio-ecological model recognises the relationship between people and their environment. It allows the identification of tipping points for change.

- Small, doable actions (SDAs) are behaviours that, though not ideal, are more likely to be adopted because they are considered feasible by individuals and are effective from a public health perspective when practiced consistently and correctly.

- Full market impact leverages investments from commercial partners to expand the availability and affordability of health products and presents motivations for their uptake.

- Interactive SBCC research techniques ensure a better understanding of people's needs and preferences. Participatory action research and media, ethnographic methods, value systems research, and commercial marketing techniques are some of their tools.

- User-centred design approaches are infused into their work and ensure that the end-user is a part of intervention design, formative research, prototyping, and implementation.

Behaviour change and VAWG

A violent behaviour can be said to 'be a social norm' (or more accurately 'held in place by social norms'), when there are shared beliefs that the violent behaviour is both typical and appropriate, and consequent expectations in a reference group that the behaviour will be adhered to (DFID, 2016: 9).

WHO (2009: 3) note that cultural and social norms are influential in shaping individual behaviour, including the use of violence. Norms can protect against violence, but they can also support and encourage the use of it. Cultural acceptance of violence, either as a normal method of resolving conflict or as a usual part of rearing a child, is a risk factor for all types of interpersonal violence. It may also help explain why countries experiencing high levels of one type of violence also experience other types.

Social tolerance of violent behaviour is likely learned in childhood, through the use of corporal punishment, or witnessing violence in the family, in the media or in other settings. According to WHO (2009) and DFID (2016: 6):

- **Behaviours**: behaviours are what someone actually does, whereas social norms are beliefs about what other people do and what other people think should be done. Although they are separate (a belief and an action), they are linked: often a social norm will influence behaviour, and behaviour can influence a social norm. Because of this, in order to shift social norms, 'interventions must create new beliefs within an individual's reference group so that the collective expectations of the people important to them allow new behaviours to emerge.

- **Social norms** are shared beliefs about what is typical and appropriate behaviour in a valued reference group. They can be defined as a rule of behaviour that people in a group conform to because they believe: (a) most other people in the group do conform to it; and (b) most other people in the group believe they ought to conform to it. These beliefs shape mutual expectations about appropriate behaviours within the group, and in turn the actual behaviour of groups of individuals. As a result, these behaviours are said to be 'inter-dependent (DFID, 2016: 6). In order to tackle harmful social norms, interventions need to create new shared beliefs within an individual's reference group, which in turn change expectations around behaviour.

Evidence suggests that when social norms hold in place certain behaviours, the behaviour is unlikely to change without addressing social motivations. In this way, social norms can act as a 'brake on social change' (DFID, 2016). This explains why changes in legal and material circumstances, or changes in individual knowledge and attitudes, may not lead to changes in levels of experience and perpetration of violence.

VAWG interventions that aim to transform these gender norms and inequalities have proven more effective at reducing violence than those that only address individual attitudes and behaviours without

tackling gender norms (such as harmful notions of masculinity) which perpetuate VAWG. Evidence and insights from practitioners suggests that in order to shift harmful social norms programmes need to:

- shift social expectations not just individual attitudes,
- publicise the change and
- catalyse and reinforce new norms and behaviours.

The evidence base on what works to tackle social norms that drive violence is at an early stage in scope and scale, although progress is being made through initiatives such as the DFID funded What Works to Prevent VAWG programme[2]. There has been a lack of consensus on the key metrics with which to measure social norms change, and robust evaluations of programmes are scarce.

Emerging evidence on the effectiveness of interventions to tackle a wide range of VAWG suggests that interventions that address gender norms, behaviours and inequalities, and challenge dominant notions of masculinity linked to controlling and aggressive behaviours are more effective at reducing VAWG than those that do not (Fulu et al, 2014).

3. Digital platforms, behaviour change and VAWG

Mass media can focus attention on issues, generating public awareness and momentum for change. Research on agenda setting has shown that the amount of media coverage of a given issue correlates strongly with public perception about its importance. Agenda dynamics refer to the relationship between media agenda (what is covered), public agenda (what people think about), and policy agenda (regulatory or legislative actions on issues). Media advocacy is how civic action groups promote social change through various techniques and persuade the media to cover issues considered important (Wallack, 1993).

Mass media campaigns convey messages about healthy behaviour to broad populations via television, radio, the Internet, newspapers, magazines and other printed materials. They increase the amount of information available on a topic and may reduce undesirable behaviour. Media campaigns use different strategies to change cultural and social norms (DFID, 2016). For instance, they can provide information to correct misperceptions about norms, or attach a social stigma to unwanted behaviour. While campaigns usually focus on the negative consequences of violence, they may also make positive appeals – for example, promoting parenting styles that contribute to a happier family life.

According to DFID (2012: 15), the media, as a 'culture creator', can be a powerful ally in shifting public opinion on violence against women and girls. A range of media strategies (including digital) have proven effective in disseminating information, rallying support and instigating dialogue which can challenge gender norms around violence against women and girls – from mass media to less conventional community and participatory media approaches. For example, there is an evolving popular entertainment or 'edutainment' industry, which is having some success in mobilising communities towards social change through television or radio.

The large-scale societal adoption and use of digital technologies is a key driver of measurable economic, social and cultural value, including increased productivity, a rise in employment rates, improved security, and greater capacity to tackle social and environmental issues (GSMA, 2017). Mobile technology is also

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[2] http://www.whatworks.co.za/

playing a key role in tackling various social and economic challenges as outlined by the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), including poverty, health, education, gender equality, employment, safer cities, climate change and identity. Mobile technology provides access to tools and applications that help address these issues, and enables new technologies and innovations to build more efficient and environmentally sustainable societies (GSMA, 2017).

Whilst mobile health interventions have demonstrated efficiency in improving health in a number of areas such as diabetes, hypertension, asthma, eating disorders and HIV treatments (Lewis & Kershaw, 2010; Fjeldbose et al, 2009) there is a paucity of research that identifies effective strategies for preventing domestic violence through mobile interventions.

Despite this paucity of evidence, there is growing interest in the myriad of ways in which new technologies are being leveraged to support the work of individuals and organisations in tackling VAWG. Increasingly, as these technologies become more available around the world, including to diverse users in the global south, they are being deployed in a range of innovative ways to prevent and respond to violence. It is possible to group technology-based interventions into four broad categories although in practice many of them cut across these categories:

- tools for victims and survivors;
- tools for advocates;
- tools to provide voice and empowerment;
- tools to crowdsource, map, and share information

Mobile and internet-technology based interventions to tackle VAWG deploy a number of strategies and combine a number of different objectives, from mapping violence to gathering data, using data gathered to advocate for change and providing survivors with access to essential information and support. More broadly, ICTs are also being used to access support from a community of peers, raise awareness of the violence faced by women and girls amongst their families and communities, use entertainment and social media forums, and monitor and evaluate interventions and measure their impact.

Although the effect of mass media interventions, aimed at whole societies, on levels of violent behaviour have seldom been evaluated, their success (e.g. campaigns associated with drink-driving) suggests they may have a critical role to play in the prevention of violence (WHO, 2009).

Social media

Social media tools have helped fuel social movements. Social media has been shown to strengthen social actors' ability to challenge and change power relations in society, providing platforms for debate, reflection, influencing and mobilising people (Liou, 2013). There are many ways that social media can be used in communications campaigns aimed at preventing VAWG. Social media can serve as a key tool at the forefront of the campaign, to support a more traditional campaign pinned to traditional media and on-the-ground events, or a campaign that uses social media on both these levels.

There are examples of efforts to put technology, including social media, in the hands of women survivors of violence – for example, through mobile phones or digital story-telling methodologies. These not only enable women to tell their stories but to also produce them, which can be an empowering process in itself, for further information see case studies below (DFID, 2012).

It is important to note that social media can only be part of the spectrum of interventions that are needed to prevent VAWG. Social media can be an effective way of mobilising youth and promoting discussion and reflection around topics, modelling positive behaviours and guiding audiences to positive solutions. However, there is little evidence that social media alone can be effective in changing gender socialisation; rather, it could serve as the starting point for such changes (Liou, 2013: 9).

Online social networks (e.g. webpages etc.)

Online social networks are another option, which offer the possibility of interactivity and the potential viral dissemination of the message. It is generally agreed that an integrated communication program, which wisely uses different channels in combination, is advisable to reinforce the message. At the same time, when facing constraints regarding the number of communication channels, testing the efficacy of different channels in delivering the message could be relevant. (Liou, 2013)

Text messaging

Text messaging is often the least expensive technological feature of mobile technology, available on almost every model of mobile phone; requires the least technological expertise and can be used by those with diverse health behaviours and conditions (Fjeldsoe, Marshall, & Miller, 2009). Moreover, text messaging is suitable for behaviour change interventions because it allows for timely and personally tailored communication and reinforcement (Lewis & Kershaw, 2010).

Factors that contribute to the success of digital campaigns

The advent of technology-based solutions brings with it both opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, technology has the potential to play a key role in transforming gender inequality and unequal social relations. A 2010 survey by the GSMA Development Fund and the Cherie Blair Foundation found that extending the benefits of mobile phone ownership to women can transform the lives of women in the global south. Of the more than 2,000 women surveyed from four low- to middle-income countries (Bolivia, Egypt, India, and Kenya,) 41% of women reported increased income or professional opportunities as a result of owning a mobile, 85% reported higher independence, and 93% reported feeling safer because of mobile phone ownership (GSMA, 2010). A number of factors have been identified that contribute to the success of digital campaigns. These are listed below:

- Campaigns are likely to be more successful when they include messages about legal penalties for non-compliant behaviour, fresh information (i.e. a new recommended behaviour to solve a health problem) and reaching a large proportion of the intended audience. Digital campaigns must therefore work alongside laws and policies. Legislation can be a key tool in changing behaviour and perceptions of cultural and social norms. Laws and policies that make violent behaviour an offence send a message to society that it is not acceptable (WHO, 2009).

- Success is more likely if messages are tailored to audiences using social marketing principles and creating a supportive environment that enables the intended audience to make changes – e.g. by mobilising communities in support of the campaign.

- To develop effective campaigns, it is also important to use research, such as interviews with key stakeholders and focus groups with members of the target audience, to determine existing attitudes and beliefs and ways of motivating people to change their behaviour.

- Campaign messages should also be pre-tested among target audiences to ensure they are understood correctly and to minimize any unintended negative effects on other audiences.
- According to Heise (2011), the most successful interventions work with experienced organisations to develop and deliver sophisticated television/radio programming and communications combined with community mobilisation strategies aimed at changing gender-related norms and behaviours.

Challenges

A number of challenges persist in deploying digital tools to address VAWG and affect behaviour change. Principle among these is access constraints related to internet and or mobile phone access. GSMA (2016) estimate that there are still 2 billion people without access to mobile internet. Unequal access is particularly high amongst marginalised groups, and poor women in particular still face significant barriers in access to ICTs. GSMA (2016) estimates that 200 million women lack access to mobile phones (GSMA, 2016). Further challenges persist around infrastructure, affordability, consumer readiness and content (GSMA, 2017). Issues can be surmised as follows (STATT, 2014):

Unequal access: Challenges include cost, literacy, cultural norms, safety, and a lack of understanding of potential applications. Issues include problems with telephone lines, poor internet connection and irregular electricity supplies. The costs of purchasing and maintaining hardware, connecting to the internet are also issues. Adoption of these new technologies in addressing gender-based violence specifically is uneven. Many of the interventions rely on access to the internet or are designed for smartphones, which are not necessarily widespread. The low smartphone penetration in low and middle-income countries, at 22% globally limits their availability and use considerably.

Response versus prevention: it appears that many of the existing interventions are currently focused on responses to violence against women, rather than prevention efforts. Effective responses to existing violence against women and girls are critical as a fundamental 'building block' for prevention, but have only a limited impact on reducing the number of new incidences of violence. Ideally, prevention and response strategies would be developed and implemented in a holistic and integrated way.

Double edged sword: ICTs can be a double-edged sword for women; they are changing the ways in which women respond to violence, but they are also changing the ways in which they experience violence. Violence against women, which takes place in the home or on the street, is now taking new forms and occurring in online spaces whereby women become targets of cyber-stalking or digital voyeurism.

Mobile phone coverage in Asia-Pacific region

In 2009, there were an estimated 4 billion plus mobile phone subscribers worldwide, with 95% of countries having mobile networks (Rowling, 2009). Mobile technology has been increasingly used to promote health and prevent diseases (Donner, 2008; Kaplan, 2006). Mobile platforms such as SMS have the "potential to influence peoples' behavioural preferences and provide new modes of social support that exploit alternative connections among consumers, organisations and resources that help behaviour monitoring".

According to GSMA (2017) Asia Pacific has been the biggest contributor to global subscriber growth in recent years. Mobile internet penetration in Asia Pacific has doubled over the last five years, reaching just under half of the population by the end of 2016. As of the end of 2016, there were 2.7 billion unique

subscribers in Asia Pacific, accounting for two thirds of the region's population. More than half the world's mobile subscribers live in Asia Pacific – mostly in China and India. Whilst data is missing for a number of countries in the Pacific region, GSMA have gathered information pertaining to mobile connectivity in Fiji, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands.

Table 1: GSMA Mobile Connectivity Index Indicators (Fiji, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands)

Country	Year	2G Coverage	3G Coverage	4G Coverage	Mobile download speeds	Mobile upload speeds	International Internet bandwidth per user	Servers per million people	Handset price	Mobile Social Media Penetration	Apps developed per mobile internet user
Fiji	2014	33.33	96.00	54.00	12.71	11.36	40.37	58.43	71.60	31.59	31.19
Indonesia	2014	72.22	59.53	2.49	1.80	1.15	30.38	43.42	43.08	24.37	47.50
Papua New Guinea	2014	38.89	35.44	7.20	1.72	1.60	39.42	47.70	38.90	3.75	34.34
Solomon Islands	2014	50.00	49.99	0.00	0.59	0.37	31.21	38.86	41.36	4.19	0.00

Source: GSMA Mobile Connectivity Index[3]

4. Case Studies

Interventions that challenge cultural and social norms supportive of violence can help reduce and prevent violent behaviour. Although widely used, they have rarely been evaluated. Given the current weak evidence base, it is difficult to review their effectiveness. WHO (2009) identify a number of challenges of evaluating effectiveness of interventions that seek to alter social norms and behaviour (WHO, 2009: 11):

- **Confounding factors**: Often cultural and social norms interventions are integrated with other strategies, such as training in conflict resolution skills, role modelling or community-based activities (e.g. micro-loans). This makes it difficult to isolate the independent effects of interventions for changing norms related to violence.

- **Actual violence is rarely used as an outcome measure**: Even where evaluations have been undertaken, these frequently measure changes in attitudes and norms rather than violent behaviours. Future evaluations of cultural and social norm interventions aimed at preventing violence should use actual violence as an outcome measure.

- **Difficulty selecting equivalent comparison groups**: When evaluating norms interventions that target large groups or whole populations – mass media campaigns, for example – it is often difficult, or impossible, to have a control group that is equivalent in all important respects to the group receiving the intervention. This limits the certainty with which evaluators can attribute changes in levels of violence to the intervention.

- **Mechanisms not understood**: How such interventions work remains poorly understood with few studies exploring the underlying mechanisms through which altering social and cultural norms changes behaviour. Even definitions of key terms such as cultural, social, norms, beliefs, and attitudes still require clarification and consensus.

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[3] For launch report and data see here https://www.gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/programme/connected-society/mobile-connectivity-index-launch-report

Violent behaviour is strongly influenced by cultural and social norms; so efforts to prevent violence must consider how social pressures and expectations influence individual behaviour. In what follows a selection of case studies are presented.

Bell Bajao (India)

Bell Bajao!, launched in India in 2008 by Breakthrough (an Indian women's rights organisation), was a campaign that highlighted the role that men and boys can play in taking a stand against and reducing domestic violence. Bell Bajao's series of public service announcements (PSAs) show men and boys ringing the doorbells of other community members to interrupt domestic violence (DFID, 2016: 34).

Breakthrough also trains young people to educate communities on women's rights, sexuality and HIV. In 2010, Breakthrough's staff and advocates travelled in video vans 14,000 miles through cities and villages screening the PSAs and involving communities through games, street theatre and other cultural tools with the aim of creating a sustainable, on-ground process of transformation.

The campaign involved a simple, direct campaign message (based on formative research) – "Bring domestic violence to a halt. Ring the Bell" with men and boys the key target audience highlighting their positive role in the solution. The campaigned modelled a specific new norm and a safe way to intervene when hearing domestic violence. The campaign was integrated into an ongoing broader outreach campaign (using new and more traditional media) and community mobilisation work of Breakthrough.

Results:

- A pre and post campaign evaluation found that on most measures, individuals from the communities that received both components of the campaign (media and community mobilisation) registered significantly more change in knowledge, attitudes and practices than those living in communities that were only exposed to the media component. Overall the campaign reached 130 million people. This suggests exposure to messages through multiple channels increases the likelihood of change.

- There was a notable decline in the proportion of individuals who felt that an abused wife should remain silent, that a wife taking legal action brings shame to the family and that domestic violence is nobody's business (DFID, 2016).

Must Bol (India)

The overall objective of the campaign conducted by Community the Youth Collective was to engage young people - especially men - in dialogue around VAWG, and from the dialogue identify the different forms of violence that young men face in their everyday lives. The specific communication objectives of the 'Must Bol' campaign were developed based on formative research studies and focused on three main themes (Liou, 2013: 44):

1. VAWG emerging from dominant gender norms, including: notions of masculinities, sexual and gender identities, the idea of 'available' women, restrictive educational and occupational choices.

2. Violence within intimate relationships, including: violence perpetrated via technology (e.g. via mobile texts), emotional abuse, sexual demands and coercion in intimate relationships.

3. Violence emerging from popular notions of ' body image': the campaign specifically targeted mainly urban middle-class youth aged 18-25, and consciously aimed to work more with young men. The target audience was limited due to the fact that the main tools used were online platforms, and so they were more readily able to reach target audience.

The campaign had a diverse set of key messages. These included: "Young people have to come together to challenge violence against women", "Do you prefer care versus control in your relationship? Are you practicing care or are you practicing control?", and "What kind of a man are you? What kind of a man are you having to become because of societal pressures?" These key messages have tried to not only challenge gender stereotypes, but also create inclusive spaces for people of diverse sexualities.

The main campaign activities aimed for participants to create content that is easy to share online – including short fictional videos (30 seconds to 4 minutes each), photos, posters and blogs. At the same time, the campaign was continuously developing an online community to disseminate the material online. Furthermore, moderated online discussions took place throughout the campaign. In general, they found that different activities attracted different people. For example, photo contests attracted young people, whereas a blogathon (?) attracted an older group (Liou, 2013).

Results:

The campaign resulted in 30 short films on campaign themes created by participants. The video blog and the YouTube channel had 57,000 views and a membership of 22,000. A range of thematic conversations, contests, and discussions amongst participants also took place on these platforms. In addition, on the ground, the campaign directly reached over 3,500 young people through campus events. These interactive events explored the personal realm of young people's lives through evoking experiences, reflections, questions and dilemmas. Active campaigners have emerged as leaders and facilitators, engaging with peers and other youth to facilitate reflection on VAWG. The campaign connected groups online and offline to collaborate for short-term actions and long-term collective effort.

Lessons learnt: During the last quarter of the campaign, when both on- and offline work was the strongest, there were only three full-time people working on the campaign – a larger group would have delivered better results. From the beginning, the campaign would have been more successful if it was seeded with a larger group of people. The campaign could have been more youth-led to help develop better ideas on how to engage youth better. Bringing the core group together was difficult (as they were from all over the country) – it would have been better to have developed a core group of people from five university campuses in Delhi only, for easier logistics (Liou, 2013).

17 Man (China)

The campaign conducted by Eastern Campus aimed to raise awareness on violence against women, and then to promote certain actions. The name of the campaign - '17 Man' – garnered attention. It means 'men join together'. The three communications objectives were to increase understanding of VAWG and its prevention amongst young people; to generate personal concern about VAWG; and then to encourage young people, especially young men, to develop their own community activities around preventing VAWG. The campaign specifically targeted students in the top 10 universities in Beijing, on the premise that these students would be the "leaders of tomorrow" (Liou, 2013: 46).

The campaign had three main key messages: that "everyone is responsible for gender equality – it's related to everyone", that "there is a new definition of masculinity", and that "you can take action to oppose VAW".

The campaign included six main activities. Every two months, the campaign website held contests to invite articles from the public on a selected topic; the best articles were judged by an expert group and the winner received a UN certificate.

Another event was a model UN session with students from 10 universities reviewing CEDAW reports as 10 different country teams. More than 100 students participated, and the event resulted in more 100 media reports. A debating contest was also held on the topic of China's new marriage law on property ownership. Over 100 people took part, and the debate was broadcast on social media sites so others could participate in the debate; over 200 posts were made during the debate (Liou, 2013).

The third offline activity was a moot court held at China's top law school, which over 300 people took part in. The activity was covered by top websites, including Sina and Weibo – and in the five days following this event the campaign's followers increased by 4,500 people.

A "say no to violence" signature campaign was also held, both on a university campus (for two hours) and online (over 16 days). 79 young entrepreneurs supported the signature campaign. In total 3,543 people signed (487 signatures were collected online and 3,100 collected offline); a further 91,935 people were reached through the signature campaign online and on campuses.

Lastly, throughout the campaign an online quiz was held on the topic "What can we do on the journey to reach gender equality?" It aimed to raise awareness on how to put gender equality actions into real life practice. More than 4,000 people took the quiz on Sohu (a popular website).

Results:

Since early 2011, this campaign has united more than 100,000 students across top universities campuses in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hunan, in activities both digital and virtual. In addition to the results related to the offline activities described above, the campaign achievements included 57,000 followers or campaign contestants on various online platforms (Sina, Sohu, the campaign website, Renren and Weibo). A total of 2,400 articles were submitted to four online contests that were held. The campaign implementers felt that by raising awareness on gender equality, those reached would naturally take action as a next step because they would take the issue more personally (Liou, 2013).

Love Journey (Viet Nam)

The campaign conducted in Viet Nam had specific communications objectives: 10,000 individuals in the target audience exposed to positive messages on alternatives to violence; five percent (500 of the 10,000) of these individuals who were exposed to the positive messages on alternatives to violence take action by becoming contestants in the social media campaign; 100 campaign contestants create and implement action plans to prevent violence in their communities; and new and long-term supporters and activists added to a larger, 5-year umbrella campaign on VAWG prevention also conducted by PYD?. A further objective was that key policy and decision makers take action on the prevention of gender-based violence and the promotion of gender equality. The campaign targeted young men and women from 15-25 years-old, though later expanded it from 15-30 years of age in order to allow more people to

participate. The campaign had one main key message, which was that "a healthy relationship (or a "cool relationship") is one that is loving, trustful, caring, respectful and non-violent" (Liou, 2013: 48).

Focus group discussions were conducted with a group of 30 young bloggers aged under 25 to consult on the theme and name for the campaign. The name represents the idea of healthy relationships linked to the popular social concept of love in intimate and social relationships.

There were two main campaign activities implemented over 3 months – an online photo essay competition, and an offline music concert. The photo competition was held on a custom-built campaign platform that was integrated into an existing online newspaper to help drive traffic to the campaign. Celebrities participated in the campaign by being 'models' in a sample photo essay, creating a campaign music video and writing songs on healthy relationships that they performed at the concert. The Department of Education supported the music concert by distributing tickets in schools to students, and making a speech about healthy relationships at the concert.

Results:

The campaign resulted in more than 94,261 visitors to the competition website. More than 1,900 young people joined the Facebook page and more than 190 young people joined the volunteers' network for primary prevention of VAWG. Over 130 teams submitted entries (photo essays) to the campaign competition. The original monitoring and evaluation plan was not followed due to lack of time and human resources. Interviews conducted with the winning team showed evidence that their awareness was raised.

Lessons learnt and challenges: At the end of their campaign, organizers of the 'Love Journey' campaign identified the following main lessons learnt and challenges (Liou, 2013):

- Online competitions should be integrated into an existing community page/ web portal, rather than a stand-alone website.

- Be conservative with competition objectives – don't be overly ambitious. Keep messages simple when engaging young people online.

- It can be difficult to find people with technical expertise in social media, and even harder to find people who are familiar with conducting on-line competitions with a behaviour change focus. In Viet Nam, there was no precedent to follow. Thus, campaign organisers needed to undergo specific training on how to develop an online campaign and effectively manage an online community.

- The target audience may be unfamiliar with gender equality and violence prevention concepts. In Viet Nam it was difficult to engage audiences with these concepts. In can be more effective to use 'everyday' terms.

- It is important to find ways to sustain participation, such as offering incentives that are valued by the target audience.

- Online and offline activities must be appropriately integrated. In Viet Nam, an offline activity - a music concert - wasn't integrated as closely with the online campaign due to timing difficulties.

- A community of gender/youth activists may not already exist on-the-ground. This did not exist in Viet Nam, thus the campaign wasn't supported by such a group to begin with.

- A lack of resources for day-to-day management may hinder campaign implementation.

Media Matters (Sierra Leone)

Media Matters for Women (MMW) is a US-based non-profit which links traditional systems of radio broadcasting with mobile phones to create innovative digital communication networks targeting rural women and girls in West Africa. The organisation has been operating a one-year pilot project in Sierra Leone since March 2013, with support from the Oak Foundation of Switzerland. The project aims to distribute critical news and information to rural women and girls, many of whom are illiterate and live without access to electricity, which limits their connectivity to information technology (STATT, 2014: 12).

The MMW project aims to create an innovative, low cost communication network and to empower women by connecting them to high-quality news and information about issues including, but not limited to, gender-based violence. At the outset of the programme, three local professional female journalists were trained in the use of and equipped with a Mobile Production Unit (MPU), including equipment such as an ipad, microphone, headphones, a digital camera and a mobile phone with blue-tooth. They were then tasked with producing a weekly ten-minute radio programme in local languages on a topic that affects women. The journalists were provided with a possible list of topics and allowed to choose the focus of their broadcasts based on their professional judgment, but also, as the project became more established, on the feedback of women participants. They were paid a competitive fee for this work. They were also responsible for establishing five Listening Centres in their geographic area, with the support of a Project Coordinator. The Listening Centres were situated in places where women usually gather and would have the time to listen to the programme together. These included hospitals and rural health clinics, schools, family support units and community centres.

The Project Coordinator secured permission from the village leaders or principal administrator of each centre at the start of the project. They then appointed a Focal Point who was paid a small stipend to play the programmes regularly at the centres and to record attendance. The Project Coordinator also provided administrative support and editorial oversight of the programmes. The method of transmitting the programmes from the journalist's phone to the Listening Centres went through several iterations. Eventually, they discovered they could easily transmit them via Bluetooth technology, a free and rapid (30 seconds) transfer that can be carried out on even the most basic of cell phones in Sierra Leone. In this way, the journalists were able to convert their programmes to MP3 files and transfer them from their laptops to their cell phones and onward to the cell phone of the Focal Point through 'pairing', the process by which two Bluetooth-enabled devices connect to each other. The Project Coordinators also uploaded the programmes to Sound Cloud, an online audio storage and distribution platform that enables users to upload, record, promote and share original sounds and information.

Lessons learned and challenges: While the project has yet to be empirically tested, MMW conducted a qualitative evaluation involving individual interviews, focus groups and desk-based research in January 2014, which points to some interesting learning (STATT, 2014):

- An unexpected result of the programme was that listeners began to transfer the audio files onto their own cell phones so they could listen to them at home. They subsequently reported transferring the files via Bluetooth to their friends and family. This indicates the broad potential for reaching far greater numbers than originally anticipated. Focal points have also reported sharing the files in their home villages and when they travel.

- Greater connectivity was made possible by providing the journalists and Listening Centres with solar rechargers so that the programmes were accessible even when there were power

shortages. It is not currently possible to purchase the rechargers in Sierra Leone, but it was very inexpensive to purchase and ship them from the US.

- Use of these technologies allows information-providers to sidestep the Ministry of Information and therefore reduce bureaucracy and other obstacles, because a license is not required and all content is based on public service media editorial rules.

- The use of Bluetooth technology requires the journalist to visit the Listening Centres in person, which can involve a significant amount of time and money (travel times ranged from ten minutes to 3 hours depending on location). However, this was deemed to be more effective than the initial 'call-in' approach proposed by the project, which involved journalists calling Listening Centre phones and transferring programmes via an audio recorder held up to the cell phone.

- Some mobile phones have limited memory space and storing a MMW programme requires users to purchase a memory card, which is too costly for some listeners. MMW are currently researching alternatives and solutions in file size and/or provision of memory cards.

Equal Access (Nepal)

Supported by the UN Trust Fund, Equal Access Nepal's www.equalaccess.org VOICES project, set up a weekly radio programme called Samajhdari. The radio programme has gained a regular listening audience of over one million since its launch in 2008, being broadcast by 16 local FM stations and Radio Nepal. Samajhdari provides information and facilitates discussion on issues relating to VAWG and HIV (DFID, 2012:15-16).

Content is sent in by community reporters, who are themselves women experiencing violence, survivors of conflict, and women living with HIV. Community reporters, trained in audio collection, document the stories of women and men from rural areas talking about their experiences of violence, HIV or other issues. This process is empowering in itself and encourages wider community participation.

The radio programme is combined with outreach activities such as 'listening groups' facilitated by community reporters to discuss how the material aired links to people's own lives and relationships.

Grassroots women organisers are trained in women's rights, violence against women and girls, legal literacy and community mobilisation to equip them to lead training for other community members. This and other cascading trainings have resulted in women at the community level who act as focal points to disseminate information on legal rights and link service providers with women who are experiencing violence or are at-risk of violence.

Results: Results emerging from systematic monitoring and listener feedback show the programme has provided a space to challenge discrimination against women and to compel men to rethink deeply held attitudes towards women which are a major cause of violence against women and girls and HIV. Changes include (DFID, 2012):

- A significant increase from 13% in the baseline to 79% in the endline amongst men, and 26% to 89% amongst women, who strongly agreed with the need to intervene to stop violence against women and girls.

- An increase from 41% of all female respondents in the baseline to 68% in the endline who disagreed that women should tolerate violence.

- A 14% increase from the baseline to the endline in numbers of respondents indicating that forceful sex with a woman (including your wife) is a crime.

- An increase from 66% of respondents in the baseline to 82% in the endline who agreed that forcing women working in prostitution to have sex against their will is a crime.

Lessons:

- Mass media approaches are an effective way of reaching large numbers of people and mobilising communities towards social change by instigating critical reflection on attitudes and behaviour.

- Approaches are most effective when they combine radio or television with group methodologies, such as radio listening groups and training peer educators to facilitate community discussions. This helps promote deliberation and dialogue around the issues raised, which is important for shifting attitudes and norms.

- Participatory approaches offer an innovative method for enabling women to tell and produce their own stories. This can be empowering as well as helping to challenge common gender stereotypes circulating in the media.

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6. Annex 1

What works to tackle violence against women and girls at the community level? Summary of lessons from the case studies

1. Partner, directly or indirectly, with WROs (acronym) that have a strong understanding of the local context, the capacity to mobilise communities, and knowledge of local authorities and structures. WROs are uniquely placed to create and sustain change at the community level and should be treated as innovators not only programme implementers.

2. Ensure women's human rights and empowerment are guiding principles of any intervention on violence against women and girls. Examples in this guidance include: empowering women survivors to advocate for their rights, provide legal advice to women experiencing violence, use social media to tell their own stories, and lead social change as community activists.

3. Engage with the whole community, including men and boys, and traditional leaders, who can be influential allies. Violence must be seen as a community issue that needs solving at the community level rather than a private matter or a 'women's issue'.

4. Develop and implement programmes to engage men and boys in partnership with WROs and monitor these programmes to ensure they remain women-centred. Women-only spaces must be protected.

5. Integrate prevention and response within interventions, or ensure that prevention and response interventions run concurrently. Support comprehensive services as a basic right but frame service interventions as an entry-point for advocacy and community mobilisation.

6. Develop multi-component interventions since these are more effective than single-focus efforts. Using multiple strategies speeds up the social change process and makes it more solidified – for example, combining group/peer education with community mobilisation, advocacy and media work.

7. Use multi-sector approaches at the community level that bring together actors/institutions from health, education, social services and justice sectors, including traditional authorities and WROs, to tackle violence against women and girls.

8. Connect community-based interventions and women's groups with national and regional-level WROs and networks, and link community activism and advocacy with national and international frameworks on violence against women and girls and women's rights, such as UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

9. Explicitly challenge discriminatory gender norms (values, beliefs, attitudes, behaviours and practices) through approaches that stimulate personal and collective reflection and critical thinking, and inspire informal community activism where change is led by community members.

10. Build girls' and women's social assets and safety nets, for example through the provision of girl- and women-only safe spaces that provide social support and skills training, raise self-esteem, and help cope with crisis.

11. Strengthen informal community support networks, including by building the capacities of women leaders and WROs to develop support and referral networks for women experiencing violence.

12. Build women's resources, assets and agency through interventions to increase women's education and skills, build their leadership and voice, and increase their access to decent jobs and control over economic assets.

13. Put in place strategies to protect women's safety and ensure that basic ethics regarding confidentiality is included as a minimum standard in all interventions. Recognise that, even in emergency or conflict situations, women will have found ways to increase their safety, which need to be supported.

14. Ensure programmes are tailored to meet the needs of women of different ages, marital status, disability, social class, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation and other identities.

15. Make a long-term commitment and ensure there is a sustained presence in the community and provide long-term core funding and organisational capacity-building for WROs. This is particularly important in post-conflict contexts where civil society is often weak.

DFID (2012: 9-11)