

Feasibility study into the possible inclusion of social norms measures within the 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS)

Research report



ANROWS

AUSTRALIA'S NATIONAL RESEARCH
ORGANISATION FOR WOMEN'S SAFETY
to Reduce Violence against Women & their Children

Feasibility study into the possible inclusion of social norms measures within the 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS)

Research report

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Acknowledgement of Country

ANROWS acknowledges the Traditional Owners of the land across Australia on which we live and work. We pay our respects to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Elders past, present and emerging. We value Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories, cultures and knowledge. We are committed to standing and working with First Nations Peoples, honouring the truths set out in the [Warawarni-gu Guma Statement](#).

Acknowledgement of lived experiences of violence

ANROWS acknowledges the lives and experiences of the women and children affected by domestic violence and sexual assault. We recognise the individual stories of courage, hope and resilience that form the basis of ANROWS research.

Caution: Some people may find parts of this content confronting or distressing.

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Key terms

Backlash	A response, or resistance: to actual or perceived challenges to existing hierarchies of power. It is a reaction against progressive social change that seeks to prevent further change from happening and reverse those changes already achieved. A typical feature of backlash is the desire by some proponents to return aspects of an idealised past in which structural inequality was normalised. (Flood, Dragiewicz, & Pease, 2018, p. 8)
Descriptive norm	Refer to <i>social norm</i> .
Empirical expectation	Refer to <i>social norm</i> .
Femininity/ies	The socially accepted and expected characteristics and conduct associated with identifying, or being identified, as female in a social group or society. Refer also to <i>gender</i> .
Gender	The economic, social and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with identifying, or being identified, as male/female, masculine/feminine, man/woman at a particular point in time. Feminist and gender theory highlights that gender has historically been constructed along these normative binary terms to both structure unequal relations between men and women, and to exclude or erase non-binary and gender diverse lives and experiences (Butler, 1999, 2004). Refer also to <i>gender norm</i> .
Gender-based violence	Violence that is a product of the unequal power relationships between genders, based on a socially constructed gender hierarchy that positions men over people of other genders, and justifies the use of violence to assert power and control. For example, violence is often used against a woman because she is a woman, or affects women disproportionately (World Health Organization [WHO] & London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine [LSHTM], 2010). In the international arena, gender-based violence is often used to describe violence involving men and women, in which the female is usually the victim/survivor. Gender-based violence can also be directed towards transgender and non-binary gender individuals and groups. Refer also to <i>gender</i> and <i>violence against women</i> .
Gender norm	For the purposes of this report, gender norms are constructs that prescribe ideals or expectations of masculinity and femininity, or what it means to "be a man" or "be a woman", at a particular point in time (Pearse & Connell, 2016). Feminist theory posits gender norms as "embedded in all domains of social life, shaped by and shaping the material and institutional", and caught up in a complex, dialectical relationship with structural power and inequality (Gilbertson, Peidule, Alexeyeff, & Klein, forthcoming, n.p.). Gender norms are made to appear natural and immutable through processes of normalisation and normativity, that is, repetition and internalisation by social actors and institutions over time, which work to conceal the regulatory function of gender (Butler, 1999; Spade & Willse, 2016). This is distinct from the conceptualisation of social norms from much international work on violence against women, which adopts a social psychology and behavioural science definition of norms—refer to <i>social norm</i> .
Injunctive norm	Refer to <i>social norm</i> .
Intimate partner violence	Any behaviour by a person within an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm to those in the relationship. This is the most common form of violence against women globally (WHO & LSHTM, 2010).
Likert scale	A form of survey question that allows the respondent to answer along a scale rather than a simple yes/no response. Likert scales often include multiple statements for the respondent to address, and most commonly provide a five-point response option (e.g. from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'). Response options are coded numerically (e.g. from 1–5) and can be used to generate a score for each respondent.
Masculinity/ies	The socially accepted and expected characteristics and conduct associated with identifying, or being identified, as male in a social group or society. Refer also to <i>gender</i> .
Normalisation	Within feminist and gender theory, normalisation describes the processes through which normative ideals of social conduct (i.e. norms) are made to appear natural and immutable, and are internalised by individuals as part of an inherent quality, identity or characteristic (Spade & Willse, 2016). For example, the binary construction of masculine and feminine, and associated gender roles for men and women, have been "normalised" over time such that they appear natural rather than socially constructed (Connell, 1987). This process of normalisation also works to conceal the regulatory power of norms (Butler, 1999). Refer also to <i>gender norm</i> .
Normative expectation	Refer to <i>social norm</i> .

Normative influence	The processes through which social norms are theorised to shape individual and collective behaviour, thoughts and feelings. These processes may be stronger or weaker depending on context or setting, how dependent the action is on the conduct of others, the nature of the action in question (e.g. how detectable it is), the strength or likelihood of sanctions, and how directly the norm responds to or encourages the action (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018a). Refer also to <i>social norm</i> .
Outcome expectation	Refer to <i>social norm</i> .
Primary prevention	Within a public health framework, prevention initiatives are distinguished as either primary, secondary or tertiary. In the context of violence against women, primary prevention refers to initiatives that aim to address the risk factors or underlying drivers that contribute to victimisation or perpetration of violence at a population level, also referred to as working “upstream”. Secondary prevention or early intervention refers to initiatives that work with groups at higher-than-average risk of victimisation or perpetration, while tertiary prevention or response refers to initiatives that support survivors or work with perpetrators to mitigate against the recurrence of violence (Our Watch, ANROWS, & VicHealth, 2015). This report primarily focuses on primary prevention.
Protective factor	An attribute or exposure that decreases the probability of the occurrence of a disease or other specified outcome. In this report, protective factors are used to describe traits or experiences that decrease a woman’s likelihood of victimisation of, or men’s perpetration of, violence against women. Refer also to <i>risk factor</i> .
Reference group	Refer to <i>social norm</i> .
Reliability	A statistical term referring to the consistency of a scale or other measure, to determine the extent to which a scale or set of items produces an equivalent response, or in other words, how closely related those items are as a group. Common measures include “Cronbach’s alpha”, which tests internal consistency of one set of items such as those used in a scale, and “Guttman’s lambda-2”, which tests internal consistency of parallel sets of items such as those used in a “split-measure methodology”. A split-measure methodology, also referred to as a split-half method, may be used where there are multiple measures of the same construct that are equivalent (i.e. “parallel measures”), but not all respondents will be asked all measures or individual items, such as for brevity of a questionnaire or test.
Risk factor	An attribute or exposure that increases the probability of the occurrence of a disease or other specified outcome. In this report, risk factors are used to describe traits or experiences that increase a woman’s likelihood of victimisation of, or men’s perpetration of, violence against women. The term “determinant” is sometimes also used in the literature. Refer also to <i>protective factor</i> .
Socio-ecological model	A framework for conceptualising the interaction of risk and protective factors for men’s perpetration and women’s victimisation of violence against women, across different levels: individual, family and relationship, community, institutional, societal and global (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019; Fulu & Miedema, 2015; Heise, 1998, 2011).
Social norm	For the purposes of this report, social norms are defined as “the informal, mostly unwritten, rules that define acceptable, appropriate, and obligatory actions in a given group or society”, where those actions may be behaviour, thoughts or feelings (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018b, p. 2). This definition is based on social psychology and behavioural science and is the dominant conceptualisation of norms adopted within much international work on violence against women. Social norms include beliefs about what is typical or prevalent in the group (often referred to as a “descriptive norm” or an “empirical expectation”), and beliefs about what is appropriate or expected within the group (often referred to as an “injunctive norm” or a “normative expectation”). Social norms exist within “reference groups”, the people important to a person when making a decision about how to think or behave in a given situation. This will be different for specific actions, will change between different contexts or settings, and will also shift over the life course. Social norms are reinforced by perceived or actual “social sanctions”, the anticipated consequences of following or transgressing a norm. These may be positive reinforcement (i.e. reward), or negative reinforcement (i.e. punishment). Sanctions do not have to actually eventuate, rather, the perception of likely consequences may be enough to reinforce the norm. Sanctions are sometimes referred to in the literature as “outcome expectations”.
Social sanction	Refer to <i>social norm</i> .
Violence against women	Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in public or private life. (United Nations [UN], 1993, Article 1)

Acronyms and abbreviations

ALiGN Platform	Advancing Learning and Innovation on Gender Norms Platform
ANROWS	Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety
CASVAW	Community Attitudes Supportive of Violence Against Women Scale
Change the Story	Change the Story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DSS	Department of Social Services (Australian Government)
FGC	Female genital cutting
GBV	Gender-based violence
GEAS	Gender Equality Attitudes Scale
GEM Scale	Gender Equitable Men Scale
HICs	High-income countries
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
IRH	Institute for Reproductive Health
ITAC	Intention to Act Construct
Learning Collaborative	Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change
LMICs	Low- and middle-income countries
LSHTM	London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
National Plan	National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022
NCAS	National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey
RCT	Randomised controlled trial
SIGI	Social Institutions & Gender Index
SNAP Framework	Social Norm Analysis Plot Framework
UN	United Nations
UNMCS	United Nations Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific
UVAW	Understanding Violence Against Women Scale
WHO	World Health Organization

Executive summary

Background and methodology

The National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS) is a population-based survey of Australians' knowledge and attitudes towards violence against women, gender equality and intention to act as positive bystanders. The Australian Government Department of Social Services (DSS) currently funds the NCAS as part of the *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022* (the National Plan) (Council of Australian Governments [COAG], 2011), with recurring surveys previously conducted every four years since 2009, and the first two national surveys conducted in 1987 and 1995. This report summarises findings from a review of the scholarly literature to inform recommendations regarding the feasibility and utility of including social norms measures in the next NCAS, which DSS has committed to funding in 2021 under its current National Plan.

Social norms theory has been used to build nuanced understandings of the social factors that shape violence against women in different settings globally. While individual attitudes and behaviours in relation to violence against women are most certainly linked (Powell & Webster, 2018), much research has sought to further understand the influence of perceived and/or widely held expectations regarding gender and violence on violence against women. For the purposes of this report, social norms are defined as “the informal, mostly unwritten, rules that define acceptable, appropriate, and obligatory actions in a given group or society”, where those actions may be behaviour, thoughts or feelings (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018b, p. 2). Importantly, not all social norms are harmful; they may also be protective or neutral, and as such can be mobilised in social norm change initiatives that aim to replace violence-supportive norms with non-violent ones (Alexander-Scott, Bell, & Holden, 2016). Within research on violence against women, gender inequality and related issues, quantitative measures of social norms have primarily been used to inform and evaluate group-level interventions in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs).

This report was compiled following a review of conceptual literature and Australian and international empirical research on social norms, violence against women and related issues. Literature searches were conducted using various combinations of search terms including: “social norms theory”, “social norm change”, “gender norm change”, “primary prevention”, “violence against women”, “gender equality”, “community mobilisation” and “measure social norms”. While no time limitation or geographical restriction was placed on the search, this report draws on sources written in English, and primarily content published in the past 10 years.

Key findings

This literature review has identified that the measurement of social norms is still in the early stages of development globally, with: few population-level instruments; limited available evidence of measure reliability and validity; and many measures that have only been developed and trialled in one study or specific context such as program evaluations in LMICs. Overall, existing social norms measures tend to comprise either single-item questions or a scale of items (that include statements addressing some combination of personal beliefs and the perceived beliefs of others), or vignettes (that seek respondents' views towards hypothetical situations, with multiple vignettes enabling measurement of different components of social norms).

Other measures go beyond quantifying the content and prevalence of normative beliefs to assess the relative strength and influence of specific norms. These approaches have involved enumerating relationships within a target population to track social influence (known as the “reference group”) and identifying anticipated consequences of compliance or transgression of a suspected norm (known as “social sanctions” or “outcome expectations”). This shift reflects a broader critique of the emphasis on social norms in violence against women and gender inequality research and programming, of which two key points are of interest here: firstly, that structural power and inequality are inadequately addressed in many social norm change interventions (Salter, 2016); secondly, that feminist understandings of normalisation and normative processes are excluded from the social psychology conceptualisation of social norms that frames these interventions, and the violence against women sector more broadly (Gilbertson, Peidule, Alexeyeff, & Klein, forthcoming). There are important distinctions to measuring social norms as a *construct* (i.e. the content of normative beliefs), as compared with identifying the *processes* through which norms influence human action. In addition, there is a current push in the international research towards investigating how normative processes operate in different social contexts and conditions (rather than *which* attitudes and beliefs comprise social norms), and additionally a growing acknowledgement that qualitative and mixed methods research are more appropriate for this task.

Implications and recommendations

A number of key implications can be drawn from the findings of this review when considering the feasibility and utility of including social norms measures in the 2021 NCAS. Firstly, there are some additional points to note. There is currently limited space in the NCAS questionnaire to include additional items, and a priority to retain a majority of the existing items to preserve the time series. There are also considerable limits to available time and other resources for development and piloting of any newly constructed measurements in the NCAS. The recommendations presented here are therefore made with these constraints in mind.

This review confirmed that there is no established social norms measure that could be readily transferred to the NCAS questionnaire framework. This is primarily an issue of content and focus; existing social norms scales have been developed following extensive formative research and piloting to ensure their items are relevant for the target population and would not be appropriate for the Australian context. However, the structure and overall approach of existing measures, particularly those that go beyond quantifying normative beliefs, could be informative for the construction of new social norms measures specific to the NCAS. Attention to these components has informed the recommendations of this report.

The following four actions have been identified as the most feasible and useful, while also meeting the commitments of the NCAS to include social norms measures in potential future iterations under the next National Plan or other forms of funding. Recommendations for the 2021 NCAS are to:

1. conduct a conceptual review of social norms within the NCAS questionnaire framework
2. develop an additional question(s) on influential others (i.e. identify potential reference groups)
3. revise existing bystander measures to better incorporate normative processes (i.e. identify potential social sanctions)
4. where time and resources allow, invest in qualitative research on normative processes in context under the NCAS communications strategy.

A further two possible actions have been identified. However, these are not recommended for the 2021 NCAS due to conceptual considerations and time-space constraints of the current survey instrument. These would be more suited to inclusion in a separate, comprehensive and mixed methods study of social norms in Australia. Recommendations for future social norms research are to:

1. develop a new perceived social norms scale
2. construct new experimental vignette-based questions.

It is not currently recommended to develop a new scale or other quantitative measure of normative beliefs for the 2021 NCAS. Though it has been possible to identify example social norms measures in the field, this review has found no measure that would be suitable for direct adaptation into the NCAS without substantive further development. In sum, scales would require translation to be appropriate for the Australian context, and vignettes require extensive formative research and testing to ensure they are relevant, accurate and effective. Both approaches would also require a substantial time allowance in a telephone survey, which is not viable given the NCAS questionnaire is currently at maximum desirable length (20 minutes). In addition, acknowledging the existing insights into Australian societal-level norms the NCAS already provides, there is a unique opportunity to invest in expanding the field through other qualitative research into normative processes.

There are strong policy and programming reasons for supporting a shift towards better understandings of normative processes through mixed methods research.

For primary prevention initiatives that incorporate social norm change to be effective, it is not enough to quantify the content and prevalence of a norm. This work must also be underpinned by a nuanced understanding of how violence-supportive norms are held in place and how they shape behaviour within a target population. Rather than potential duplication of efforts, there is a greater utility for knowledge, policy and programming in constructing measures aimed at capturing the processes of normative influence and potential for change. However, this is difficult to achieve with quantitative measures alone.

Introduction

This report summarises the findings of a conceptual and empirical literature review conducted to determine the feasibility of including social norms measures in the 2021 National Community Attitudes towards Violence against Women Survey (NCAS). The NCAS is a national, population-based survey of Australians aged 16 years and over, conducted via telephone every four years, that provides quantitative data on:

- individuals' knowledge of violence against women¹
- attitudes towards this violence and gender equality
- intentions to act if they were to witness abuse or disrespect towards women (Webster et al., 2018a).

The Australian Government Department of Social Services (DSS) funds the NCAS as part of the *National Plan to Reduce Violence against Women and their Children 2010–2022* (the National Plan)(COAG, 2011). The NCAS questionnaire framework (Appendix A) is closely aligned with Australia's national primary prevention framework, *Change the Story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia* (Change the Story) (Our Watch, ANROWS, & VicHealth, 2015). The NCAS also complements the *Personal Safety Survey*, which asks people about their experiences of interpersonal violence (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). The 2017 survey instrument includes robust and complex measures of:

- individual attitudes, the Gender Equality Attitudes Scale (GEAS) and the Community Attitudes Supportive of Violence Against Women Scale (CASVAWS)
- individual knowledge, the Understanding Violence Against Women Scale (UVAW)
- individual bystander action, the Intention to Act Construct (ITAC).

These scales reflect the substantial investment into researching Australians' violence-supportive attitudes to date. The 2017 NCAS report further indicates the potential for a social norms measure to be included in the questionnaire framework for future iterations.

The purpose of the current project was to determine whether it would be feasible, meaningful and useful to include social norms measures in the 2021 NCAS questionnaire. The objectives of the project were to:

- conduct a review of the conceptual and empirical literature on social norms theory with a particular focus on studies that address violence against women and gender equality, particularly population-level survey research
- provide an assessment of the feasibility of including a measure of social norms in the 2021 NCAS
- document any existing measures that could be used in the NCAS, adapted for use or serve as good practice approaches; and based on the literature reviewed and the feasibility assessment, identify what additional work might need to be completed to adapt an existing instrument or develop a new instrument to measure social norms in the 2021 NCAS.

Social norms have become a core focus of violence against women research, policy and programming over the past two decades. Reflecting the framework established by *Change the Story* (Our Watch et al., 2015), the 2017 NCAS report conceptualises social norms as one of the processes through which the gendered drivers and reinforcing factors operate to perpetuate violence against women, alongside social practices and social structures (Webster et al., 2018a). For the purposes of this report, social norms are defined as “the informal, mostly unwritten, rules that define acceptable, appropriate, and obligatory actions in a given group or society”, where those actions may be behaviour, thoughts or feelings (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018b, p. 2). This definition reflects the social psychology conceptualisation of social norms that has been most commonly adopted in work on social norms and violence against women, as discussed below. Figure 1 illustrates the distinction between individual behaviours, attitudes and social norms (adapted from Alexander-Scott, Bell, & Holden, 2016). Social norms theory, outlined in detail in the following section, highlights that social norms may be constituted by different beliefs about others: what others actually do, what they should do and what they expect an individual to do.

Figure 1. Distinguishing between behaviour, attitudes and social norms

Personal	Behaviour		Attitudes
	What I do		What I support, value or approve of
Beliefs about others	What I believe others do	What I believe others should do	What I believe others think I should do
	Social norms		

1 The NCAS focuses specifically on men's interpersonal violence against women, including physical and sexual violence in intimate relationships, sexual harassment and stalking. This is in recognition that there are strong, gendered patterns of violence perpetration and victimisation in Australia, as elsewhere, through which women's experiences of interpersonal violence are overwhelmingly perpetrated by men. However, the literature discussed in this report, and the implications and recommendations for future research, will be relevant in addressing other forms of interpersonal violence, including as experienced by sexual and gender minorities, due to common social norms and other risk factors that contribute to these different forms of violence. For more information, refer to the 2017 NCAS report (Webster et al., 2018a).

The first section of the report provides a summary of key theoretical and conceptual literature relevant to social norms and violence against women, outlining how social norms have been used in violence against women research and primary prevention² programming. The second section reviews the empirical literature on quantitative social norms measures from related gender and health fields such as violence against women and sexual and reproductive health. This empirical review confirms that there are limited relevant quantitative measures for social norms, with most research focused on mapping the prevalence of normative beliefs rather than assessing normative influence. A compendium of existing relevant measures is provided as Appendix B: Compendium of relevant social norms measures and items (hereafter referred to as “the Compendium”). The third section provides a feasibility assessment for the development and inclusion of social norms measures in the 2021 NCAS questionnaire. Finally, the report concludes with an outline of implications and recommendations for additional work.

2 In the remainder of this report, “prevention” or “preventing” refers specifically to primary prevention.



Methodology

This report was compiled following a review of conceptual literature and Australian and international empirical research on social norms, violence against women and related issues. Literature was identified through multiple academic databases (e.g. Taylor & Francis, ProQuest Central, Elsevier ScienceDirect, SAGE, JSTOR) and through backwards referencing of key publications in the field. Identified literature included qualitative and quantitative studies, reviews and systematic reviews, and evaluations of social norms interventions in different settings. Grey literature, public reports and commentaries on practice-based learning were also identified through searching the websites of leading social norms research organisations, such as the Advancing Learning and Innovation on Gender Norms (ALiGN) Platform (2019), the Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change (the Learning Collaborative), and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM). Literature searches were conducted using various combinations of search terms including:

- social norms theory
- social norm change
- gender norm change
- primary prevention
- violence against women
- gender equality
- community mobilisation
- measure social norms.

Although there were no geographic restrictions on the origins of the literature, only English language content has been analysed and included in the review due to language competencies of the research team. While no time limitation was placed on the search, most content presented in this report reflects contemporary research and practice on social norms and violence against women and was therefore published in the past 10 years. The last literature search was conducted on 18 July 2019.



Conceptual review:

Social norms theory and violence against women

Social norms theory has been used to build nuanced understandings of the social factors that shape violence against women in different settings globally. In the context of preventing violence against women, social norms theory has been used to inform and evaluate various group-level interventions, which are discussed in more detail in the Empirical review. This section outlines the key theoretical approaches and concepts of social norms, how these have been adopted in violence against women research and prevention programming, and current critiques of this social norms approach.

Norms in theory: Divergent theoretical approaches

Norms have been theorised across various disciplines including sociology, anthropology, philosophy, behavioural science, communications, psychology and economics (Chung & Rimal, 2016; Cislighi & Heise, 2017). Norms have long been central to social theories of collective human action, conceptualised as social rules that mediate interactions between individuals and institutions and between agency and structures (Gilbertson, Peidule, Alexeyeff, & Klein, forthcoming). Two theoretical approaches are of particular relevance to research on violence against women and gender equality: feminist and gender theory, and social psychology.

Within feminist and gender theory, norms prescribe ideals or expectations of masculinity and femininity, or what it means to “be a man” or “be a woman”, at a particular point in time (Pearse & Connell, 2016). In this context, they are often explicitly termed “gender norms”. These norms are posited as “embedded in all domains of social life, shaped by and shaping the material and institutional”, and caught up in a complex, dialectical relationship with structural power and inequality (Gilbertson et al., forthcoming, n.p.). Feminist and gender theory emphasises that norms are made to appear natural and immutable through processes of normalisation and normativity, that is, repetition and internalisation by social actors and institutions over time, which work to conceal the regulatory function of gender (Ahmed, 2014; Butler, 1999; Spade & Willse, 2016). Gender norms shift over time to reflect contemporary socioeconomic change and the demands of maintaining patriarchal structures, institutions and gender relations (Pearse & Connell, 2016).

Power is central to this conceptualisation. While the content and influence of gender norms may shift over time, they serve an ongoing political function in regulating identities, relationships and social practice (Butler, 1999). These norms both reinforce and are reflective of gendered power dynamics. For example, these norms maintain binary constructions of man/woman and hierarchical relations between men and women (Butler, 1999; Connell, 1987, 2005). Internalisation then is a dynamic process of taking on gendered social expectations and associated privilege and/or subjugation, whether consciously or not,

through relations with others, structures and institutions (Gilbertson et al., forthcoming). Individuals also demonstrate complex agency in negotiating these normative processes in their day-to-day lives; normative power is not universal or unilateral, and individuals may actively reflect on their attachment to or rejection of gender norms (Waling, 2019). Recent critique suggests that these feminist understandings of gender norms, agency and power, and the emphasis on normalisation and normativity, are missing or underdeveloped in many current social norms approaches to violence against women (Gilbertson et al., forthcoming; Salter, 2016). This point is discussed further below.

Social norms as adapted for research and programming on preventing violence against women emerged primarily out of social psychology and public health research into issues such as littering, contraception use, and alcohol and substance use (Bell & Cox, 2015; Chung & Rimal, 2016; Miller & Prentice, 2016; Rimal & Lapinski, 2015). There are several theoretical articulations of how norms shape action, each with distinct terminology, including the theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010), the theory of normative social behaviour (Rimal & Real, 2005), and the work of game theorists such as Bicchieri (2006). This body of work emphasises that social norms are open to change and that communication is central to the establishment, maintenance and transformation of social norms (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005; Rimal & Lapinski, 2015; Yanovitzky & Rimal, 2006). Most of these empirical studies were conducted in high-income countries (HICs) such as the United States, often with college students, and therefore tend to reflect a specific setting and cohort. This approach has been translated into social norms research on violence against women and gender equality, primarily within low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). This literature is discussed in more detail in the Empirical review.

While there is no settled “social norms theory” as such, there are common elements that have been identified as central to diagnosing and measuring social norms:

- a proscriptive or prescriptive belief about common or appropriate action within a social group
- the reference group or relevant people who hold, or are perceived as holding, that belief
- perceived or actual social sanctions that encourage adherence to the norm
- how influential the norm is in contributing to behaviour, or the process by which the norm influences behaviour (Bell & Cox, 2015; Bicchieri, Lindemans, & Jiang, 2014; Cislighi & Heise, 2016; Mackie, Moneti, Shakya, & Denny, 2015; Paluck, Cooper, Poynton, & Siedloff 2010; Reynolds, Subašić, & Tindall, 2015; Rimal & Lapinski, 2015).

Definitions for these key concepts are provided in Figure 2. Normative beliefs are often categorised in the literature as descriptive and injunctive norms (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren,

1990), or as empirical and normative expectations (Bicchieri et al., 2014). While different terminology is used, these concepts overlap considerably and both are used in the social norms and violence against women literature. Other

terms include personal, moral, in-group, subjective, collective and perceived norms (Chung & Rimal, 2016; Reynolds et al., 2015), though these are less common in the relevant literature on social norms and violence against women.

Figure 2. Definitions of key concepts in social norms theory

Concept	Definition
Descriptive norm	A shared belief about what is typical or common in the group, that is, expectations about what people actually do (Cialdini et al., 1990).
Injunctive norm	A shared belief about what is appropriate or acceptable in the group, that is, expectations about what people should do (Cialdini et al., 1990).
Empirical expectation	An individual's belief about the common prevalence of an action within the group. Overlaps conceptually with "descriptive norms" (Bicchieri et al., 2014).
Normative expectation	An individual's belief about what others in the group think the individual should do, i.e. a belief about the belief of others. Overlaps conceptually with "injunctive norms" (Bicchieri et al., 2014).
Reference group	The group of people important to a person when making a decision about how to think or behave in a given situation. This will be different for specific actions, will change between different contexts or settings, and will also shift over the life course (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016).
Social sanctions or outcome expectations	Anticipated consequences of following or transgressing a norm. These may be positive reinforcement (i.e. reward), or negative reinforcement (i.e. punishment). Sanctions do not have to actually eventuate, rather the perception of likely consequences may be enough to reinforce the norm (Mackie et al., 2015).
Normative influence	The processes through which social norms are theorised to shape individual and collective behaviour, thoughts and feelings. These processes may be stronger or weaker depending on context or setting, how dependent the action is on the conduct of others, the nature of the action in question (e.g. how detectable it is), the strength or likelihood of sanctions, and how directly the norm responds to or encourages the action (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018a).

In some cases, there may be a gap between an individual's belief about how prevalent an attitude or behaviour is within the group and how prevalent that attitude or behaviour actually is (Mackie et al., 2015). Alternatively, individuals may follow a perceived norm despite not supporting it personally because they mistakenly believe the action to be common within their social group. This is known as pluralistic ignorance and has been identified as an opportunity to drive norm change by correcting awareness of what people in the group actually think or do (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018b; Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). The literature also emphasises that not all social norms are harmful; they may also be protective or neutral, as is evident in social norm change initiatives that aim to replace violence-supportive norms with non-violent ones (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016).

Social psychology further theorises how social norms come to be internalised by individuals in order to shape human action, with attention to group identity and membership. Social norms can be perceived as central to a social group's

identity, whether on the basis of a shared cultural, ethnic or religious background or as part of a peer group, student cohort or workplace. Specific norms may come to have important meaning to that group, both in terms of defining membership and boundaries, and for individuals desiring to identify as part of the group (Bell & Cox, 2015; Rimal & Lapinski, 2015; Rimal & Real, 2005). Reynolds et al. (2015) suggest that when individuals identify in this way with the norms of a social group, or "in-group", the norms shift from being external social rules to internalised values as part of a social identity connecting an individual with a collective. Such norms shape action where an individual chooses to act in a way that aligns with this social identity. This has implications for social norm and behaviour change; "as definitions of who 'we' are and who 'we' are not shift, so too does what 'we' (should) do" (Reynolds et al., 2015, p. 51). This conceptualisation is distinct from feminist and gender theory approaches to internalising norms, outlined above, which emphasise the centrality of power dynamics in how norms shape identities and social relations. Gender norms interact

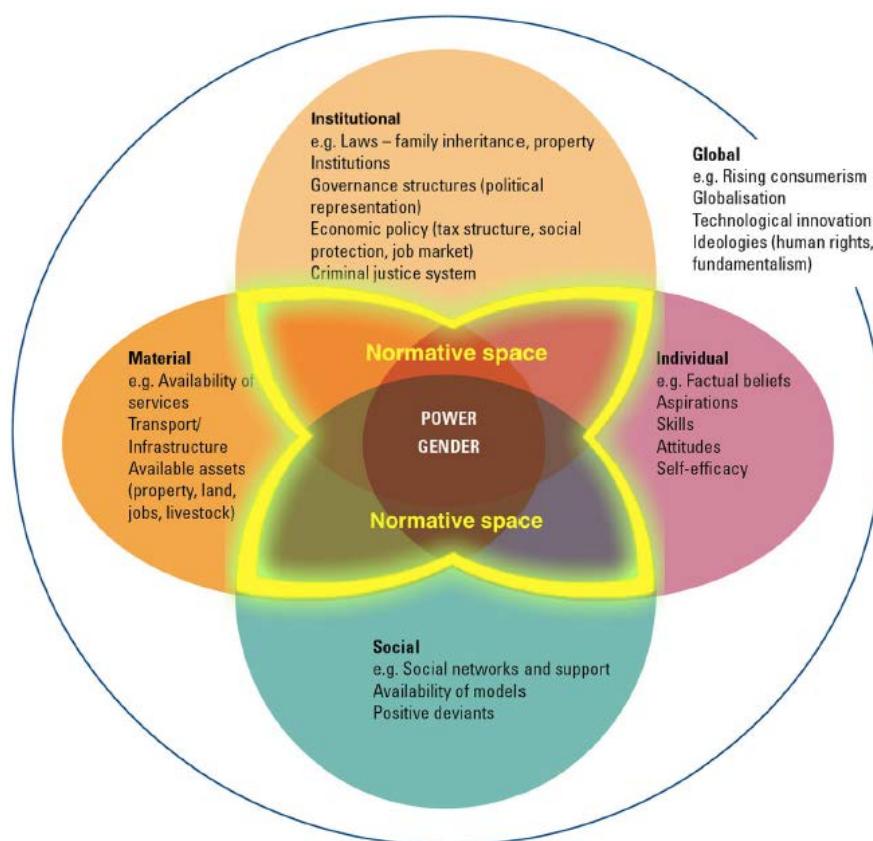
with structures and institutions and cannot be considered separately from processes of normalisation and normativity (Gilbertson et al., forthcoming). These points are discussed further below.

Social norms and violence against women

Within a public health approach to understanding and preventing violence against women, social norms are considered as one of many factors that contribute to rates of perpetration and victimisation across the social ecology (Heise, 2011). The socio-ecological model of violence against women has been used to analyse the interaction of risk and protective factors at different levels: individual, family and relationship, community, institutional, societal and global (Fulu & Miedema, 2015; Heise, 1998, 2011). This model, and the global evidence base underpinning it, informed the development of Australia’s national prevention framework, *Change the Story*. Within this framework, social norms are conceptualised as one of the central processes through which the gendered drivers and reinforcing factors operate to perpetuate violence against women, alongside practices and structures (Our Watch et al., 2015).

The socio-ecological model has recently been revised and expanded, with the aim to better support the development of interventions that recognise the interaction of norms with other factors in driving violence against women and other harmful gender-related health practices (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019). Figure 3 illustrates this framework, which conceptualises how power and gender intersect across five domains of influence: individual, social, material, institutional and global. Cislaghi and Heise (2018b) suggest that where those domains intersect may be indicative of normative influence on behaviour, though further conceptual development is required to determine how this aligns with their theory of a spectrum of normative influence (discussed below). This framework has recently been adapted by the Learning Collaborative for use in conceptualising social and gender norms that shape adolescent sexual and reproductive health (Pulerwitz et al., 2019). However, this model is highly conceptual and it is unclear how norms would actually influence gender and health outcomes in practice, and it may, therefore, be difficult to translate into research, policy and programming.

Figure 3. “Effective interventions uncover and address the interactions between norms and other factors sustaining harmful practices” (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018b, p. 5)



Social norms are theorised as underpinning different forms of violence against women both directly and indirectly (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016; Cislighi & Heise, 2018a). For example, female genital cutting (FGC) is directly related to social norms about the practice itself, that is, there are observable, shared beliefs that FGC is an appropriate, acceptable or typical practice within the community (Cislighi & Heise, 2018a). In other cases, social norms influence violence against women indirectly by contributing to environments in which it is more likely to happen, such as by shaping unequal power between women and men in intimate relationships. Different constructions of masculinity and femininity are supported by social norms, including those that promote men's dominance and women's submissiveness (Cislighi, Manji, & Heise, 2018). For example, normative beliefs that men are entitled to sex in marriage, that women are responsible for controlling men's sexual appetite, and that a family's honour or reputation is tied to girls' sexual purity have been found to be associated with violence against women in some settings (World Health Organization [WHO] & London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine [LSHTM], 2010). Violence may also be used as a social sanction to reinforce adherence to norms about gender roles and relationships, such as where physical violence is used to discipline women who are perceived as failing to complete household chores. Homophobic and transphobic abuse are further examples of this normative dynamic, though they are often excluded from understandings of, and initiatives to address, gender-based violence (Mortimer, Powell, & Sandy, 2019). In each of these examples, social norms interact with other factors to perpetuate these different forms of violence against women.

Normative influence

As noted above, there are several theoretical explanations for how norms shape action, a full review of which is beyond the scope of this report (e.g. Bell & Cox, 2015; Bicchieri et al., 2014; Chung & Rimal, 2016; Kincaid, 2004; Mead, Rimal, Ferrence, & Cohen, 2014; Yanovitzky & Rimal, 2006). Normative influence shifts within and between socio-cultural contexts, such as across urban and rural sites, different organisational cultures, or different countries and global regions (Cislighi et al., 2018). Norms also have varying influence over different behaviours (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). There are many factors that could contribute to how context shapes normative influence; however, there is a significant lack of research into this relationship. The influence of a reference group over individual members' behaviour will also

fluctuate in different contexts and over time (Mackie et al., 2015). For example, there is considerable research suggesting that adolescents are more susceptible to normative influence for certain behaviours such as drinking and sexual behaviour, reflecting heightened experiences of identity formation (individual and group) that are characteristic of this age group (Basu, Zuo, Lou, Acharya, & Lundgren, 2017; Bell & Cox, 2015; Hogg & Reid, 2006; John, Stoebenau, Ritter, Edmeades, & Balvin, 2017; Lundgren et al., 2019; Rimal & Real, 2005; Sedlander & Rimal, 2019; Shakya et al., 2019; Vaitla, Taylor, Van Horn, & Cislighi, 2017; van de Bongardt, Reitz, Sandfort, & Deković, 2015).

There has been a recent shift in social norms and violence against women research and programming to focus more on measuring and understanding how norms influence gender- and health-related behaviours (Bingenheimer, 2019). Noting the limited understanding of these normative processes, Cislighi and Heise (2018a) have recently theorised a "spectrum of normative influence", which proposes four factors that may determine how susceptible a behaviour is to normative influence: dependence, detectability, sanctions and proximity. Their framework further outlines four levels of normative influence:

- actions subject to the strongest norm are obligatory
- those subject to strong norms are appropriate
- those subject to weak norms are acceptable
- those subject to the weakest norms are possible (Cislighi & Heise, 2018a).

Figure 4 illustrates this "spectrum", wherein the authors have used a scale of 1–3 to indicate the potential strength of a norm in question.³ Taking FGC as an example, Cislighi and Heise (2018a) suggest this practice is subject to strong normative influence: it is part of interdependent social relations within a community, is detectable through public ceremonies, is perceived as likely to be enforced by sanctions such as shame or exclusion and there are direct beliefs about the practice. While this model engages with broader social norms theory and research, such as the social psychology literature discussed above, Cislighi and Heise (2018a) have further drawn from their own extensive experience working on violence against women and other related issues in LMICs. The model may, therefore, be more appropriate for use in research on social norms and violence against women, but has not yet been comprehensively tested in practice. This emerging area of research is discussed in the Empirical review.

Figure 4. "A spectrum of normative influence" (Cislighi & Heise, 2018a)

		A practice or behaviour that is														
Independent	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	3	Interdependent
Less detectable	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	3	More detectable
Less Likely or Weaker Sanctions Under Distal Influence	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	3	More Likely or Stronger Sanctions Under Proximal Influence
Weaker Normative Influence		← Is more likely under →												Stronger Normative Influence		

³ This is not intended to be used as a Likert scale within survey questions, rather Cislighi and Heise (2018a) have adopted the scale of 1 to 3 for illustrative purposes only at this stage.

These enquiries into normative influence are significant developments in social norms theory as they recognise that not all shared beliefs are normative and that the presence of a social norm does not necessarily produce the associated action (Cislaghi et al., 2018). The strength and dynamics of normative influence are highly complex and shift depending on social and contextual factors of different situations, as well as attributes of the action in question. These are important considerations for prevention policy and programming as they recognise the distinction between how many people hold a normative belief, and how many feel compelled to comply with that belief and why.

Critiques of social norms theory for preventing violence against women

Social norms approaches to violence against women have recently been critiqued for failing to recognise and challenge structural inequalities and institutional power. At the project level, norm change interventions have tended to be designed and implemented without adequate attention to, or integration with, efforts to change structural barriers or drivers (Salter, 2016). For example, some social norms programming that focuses on men and boys may inadvertently reproduce harmful or dominant masculinities by using the rhetoric of what “real men” do, without challenging institutionalised gender hierarchies and unequal power (Fleming, Lee, & Dworkin, 2014; Gibbs, Vaughan, & Aggleton, 2015). This in part reflects the conceptual blurring or conflation of “social norms” and “gender norms” within programs’ theories of change, without adequate attention to feminist theories of normalisation and power (Gilbertson et al., forthcoming). In addition, practitioners face considerable challenges in translating abstract social norms theory into community-based interventions, and existing research tools are limited in their capacity to capture the complex and dynamic processes of normative influence (Cislaghi et al., 2018). This is discussed further in the Empirical review.

Literature on social norms campaigning argues against awareness-raising messages that use descriptive norms or empirical expectations (i.e. statements about how common an action is), and for messaging that aims to shift injunctive norms or normative expectations (i.e. statements about how acceptable or appropriate an action is) (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). For example, messaging that focuses on how prevalent violence against women is, or on a particular violent behaviour, may inadvertently lead to perceptions that this violence is normal and more accepted than it actually is (Mackie et al., 2015). Messaging that promotes a particular narrative of what a “good man” or a “real man” should be can feed normative constructions of masculinity and binary gender categories, without acknowledging or transforming structural gender inequalities (Messner, 2016; Salter, 2016).

At a systems level, social norms interventions have been further critiqued for neglecting or concealing the role of institutions and replicating problematic power relations between academic and research organisations in HICS and target communities in LMICs (Gilbertson et al., forthcoming). The emphasis on quantitative evaluation design, particularly using randomised controlled trials (RCTs), has further been critiqued for failing to capture the nuance of normative processes, and their interaction with structures and institutional priorities (Kabeer, 2019). These critiques do not reject the role of norms in perpetuating violence against women. Rather, they emphasise the importance of prioritising research that identifies the processes by which norms shape action, through complex interactions with other factors across the social-ecological model (outlined above).

Empirical review:

Studies using existing measures on social norms and violence against women

This section provides a review of relevant empirical, population-level survey research on social norms. The focus is on quantitative methods as the NCAS uses a quantitative survey instrument. However, some qualitative methods are also discussed when relevant, such as where there is a lack of existing or appropriate quantitative measures. However, a full review of existing qualitative instruments is beyond the scope of this report. Where available, examples of existing scales and other measures are included below or in the Compendium (Appendix B). These represent the current state of an emerging field of practice and should be considered examples of different approaches for wording and structuring quantitative questions on social norms.

The current review confirmed that there is a lack of existing systematic approaches to the quantitative measurement of social norms within population-level survey instruments. While social norms change has become a core approach for preventing violence against women, best practice for measuring social norms and capturing the dynamics of change is still emerging (Samman, 2019). This has been changing dramatically over the past two years with the emergence of norm measurement groups such as the Learning Collaborative Measurement Community (Costenbader et al., 2019), publication of focused reports on measuring social norms for gender equality (Cislaghi & Heise, 2016, 2017; Institute for Reproductive Health [IRH], 2019; Samman, 2019), and of special issues on norms and gender in leading journals including the *Lancet* (Heise et al., 2019) and the *Journal of Adolescent Health* (Bingenheimer, 2019). It is important to note that this is still a new area of enquiry, with many measures in early stages of development and limited available evidence of validity, or of use in more than one study or context (Perrin et al., 2019; Samman, 2019; Weber et al., 2019). Where available, information on the reliability of measures is provided. However, this is either not commonly tested or not published. Several studies also provide only examples of scale items or report on respondents' level of support for specific items, rather than publishing the full scales used.

The research described in this review is primarily from evaluation studies in LMICs and explores related issues of violence against women, sexual and reproductive health, adolescent health and women's economic empowerment.⁴ These studies are often conducted with specific target populations at the community level rather than as part of country-level survey research. In this context, social norms are generally measured for the purpose of analysis against other primary outcomes of interest, such as rates of intimate partner violence or contraception use. That is, social norms measures are used alongside questions about individual behaviour such that normative beliefs are tested against actual conduct. These quantitative measures are also strongly informed by social psychology conceptualisations of

social norms and focus on individuals' self-reports (refer to Conceptual review). The following sub-sections are organised around the core elements of social norms identified in the Conceptual review: normative beliefs, reference groups, social sanctions and normative influence. Elements of these measurement approaches are summarised in Figure 5.

Formative research

Best practice in social norms research is to conduct formative research with qualitative measures to identify which norms may influence the actions of interest (Cislaghi & Heise, 2016; Costenbader et al., 2019; IRH, 2019; Samman, 2019; Stefanik & Hwang, 2017). The Learning Collaborative has recently outlined several qualitative tools previously used in the design of social norm change interventions in different contexts (IRH, 2019). Once it has been determined that an action is likely subject to normative influence, then quantitative methods may be appropriate for exploring other key elements such as individual perceptions of normative beliefs, membership of reference groups and anticipated sanctions (Samman, 2019).

In most studies, formative research conducted during the inception phase of social norm change interventions has also informed the development of the intervention's evaluation framework and research tools. For example, Glass et al. (2018) describe how social norms contributing to sexual violence were identified for the Communities Care program in Somalia and South Sudan through stakeholder consultation and focus groups with target communities. Focus groups made use of various scenarios representing violence against women with different perpetrators and asked participants about their own beliefs, anticipated reactions of their family and community and likely reporting and help-seeking. Thematic analysis of this qualitative data was subsequently used to develop the quantitative survey instrument used in the impact evaluation, which is discussed in more detail below. Formative research such as this is equally important for the development of vignette survey questions (below) to ensure their relevance (Samman, 2019). While a full review of this body of formative research is beyond the scope of this review, it is worth noting the particular importance of preliminary qualitative research for developing social norms measures, given the complexity that may otherwise be concealed or overlooked.

Quantifying the content and prevalence of normative beliefs

Most relevant quantitative research on social norms focuses on mapping the content and prevalence of normative beliefs held by individuals within a target population. This requires using several approaches to survey questions, recognising

⁴ While this is broader than the scope of the NCAS, these issues are linked by common social norms and other risk factors that can result in common negative consequences (Fleming & Agnew-Brune, 2015; Heise et al., 2019). Research in these fields often explores aspects of gender inequality relevant to the scope of the NCAS and have therefore been included in this Empirical review.

Figure 5. Social norms measurement approach considerations (adapted from IRH, 2019, p. 37)

Measurement approach	Measurement considerations
Normative beliefs	
Single-item questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When only one action and corresponding norm is of interest Do not take up much time or space in a survey Training for data collectors is straightforward
Prevalence of norms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To track norm change over time through individuals' estimations of how prevalent an action or attitude is within their reference group
Indices or scales	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Combining single-item questions to create a more nuanced measure To date, very few social norms scales have been rigorously developed and validated in different settings
Vignettes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Based on a strong understanding of the target population's demographics and background Can be more difficult to design and administer If the scenario is very similar to the respondent's own circumstances or experiences, they may give an answer that reflects their own attitudes or behaviour; if the scenario is not well-matched with the respondent's circumstances or experiences, their responses may be unrealistic
Reference groups	
Objective (externally-identified)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can use general introductory statements such as "In my community...", "People in society...", or "Among my friends..." May not provide accurate information on who respondents see as influential in shaping their attitudes and behaviour
Subjective (egocentric or respondent-identified)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are different methods for capturing this (e.g. pre-determined list of relationships vs. free-listing with individual names), depending on how specific the data needs to be; more complex tools will require additional training for data collectors. Can be time consuming, particularly where respondents may have multiple reference groups to be identified
Comparing subjective and broader community reference groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To understand how respondents' individual behaviour aligns with or differs from their perceptions of their reference groups' attitudes and behaviour Requires asking two sets of questions to get at both reference groups, which is time consuming
Influence of different reference groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Beneficial for policy and programming to understand the relative importance of different reference groups Can use a stand-alone set of questions to understand generally who influences an individual's attitudes and behaviours, with an "other" option to capture groups that may otherwise be missed Social network analysis may be useful though this approach is still being explored
Outcome expectations	
Social sanctions and normative influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To understand how strongly, and in what ways, identified social norms are enforced Potential sanctions must be informed by formative research to ensure they are realistic and not exaggerated

the different domains and components of a social norm (refer also to the Conceptual review). The literature suggests best practice is to include a combination of measures including personal beliefs or attitudes about the action of interest, beliefs about how often others in their social group perform the action (i.e. descriptive norm or empirical expectation), and beliefs about how much others approve of the action (i.e. injunctive norm or normative expectation) (Cislaghi & Heise, 2016; Glass et al., 2018; Mackie et al., 2015; Samman, 2019). These questions capture individuals' perceptions of social norms in the target population, sometimes referred to as perceived norms (IRH, 2019). Questions on normative beliefs should be included alongside others seeking to capture or identify the reference group and social sanctions; existing research on these two components is discussed in more detail below. This section of the report demonstrates that there are important distinctions to measuring social norms as a *construct* (i.e. the content of normative beliefs), as compared with identifying the *processes* of normative influence. Table 1 of the Compendium illustrates some simplified questions outlined by Cislaghi and Heise (2017) for use in quantitative surveys on social norms, based on their experience conducting research in LMICs where language and concepts must be accessible for both local researchers and respondents.

Scales and single-item questions

Scales and single-item questions that aim to capture individual perceptions of social norms relating to gender inequality and violence against women have primarily been developed based on initial qualitative research (refer also to the discussion on formative research above). For example, the Global Early Adolescent Study is a longitudinal research project exploring gender socialisation and associated health and wellbeing outcomes among early adolescents (10–14 years), run by the World Health Organization (WHO) and John Hopkins University.⁵ The study team has recently developed two subscales—(Sexual Double Standard) and (Adolescent Romantic Expectations)—(to assess cross-cultural social norms and health outcomes, with each asking for respondents' level of agreement with normative statements about gender roles and relations (Moreau et al., 2019). These subscales were developed through an iterative mixed methods process, starting with a thematic analysis of in-depth interviews with 200 adolescents and their parents in seven study sites to identify cross-cultural ideas about romantic interactions among early adolescents. These themes were then adapted into scale items that were tested for validity with adolescents in 14 sites, and subsequently used to construct the two subscales (with six and four items respectively), which were piloted twice (2015–16 and 2017) to produce the final validated measures. Moreau et al. (2019) describe the validity testing of individual items and the complete subscales in detail. These measures are included in the Compendium as Table 2. Other tools used in the Global Early Adolescent Study are discussed in the following

sections. This example highlights the considerable time and resources that can be required to develop social norms measures that are both grounded in the experiences and perspectives of the target community, and appropriate for use with a multicultural sample.

A number of other studies on social norms, gender and health have combined measures of individual attitudes, behaviours and normative beliefs to quantify social norms. For example, two subscales of the Attitude and Relationship Control Scales for Women's Experiences of Intimate Partner Violence contain duplicates of each item to ask about the respondent's own beliefs and their perceptions of their community's beliefs (e.g. "My community thinks that a woman should obey her husband" and "I think that a woman should obey her husband") (Dunkle et al., 2004; Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2003). Survey instruments often use multiple scales in this way to capture individuals' perceptions of normative beliefs, organised as descriptive/empirical statements and injunctive/normative statements.

Through the use of multiple normative domains or components, some social norms measures are able to highlight the complexity of social norms in resulting data. The World Bank recently conducted a mixed methods study in Jordan to explore social norms around women's labour participation (Gauri, Rahman, & Sen, 2019; World Bank, 2018). Survey items were developed through initial qualitative research that identified four key themes or categories of norms: women working, gender roles, publicness and mixing, and family status. In addition, Bicchieri et al.'s (2014) conceptual framework was adopted to structure survey questions across four domains: personal behaviour, personal normative beliefs, social empirical expectations and social normative expectations. Example questions across these four domains for "women working" are illustrated in Figure 6. The language used to specify the reference group ("the people where you live") in these questions was selected following pre-testing of the survey questionnaire and was selected to support flexible interpretations by respondents (Gauri et al., 2019). These quantitative questions were included alongside open-ended questions that sought to capture respondents' own narratives of their relationships, relevant beliefs and decision-making. During analysis, the four initial themes were subjected to extensive statistical tests of validity and reliability including Cronbach's alpha, exploratory factor analysis, and construct and narrative validity (Gauri et al., 2019).⁶

The study found women and men overestimate both the level of women's labour participation and the level of conservatism among the people where they live (Gauri et al., 2019). That is, while respondents believe more women in their community work outside the home than actually do, they also hold strong beliefs that others in the community disapprove of women working and anticipate negative sanctions, effectively holding the norm in place. While recognising the role of the

5 The four primary quantitative instruments used in the Global Early Adolescent Study are all available to download from the website: www.geastudy.org/download-measures-redesign.

6 The full World Bank study report provides a full technical description of all testing conducted to develop these key themes. Refer to Gauri et al. (2019) for this detail.

Figure 6. Example questions used in the “Measuring Social Norms About Female Labour Force Participation in Jordan” study (adapted from Gauri, Rahman, & Sen, 2019, pp. 7–8)

Individual	Personal behaviour <i>(what the respondent does)</i>	Personal normative belief <i>(what the respondent approves of)</i>
	Do you/your spouse work?	Is it okay for women to work outside of their homes?
Reference group	Social empirical expectation <i>(what the respondent believes others do)</i>	Social normative expectation <i>(What the respondent believes others approve of)</i>
	Take a moment to think about the adult women where you live. These could include your family members, friends, neighbours, and others. Out of ten such women, how many work outside their home?	Take a moment to think about all the people where you live. These could include your family members, friends, neighbours, and others. Out of ten such people how many would think or speak badly about married women who, because of work, return home after 5pm in the evening? <i>For women only:</i> Think now for a moment about your husband/father/ brother, and his views. Does he think or speak badly about women who work outside their homes?

Figure 7. Example of CARE International’s approach to asking about empirical and normative expectations in Sri Lanka (adapted from Stefanik & Hwang, 2017, p. 19)

Normative belief	Example questions
Empirical expectations, assessed using examples of practices/ activities and incidents	<p>Please tell me how much the following activities are prevalent in your neighbourhood. Do you think such practices/activities and incidents are very prevalent, can be seen sometimes or rarely?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Husbands scolding their wives • Husbands beating their wives • Wife keeping silent so as to not prolong a domestic fight • Neighbours intervening to advise the wife to keep silent to not prolong fight <p>Response options: Very prevalent; Sometimes observable; Rarely observable; Do not know</p>
Normative expectations and sanctions, assessed using examples of attitudes	<p>I am going to read out some attitudes prevalent in our society towards men and women. Could you please tell me to what extent such attitudes exist among the people in your neighbourhood?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A man who is not tough enough does not command respect at home • A man who beats his wife has no place in his neighbourhood • During an argument, a man who listens to his wife’s point of view, is considered as being “not manly enough” by his neighbours and relatives • A woman who talks back at her husband earns a bad reputation among relatives. <p>Response options: Great extent; To some extent; Does not exist; Do not know</p>

community in shaping individual beliefs and expectations, this study reflects the strong emphasis of much social norms and gender inequality research that conceptualises norms as individual-level constructs without recognition of other structural factors. This critique is discussed further at the end of this section of the report.

As noted above, most tools are developed as part of impact evaluations or RCTs, which are often led by academic research institutes and/or international development agencies with local implementing partners in LMICs. For example, CARE International’s mixed-methods evaluation

of the Redefining Norms to Empower Women project in Sri Lanka sought to assess changes in normative beliefs around men’s use of intimate partner violence (CARE International, 2016). Baseline and endline surveys included questions on both empirical and normative expectations, including anticipated social sanctions (Figure 7). The questions were used to create composite index scores for men’s active and passive aggression in conflict resolution with their female partners. This quantitative data was analysed alongside qualitative data collected using vignettes and the Social Norm Analysis Plot (SNAP Framework) (discussed under Normative influence below).

The inclusion of different types of normative statements allowed evaluators to investigate the complexity of norm change following the project. While the evaluation found no significant change in empirical expectations about men's use of aggression overall, there were some significant changes in both empirical and normative expectations for certain items at endline (CARE International, 2016). For example, the evaluation noted a significant decrease of 14.3 percent in the proportion of respondents who reported that a wife staying silent to avoid prolonging a fight is very or somewhat prevalent in their community (i.e. empirical expectation). A significant decrease of 11.3 percent was observed in the proportion of respondents who believe that most people in their community think a woman who talks back to her husband earns a bad reputation (i.e. normative expectation). Importantly, this framework also allowed the evaluation to identify undesirable shifts in respondents' violence-supportive attitudes, such as a significant increase of 33.5 percent of respondents who agreed with the statement "a man needs to be tough to keep his wife under control" (CARE International, 2016, p. 17). This mixed methods approach has been used by CARE International in other, similar settings (Stefanik & Hwang, 2017).

The majority of relevant social norms measures have been developed in sub-Saharan Africa. Berhane et al. (2019) recently evaluated a social norm change intervention in Ethiopia that aimed to improve sexual and reproductive health outcomes for adolescent girls. The survey instrument used norm scales for education, marriage and nutrition, with separate items included for descriptive and injunctive norms across each theme (example questions are provided in Table 3 of the Compendium). The survey also included a composite agency scale adapted from CARE International's WE-MEASR quantitative tool, which measures women's empowerment in relation to sexual and reproductive health (Wegs, Creanga, Galavotti, & Wamalwa, 2016). Items in both norms and agency scales were measured using a Likert scale. Norm scores were calculated by considering relevant items, and a Guttman's Lambda-2⁷ reliability test was also done for each of these calculations (included in Table 3), though the authors note that this study did not set out to validate the norm scales (Berhane et al., 2019). The evaluation found that girls' agency score was significantly associated with positive descriptive norms across each theme and across marriage injunctive norms, but was not associated with education and nutrition injunctive norms (Berhane et al., 2019). While these findings are primarily exploratory, the survey instrument is valuable for its recognition of the association between agency and norms, which is often absent in measures of social norms and theorising of individuals' negotiation of norms more broadly (Gilbertson et al., forthcoming; Waling, 2019).

The Masculinité, Famille et Foi project aims to change norms around family planning and intimate partner violence held by faith communities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Passages Project, 2019). The project is being implemented alongside a mixed-methods evaluation as

part of the Passages Project, which is a multi-country social norms initiative led by the IRH at Georgetown University. While there is currently limited published information about the evaluation study, the household survey tools are available online, with separate questionnaires for women and men, and a focused instrument for assessing the diffusion of project messages. Example measures for attitudes and norms related to intimate partner violence are included in Table 4 in Appendix B, with sections including individual attitudes, injunctive norms, descriptive norms and motivations to comply.⁸ Endline results are due to be published in 2020.

The Social Norms and Beliefs About Gender-Based Violence Scale was developed as part of the impact evaluation of the Communities Care program in Somalia and South Sudan (Perrin et al., 2019). The program is informed by a social psychology theory of social norms that distinguishes between descriptive and injunctive norms and aims to change injunctive norms supporting sexual violence against women through a 15-week curriculum of facilitated community dialogues in conflict affected districts (Glass et al., 2018). The scale was developed by translating common themes identified in focus groups into two sets or domains of statements, framed as injunctive norms and personal beliefs (Perrin et al., 2019). A total of 30 items were presented to in-country teams for review, which were reduced to 18 items that were then subject to psychometric testing in target communities. Factor analysis led to the exclusion of three items that did not load on any factor (i.e. that were not associated with other groups of items), with the remaining items forming three subscales: Response to Sexual Violence, Husband's Right to Use Violence, and Protecting Family Honour. Perrin et al. (2019) note that these reflected the themes identified in the focus groups during formative research, supporting the validity of the scale. Cronbach's alpha ranged from 0.69–0.75 for the injunctive norms domain, and 0.71–0.77 for the personal beliefs domain. The final scale contains 15 items asked twice across the two domains, each with different framing and response options across Likert scales (higher scores represent more violence-supportive responses). Figure 8 provides an example of this framework, and the full scale is included in Table 5 in Appendix B.

Using this scale, evaluation of the Communities Care program in Somalia found significant reductions in the prevalence of violence-supportive norms among residents of intervention communities compared with control communities, although no significant changes were found in residents' personal beliefs (Glass et al., 2019). While Perrin et al. (2019) suggest the scale could be used in other humanitarian settings in LMICs, much of the strength of the scale stems from the formative research and psychometric testing to ensure items were accurate and context-specific. Additional research would be required to confirm whether the same items and subscales are relevant before replication in similar settings. The scale is valuable in illustrating how different

7 Guttman's Lambda-2 is a reliability test similar to Cronbach's alpha, used for assessing the internal consistency of parallel sets of items such as those used in a split-measure methodology. For explanations of these terms, refer to the list of key terms at the start of the report.

8 Full questionnaires can be accessed at: www.alignplatform.org/resources/2019/06/masculinite-famille-et-foi-mff.

Figure 8. Example items used in the “Social Norms and Beliefs About Gender-Based Violence Scale”, Somalia and South Sudan (Perrin et al., 2019)

Domain	Framing	Item	Response options
Injunctive norms	Please tell us how many people whose opinion matters most to you	Expect a husband to abandon his wife if she reports that she has been raped	None of them; Few of them; About half of them; Most of them; All of them (scores = 0-5)
Personal beliefs	Please tell us the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement and your willingness to tell others about your belief	Husbands should abandon/reject/divorce their wife if she reports that she has been raped	Agree with this statement; Not sure if I agree or disagree; I disagree but am not ready to tell others; I disagree and am telling others (scores = 0-4)

normative beliefs can sustain broader social norms (e.g. Husband’s Right to Use Violence is comprised of four different statements), and in the use of response items on the personal belief domain that attempt to capture more than individual attitudes (i.e. readiness to act). However, the scale does not provide information on social sanctions or normative influence and is limited in what it can show about how those social norms function or whether an individuals’ readiness to act is due to normative factors.

Vignettes

Vignettes can be particularly useful for research on sensitive topics such as violence against women as asking respondents about hypothetical situations may be easier than asking directly about their own potential experiences of trauma (IRH, 2019). In social norms research, vignettes can be used to illustrate and test descriptive/empirical and injunctive/normative statements, the influence of the reference group and potential sanctions. This tool has been used in various population-level surveys on gender roles and social norms including on women’s labour participation (Gauri et al., 2019) and unpaid care work (Karimli, Samman, Rost, & Kidder, 2016); and on men’s sexual aggression and perceived peer norms in the United States (Bosson, Parrott, Swan, Kuchynka, & Schramm, 2015). Vignettes are used in the Girls’ Holistic Development project evaluation survey instruments, discussed below in relation to social sanctions and included in Table 10 of the Compendium. The Global Early Adolescent Study has also used vignettes, which required developing scenarios that were cross-culturally relevant to produce comparable data for the multi-country study (Blum et al., 2019). Vignettes for social norms measurement must be underpinned by comprehensive formative research and testing to ensure they reflect a suspected social norm and sanctions, that scenarios are relatable and realistic, and that they do not contain too many variables so as to become difficult to interpret (Cislaghi & Heise, 2016; Samman, 2019).

Where sample size allows, vignette experiments allow respondents to be randomly assigned vignettes with specific manipulations (changed circumstances) to assess whether different conditions or actions are associated with distinct outcomes (Horne, Doodoo, & Doodoo, 2013; Stoebenau, Kyegombe, Bingenheimer, Ddumba-Nyanzi, & Mulindwa,

2019; Tsai et al., 2017). This can be useful when there are different sub-populations to compare, such as when aiming to identify specific reference groups, or comparing control and trial communities in experimental evaluation studies (Liebe, Moumouni, Bigler, Ingabire, & Bieri, 2017). Stoebenau et al. (2019) describe their development and piloting of vignettes to examine norms around sexual and reproductive health with adolescent girls in central Uganda. The vignettes were developed through qualitative research, including testing to assess whether participants could recognise the distinctions in the narrative and whether those distinctions featured in their responses to the vignette questions. In the quantitative pilot, respondents were randomly assigned one of two manipulations within each of the three vignettes, which provided adequate statistical power to detect differences. Questions for each vignette assessed respondents’ personal attitudes, injunctive norms and descriptive norms. They also seek to compare potential differences in perceived approval (i.e. potential sanctions) among different reference groups including peers, family and the wider community. These vignettes are included in the Compendium as Table 6. While this is a valuable measurement approach, it can be time consuming and requires significant investment in question development to be meaningful.

Masculinities and bystander programs

Research on masculinities and violence against women in HICs have also sought to explore relevant social norms using individual perceptions of normative statements. The Man Box is a study that explores the association between men’s identification with dominant ideas about masculinity and outcomes such as poor mental health, sexual harassment and bullying (Heilman, Barker, & Harrison, 2017). The study combines a quantitative survey conducted via telephone with face-to-face focus groups to further explore young men’s experiences of negotiating normative expectations around masculinity. The survey questionnaire was developed by Promundo-US and has been implemented as a multi-country study in the United States, the United Kingdom and Mexico (Heilman et al., 2017), and recently in Australia (Irvine, Livingstone, & Flood, 2018). The Man Box is comprised of 17 items across seven “pillars” of masculinity, with respondents categorised as inside or outside the box depending on

their level of agreement across those items. These studies provide very limited detail on the development and testing of the questionnaire, or on statistical analysis. The Man Box items were developed based on Promundo's experience in designing and implementing the Gender Equitable Men Scale (GEM Scale), which is a standardised scale used to measure attitudes toward gender roles and relations (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). To explore the similarity between individual attitudes and perceptions of others (i.e. normative expectations), the 17 items are asked across two separate scales with the following introductions: "Society as a whole tells me that ..." and "In my opinion ..." (see Appendix B, Table 7). Across all sites, the study has identified gaps between men's own attitudes and what they believe society tells them, with respondents perceiving societal expectations to be more conservative (Heilman et al., 2017; Irvine et al., 2018). While this is an important finding, the use of "society as a whole" is too broad to be meaningful for determining who the reference group may be for these various normative statements. The data also do not show how men actually behave, or whether and how they experience those societal expectations through anticipated sanctions.

Rather than asking about perceptions of the wider community or society, some studies have used measures of perceived peer attitudes, such as in research on sexual violence among college students in the United States (Boeringer, Shehan, & Akers, 1991; Bruner, 2002; Stein, 2007; Swartout, 2013). For example, Stein (2007) reports on the development and testing of the Attitudes toward Rape and Rape Prevention Survey which includes subscales with peer items for Willingness to Prevent Rape, Rape Supportive Attitudes, and Discomfort with Sexism (reported Cronbach's alpha of 0.73, 0.92 and 0.91, respectively). The peer attitudes items are included in Appendix B in Table 8. The Global Early Adolescent Study discussed above includes measures of perceived peer norms (attitudes and behaviours) in the Health+ quantitative instrument. However, there is currently no available information on the development, testing or results of these particular measures.

Peer attitudes and behaviours are often a focus in prevention research and programming with adolescents. Manhood 2.0 is a community-based sexual violence prevention program currently being trialled in Pittsburgh that works with adolescent men to change harmful gender and sexuality norms and promote active bystander behaviour (Abebe et al., 2018). The program is an adaptation of Promundo's Program H, which has been implemented in over 35 countries globally. While Manhood 2.0 is framed as a norm change initiative, there are no specific social norms measures outlined in the trial protocol. Rather, the trial is utilising two bystander scales that have been adapted from Miller et al.'s (2012) evaluation of Coaching Boys into Men, alongside other measures of participants' knowledge and perpetration of sexual harassment and assault (Abebe et al., 2018). These two scales are included in the Compendium at Table 9. Response options for the "Positive bystander intervention behaviour" items include active intervention in public or in private, and agreement with the problematic behaviour ("I laughed or went along with it"). The advantage of such an approach is that it can capture positive bystander behaviour as well as

possible reinforcement of sexism among peers, which is important from a normative perspective. This is currently missing from the bystander questions in the NCAS questionnaire.

The broader evidence on bystander programs further highlights a gap in capturing the normative processes of this approach. A recent systematic review found that where evaluations have been conducted, outcome measures focus on some combination of individual behaviour, attitudes, knowledge or efficacy (Mujal, Taylor, Fry, Gochez-Kerr, & Weaver, 2019). Most bystander programs are also implemented on college campuses in the United States and reflect research with a specific demographic cohort. While these are generally framed as individual behaviour change or leadership initiatives, bystander programs often reflect key social norm change components including work with a discrete reference group, emphasis on communication and role modelling, and they attempt to shift perceptions of social sanctions. Indeed, Katz (2018) has recently called for norms to be more actively acknowledged and challenged within these programs, suggesting that the focus on power and normativity has been dropped from the bystander framework. This point and the implications for social norms measurement in the NCAS are discussed further in the Feasibility assessment.

There is further research indicating that relying on injunctive norms alone may reinforce rather than challenge individual agreement with violence-supportive attitudes. For example, a study on men's hostile sexism and sexual aggression toward women in the United States highlighted that some individuals or groups may feel antagonised by messaging about community or peer support for gender equality (Bosson et al., 2015). Using an online experimental survey, this study found that men with higher hostile sexist attitudes were more likely to display sexually aggressive conduct after exposure to information about other men's paternalistic or equitable attitudes towards women (Bosson et al., 2015). In line with previous cautions against relying on injunctive norms in norm change messaging, Bosson et al. (2015) suggest these preliminary findings indicate that without attention to the complexities of normative influence and individual attachment to norms, injunctive norm messaging may be counter-productive. In other words, there are normative elements to the dynamics of backlash and resistance against prevention work and these are often not captured in current quantitative measures, particularly where individual attitudes and reflections on normative statements are not able to be explored in depth.

Attitudes as proxy measures of social norms

Quantitative studies on social norms, gender and health previously adopted attitudinal measures to capture individual and collective support for normative beliefs, and their association with other outcomes of interest. The current NCAS questionnaire exemplifies this point. For example, the two attitudinal measures (GEAS and CASVAWS) effectively capture individual attitudes towards likely violence-supportive norms in Australia, such as that men should hold power in public and private life, or that women should

be held responsible for sexual violence victimisation. Some items are also already phrased as normative statements, such as “Men should take control in relationships and be the head of the household” and “Women who are sexually harassed should sort it out themselves rather than report it” (see Appendix 4 in Webster et al., 2018c). The data captured by these scales can, therefore, be seen as indicative of the prevalence of social norms to the extent that where a specific attitude is widely held it may be considered normative at a societal-level—though there are limitations to this, which are outlined below.

Outside of Australia, this point is reflected in the Gender and Power Metrics database, compiled by the Population Council.⁹ The database is a “living” compendium of gender and power-related scales that have been used in social, health and behavioural science research, the majority of which focus on individual attitudes and behaviours, or on perceived norms. Similarly, the C-Change Compendium of Gender Scales includes the GEM Scale (developed by Promundo-US, as described above) and the Gender Norm Attitudes Scale (Nanda, 2011),¹⁰ both of which examine individual attitudes toward normative statements rather than perceptions of social norms.

This approach is evident in several population-level surveys on men’s use of violence against women and other associated factors such as gender attitudes, health and sexual practices. For example, the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) questionnaire has been adapted for use in 27 countries and IMAGES-inspired surveys have been used in another 14 countries, in all regions.¹¹ The questionnaire includes questions on men’s perpetration and women’s victimisation of violence, mental and physical health, and attitudes towards gender roles and relations using the GEM Scale (Barker et al., 2011; Fleming et al., 2015; Levkov, Barker, Contreras-Urbina, Heilman, & Verma, 2014). The United Nations Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific (UNMCS) used similar scales to identify violence-supportive masculinities as a risk factor for men’s violence against women in the region (Fulu, Jewkes, Roselli, & Garcia-Moreno, 2013; Jewkes, Fulu, Roselli, & Garcia-Moreno, 2013). While often framed as eliciting social norms, attitudinal measures such as those used in the IMAGES and UNMCS questionnaires have essentially produced information on individual attitudes towards social norms, rather than on social norms themselves (Glass et al., 2018). These attitudinal scales have also not been designed in a way that can capture additional information about suspected norms, such as the reference group and anticipated sanctions, and therefore have a limited capacity to uncover normative processes.

This approach is also common in social norm program evaluations. One of the leading prevention interventions in LMICs is SASA!, which originated in Uganda but has since been adapted in over 20 countries across sub-Saharan

Africa and Asia-Pacific. SASA! is a community mobilisation program, delivered across four stages of behaviour change by trained community activists who facilitate conversations about gender, sex, power and relationships (Abramsky et al., 2012). While framed as a norm change intervention, an RCT of the original intervention used quantitative measures of behavioural and attitudinal outcomes to demonstrate impact. The evaluation found significant reductions in participants’ acceptance of men’s physical abuse of a female partner and increased acceptance of women’s right to refuse sex (Abramsky et al., 2014; Kyegombe, Abramsky, et al., 2014). Concurrent qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews have also been used to explore the nuance of social network actors and normative influence in greater depth (Kyegombe, Starmann, et al., 2014; Starmann et al., 2018). Other evaluations of social norm change interventions have similarly used measures of attitude and behaviour change to assess impact on shifting violence-supportive norms (Semahegn et al., 2019). The SASA! evaluation tools have recently been redeveloped and may contain more norm specific measures, but at the time of writing these were not publicly available.

Some studies have utilised existing population-based data on attitudes and behaviour as proxies for social norms. In these cases, researchers have used an externally identified reference group such as age group, location or ethnicity, and aggregated self-reports of individual attitudes and behaviours to represent collectively held normative beliefs (Mackie et al., 2015). This approach has been used in secondary analysis of Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data where DHS sample clusters are used as a proxy for reference groups, and individual reports as approximations of collective attitudinal and behavioural patterns (Benebo, Schumann, & Vaezghasemi, 2018; Kaggwa, Diop, & Storey, 2008; Mendez Rojas, Beogo, Owili, Adesanya, & Chen, 2016; Sedlander & Rimal, 2019; Weber et al., 2019). While informative, this approach has a limited capacity to accurately capture normative beliefs and influence for several reasons (Pereznieta, 2015). As discussed in the Conceptual review, different norms will be held in place by specific reference groups, and individuals within the reference group may be more or less influential in maintaining the norm (Cislaghi & Heise, 2016). This nuance is not captured by the use of externally identified reference groups such as sample cluster, age group, location or ethnicity (Mackie et al., 2015). The Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) collects aggregated population-level data on gender discrimination in social institutions and policies, which could be used to monitor potential shifts in social norms (ALiGN, 2019).¹² However, in its current composition, the SIGI is representative of the existing research focus on individual attitudes and behaviours as proxies for norms that have been critiqued here.

9 The Gender and Power Metric database can be accessed at: gendermetrics.popcouncil.org

10 The C-Change Compendium is available online: www.c-changeprogram.org/content/gender-scales-compendium/index.html

11 Regional and country reports from the various IMAGES studies can be accessed at: promundoglobal.org/programs/international-men-and-gender-equality-survey-images

12 The SIGI can be accessed at: www.genderindex.org

There is likely considerable overlap between individual attitudes and collectively held social norms; indeed, most social norms scales adapt or rephrase statements for attitudinal measures (IRH, 2019). However, there are also limitations with aggregating measures of individual attitudes as proxies for social norms. There is currently insufficient research examining how aligned existing measures of individual attitudes are with perceived social norms, and their association with behavioural outcomes of interest (Costenbader et al., 2019). Attitudinal statements may also not translate accurately to social norms. For example, research from Bangladesh found that women inconsistently interpreted attitudinal questions from the DHS survey instrument as asking about both personal and normative beliefs (Schuler, Lenzi, & Yount, 2011). Using individual attitudes as proxy measures for social norms can conceal individuals' misconceptions about what others in their reference group actually believe or do (i.e. pluralistic ignorance), highlighting the importance of including measures to identify the reference group (Mackie et al., 2015). In addition, using attitudinal measures fails to capture the dynamics through which norms influence individual and collective action.

Normative influence

This review has confirmed that most relevant studies on social norms focus on quantifying the content and prevalence of normative beliefs among the population of interest. However, understanding the influence of specific norms on outcomes of interest is crucial to the design of effective norm change interventions. In practice, this means asking "how many people do X because of the social norm", rather than "how many people in a specific group hold normative belief X" (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018b, p. 6). There is little to no quantitative research on this element of social norms in violence against women and related fields.

Cislaghi and Heise (2018a) have recently developed a theory of normative spectrum to conceptualise the varying strength of influence social norms may have on gender- and health-related behaviours (refer to Conceptual review). This theoretical framework was recently used to analyse focus group data in a study of social norms supporting child marriage in Cameroon (Cislaghi, Mackie, Nkwi, & Shakya, 2019). Focus groups were conducted as part of a much larger qualitative study including social network analysis, individual interviews, ethnographic observation and cultural models strategies. Focus group guides included vignettes to explore dynamics in cultural beliefs across gender, age and location. The researchers used the theory of normative spectrum as an analytic tool to explore the varying levels of influence that the norm "respectable girls marry soon after they reached puberty" exerts across different ethnic groups (Cislaghi, Mackie, et al., 2019). Other qualitative tools such as CARE International's SNAP Framework may also be applicable for exploring normative influence through staged vignettes in interviews or focus groups (Stefanik & Hwang, 2017).

One approach to exploring normative influence in quantitative research may be to test for associations between norm variables and other factors known to shape individual

attitudes and behaviours. For example, Sedlander and Rimal (2019) used 2016 DHS data to analyse the relationship between norms, media consumption and contraception use among adolescents in Ethiopia and Tanzania. The DHS survey in both sites asked participants about how frequently they used newspapers, radio, television and the internet, with response options "not at all", "less than once a week" and "more than once a week" (scores = 0-2). These items were used to create an overall media use index by converting responses to each media source into z-scores (with a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1), and computing their average, with reported Cronbach's alpha of 0.42 in Ethiopia and 0.72 in Tanzania (Sedlander & Rimal, 2019). In Ethiopia, the study found a greater relationship between norms and contraceptive use when media consumption was lower compared with when it was higher, but there was no significant association in Tanzania. Collective norms were measured using the "nonself mean" method described by Kaggwa et al. (2008), which sorts data by sample cluster and then adds individual reports of contraception use among all participants except the target respondent, and computes the average. Sedlander and Rimal (2019) suggest this works to go beyond individual-level theorising and measurement of social norms, although their collective norm variable remains an aggregate of individual behaviour rather than collectively-held normative beliefs. Other limitations of using DHS data in social norms research are outlined above. Importantly, this study recognises that people interact through, and are exposed to information from, multiple channels including their family, peers and wider reference group (discussed below), as well as through news and digital platforms.

Enumerating reference groups

As different norms are likely to be held in place by specific reference groups, it may be necessary to ask about membership of the reference group for each norm or action of interest, or for different contexts or settings. When looking to capture social norm change, it may be useful to explore whether individuals shift to a different reference group or form a new one (Mackie et al., 2015). It may also be necessary to explore whether the reference group shifts for different norms or actions, or in different contexts or situations, in recognition that people may behave differently when with family, friends, colleagues, religious leaders or strangers, as well as in online and offline interactions (Cislaghi & Heise, 2017). Considerations around how to appropriately identify reference groups should begin during formative research activities (Costenbader et al., 2019). Accurately specifying the reference group is important for ensuring norm change messaging targets the most relevant group and its most influential members (Cislaghi, Denny, et al., 2019).

At present, there is no consistently applied method for identifying reference groups and their relative influence on specific social norms, although studies have used both objective and subjective approaches (IRH, 2019). Objective approaches use externally identified reference groups, such as the target community for a norm change intervention, or clusters within a population-level survey like the DHS (discussed above). A common approach is to use

introductory statements such as “People in my community...”, as with many of the measures discussed above. A broader statement like this is unlikely to capture the dynamic and relational processes by which different members of the community may influence an individual’s compliance with norms. The Man Box questionnaire also includes single-item questions related to identifying how young men perceive pressures from those closest to them (Heilman et al., 2017; Irvine et al., 2018). Respondents were asked for their level of agreement on the following statements: “My parents taught me that a ‘real man’ should act strong even if he feels nervous or scared”; “My partner would definitely expect me to use violence to defend my reputation if I have to”; and “My guy friends would give me a hard time if they saw me hanging out with someone who is gay or who they think looks gay”. While these produced a similar pattern across the diverse study sites, it would be useful to test each statement with each potential reference group (i.e. family, peers, etc.) to compare whether men perceive different groups as more or less influential for specific norms.

Subjective approaches, also referred to as egocentric, are respondent-identified and can provide more accurate data on the influential people within an individual’s social world, rather than relying on assumptions of the research team (Costenbader, Lenzi, Hershov, Ashburn, & McCarraher, 2017). There are different methods for asking respondents to identify their reference groups with varying levels of difficulty and complexity. On a more simple level, surveys can include single or multiple questions asking

respondents to list people whose opinion matters to them regarding the social norm of interest. The Masculinité, Famillie et Foi survey questionnaires include questions to identify influential others in reference to gender roles and intimate partner violence (see Table 4 in Appendix B). For example, respondents are asked “For matters related to my relationship with my wife/husband, whose opinion matters to me?”, with response options listing various family and community members. A study on contraception use among adolescents in Cameroon asked respondents to name their “most valued person”, and were subsequently asked whether that person would approve or disapprove of different behaviours (Van Rossem & Meekers, 2011). Other studies have asked respondents to list influential others by name and relationship, often to inform further network analysis (IRH, 2019; Paluck & Shepherd, 2012). Follow-up questions can capture additional information about respondents’ interactions with and perceptions of named others. The Tékponon Jikuagou project in Benin used a network grid to identify from whom respondents received material assistance, practical assistance and emotional support or moral advice (Igras, Diakité, & Lundgren, 2017). For each form of support, respondents were asked to list the first names of their network members and describe their relationship with that person, their place of residence, whether they’ve discussed contraception with that person and whether that person approves of and uses family planning. Interviewers then entered these responses into network grids, illustrated in Figure 9, using supplied response codes (IRH, CARE International, & Plan International, 2016).

Figure 9. Egocentric network grids used to map reference groups in the Tékponon Jikuagou project, Benin (IRH, CARE, & Plan International, 2016)

<i>Material network grid</i>							
Name	Relationship(s) (a)			Residence (b)	Discussed FP (c)	Approves of FP (d)	Uses FP (e)
1.							
2.							
...							
<i>Practical network grid</i>							
Name	Relationship(s) (a)			Residence (b)	Discussed FP (c)	Approves of FP (d)	Uses FP (e)
1.							
2.							
...							
<i>Emotional network grid</i>							
Name	Relationship(s) (a)			Residence (b)	Discussed FP (c)	Approves of FP (d)	Uses FP (e)
1.							
2.							
...							

Social network analysis has also been used to identify who is most influential within identified reference groups, though this is still an emerging area of enquiry and can require access to more complex data on existing relationships between survey participants (Mackie et al., 2015; Valente & Pumpuang, 2007). While these subjective approaches provide more nuanced insights into social norms within the target population, they can be considerably more time consuming than objective approaches, and difficult to implement within survey questionnaire frameworks. Where space and time permit, a combination of objective and subjective reference group questions can be used to make comparisons between respondent-identified and wider groups (IRH, 2019).

Identifying social sanctions or outcome expectations

As stated above, most social norms measures focus on identifying the content and prevalence of normative beliefs or perceived norms. Going beyond this to understand anticipated social sanctions, or outcome expectations, for compliance or transgression of a specific norm can give greater insight into the strength of a norm, which in turn will support more effective norm change interventions (IRH, 2019). Understanding sanctions is also important for monitoring norm change over time, as they can be indicative of whether and how approval for non-violent norms is taken up within the target population (Mackie et al., 2015). This point is relevant to the normative component of bystander programs, which aim to change individuals' outcome expectations for intervening in sexist or violent situations.

Measuring sanctions can be challenging as they are often subtle, covert and difficult to observe in social situations, such as increased social status for compliance or anticipated shame and humiliation for non-compliance (Mackie et al., 2015). Social norm theory (refer to Conceptual review) suggests that people will have different motivations for following beliefs about the perceived conduct of others, which will sometimes reflect anticipated sanctions, but not always (Bell & Cox, 2015; Rimal & Lapinski, 2015). There may be some situations in which sanctions are less likely to eventuate. Different people will also be more or less sensitive to potential sanctions, such that they are more or less susceptible to normative influence (IRH, 2019). This can be reflective of other forms of socio-economic inequality, such as racial discrimination or poverty, indicating that research and prevention programming needs to go beyond a focus on social or gender norms to address other structural factors.

There are some emerging approaches to capturing sanctions in research on social norms and gender inequality. Cislighi and Heise (2017) provide some examples of simplified quantitative questions for identifying sanctions in their Technical Brief, illustrated in Figure 10. Some existing scales or measures that ask about perceived levels of approval or disapproval among the reference group are a first step in identifying whether sanctions may exist, though they often do not include follow-up questions on how that approval or disapproval would manifest. This approach is illustrated in Figure 5 above, and in Table 4 in Appendix B.

Other studies have used more detailed questions and response options to assess perceived consequences following norm transgression. To evaluate the Parivartan

Figure 10. Examples for wording quantitative survey questions to measure social sanctions (adapted from Cislighi & Heise, 2017, p. 5)

Perceived possibility of sanctions

- a) If a young girl was not married by the time she was 18, this would reflect badly on her family.
- b) If a married woman left her husband and returned to her family after being beaten, neighbours would gossip about her.
Response options: Agree; Agree somewhat; Disagree somewhat; Disagree
- c) In your experience, if a married woman is beaten by her husband, what percentage of families in your village would accept her back home?
Response options: All; Most; Some; Few; None

Figure 11. Example questions from the Parivartan evaluation for assessing outcome expectations, India (IRH, 2019, p. 34)

Consequences for departing from social norms

- If you are given more freedom to move about in public spaces and play sport, how likely is it that the following consequences might occur? There is no right or wrong answer.
- You will be teased and harassed by local boys or men
 - You may encounter more arguments/conflicts with your parents
 - You may find it more difficult to get married
 - You may be considered uppity and disobedient
- Response options: Very likely; Somewhat likely; Not likely

project in India, LSHTM and the International Center for Research on Women have measured participants' expectations of the likelihood that they would experience negative sanctions if they transgressed certain social norms (IRH, 2019). Figure 11 provides examples of questions used to identify potential sanctions around girls' mobility.

As discussed above, vignettes can be useful for capturing information on sanctions as they allow for manipulations or alternative outcomes within an example scenario, including potential consequences for compliance or non-compliance with a norm. This is evident in the examples of the Global Early Adolescent Study (Blum et al., 2019) and the experimental study of girls' perceived norms in Central Uganda (Stoebenau et al., 2019) (see Table 6 in Appendix B). The evaluation of the Girls' Holistic Development project in Senegal used several vignettes in the endline questionnaire survey (Learning Collaborative, 2019a). For each vignette, respondents are asked about their empirical and normative expectations, help-seeking, and anticipated sanctions or outcomes in relation to child marriage and adolescent pregnancy. Example questions from the girls' questionnaire are included in Table 10 in Appendix B.¹³ The IRH is conducting the evaluation and results are forthcoming. Questions on potential sanctions should always be informed by formative research to ensure they are realistic, and should consider both compliance and non-compliance or positive and negative outcomes. As suggested above, this will go beyond mapping the prevalence of normative beliefs to indicate the tangible influence of specific social norms.

Limitations of existing measures of social norms and violence against women

There are several common limitations of existing social norms measures and scales that have been highlighted throughout this review. Firstly, most established measures have only been used to evaluate specific programs and have not been tested for validity in other settings. As noted above, there is also limited published information available on the reliability and robustness of these existing scales and other measures. While the content of these measures may not be appropriate for adaptation to different contexts such as HICs, the use of combined questions on different components of norms is instructive. Secondly, there are important distinctions to studying social norms as a *construct* (i.e. the content of normative beliefs), as compared with identifying the *processes* of normative influence. Existing measures have focused on quantifying individuals' perceptions of what others do or approve of, and cannot capture mechanisms of normative influence or anticipated sanctions (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018a; Costenbader et al., 2019). Cislaghi and Heise (2016) suggest this social psychology approach to norms is easier to measure compared with the conceptualisation of norms within gender theory (refer to Conceptual review). In contrast, Gilbertson et al. (forthcoming) have argued that through this focus on the individual, norms are positioned as internal to individual minds and the social processes of normalisation are concealed or excluded. This approach

is limited in its capacity to capture how norms and power operate at a collective level, and through interaction with structural and institutional factors. It also has limited potential for providing insight into power dynamics and agency in people's negotiation of social norms and interpersonal relationships (Gilbertson et al., forthcoming).

More comprehensive measures that aim to enumerate the reference group or identify sanctions are beneficial for the more nuanced information they may generate. However, as noted above, these can be time- and resource-intensive to develop and implement. Furthermore, survey instruments can become overly complex and may not be logistically appropriate outside of face-to-face research. Whether using statement items or vignette-based questions in surveys, context and wording must be clear and precise to avoid misinterpretation by respondents or the research team (Perrin et al., 2019; Stefanik & Hwang, 2017; Tsai et al., 2017). Gilbertson et al. (forthcoming) have also questioned whether the focus on identifying discrete, bounded reference groups is misplaced given the complex, messy ways in which people interact and relate in a modern, globalising world. For example, existing social norms interventions targeted at violence against women or gender inequality primarily adopt face-to-face, community mobilisation or direct participation activities to promote change. However, there are questions as to how these approaches can accommodate or counter exposure to normative content from other sources such as social media and popular culture. These criticisms support the call for ongoing and increased investment in qualitative and mixed-methods designs as more appropriate for research on social norms, women's empowerment and agency, and gender equality (Kabeer, 2019). The implications of these points in relation to the NCAS are considered in the Feasibility assessment and Recommendations below.

¹³ Full survey questionnaires and other tools can be accessed at: www.alignplatform.org/resources/2019/07/girls-holistic-development-ghd-project

Feasibility assessment

Drawing on the key findings of the preceding literature review, this section turns to consider the implications of the conceptual and empirical research discussed for the feasibility of including social norms measures in the 2021 NCAS. This feasibility assessment is further based on the following four underlying assumptions or considerations. Firstly, there is currently limited space in the NCAS questionnaire to both include additional items, with a priority to retain a majority of the existing items to preserve the time series. The 2017 survey instrument was developed and rigorously tested to ensure brevity, clarity and reliability of data, and it is already at a maximum desirable length for a telephone survey of this kind (20 minutes) when considering data quality, ethics and financial resources (Webster et al., 2018b). Given this limited space, it is estimated here that any social norms measures would be constrained to approximately three to six additional questions. Secondly, there are considerable limits to available time and other resources for development and piloting of any newly constructed measurements for the NCAS. It is assumed that from the time of writing (October 2019), ANROWS will have insufficient time to conduct any formative research, design and testing for potential social norms measures to finalise the survey instrument before data collection in 2021. As outlined in the Empirical review, development of nuanced and relevant social norms measures is often a time- and resource-intensive process, and the remaining timeframe will not be suitable.

Thirdly, as discussed in the Empirical review, through the two attitudinal measures (GEAS and CASVAWS) the current NCAS questionnaire effectively captures individual attitudes towards social norms. These can be indicative of the prevalence of social norms to the extent that where a specific attitude is widely held it can be considered normative at a societal level. The NCAS then already provides a proxy measure of social norms using these aggregated data on attitudes as proxies, though there are noted limitations to this approach as outlined in the Empirical review. It should also be re-stated that attitudes and norms are distinct constructs that do not necessarily align or overlap. Rather than potential duplication of efforts, there is arguably greater utility for knowledge, policy and programming in constructing measures aimed at capturing the processes of normative influence and potential for change. However, as discussed above, this is challenging to do adequately with quantitative methods alone.

Finally, the NCAS serves as an important policy tool. An overarching consideration for this assessment has been determining what additional applied benefit or utility a social norms measure would provide that is not already covered by the existing survey instrument. As stated above and in the Empirical review, the NCAS can already provide some insight into the content of Australian societal-level norms through aggregated individual support for attitudinal measures. This review has emphasised that there are important distinctions to studying social norms as a *construct* (i.e. the content of normative beliefs), as compared with identifying the *processes* of normative influence. From a policy utility perspective, social norms are relevant for developing prevention initiatives that are fundamentally underpinned by a strong understanding of how violence-supportive

norms actually operate within the target population. As this review has established, it is not sufficient to quantify the content and prevalence of a norm without also mapping the social sanctions and other factors that contribute to its influence within a given social group or context. The actions discussed here are therefore recommended with these key considerations and constraints in mind.

The Empirical review has furthermore confirmed that there is no established social norms measure that could be readily transferred to the NCAS questionnaire framework. This is primarily an issue of content; existing social norms scales have been developed following extensive formative research and piloting to ensure their items are relevant for the target population (often in program evaluation studies) and would not be appropriate for the Australian population and context. However, the structure and overall approach of existing measures, particularly those that go beyond quantifying normative beliefs, could be informative for the construction of new social norms measures specific to the NCAS. Attention to these components and the above considerations have informed the actions recommended in this feasibility assessment.

Recommendations for the 2021 NCAS

Based on the findings of the review, the following four actions have been identified as most feasible and useful, while also meeting the commitments of the NCAS to include social norms measures in future iterations:

1. conduct a conceptual review of social norms within the NCAS questionnaire framework
2. develop an additional question(s) on influential others (i.e. identify potential reference groups)
3. revise existing bystander measures to better incorporate normative processes (i.e. identify potential social sanctions)
4. invest in qualitative research on normative processes in context, under the NCAS communications strategy.

The wording of the recommended questions and response items are suggestions only, and the language of any additional measures should be based on formative research and testing. It is not currently recommended that ANROWS develop measures that would only be administered to specific sub-groups of the NCAS sample, such as young people or men. Social norms regarding gender roles and relations, and stereotyped ideas of masculinity and femininity, can be upheld and reinforced by everyone within a social group regardless of their age or gender. However, the NCAS already provides a focused analysis on sub-groups, such as young people, and it is recommended that this continue in future iterations.

Conduct a conceptual review of social norms within the NCAS questionnaire framework

As outlined in the Conceptual review, there is no accepted, singular social norms theory within violence against women research and programming. To date, most work has adopted the social psychology approach that focuses on individual

support for perceived normative beliefs of others within their immediate community or peer group. The global social and gender norms community is currently working to revise and reconceptualise norm measurement beyond individual beliefs and perceptions, and to re-centre questions of process, power, agency and structure that are central to feminist theories of gender and violence against women. As it stands, the NCAS questionnaire surveys individual knowledge and attitudes to align with the conceptualisation of attitudes in supporting violence against women outlined by Change the Story (Our Watch et al., 2015; Webster et al., 2018a), and this focus should continue. However, social norms are positioned less clearly within this conceptual framework, alongside structures and practices.

Given the state of the field and current constraints on the NCAS questionnaire, it is not advisable to incorporate an additional social norms measure into the existing survey instrument. Rather than position norms as a separate component in the questionnaire framework (Appendix A), social norms should be seen as an opportunity to strengthen existing or additional NCAS measures (discussed in recommendations 2 and 3), and as a lens for improving communications and advocacy with NCAS findings. It would, therefore, be useful for ANROWS to invest in further qualitative and policy-based conceptual research that more clearly articulates how norms are understood within Australian prevention research, policy and programming.

Develop an additional question(s) on influential others (i.e. identify potential reference groups)

The NCAS already establishes the significant influence of male-dominated peer and professional networks in shaping violence-supportive attitudes in Australia (Webster et al., 2018a). Potential insights into normative processes could be strengthened by including an additional question (or questions) that asks respondents who they see as most important for shaping or informing their attitudes towards gender equality and violence against women. As identified in the Empirical review, capturing the reference group through respondent-identified measures is more accurate than objective approaches, and this is important for effective norm change (Costenbader et al., 2017). There is an opportunity to add a new question(s) that asks more specifically about influential others, which could be used to identify priority social relations to harness or mobilise for attitudinal and norm change. This question could also be used to explore possible differences among NCAS sub-samples such as between age groups, gender or location.

The additional question(s) could be placed in the Demographic correlates section of the questionnaire before the question on the gender dynamics of close friends (see Dem24 in Appendix 4 in Webster et al., 2018c). The question could be worded as follows: "Thinking about your attitudes towards gender equality and violence against women (in Australia), whose opinion matters most to you?" Noting these may be interpreted as distinct concepts for many people, it may be necessary to create two separate questions (i.e. one

asking in relation to gender equality and one in relation to violence against women). This decision should be based on pre-testing. Response options may include partner, mother, father, brother, sister, extended family, friends, colleagues, religious/faith leader, social media personality, sports team, teacher, doctor, etc. It will be important to include an "Other (specify)" option. For examples of how reference groups have been enumerated in previous studies, refer to the relevant section of the Empirical review.

Adding this question is relatively straightforward and will require less time and resources to develop and implement, compared with a full social norms measure or more detailed approaches to enumerating reference groups (refer to the Empirical review). Formative research may be necessary to identify potential response options, in addition to online piloting for comprehension and validity, and to ensure adequate response options are provided. As noted above, the precise phrasing of the question should be subjected to cognitive testing to determine whether separate questions are required in relation to gender equality and violence against women. If two questions are used, it may be more appropriate to insert these following the relevant scales (GEAS and CASVAWS).

It is important to note that this would provide relatively basic insight into potentially influential social groups, and is not intended to provide nuance into how individual attitudes or support for norms are established, maintained or transformed in practice. There will also be important distinctions in how attitudes are shaped *over time* and how they manifest or play out *within specific contexts*. While this is important for researching normative processes, capturing this information within the NCAS would require considerable investment in question design and would likely produce a complex measure, which is currently beyond the scope of the 2021 NCAS to achieve—noting the limitations described above. The question design recommended here would more simply serve to gain initial insight into which groups of people may be relevant in shaping violence-supportive attitudes in Australia, and could be used during analysis to test for association between influential others and specific attitudes, similar to how the question on the gender dynamics of close friends (see Dem24 in Appendix 4 in Webster et al., 2018c) was used in the 2017 NCAS analysis.

Revise existing bystander measures to better incorporate normative processes (i.e. identify potential social sanctions)

As discussed in the Empirical review, bystander programs and the current ITAC in the NCAS questionnaire already conceptually overlap with social norms theory. Bystander programs often reflect key social norm change components including work with a discrete reference group and emphasis on communication and role modelling, and they attempt to shift perceptions of social sanctions. Indeed, the recent bystander advertising campaign by Respect Victoria (2019), *Respect women: Call it out*, reflects each of these core

components and is, in essence, a norm change initiative.¹⁴ By adding additional response items and follow-up questions to the ITAC, there is a potential to make this alignment clearer while also adding depth to the information captured by these existing measures of bystander behaviour. Understanding sanctions is also important for monitoring norm change over time, as they can be indicative of whether and how approval for non-violent norms is taken up within the target population (Mackie et al., 2015).

For example, questions BS1a and BS3a ask respondents how they would respond to a friend making a sexist joke or verbally abusing a female partner (actions that reflect social norms), with follow-up questions BS1b and BS3b asking whether they think their other friends would be supportive if they voiced their disapproval (see Appendix 4 in Webster et al., 2018c). Rather than ask about how many of their friends would be supportive of positive bystander behaviour, these follow-up questions could ask how the respondent thinks their friends would react if they voiced their disapproval, with possible responses including “They would praise or support me” and “They would shame or ridicule me”. This adaptation aims to capture the perceived consequences of intervening in sexist or violent behaviour, in other words, anticipated sanctions for compliance or transgression of a norm. It would also still allow for an analysis of whether people are more likely to say they would intervene if they have the support of their friends. For alternative responses or approaches refer to the Identifying social sanctions or outcome expectations section of the Empirical review. Questions BS1a and BS3a could also include a response option for “You’d say or do something to show you approve”, as the existing options do not account for reinforcement of the harmful normative conduct (see Appendix 4 in Webster et al., 2018c).

Development of these adjustments is relatively straightforward and will not require significant time or resources. Some qualitative formative research such as focus groups would be necessary to ensure the relevance of additional response items or follow-up questions, in addition to testing with a small online pilot.

Invest in qualitative research on normative processes in context, under the NCAS communications strategy

As emphasised throughout this report, the social processes of normative influence and their interaction with other structural factors are difficult to capture within a population-level, quantitative survey. However, effective norm change interventions, and indeed prevention overall, must be informed by thorough understandings of how these factors play out. Current commentary emphasises that mixed methods and qualitative research is crucial to this endeavour (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018a; Costenbader et al., 2019; Gilbertson et al., forthcoming; IRH, 2019; Kabeer, 2019). A full qualitative study into social norms and violence against women in Australia would be a valuable contribution to the international evidence base, whilst also serving to support the broader NCAS research program. There are

a number of possible methods that have been used in previous qualitative studies on social norms including focus groups and participatory action research, as well as visual methods such as photo elicitation and scroll-back interviews. A review of qualitative approaches to social norm measures was beyond the scope of this project, and it is therefore not appropriate to advise on qualitative methods in this feasibility assessment. Such research should aim to capture areas of interest including the dynamics of social sanctions (e.g. situations where there are exceptions to sanctions), contextual factors such as location (e.g. metro, regional, remote), sources of normative information (e.g. media platforms), and adjacent concepts such as power, structural inequality and individual agency.

This research would also support the strategic expansion of NCAS communications and advocacy activities. To date, these have focused on sharing key findings through informative knowledge products. While this information is vital for policy development, relying on messaging around the prevalence or commonality of problematic attitudes and violent behaviours can inadvertently reinforce these actions by normalising them further, as discussed in the Empirical review (Paluck et al., 2010). There is further research indicating that relying on injunctive norms alone, without attention to the complexities of normative influence, may also be problematic as some individuals or groups can feel antagonised by messaging about community or peer support for gender equitable messaging (Bosson et al., 2015). In other words, there are normative elements to the dynamics of backlash and resistance against prevention work, and these are often not captured in current quantitative measures. Improving knowledge on how social norms operate within Australian communities could, therefore, support more strategic advocacy such as using NCAS data to create effective norm change messaging and reinforcement.

Recommendations for future social norms research

A further two possible actions have been identified, but these are not recommended for the 2021 NCAS due to conceptual considerations, as outlined above, as well as time-space constraints of the current survey instrument:

1. develop a new perceived social norms scale
2. construct new experimental vignette-based questions.

These actions may be more appropriate to administer with a specific sub-group such as young people. However, as discussed below, these would be more suited to inclusion in a separate, comprehensive and mixed methods study of social norms in Australia.

Develop a new perceived social norms scale

Existing items from the CASVAWS in the 2017 NCAS instrument could be adapted to develop a new perceived social norms scale. This would require identifying 6–8 items based on conceptual requirements such as content coverage

¹⁴ The campaign clips are available at: www.respectvictoria.vic.gov.au/campaigns/respect-women-call-it-out

and statistical parameters, and developing a complementary set of repeat items that are reframed to gauge respondents' perceptions of attitudes among a specified reference group. For example, statements could be framed as "My close friends think that..." with response options from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", or as "How many of your close friends think that..." with response options from "none" to "all or most". Considerable cognitive testing and piloting would be required to assess the relevance and validity of such framing and items for the Australian context and using "People in my community" is unlikely to be appropriate. It is important to note that such a scale would measure individual perceptions of the beliefs of others (i.e. injunctive norm or normative expectation) to sit alongside existing measures of individual attitudes and is not a measure of social norms in and of itself.

While conceptually there are important distinctions between individual attitudes and social norms, outlined above, measures of normative beliefs generally overlap with measures of personal beliefs or attitudes, without providing vital insight into normative processes. From a policy utility perspective, the distinction between what a prevention initiative would address based on individual attitudes that are widely held versus individuals' perceptions of widely held attitudes is unlikely to be meaningful. In addition, other studies in Australia and elsewhere have already demonstrated that there is often a gap between a person's own attitudes and their perceptions of what others approve of (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018a; Gauri et al., 2019; Heilman et al., 2017; Irvine et al., 2018). It is likely that including a new social norms scale would confirm this pattern in Australia. While such scales can demonstrate this gap between individual attitudes and perceived norms, they are unable to elucidate on the strength of social norms or normative processes and reflect a problematic focus on the individual. For these reasons, it is not currently recommended to develop a new social norms scale for the 2021 NCAS.

An alternative would be to develop a new normative beliefs scale that is separate to the two attitudinal scales (GEAS and CASVAWS), which reflects the positioning of social norms in the 2017 NCAS questionnaire framework (Appendix A). Similar approaches have been used in several of the studies discussed in the Empirical review. However, most of these measures have upwards of 8 items asked across 2–3 domains (e.g. personal beliefs and normative expectations) that are categorised as underpinning one of several broader norms. This is exemplified by the Social Norms and Beliefs about GBV Scale (Perrin et al., 2019), discussed above, which uses multiple statements to constitute priority norms (e.g. "Husband's right to use violence" is comprised of four different statements) that were identified through extensive formative research and response items on the personal belief domain capturing attitudes (i.e. readiness to act). This scale is included as Table 5 in Appendix B. Additional follow-up questions should be included that identify the reference group, sanctions and other normative processes. Extensive formative research would be required to identify priority norms for the Australian context and translate these into relevant items for a comprehensive norm scale. Given the complexity of Australia's diverse and geographically

dispersed population, such a scale is unlikely to be universally appropriate and it may be more effective to develop a measure for use only with a specific sub-group such as young people. It would not be feasible to incorporate such a comprehensive norm scale into the NCAS questionnaire given current time-space constraints, and it may be better suited to development as a separate project within the broader NCAS program as mixed methods research into both normative beliefs and normative processes.

Construct new experimental vignette-based questions

Vignette-based questions are an alternative to social norms scales. As discussed in the Empirical review, experimental vignettes are a valuable method for capturing more detailed information on social norms, reference groups and anticipated social sanctions (Liebe et al., 2017; Stoebenau et al., 2019). The 2017 NCAS already contains some simplified scenario questions to investigate attitudes towards consent and sexual violence. Development of a further 2–3 extended vignettes questions (e.g. Tables 6 and 10 in Appendix B), each with manipulations and follow-up questions for specific components (e.g. protagonist's actions, reference group responses, outcomes) administered randomly to different sub-samples, could provide deeper information on normative processes for a priority social norm. Getting the details of experimental vignette scenarios and their manipulations can be incredibly challenging with small changes leading to potentially wide shifts in respondents' interpretation (Gauri et al., 2019; Tsai et al., 2017). Given the nuance required to design successful scenarios, it would be very difficult to design experimental vignettes that were relevant and realistic for different Australian contexts and sub-populations, and it may, therefore, be more appropriate to develop vignettes for a particular sub-group only, such as young people. A phone survey may not be ideal for administering these more complex vignette-based questions. As outlined in the Empirical review, development of these vignettes is time- and resource-intensive and their inclusion in the NCAS would considerably extend the survey length. For these reasons, it is not recommended to pursue this action for the 2021 NCAS.

Conclusion

This report has summarised the findings of research into the feasibility of including social norms measures in the 2021 NCAS questionnaire. To provide this assessment, a review of conceptual literature and Australian and international empirical research on social norms, violence against women and related issues was conducted. This review confirmed that there are currently no standardised and well-validated quantitative measures of social norms. However, there are a number of different scales and other measures that have been used in limited settings but have not yet been replicated or have only been adapted within similar programming contexts. These measures focus on mapping the content and prevalence of individuals' perceptions of normative beliefs among a specified social group such as their community. Most of this research has been conducted in LMICs as part of experimental or mixed methods evaluation studies. There is an emerging field of research aiming to move beyond measures of individuals' perceptions of and attitudes towards norms to better understand the strength and dynamics of normative influence. These approaches include enumerating the reference groups and identifying potential social sanctions for norms of interest. This shift reflects a broader critique of the emphasis on social norms in violence against women and gender inequality research and programming. There is a push to better understand how normative processes operate in different social contexts and conditions, and a recognition that qualitative and mixed-methods research is more appropriate for this task.

There has already been significant investment in developing scales of attitudinal measures for the existing NCAS framework, resulting in several time series of meaningful and informative data. The two attitudinal measures, the GEAS and CASVAWS, are complex and robust, and reflect the unique capacity of the NCAS to measure individual attitudes in a way that no other national-level survey in Australia or elsewhere currently does. In the 2017 NCAS questionnaire framework, social norms are listed as a separate component alongside knowledge, attitudes and bystander action. The framework suggests social norms would be measured by what people think others think or what is expected of them. Based on the findings of this review and the feasibility assessment, it is not recommended that such a measure be developed for the 2021 NCAS.

The following four actions have been identified as most expedient, while also meeting the commitments of the NCAS to include social norms measures in future iterations. Recommendations for the 2021 NCAS are to:

1. conduct a conceptual review of social norms within the NCAS questionnaire framework
2. develop an additional question(s) on influential others (i.e. identify potential reference groups)
3. revise existing bystander measures to better incorporate normative processes (i.e. identify potential social sanctions)
4. invest in qualitative research on normative processes in context, under the NCAS communications strategy, where time and resources allow.

A further two possible actions have been identified, but these are not recommended for the 2021 NCAS due to conceptual considerations as outlined above, as well as time-space constraints of the current survey instrument. These would be more suited to inclusion in a separate, comprehensive and mixed methods study of social norms in Australia. Recommendations for future social norms research are to:

1. develop a new perceived social norms scale
2. construct new experimental, vignette-based questions.

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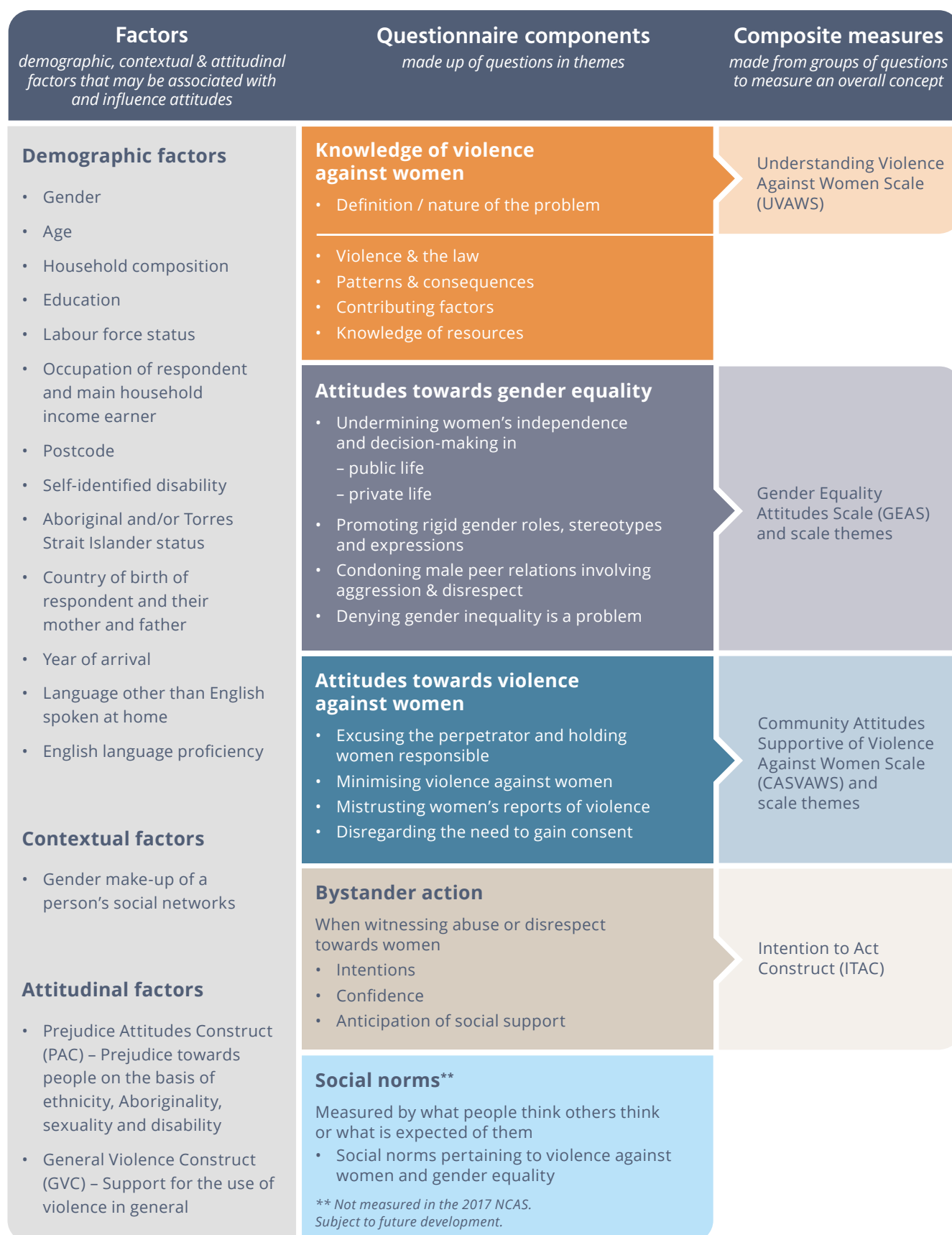
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Appendix A:

The 2017 NCAS questionnaire framework

This image is taken from the 2017 NCAS main report (Webster et al., 2018a).



Compendium of relevant social norms measures and items

Table 1. Examples for wording quantitative survey questions to measure prevalence of social norms (adapted from Cislighi & Heise, 2017, p. 5)

Approach	Example
Perception of others' beliefs	<p>To what extent do you agree with the following statements:</p> <p>a) Most people in my community would not talk about being beaten by their husband to people outside of the family</p> <p>b) Most people in my community would think poorly of a woman who discussed being beaten by her husband with people outside of her family</p> <p>Response options: Agree; Somewhat agree; Somewhat disagree; Disagree</p>
Frequency or number of people who engage in the behaviour	<p><i>Frequency:</i></p> <p>a) How often do your friends drink alcohol when socialising?</p> <p>b) How often do others [your friends] disapprove if they see you drinking alcohol at a party?</p> <p>Response options: Very often; Often; Sometimes; Never</p> <p><i>Number:</i></p> <p>a) In your village, how many young girls get married before the age of 18?</p> <p>b. Among people in your family, how many would approve of you getting married before the age of 18?</p> <p>Response options: All; Most; Some; Few; Nobody</p>
Behaviour and attitudes of others in a specific situation	<p>In your experience, when congregating on the street, do most boys around here:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tease young girls when they pass by • Let girls pass by without comment • Neither <p>In your opinion, when young boys tease girls as they pass by, do most people around here:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approve of the teasing • Disapprove but tolerate the teasing • Disapprove of the teasing • Have no strong opinion

Table 2. Global Early Adolescent Study: Sexual Double Standard and Adolescent Romantic Expectations subscales (Moreau et al., 2019)

Each item was measured using a Likert scale of 1–5 ("disagree a lot" to "agree a lot").

Sexual double standard	Adolescent romantic expectations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys have girlfriends to show off to their friends. • Adolescent boys fool girls into having sex • Boys tell girls they love them when they don't • Adolescent boys lose interest in a girl after they have sex with her • Adolescent girls should avoid boys because they trick them into having sex • Girls are the victims of rumours if they have boyfriends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's normal for a boy your age to want a girlfriend • A boy should be able to have a girlfriend if he wants to • A girl should be able to have a boyfriend if she wants to • It's normal for a girl to want a boyfriend at your age

Table 3. Items included in norm scale calculations for education in research on the interaction of norms and agency for adolescent girls’ sexual and reproductive health in Ethiopia (Berhane et al., 2019)

Each item was measured using a Likert scale and categorized into five coded groups: “do not know” as 0, “strongly unfavourable” as 1, “unfavourable” as 2, “favourable” as 3, and “strongly favourable” as 4. “Refused” was treated as a missing response. Norm scores were calculated by considering relevant items, and for each of these calculations, a Guttman’s Lambda-2 reliability test was also calculated (included in table).

Descriptive norm	Injunctive norm
<p>Most adolescent girls:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • are absent from school to do household chores • who go to school engage in premarital sex • are less attentive in their education than boys • drop out of school once they get married • negotiate financial support for their school needs • earn income and provide for the family, instead of going to school • earn an income to cover their school needs <p>Score range: 0-28 Guttman’s Lambda-2 score = 0.62</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most people expect girls in the community to have the same opportunity in education as boys. • Most people expect girls in the community to do household chores instead of going to school • Parents think adolescent girls who go to school engage in premarital sex • Parents think adolescent girls are less attentive in their education than boys • Others/in-laws expect girls to stop attending school once they are married • Parents expect adolescent girls to earn an income and provide for the family instead of going to school <p>Score range 0-28 Guttman’s Lamda-2 score = 0.77</p>

Table 4. Masculinité, Famille et Foi: Quantitative measures of attitudes and norms related to intimate partner violence (Learning Collaborative, 2019b)

These questions are taken from the male questionnaire. The same questions are used in the female questionnaire, with framing swapped where necessary (e.g. “My husband thinks it’s ok for him to beat me at times”).

Section 6: Attitudes and norms related to intimate partner violence
<p><i>Intimate partner violence: Outcome expectation</i></p> <p>I’m now going to read you a series of statements regarding violence by a husband against his wife, and then I will ask you if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree on each of them.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A husband beats his wife to correct her bad behaviour • A husband beating his wife is a normal part of married life • If the neighbours see or hear a husband beating his wife, they will try to stop him <p>Response options: Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree</p>
<p><i>Intimate partner violence: Attitudes, perceived control and intentions</i></p> <p>I want to read to you a few more statements. Please tell me how much you agree with each statement. Sometimes I will ask you for slightly different answers but I will tell you when we get to those statements.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to the scripture a husband is supposed to discipline his wife • Giving equal weight to what my wife (partner) says in making decisions is _____ to me [Response options: Extremely important; Important; Unimportant; Extremely unimportant] • If a man does not beat his wife, people will think he is not manly • I would use other nonviolent strategies to manage conflict with my husband (partner) if I knew them <p>Response options: Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree</p>

Table continued overleaf

Intimate partner violence: Injunctive norms

For this next set of questions, I will read a series of statements. For each statement, I want to know what you think people expect others to do. You can say strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

- People in this congregation expect a husband to force his wife to have sex even when she does not want to
- Faith leaders think it is ok for a husband to beat his wife at times
- Faith leaders think it is ok for a husband to force his wife to have sex even when she does not want to
- It is appropriate for a husband to beat his wife at times

Response options: Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree

Intimate partner violence: Subjective norms

- For matters related to my relationship with my wife/husband, whose opinion matters to you?

Response options: Wife/Husband; Friends; Mother; Father; Mother-in-law; Father-in-law; Faith leader; Sister; Brother; Other female relative; Other male relative; Health worker; Other (Specify)

- My wife thinks it is ok for me to beat her at times
- My wife thinks it is ok for me to force her to have sex even when she does not want to
- Faith leaders in this congregations think it is ok for me to beat my wife at times
- People whose opinion is important to me think it is ok for me to beat my wife at times

Response options: Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree

Intimate partner violence: Motivation to comply

- In matters of my relationship with my wife, I want to do what my wife wants me to do
- In matters of my relationship with my wife, I want to do what my faith leaders in this congregation want me to do

Response options: Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree

Intimate partner violence: Attitudes, perceived control and intentions

Now I would like to know what people in your congregation actually do. Think about what is normal or typical behaviour when you respond to these statements. Do you think that these statements are true for most, many, some or none of the newly married couples or first time parents in this congregation?

- A husband beats his wife
- A husband forces his wife to have sex even when she does not want to

Response options: None; Some; Many; Most

Table 5. Communities Care: Social Norms and Beliefs about Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Scale (Perrin et al., 2019)

Scoring instructions: Create three subscales for social norms and three subscales for personal beliefs by taking the mean of the items within each subscale (response options and scores included at the end of each list of items):

- Response to Sexual Violence Social Norm (items 1–5, and 16–21)
- Protecting Family Honour Social Norm (items 6–11, and 22–26)
- Husband’s Right to Use Violence Social Norm (items 12–15, and 27–30)

Injunctive norms

For each of the following questions, please tell us how many people whose opinion matters most to you:

1. Expect a husband to abandon his wife if she reports that she has been raped
2. Expect the family to ignore/reject a daughter if she reports that she has been raped
3. Accept sexual violence against women and girls a normal part of life.
4. Blame women/girls when they are raped
5. Think that a man should have the right to demand sex from a woman or girl even if he is not married to her
6. Expect women/girls to not report rape to protect the family dignity
7. Expect that a woman/girl’s reputation will be damaged, if she reports sexual violence to the authorities or elders
8. Fear stigma if they were to report sexual violence
9. Expect sexual violence to be handled within the family and not reported to authorities
10. Expect a husband or father to retaliate against the alleged perpetrators
11. Expect women and girls to only report sexual violence if they have serious physical injuries
12. Think that when a man beats his wife, he is showing his love for her
13. Think that a man has the right to beat/punish his wife
14. Think it is okay for a husband to beat his wife to discipline her
15. Expect a husband to force his wife to have sex when she does not want to

Response options: None of them; Few of them; About ½ of them; Most of them; All of them (scores = 1-5)

Personal beliefs

For each of the following questions, please tell us the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement and your willingness to tell others about your belief:

16. Husbands should abandon/reject/divorce their wife if she reports that she has been raped
17. A man should have the right to demand sex from a woman or girl even if he is not married to her
18. A woman/girl would be stigmatized if she were to report sexual violence
19. A woman/girl should be blamed when she has been raped
20. Sexual violence against women and girls should be accepted as a normal part of life
21. Families should ignore/reject a daughter if she reports that she has been raped
22. Women/girls should not report rape to protect the family dignity
23. A woman/girl’s reputation will be damaged if she reports sexual violence to the authorities
24. Sexual violence should be handled within the family and not reported to authorities
25. A husband or father should retaliate against the alleged perpetrators
26. Women and girls should only report sexual violence if they have serious physical injuries
27. When a man beats his wife, he is showing his love for her
28. A man has the right to beat/punish his wife
29. It is okay for a husband to beat his wife to discipline her
30. A husband should force his wife to have sex when she does not want to

Response options: Agree with this statement; Not sure if I agree or disagree; I disagree but am not ready to tell others; I disagree and am telling others (scores = 1-4)

Table 6. Experimental vignettes to identify gender norms associated with transactional sex for adolescent girls and young women in central Uganda (Stoebenau et al., 2019)

These vignettes were separated by questions addressing individual gender beliefs, toward creating a 'male provision belief scale'.

Introduction:

During this interview I will be reading you a few short stories and then asking you some questions about the story. I will read you the first story now. Please listen carefully. I will be asking you questions about how much you and others in your life would approve of what happens in the story. I would like to know if you and others would: 1 strongly disapprove, 2 disapprove, 3 approve, or 4 strongly approve (administered with card as visual cue).

Vignette A

Random assignment:

Cate and Paul have been in a relationship for three months. Cate is 17 and in school and Paul is 20 and working. Last week, Cate went out to have fun with a group of her friends without Paul. Paul learned about it, and then told Cate she should never go out with her friends without his permission.

OR

Cate and Paul have been in a relationship for three months. Cate is 17 and in school and Paul is 20 and working. Paul has been providing Cate with clothes, and money to buy things that are important to her. Last week, Cate went out to have fun with a group of her friends without Paul. Paul learned about it, and then told Cate she should never go out with her friends without his permission.

Questions:

- On a scale of 0-10 how many men in your community would behave like Paul if zero is none, five is half, and 10 is every man?
- How much do you approve of Paul's reaction?
- How much do you think Cate's friends would approve of his reaction?
- How much do you think Paul friends would approve of his reaction?
- How much do you think the community would approve of Paul's reaction?

Response options: Strongly disapprove; Disapprove; Approve; Strongly approve

Vignette B

Random assignment:

John and Sarah have been in a relationship for some time. He has been providing Sarah with a little money for her to buy clothes, and airtime (a local term for mobile phone credit or data). Last week, he asked to have sex with her for the first time, but she said she no. John becomes angry with her.

OR

John and Sarah have been in a relationship for some time. He has been providing Sarah with things important to her; he has given her a smart phone and gives her any money she says she needs. Last week, he asked to have sex with her for the first time, but she said she no. John becomes angry with her.

Questions:

- On a scale of 0-10 how many young men in your community would behave like John, if zero is none, 5 is half of all young men, and 10 is every young man?
- How much do you approve of John's reaction to Sarah?
- How much do you think John's friends would approve of John's reaction?
- How much do you think the community would approve of John's reaction?

Response options: Strongly disapprove; Disapprove; Approve; Strongly approve

Table continued overleaf

Vignette C

Random assignment:

Stella and Stephen are in school together and have been together for over a year. They love each other. Stephen is only able to sometimes buy snacks for Stella. Yet, Stella needs money in order to be able to buy trendy clothes so she can fit in with her friends, so she found a second boyfriend to support her.

OR

Stella and Stephen are in school together and have been together for over a year. They love each other. Stephen has been giving her money in addition to buying her snack every day. Yet, Stella needs more money in order to be able to buy trendy clothes so she can fit in with her friends, so she found a second boyfriend to support her.

Questions:

- On a scale of 0-10 how many young women in your community would behave like Stella, if zero is none, five is half, and ten is every young woman?
- How much do you approve of Stella's behaviour?
- How much do you think Stella's friends would approve of her behaviour?
- How much do you think the community would approve of Stella's behaviour?

Response options: Strongly disapprove; Disapprove; Approve; Strongly approve

Table 7. The Man Box: Messages about what it means to be a young man (Heilman et al., 2017; Irvine et al., 2018)

Each of these statements is asked across two scales with the following introductions: "Society as a whole tells me that ..." and "In my opinion ...".

Pillar	Statement
1. Self-sufficiency	A man who talks a lot about his worries, fears, and problems shouldn't really get respect Men should figure out their personal problems on their own without asking others for help
2. Acting tough	A guy who doesn't fight back when others push him around is weak Guys should act strong even if they feel scared or nervous inside
3. Physical attractiveness	It is very hard for a man to be successful if he doesn't look good A guy who spends a lot of time on his looks isn't very manly Women don't go for guys who fuss too much about their clothes, hair and skin
4. Rigid gender roles	It is not good for a boy to be taught how to cook, sew, clean the house or take care of younger children A man shouldn't have to do household chores Men should really be the ones to bring money home to provide for their families, not women
5. Heterosexuality and homophobia	A gay guy is not a "real man" Straight guys being friends with gay guys is totally fine and normal (positive statement)
6. Hypersexuality	A "real man" should have as many sexual partners as he can A "real man" would never say no to sex
7. Aggression and control	Men should use violence to get respect if necessary A man should always have the final say about decisions in his relationship or marriage If a guy has a girlfriend or wife, he deserves to know where she is all the time

Table 8. Attitudes towards Rape and Rape Prevention Survey: Peer items (Stein, 2007)

For each subscale (i.e. Willingness to prevent rape; rape supportive attitudes; discomfort with sexism) there is a corresponding subscale for “self” items (e.g. “If I witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave a party with him, I would ask the woman if everything was okay”).

Willingness to prevent rape

1. If my close friends witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave a party with him, they would ask the woman if everything was okay
2. My close friends would be willing to educate other men about rape and sexual assault prevention
3. If my close friends saw a man put a drug in a woman's drink, they would tell her
4. If a friend planned to give a woman alcohol or drugs in order to have sex with her, my close friends would stop him
5. My close friends would consider themselves supportive of gender equity and equal rights for women
6. My close friends are likely to join the Sexual Assault Peer Education Program before graduating
7. My close friends believe that all male freshmen should be required to participate in at least one rape education and prevention program during their first year

Rape supportive attitudes

1. My close friends believe that if a woman is drunk, it is not acceptable to force her to have sex
2. My close friends believe that if a woman says “no” to sex, she really means it
3. If my close friends dates' said they did not want to have sex, they would not try to change the woman's mind
4. My close friends believe that even if a woman has her clothes off, she still has the right to say “no” to sex
5. At parties or clubs, my close friends would not look for drunken women in the hopes of increasing their chances of having sex.
6. My close friends believe that if a woman lets a man kiss her, it does not mean that she wants to have sex with him
7. My close friends would stop sexual activity when asked to, even if they are already sexually aroused
8. My close friends would not use date rape drugs to obtain sex
9. My close friends believe that if a woman goes back to a man's room it doesn't necessarily mean that she wants to have sex
10. My close friends believe that if a man is sexually aroused, he is capable of stopping himself from having sexual intercourse
11. My close friends would not encourage their dates to drink alcohol so that she might be more willing to have sex

Discomfort with sexism

1. My close friends are embarrassed when men they are with make sexual comments about women
 2. My close friends would feel uncomfortable if another friend brags about having sex.
 3. My close friends have a problem with men joking about scoring with women
 4. It bothers my close friends if they are with a group of friends and someone puts women down by making jokes or comments about them
 5. My close friends don't like it when men use words like “slut” to insult women
-

Table 9. Manhood 2.0: Questions on bystander action for masculinities and prevention trial in the United States (Abebe et al., 2018)

These have been adapted from scales previously used in the Coaching Boys into Men trial (Miller et al., 2012).

Positive bystander intervention behaviours

Items:

The following questions ask about specific behaviours that you may have seen or heard among your male peers or friends. If you experienced this at least once in the past 3 months, how did you respond?

- Making rude or disrespectful comments about a girl's body, clothing, or make-up
- Spreading rumours about a girl's sexual reputation, like saying "she's easy"
- Telling sexual jokes that disrespect women and girls
- Bragging about what they and their girlfriend do sexually
- Showing other people sexual messages or naked/sexual pictures of a girl on a cell phone or the internet
- Doing unwelcome or uninvited things toward a girl (or group of girls) such as howling, whistling, or making sexual gestures
- Fighting with a girl where he's starting to cuss at or threaten her
- Taking sexual advantage of a girl (like touching, kissing, having sex with) who is drunk, high from drugs, or passed out
- Shoving, grabbing, or otherwise physically hurting a girl

Response options:

Sum items with at least 1 positive response behavior (noted as +1) endorsed

- I have not experienced this in the past 3 months.(0)
- I didn't say anything (-1)
- I told the person in public that acting like that was not okay (+1)
- I laughed or went along with it (-1)
- I told the person in private that acting like that was not okay (+1)
- I talked to an important adult about it privately (like youth leader, teacher, coach) (+1)

Intentions to intervene with peers

Items:

How likely are YOU to do something to try and stop what's happening if a male friend or peer (someone your age) is:

- Making rude or disrespectful comments about a girl's body, clothing or make-up
- Spreading rumors about a girl's sexual reputation, like saying "she's easy"
- Fighting with a girl where he's starting to cuss at or threaten her
- Doing unwelcome or uninvited things toward a girl (or group of girls) such as howling, whistling or making sexual gestures
- Shoving, grabbing, or otherwise physically hurting a girl
- Showing other people sexual messages or naked/sexual pictures of a girl on a cell phone or the internet
- Telling sexual jokes that disrespect women and girls
- Taking sexual advantage of a girl (like touching, kissing, having sex with) who is drunk, high from drugs, or passed out

Response options:

Five point Likert scale from "Very unlikely" to "Very likely", modeled as a mean score.

Table 10. Girls' Holistic Development: Example vignettes and questions to identify social sanctions (Learning Collaborative, 2019a)

Vignette 3

Introduction:

Now I will tell you the story of a girl called [GIRL NAME]. I would like you to imagine that [GIRL NAME] is a typical girl living in this community. Please listen carefully to her story.

[GIRL NAME] is 16 years old and lives with her husband, [HUSBAND NAME], who she married when she was 15 years old, and his family. She is his only wife and no longer goes to school, where she was a very good student. [GIRL NAME] works at a small shop and is able to save some money. She does not have any children yet.

[GIRL NAME]'s mother-in-law and husband would like for her to get pregnant and start a family.

Questions:

What do you think most girls like [GIRL NAME] would do in this situation?

What would other girls of a similar age to [GIRL NAME] expect her to do in this situation?

Response options (read all, select one): Agree to get married; Convince husband/husband's family to delay; Find other ways to delay pregnancy (e.g. contraception).

...

Vignette 3 continued:

[GIRL NAME] wants to continue earning and saving money. She is unsure about getting pregnant and would like to wait longer before having her first child.

- Who do you think [GIRL NAME] would talk to?
- Who that she talked to would probably be in favour of her waiting longer to get pregnant?
- Who that she talked to would probably be against her waiting longer to get pregnant?

Response options (spontaneous, select all mentioned): Nobody; Her husband; Her mother-in-law; Her father-in-law; Other in-law family member; Her mother/step-mother; Her father/step-father; Her older brother; Her older sister; Her uncle; Her aunt; Other family member; Her friend(s); Community leader; Religious leader; Grandmother; Local health staff; Other (specify)

...

How do you think other people in [GIRL NAME]'s community would react if they knew that [GIRL NAME] did not want to get pregnant then? Would they support her or not?

Response options (read all, select one): They would support her; They would not support her; Neither support nor not support her; It would depend on who the people were, some would support/some not

Do you think that other people in the community would praise or try to shame [GIRL NAME] for trying to convince her husband to delay pregnancy?

Response options (read all, select one): They would praise her; They would try to shame her; Neither praise nor shame her; Some would shame her and some would praise her

Table continued overleaf

Vignette 3 continued:

Now imagine that [GIRL NAME] is successful in convincing [HUSBAND NAME] and his family to allow her to delay getting pregnant.

- What do you think other parents in the community would think of her husband's family because of their decision to allow her to delay getting pregnant?

Response options (read all, select all mentioned): They wouldn't care; They would support them; They would think they were wrong; They would think less of them; They would be angry at them; They would think they were not trustworthy; They would think they were bad parents; They would think they were not good members of the community; Other (specify)

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