

Redefining Norms  
to Empower Women:  
**Experiences and  
Lessons Learned**

*April 2015 — April 2016*



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CARE International Sri Lanka  
No. 73, Isipathana Mawatha, Colombo 05.  
Sri Lanka.  
Phone: + 94-11-5399299  
Fax: + 94-11-2583721  
Email: [srilanka@care.org](mailto:srilanka@care.org)

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## SUMMARY

The Redefining Norms to Empower Women (ReNEW) project of CARE International worked with tea plantation communities over two years between 2014 and 2016, to challenge the practice of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). The project was a pilot in attempting to explore how social norms that underpin IPV could be addressed and measured using an approach based on social norms theory. Social norms are the unspoken rules about behavior that are considered acceptable in a group. People behave in certain ways based on what they think others expect of them and what they think others do. These norms are mostly maintained by anticipation about social sanctions – that is approval or disapproval for their actions by people who matter to them. In practice, challenging a social norm is based on public visibility of positive alternate actions or viewpoints in order to change people’s perceptions about what is considered to be “normal” or “typical” and acceptable by others, such that over time, a critical mass of people will change their harmful behavior, allowing a new positive norm or norms to take root.

In its second year, this project challenged and measured the social norm of the use of male aggression in conflicts between husbands and wives on selected tea estates. Based on the application of new approaches to measure social norms change, findings after a year of intervention indicate that, while there continues to be a high degree of practice of the norms, there appears to have been some slight ‘weakening’ of the norm over the implementation period.



## INTRODUCTION

The Redefining Norms to Empower Women (ReNEW) project was designed to challenge social norms that underpin the occurrence of violence against women among plantation communities in Sri Lanka. While these norms, and certainly the occurrence of violence, are by no means limited to people in the plantations, the specific historical and cultural contexts of these communities in Sri Lanka pose specific challenges.

The tea plantation communities are among the most marginalized and vulnerable in Sri Lanka, not only due to their ethnicity, socio-economic status and location in relatively isolated areas, but also because they have been historically discriminated against as a community of indentured labourers who were brought down from South India during the British colonial era. Although the plantations employ the largest female workforce in the country, most women lack access and control over their own assets and income, occupying the lowest levels of the plantation hierarchy and experiencing high levels of violence within their households. For example, in the Nuwara Eliya district (where most tea estates are located), the percentage of males who agreed that a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family, was higher (62%) than the other three districts (about 57%), reflecting a stronger cultural pattern of patriarchy amongst plantation workers.<sup>1</sup> The combination of caste and class, coupled with patriarchy and the legacy of slavery, has created an extremely exploitative situation for women workers on plantations.

<sup>1</sup> De Mel, Neloufer, Peiris, P and Gomez, S (2013), Broadening Gender: Why Masculinities Matter – Attitudes, practices and gender-based violence in four districts in Sri Lanka. CARE Sri Lanka and Partners for Prevention.

The ReNEW project was implemented in two phases by CARE Sri Lanka and its partner the Sevalanka Foundation, with support from CARE USA and funding from Johnson and Johnson Corporate Contributions. In a first phase of the ReNEW project between April 2014 and March 2015, we mapped out and identified social norms that related to three thematic areas in the plantations: gendered household roles, conflict resolution between spouses at household level, and parent-child relationships with an emphasis on fatherhood. The data showed that, more often than not, conflicts were resolved in ways that discriminated against women and reinforced their unequal power relations within families in the plantation context – for instance, 67% of male respondents and 80% of female respondents said that wives are asked to keep silent during a fight.<sup>2</sup> In phase two, which was implemented between April 2015 and March 2016, we further honed in on one social norm in particular around conflict resolution between spouses so that it could be addressed in a systematic and in-depth manner based on knowledge and learnings from phase one.

The social norm selected was around the use of male aggression – both passive and active – in conflicts between husbands and wives. Active aggression refers to overt form of aggression such as beating or scolding, while passive aggression refers to more indirect forms of hostility, including pressure on women to obey, stay silent and tolerate aggression.

<sup>2</sup> For more information, refer to learning paper on phase one of ReNEW: "Challenging Social Norms to Address Gender Based Violence in Sri Lanka's Plantation Context," May 2015, CARE International Sri Lanka, available at <http://www.caresrilanka.org/resources/>.

For this project, we defined aggression in this way to create space to capture additional ways in which male aggression is played out or also questioned. For this reason, and based on our experience from phase one exploring norms around resolving marital conflicts, we conceptualized norms around men's use of physical and verbal aggression, and norms around women's silence and submission, as together underpinning an overall social norm for the use of male aggression in resolving marital conflict. The main ways in which men and women were both expected to and actually resolved arguments within marriage included the following:

- Husbands' use of physical punishment
- Husbands' use of scolding / verbal punishment
- Wives' acceptance of their husband's point of view without question
- Wives keeping silent so as not to prolong the fight

In our analysis, we looked at both social norms for men's behavior (#1 and #2 above) and social norms for women's behavior (#3 and #4) in conflicts individually, and then both these norms together as a composite measure for a broader understanding of norms around male aggression as a method of conflict resolution between couples.

In selecting the overall social norm of men's use of aggression in marital conflicts, the impact goal was to contribute to the reduction of intimate partner violence on selected estates in Sri Lanka. The project was implemented on 7 tea estates, 5 of which were also intervention sites during phase one. We continued to work with groups we had worked with in phase one, as well as new community members and selected members of reference groups (especially people identified by the community as being influential in shaping public opinion).

This learning paper discusses the approaches that were adopted in this pilot initiative to challenge a social norm that underpins violence against women. It discusses how measurement was carried out, what gains were made and challenges faced. We hope that this discussion will provide useful insights and lessons for other similar work.

## THEORY INTO PRACTICE – *For Program Design*

The concept and design of the ReNEW project was based on social norm theory. According to the theory, social norms are – often unspoken – rules shared by the members of a given group and that influence what these members consider acceptable and appropriate. Social norms are held in place by two different sets of social expectations: normative expectations, that is what people think others expect of them; and empirical expectations, what they think others do.<sup>1</sup> The others who matter to us and who influence our behavior belong to our “reference group.” Social norms also influence people’s behavior through people’s anticipation of positive and negative social sanctions in case of compliance or non compliance with the norm. That is, people think they would face approval or disapproval for their actions by others in their reference group. Challenging a social norm is based on public visibility of positive alternate actions or viewpoints in order to change people’s perceptions of what is considered to be normal (their empirical expectations) and acceptable (their normative expectations) in their group, such that over time, a critical mass of people will change their harmful behavior, allowing new positive norms to take root.

In terms of measurement, this theoretical perspective also points us to focus on people’s empirical and normative expectations – that is, their expectations about what others do and think – to measure social norms. This focus departs from the conventional approach in program measurement of focusing on individuals’ attitudes/acceptance as measures of social norms. Social norms theory argues that we need to understand and measure empirical and normative expectations (as measures of social norms), as well as individuals’ personal attitudes, to more fully understand people’s behavior.

With the idea that any approach to challenging social norms would have to be publicly visible to shift social expectations and build support, ReNEW’s work in this second phase focused on the following 4 activities:

### 2.1. Working with Reference Groups

A total of 3-5 people who could be positive allies and actively support this work were selected on each estate from several identified by their own communities as people who had some degree of influence in shaping public opinion. In order to select these reference group (RG) allies, the following steps were taken: Meetings were held on each estate with people from estate communities who had participated in the first phase of the project, including married couples (of varied roles/positions within the estates), male change agents (peer educators who participated in the first phase of the ReNEW project), and young people (15-29 years). At these meetings, participants were divided into groups based on their estate divisions (geographical boundaries within estates),

as people of influence could vary even within estates based on estate-wide divisions. They were further divided based on gender. After the objective of the meeting was explained, each group identified 5-7 names of people they thought would be influential in shaping opinion. The groups then ranked the identified allies based on who they thought had most influence. Based on this ranking, a shortlist of 10 people was identified per estate, who would participate in an exercise to assess their own attitudes and commitment to supporting this work. This process identified about 3-5 people per estate with whom the project could work directly to try to challenge the social norm around men’s use of aggression against their wives.

<sup>1</sup> Bicchieri, C. (2006). *The grammar of society: The nature and dynamics of social norms*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### 2.1.1. Assessing beliefs and attitudes of Reference Groups

CARE field and partner staff met each of the identified RG allies to talk to them about the project and invite them for a further discussion. ReNEW developed guidelines for the follow-up discussion, which included an exercise where staff read statements about attitudes towards men and women. People then grouped themselves based on whether they agreed or disagreed, and then further sub-divided into whether they “strongly agreed” or “somewhat agreed” with the statements. Staff from our partner organisation Seva Lanka Foundation (SVL) took notes of each person’s responses. Each person was then asked if they would complete a single question handed to them individually, which was then handed over directly to project staff and responses not shared publicly. This question referred to their own personal behaviour in relation to an argument they may have had with their spouse (for married RGs) and for unmarried RGs, their behaviour in relation to an argument they may have had with women and girls in their family.

An open discussion was then held on male aggression in relation to arguments between intimate partners, what the common triggers of aggression and violence are, why men are usually more aggressive and what they see as the benefit or not, as well as consequences of aggressive behaviour in intimate relationships. Their opinions were also obtained on how best to challenge male aggression in intimate relationships in their communities.

## 2.2. Community talk shows

A total of 35 talk shows were conducted over 5 months. Guidelines were developed on conducting the community talk shows, which included general guidelines on conducting the events in public locations, as well as the structure and themes for the talk shows – one theme per month, per estate. The themes (in order) were:

**Theme 01:** What does it mean to be a man?

**Theme 02:** There is a saying that men generally get angry easily and use violence. Discuss.

**Theme 03:** Is there a role for the community when there is an argument between husbands and wives?

**Theme 04:** What are the health implications of aggression and violence?

**Theme 05:** How can religion as well as schools challenge ideas of aggression and masculinity?

The talk shows were planned and implemented with the involvement of the members of the reference groups. Due to management structures on estates, permission had to be obtained from estate managers before implementation of the programs. Posters inviting people to the event were put up in public locations around the estate such as libraries, muster sheds (where collected tea leaf is weighed), and community notice boards. Between 50 to 100 people participated in each of the talk shows that were conducted.

In order to shortlist further and identify 5 allies among reference groups per estate, a scoring system was devised for the responses and selections made on this basis. This was based on assigning 30 and 20 points for responses of strongly agree (positive) and somewhat agree (positive), respectively, to statements. Zero and 10 points were given for strongly agree (negative) and somewhat agree (negative) statements, respectively. These scores were then totaled for each person. Selections were also informed by staff’s understanding of contextual realities. (For instance, even if a teacher scored higher than the principal, it may not be practical to work only with the teacher and not the principal of the school in a small community. Therefore, both may have to be included). Staff discretion was also employed in cases where 2 people may have obtained the same scores overall, but one person’s responses to specific questions could be considered ‘less ideal’ than the other person’s.

The selected RG allies were then included in the community talk shows that were conducted and their active participation and involvement was encouraged. Several of the RGs also openly discussed positive approaches they had adopted to resolving conflicts either in their own lives or in support of other people in their communities (see results in section 4 below).

## 2.3. Working with schools

A total of 7 programs were held with school children – one per estate. These discussions, which incorporated games and multi-media presentations, explored basic ideas of anger, recognizing forms of aggression, management of anger and minimizing its potential ill-effects. Children from homes where violence is present can seldom change their environment and ReNEW sought to help them deal with this through personal anger management and with informal support from people they trust within their communities. The project worked with a consultant who had experience working with children to review guidelines for the work with school children and to suggest the best ways to approach them.

## 2.4. Media Campaign

Over a period of 7 months ReNEW implemented a media campaign drawing on lessons from social norms theory. The project received initial guidance on concept from Breakthrough TV India.<sup>1</sup> The team at Breakthrough TV helped develop the initial ‘message frame’ for our Media Campaign, as per the ReNEW aims and objectives. This ‘message frame’ was then creatively interpreted by artists sourced by CARE. Language skills (as the campaign is entirely in Tamil language) and knowledge on the subject matter were key deciding factors when the creative artist was selected. The project also worked with an expert on the application of social norms theory, complementing Breakthrough TV’s expertise in media campaigns.<sup>2</sup> Using a social norms theory lens, this expert was able to provide us with much needed guidance and feedback for the creative interpretations of the ‘message frame’, including suggestions for designs and slogans/messaging.

Two posters were developed depicting ideas of the community expectations of non-violence in the home, which builds on the social norms approach of people doing what they think others do and what they think others expect them to do. For instance, one poster had messaging in Tamil that translates to “Do you know that your community does not like violence? Aggression and domestic violence affects us all. We can stop it together.”<sup>3</sup> Eleven radio spots were developed with dialogue that reflected ideas of how aggression and domestic violence affects the whole community. A song in Tamil was also developed that spoke to men, challenging their use of aggression and speaking of the benefits of a more peaceful relationship with their wives.

In developing the media campaign messaging, the team including its consultants went through a regular process of checking back against core ideas from a social norms approach:

- Did the messaging challenge both normative and empirical expectations?
- Did it reflect and challenge the main ideas in relation to how male aggression was expressed and social sanctions around the same?
- Did it provide/depict positive alternatives?

ReNEW worked with an agency and a consultant who were fluent in Tamil, to ensure that the Tamil used accurately reflected the dialect spoken among estate communities and that people in these communities related to the themes and artwork of the media materials. The campaign materials were also then cross-checked again by field staff based in the project locations. The selection of the media platforms itself was based on findings from a baseline survey as to what were the most popular forms of media accessed by the plantation communities, as well as times when this engagement would be highest. This choice of tools was also limited by costs, which meant that regular television broadcast options could not be chosen. Although television is the most popular media channel on the estates, channels that are watched are primarily Indian cable TV channels. It was outside the scope of this project to explore messaging through these channels.

<sup>1</sup> Breakthrough TV is well known for their ‘Ring the Bell Campaign’ which called on men and boys to take the initiative to stop domestic violence. The campaign began in India and has now been adapted by a number of organizations from around the world.

<sup>2</sup> The project worked with Ben Cislighi, whose work and experience in the Tostan Project in West Africa was very useful to ReNEW, particularly as the Tostan Project also integrates community-led awareness raising activities as part of their strategy to help people uncover existing harmful practices.

<sup>3</sup> See Annex One for some examples of the media campaign materials.



## THEORY INTO PRACTICE – *Monitoring and Measurement*

The main research questions that this project sought to answer through its monitoring and evaluation were:

1. Did social norms (empirical and normative expectations) change from Baseline to Endline?
2. Why have norms changed or not changed?
3. How has the media campaign worked (or not) in terms of exposure, recall and diffusion?  
That is: have people seen/heard the media messages, do they remember them, how did they interpret them, did they discuss them, and did they generate interest?

Changing a social norm is a process that takes a significant amount time, and given the limitations of a short term project, we felt it was critical to measure processes that lead to this change, which are also important indicators of success.

A useful concept that we drew on for this endeavor was '*norms relaxing or bending*,' which says that "norms relax when people (both male and female) challenge or cross boundaries of traditional gender norms or conduct, but their actions are not recognised as a legitimate and acceptable norm. 'They are assuming new roles and responsibilities, but are not setting a new standard' (Munoz Boudet et al. 2012: 49).<sup>1</sup> This is distinct from norm changing, whereby new roles, responsibilities or ideas are accepted as a new standard" (ODI, *Gender justice and social norms - processes of change for adolescent girls*, 2014: 6). Within the one-year timeline of this phase, measurement approaches sought to monitor for such norm relaxing/bending, as part of measuring the process of change in social norms - in this case, the social norm of male aggression in conflicts between intimate partners.

Challenging the norm was further broken down into:

- a) Any reported positive or negative deviations in social expectations around the four methods of conflict resolution listed earlier;
- b) Increased discussion and conversations around male aggression and its implications
- c) New and alternative behaviors/ways of addressing conflict that do not rely on male aggression and are therefore more gender sensitive.

The project also monitored for backlash and resistance against either project staff and partners, or members of the community. While on the one hand resistance could be indicative of a discomfort that challenging power structures bring, and therefore 'change' in one sense, it may also be a sign that a norm is being further entrenched.

This project did not measure behaviors due to the practical difficulties and complexities of measuring behavior change in a small-scale, pilot intervention of short duration. Instead, the measurement tools selected tracked changes/deviations in attitudes and social expectations (normative and empirical) over the course of the project. This is a limitation of the findings, as we were not able to analyze for possible relationships between behavior and social expectations or attitudes.

These learning questions and considerations guided our choice of measurement tools,<sup>2</sup> described briefly below:

<sup>1</sup> Munoz Boudet, Petesch, & Turk, with Thumala. (2012) *On Norms and Agency: Conversations about Gender Equality with Women and Men in 20 Countries*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

<sup>2</sup> See Annex 2 for baseline and endline survey tools, and vignette tools.

### 3.1. Baseline survey

A baseline survey was conducted at the start of the project. This quantitative survey tool was developed with a leading social research organisation in Sri Lanka – the Social Scientists Association (SSA) in collaboration with the CARE team, and the analysis of the findings was also carried out by the SSA. This baseline survey gave us a quantitative basis against which to compare end-line findings after one year in relation to social expectations around the four behaviours. The baseline survey also assessed media usage patterns of the communities on the seven estates to guide the media campaign. This survey asked people to respond to statements to assess personal attitudes, and normative and empirical and expectations around the use of male aggression in arguments /conflicts between intimate partners.

The baseline survey was administered to 314 adult men and women across 7 estates. The respondents were selected randomly using the ‘Last Birthday’ method. This is done by selecting a random starting point from each Division within the selected estate, stopping at each line room (estate household) along the way, and interviewing the person who was the last to have their birthday and over 18 years of age, obtaining a balance in gender groups. This random walk was continued until the total required sample was met.

### 3.2. Vignettes

The vignettes approach tells short stories about imaginary characters in specific contexts, with guiding questions that invite people to respond to the story in a structured way. While survey tools diagnose whether a social norm exists, vignettes can help us better understand norms and their impact on behavior, and identify possible signs of “relaxing”, weak spots, or “cracks” in the norms that could be leveraged to catalyze change. Vignettes are conducted in homogenous groups to understand the specific perspectives of those key groups. This approach is useful in order to gauge social expectations within communities, allowing participants to offer a view about a third person in that context. This approach can also help mitigate possible bias that may occur when people self-report on their own personal attitudes and behaviors, and may feel compelled to provide answers they perceive are expected of them or that would portray them in a more positive light. It allows exploration of a sensitive topic in a non-threatening and impersonal way. The qualitative findings of the vignettes supplement the findings of

the quantitative survey, and were conducted only at endline in this case.<sup>3</sup>

The ReNEW project staff, with input from a social norms measurement expert consultant, developed two vignettes about couples that lived in the plantations. Each story highlighted aspects of the norm that was being challenged in this project, followed by a series of questions to explore different components of social norms. These vignettes were used to guide focus group discussions (FDG) conducted with separate groups of men and women on six of the seven estates. Responses were recorded both through audio recordings and by note-takers. The FDGs were conducted by independent facilitators to minimize social desirability bias in the responses.

### 3.3. End-line survey

In the last two months of the project, an end-line survey was carried out, which used the baseline-survey tool with a few amendments. Based on the experience with the baseline survey, the end-line tool was shortened; several questions that did not adequately contribute information on the expectations around this social norm were dropped. The section on the media usage patterns was also dropped, and a section on people’s engagement with the media campaign was added. A total of 314 adult men and women responded to the survey on the seven estates using the same sampling approach to randomization as the baseline. An independent team of enumerators carried out the survey to minimize potential bias, and every effort was made to interview men and women separately although this was not always possible in practice.

### 3.4. Assessment of independent initiatives of Reference Group allies

As a sustainability measure, Reference Group allies were encouraged to find ways, where possible, to take action or speak out against male aggression and violence in intimate relationships in their communities and in the course of their work. For instance, this could be in a sermon conducted by a priest at a temple, or Estate Medical Assistants handing out leaflets with positive messaging to patients, etc. Some RG allies spoke out publicly at talk shows on non-violent methods of conflict resolution they had used in their own lives or ways in which they had intervened in the community in cases of violence against women (see findings below). A quick assessment was carried

<sup>3</sup> See Annex Two for the measurement tools: survey questionnaires at baseline and endline and the vignettes.

out at endline among the 35 RGs members to better understand their actions and experiences as RG allies in the project, including in particular areas of resistance and possible backlash they encountered. An independent facilitator asked each person in brief, one-on-one, 20-30 minute interviews:

1. In your work, have you had an opportunity to get involved and help couples where there is aggression or violence?
2. Have you had an opportunity to challenge the attitudes men have about violence being an acceptable way of resolving disputes in the household?
3. Were there any difficulties or barriers in challenging ideas of male aggression? Any particular reasons why you may decide NOT to get involved?

In addition, the following monitoring tools were used to track activities and progress:

### 3.5. Monitoring

A simple format was used to monitor the activities that took place through an Activity Monitoring Report, and an Activity Summary Report, which was closely based on the 'SASA! Raising Voices' monitoring tools - a collection of field-tested tools for monitoring community-based violence against women prevention programs. The specific SASA tools adapted were the 'Activity Report Form' and the 'Strategy Summary Report.' Modifications included a variation to collect information on the reference groups.<sup>4</sup> The one-page 'Activity Monitoring Report' collected information on the nature of the activity, attendance (by sex), attendance of community opinion leaders, the successes and challenges of the activity and any responses/adjustments needed for future success or to overcome these challenges.

Every quarter these activity reports were summarized to provide a quarterly snapshot of the activities and reflect on the successes, learnings and challenges in that period. These reports were supplemented with information based on verbal feedback from project staff directly involved in implementing the project on the 7 estates. This allowed for regular reflection on the progress of the project and helped staff identify if any corrective action needed to be taken to overcome challenges.

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<sup>4</sup> SASA Activist kit for preventing violence against women and HIV:  
<http://raisingvoices.org/sasa/>.

# FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

## 4.1. Analysis framework

### A) Quantitative data

Questionnaires received from the field were coded and keyed into a Microsoft Access data base and the computerized data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). During the process of data analysis, results were produced as comparisons between individual variables from base-line survey to the end-line survey. Chi-square Test was used to check the significance of those differences. A gender comparison was also done along with the base-line and end-line comparisons to recognize the variation of the gender dimension throughout time. Apart from comparison of individual variables, composite indices were created to get a more holistic picture by grouping variables under three main thematic areas: Empirical expectations about men and women, normative expectations about men and women, and female and male social norms (combining questions on empirical and normative expectations for each gender) (see Table One below). These were then cross tabulated against gender and media exposure (coded as a binary – exposed versus not exposed to any form of media). Finally, the base-line and end-line composite indexes thus created were to see the variance of indexes throughout time. Significance was tested using the Chi-square test.

**The following statements/questions from the end-line survey were grouped to create a composite index for social norms related to men's use of aggression in resolving conflicts with wives (i.e., active aggression):**

Empirical expectations: People responded to statements on prevalence of the following behavior in their communities: 'Husband's scolding their wives in filth' (Q24) and 'Husband's beating their wives' (Q25).

Normative expectations: People responded to statements on prevalent attitudes to the following behaviors by people in the community (what others expect you to do): 'A man who is not tough enough does not command respect at home' (Q31) and 'A man who beats his wife has no place in his neighborhood' (Q33) and 'During an argument, a man who listens to his wife's point of view, is considered as being 'not manly enough' by his neighbors and relatives.' (Q34).

**The following statements/questions from the end-line survey were grouped to create a composite index for social norms related to women's behavior in resolving conflicts with their husbands (i.e., passive aggression):**

#### **EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS:**

People responded to statements on prevalence of the following behavior in their communities: 'wife keeping silent so as not to prolong a domestic fight (Q28) + 'Neighbors intervening to advise the wife to keep silent to not prolong the fight (Q29).

#### **NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS:**

People responded to statements on prevalent attitudes to the following behaviors by people in the community (what others expect you to do): 'A woman who talks back to her husband earns a bad reputation among relatives' (Q35) and 'Relatives won't appreciate it if the woman complains about her husband's violent behavior (Q36).

Table One below summarizes these composite measures for social norms around methods of conflict resolution for men and women.

**TABLE ONE:***Composite Indexes for Social Norms Measures from Survey Data*

<b>SOCIAL NORM: MEN'S USE OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THEIR WIVES TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS</b>	<b>EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS</b> <i>People who responded the following behaviors were "very prevalent" or "sometimes observable":</i>	<b>NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS</b> <i>People who responded the following attitudes exist to "great extent" or "some extent":</i>
1. <b>Social norm for men's use of aggression to resolve conflicts with their wives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· "Husbands scolding their wives in filth" (verbal abuse) (Q24)</li> <li>· "Husbands beating their wives" (Q25)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· "A man who is not tough enough does not command respect at home" (Q31)</li> <li>· "A man who beats his wife has no place in his neighbourhood" (Q33)</li> <li>· "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" (Q34)</li> </ul>
2. <b>Social norm for women's behavior in resolving conflicts with their husbands</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· "Wife keeping silent so as not to prolong a domestic fight" (Q28)</li> <li>· "Neighbours intervening to advise the wife to keep silent to not prolong the fight" (Q29)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· "A woman who talks back to her husband earns a bad reputation among relatives" (Q35)</li> <li>· "Relatives won't appreciate it if the woman complains about her husband's violent behavior" (Q36)</li> </ul>

In addition to looking at social expectations for men's and women's behaviors, these norms were then used to form an overall composite measure for social norms around male aggression – both passive and active – as a method of conflict resolution between couples, as shown in Table Two below.

**TABLE TWO:**

*Overall composite measure for social norms around use of male aggression in marital conflicts (empirical + normative expectations of men and women together)*

<b>OUTCOME</b>	<b>INDICATOR</b>
Change in social norms (empirical and normative expectations of men and women in selected estates) of equating ideal masculinity with male aggression, at household level	% change in target populations who believe that most other men in their community use aggressive means to resolve conflict with their wives ( <b>empirical expectations</b> )
	% change in target populations who believe that most other people in their community think that men should use aggressive means to resolve conflict with their wives ( <b>normative expectations</b> )

## Attitudes

The end-line survey also looked at changes around individuals' personal attitudes towards these norms. Although a social norms approach emphasizes the influence of social expectations on behavior, individual attitudes may also help us understand people's behavior. Further evidence is needed to better understand the relationship/interaction (if any) between personal attitudes and social expectations on the pathway of catalyzing broad social change. Some of these attitudes were based on common proverbs/saying commonly used on the estates:

- a) Apart from controlling or being tough with your wife, sometimes, there is no other way to resolve an argument (Q3).
- b) As a man you need to be tough to keep your wife under control (Q5).
- c) A wife should always listen to her husband's advice 'as he is her God' (Q19).
- d) A wife should not inform outsiders about the fights that happen between them even if she gets beaten up (Q22).
- e) As fights between husband and wife lasts 'only till the rice is cooked', so the wife should keep quiet if her husband scolds or beats her (Q23).

## B) Quantitative data

The audio recordings of the vignettes were transcribed and translated from Tamil into English and compared with the notes from the note-takers to get as complete of a translation as possible. CARE's Social Norms Analysis Framework was then used to code the transcripts. This framework used was as follows:

### TABLE THREE:

*CARE's Social Norms Analysis Framework used for vignette data*

NORMS	NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS	EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS	SANCTIONS	SENSITIVITY TO SANCTIONS (DO THEY MATTER FOR BEHAVIOR? ARE ALTERNATIVES PERCEIVED AS POSSIBLE?)	CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH OK TO DEVIATE
Men's use of physical and verbal violence					
Expectations that wives fall in line/stay silent and/or don't question husband's POV					
Help-seeking/sharing w/others about IPV					

Although help-seeking among survivors was not one of the social norms measured in the survey data, it was coded of the qualitative (vignette) data when it came up given its link to expectations about women keeping quiet *during* conflicts with husbands. The analysis team wanted a way to capture/process this data.

Impact of the media campaign was analyzed based on the following three dimensions:

- a) Exposure
- b) Recall
- c) Discussion

## 4.2. Did social norms (empirical and normative expectations) change Baseline to Endline?

Table Four below summarizes the overall percent changes in social norms measures from baseline to endline. It is based on the overall composite index for the social norm of men’s use of aggression in conflicts with their wives (empirical + normative expectations for both men’s behavior and women’s behavior in marital conflicts).

Survey data reveal that overall **empirical expectations** for men’s use of aggression to resolve marital conflicts **decreased by 3.0%** - that is, 3% fewer respondents perceived that men’s use of aggression in their community was prevalent. This change was slightly insignificant ( $p=.053$ ). We also examined men’s and women’s empirical expectations separately. Men saw a decrease of 3.6% from baseline to endline (from 96.6% to 93.2%) and women saw a slightly smaller decrease of 2.5% (from 98.8% to 96.3%) although as above, neither of these changes reached statistical significance.

Survey data also show that overall **normative expectations** for men’s use of aggression to resolve marital conflicts **decreased by 4.2%** - that is, 4.2% fewer respondents perceived that other people in their community considered men’s use of aggression to be acceptable. This change was statistically significant ( $p<.01$ ). We also examined men’s and women’s normative expectations separately. Men saw a decrease of 5.5% from baseline to endline (from 99.3% to 93.8%) and women saw a slightly smaller decrease of 3.0% (from 99.4% to 96.4%). For males, this change was statistically significant ( $p<0.01$ )

**Based on social norms theory focusing on the role of social expectations underpinning social norms, these survey results suggest that social norms of male aggression in marital conflicts have weakened slightly.** There were no significant differences between those exposed to the media campaign and those who were not.

**TABLE FOUR:**

*Changes in Social Norms around Use of Male Aggression in Marital Conflicts (Overall Composite)*

OUTCOME	INDICATOR	% CHANGE	% CHANGE MALES	% CHANGE FEMALES
Change in social norms (empirical and normative expectations of men and women in selected estates) of equating ideal masculinity with male aggression, at household level	% change in target populations who believe that most other men in their community use aggressive means to resolve conflict with their wives ( <b>empirical expectations</b> )	<b>-3.0%</b>  ( $p=0.053$ )	-3.6%	-2.5%
	% change in target populations who believe that most other people in their community think that men should use aggressive means to resolve conflict with their wives ( <b>normative expectations</b> )	<b>-4.2%*</b>  ( $p<0.01$ )	-5.5%*  ( $p<0.01$ )	-3.0%

## A) Quantitative findings for social norms related to men's behavior in resolving conflicts:

Overall, we saw **desirable change in normative expectations around men's use of aggression to resolve conflicts** with their wives (6.4% decrease,  $p < 0.01$ ), but **no significant change in empirical expectations** (1.3% decrease,  $p = 0.61$ ). Therefore, the findings are mixed about the overall change in social norms around men's behavior (social expectations around physical and verbal violence). There were no significant differences based on gender or exposure to the media campaign.

### a) Empirical expectations:

- We observed a statistically **significant decrease** of 10.1% in the proportion of respondents who reported that "husbands beating their wives" was very or somewhat prevalent in their communities, from **86.7%** at baseline to **78.0%** at endline ( $p < 0.01$ ).
- We observed an **insignificant (<1%) increase** in the proportion of respondents who reported that husbands scolding their wives was very or somewhat prevalent in their communities, from 90.4% at baseline to 91.1% at endline ( $p = 0.78$ ).

### b) Normative expectations:

- We observed a statistically **significant decrease** of 16.7% in the proportion of respondents who said that the attitude that "a man is not tough enough does not command respect at home" exists to a great extent or to some extent in their communities, from **82%** to **68.3%** ( $p < 0.01$ ).
- However, there was also a nearly equal but undesirable **significant decrease** of 15.1% in the proportion of respondents who believe that most other people think that a man who beats his wife has no place in his neighborhood, from **58.9%** to **50%** ( $p = 0.03$ ). *This was the only statistically significant "undesirable" change in a social norms measure; all others were desirable.*
- We observed an **insignificant 10% decrease** in the proportion of respondents who believe that the attitude that a man who listens to his wife's point of view is considered as 'not manly enough' exists to a great extent or to some extent in their communities (from 72.4% to 65.2%,  $p = 0.06$ ).

## B) Quantitative findings for social norms related to women's behavior in resolving conflicts

Overall, we saw **desirable changes in both empirical and normative expectations around women's behavior in conflict resolution** with their husbands. Empirical expectations that women stay silent and obedient in a dispute decreased by 7.1% (from 96.2% to 89.3%), and normative expectations decreased by 11.3% (from 94.9% to 84.1%). These changes were statistically significant ( $p < 0.01$ ). These findings suggest overall weakening in social norms around women's behavior. There were significant differences in gender for changes in empirical expectations, but not normative expectations. There were no significant differences based on media campaign exposure.

### a) Empirical expectations:

- We observed a statistically **significant decrease** of 14.3% in the proportion of respondents who reported that a wife keeping silent so as not to prolong a fight is very or somewhat prevalent in their communities, from **95.2%** at baseline to **81.6%** at endline ( $p < 0.01$ ).
- We observed a statistically **significant decrease** of 9.1% in the proportion of respondents who reported that neighbours intervening to advise the wife to keep silent to not prolong the fight is very or somewhat



prevalent in their communities, from **86.9%** at baseline to **78.9%** at endline ( $p=0.01$ ).

#### b) Normative expectations:

- We observed a statistically **significant decrease** of 11.3% in the proportion of respondents who believe that most people think that a woman who talks back to her husband earns a bad reputation, from **89.5%** to **79.3%** ( $p<0.01$ ).
- We observed a statistically **significant decrease** of 12.2% in the proportion of respondents who believe that most people think that relatives won't appreciate it if a woman complains about her husband's violent behavior, from **87.2%** to **76.6%** ( $p<0.01$ ).

### C) Quantitative findings related to attitudes around norms:

Surprisingly, attitudes moved in the opposite direction from social norms (expectations) over the life of the project. While social expectations became more desirable, individual attitudes shifted in the opposite direction, in the direction of more harmful.

Overall, attitudes about men's use of aggression became less desirable:

- We observed a statistically significant **decrease** of 16% in the proportion of respondents that reported there were non-aggressive ways to resolve an argument, from **62%** at baseline to **52.1%** at end-line (Q3) ( $p=0.02$ ).
- We observed a statistically significant **increase** of 33.5% in the proportion of respondents that agreed with the statement: a man needs to be tough to keep his wife under control, from **38.5%** at baseline to **51.4%** at endline (Q5) ( $p<0.01$ ).

Similarly, attitudes about women's obedience/silence in conflicts also became less desirable, and in fact strengthened considerably by about 50% in two out of three indicators:

- We observed a statistically significant **increase** of 50% in the proportion of respondents that agreed with the statement: a wife should always listen to her husband's advice 'as he is her god', from **54.8%** at baseline to **82%** at

endline (Q19) ( $p<0.01$ ).

- We observed a statistically significant **increase** of 11.3% in the proportion of respondents that reported that they agreed with the statement: A wife should not inform outsiders about the fights that happen between her and her husband, from **84.6%** at baseline to **94.2%** at endline (Q22) ( $p<0.01$ ).
- We observed a statistically significant **increase** of 56.7% in the proportion of respondents that reported that they agreed with the statement: the wife should keep quiet if her husband scolds her or beats her, from **55.6%** at baseline to **87.1%** at endline (Q23) ( $p<0.01$ ).

### D) Qualitative findings on social norms from vignettes

Overall, the findings from the vignette data were aligned with the findings from the surveys. Analysis of the vignettes showed clearly that clear empirical and normative expectations exist, but there were signs of possible weakening of these norms that would explain the desirable shifts in social norms found in the survey data.

#### *Empirical & normative expectations:*

The qualitative data echoed findings in the surveys in that there were strong empirical expectations (especially by women) around the use of male aggression in an argument/conflict and strong norms around women staying silent. For instance, on one estate a woman said: "Beating. Definitely he would have beaten the wife Shanthi." And "If you take this estate that is the truth, nothing else. If she would have uttered a word, definitely she would have been beaten." Men also seemed to agree that once husbands were upset or angry with their wives, physical violence is a common reaction.

There was some discussion of "bad" men using violence while "good" men would not use violence and instead would listen and discuss issues with their wives, but the extent to which most men fall into this "good" category is not clear. When asked about exceptions, women on one estate said, "some men" act differently (do not use aggression), "but there are only a few", or "only 10%", reinforcing the strength of this empirical expectation. Negotiation was generally seen as rare. However, there were some conditions that would make it less likely (and less acceptable) that aggression would be used, for instance, if their children were

present. Use of aggression in an argument was also deemed less acceptable if the marriage had been arranged.

There were some interesting mismatches between empirical expectations and normative expectations in half of the discussions with women. There was agreement that negotiation and non-aggressive alternatives of conflict resolution would be preferred and admired by the community, but that it was very rare for people to actually do this over aggression. Overall, one explanation could be that this reflected some women's point of view that non-aggression would be viewed positively by the community, but that sanctions against men for listening to their wives were too strong to overcome.

### **Sanctions:**

In the case of the selected social norm, sanctions have included women being told or that they are 'not good wives' if they talk back to their husbands, or are ostracized by family and neighbours. For men, they face ridicule by peers if they listen to their wives' opinions or accept her decisions and their masculinity is questioned. Sanctions include teasing, bullying, and social isolation.

The anticipation of these sanctions on men impacts decisions and behavior. Most said it would not even be an option for a man to tell his friends if he heeded his wife's decision, and he would sooner lie about it to avoid ridicule. Women on one estate said that an impact of this ridicule would be that a husband would get angry with his wife and go out the next day and spend more money to make up for it. (Note this response related to a vignette in which a wife asked her husband to support a decision to save more money.)

Interestingly, some said that others would not stigmatize a man for listening to his wife's point of view if they related to the reasons such as economic difficulty or for the sake of the children. Another point raised was the possibility of less sensitivity to sanctions about listening to his wife for the younger generations of men, whereas older people were seen as more likely to adhere to norms due to strong fear of sanctions.

Several participants alluded to the fact that the living conditions in the line rooms<sup>1</sup> are more conducive to violence because men feel that they are being observed and will be the subject of gossiped, so there is increased pressure to respond to challenges and disobedience from their wives with violence.

### **Other social norms:**

There were also strong norms about not telling others about family conflicts and aggression. However, one condition under which an alternative behavior to this may be allowed would be if the injury is severe then the woman would have to tell doctor so he can treat this accordingly. There were both internalized and external expectations around wives' silence – in a conflict and also in speaking out or seeking help. There seems to be some belief that women are somewhat resigned and fatalistic about the use of violence in household disputes and that they will often advise other women that this is simply part of married life and to react in a way that is seen as best for their children and family. Some women said it was also harder to reach out to one's family for outside help if the couple had not had an arranged marriage, which is considered more culturally appropriate and acceptable versus a 'love' marriage. It was discussed that women in arranged marriages seem to have a bit more support and power to negotiate responses to violence than those who married 'on their own'.

### **General:**

Overall there appeared to be stronger information from discussions with women than men. It is not clear why this is, but may be linked to the quality of the facilitation with men, which sometimes appeared inconsistent with little probing around physical violence and aggression. Another reason could be the poor quality of some of the transcripts and translations.

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<sup>1</sup> Rows of workers' homes, separated by a single wall.

## E) Findings from assessment of Reference Groups

For sustainability, this project encouraged RG allies to speak out publicly or independently take even small actions to challenge the use of aggression and violence against women by their husbands. In their roles in project activities, they were in a unique position to monitor dynamics of public discourse and people's private and public actions that were relevant to some of the signs of social change for which we monitored, including: a) increased conversations / discussions on male aggression and its implications within the household; and b) new and alternative methods of resolving conflict which do not rely on male aggression and are more gender equitable.

We found that specific individuals in the community were leading conversations with other people, holding meetings and public discussions around the same in their capacity as community leaders. There was also engagement with children regarding violence they may be facing in the home. In relation to (b) above, some people from the community also reported new and non-violent ways in which the communities were engaging positively in situations of violence and aggression – creating diversions for instance. For example, one RG shared how he encourages people to use distractions such as 'there is a snake in the vicinity' or 'a neighbor's child has been injured and taken to hospital,' to divert attention and diffuse arguments that they witness. Another RG member shared that when a couple is fighting, he and other neighbours gather outside the house, light crackers and applaud, and the embarrassment causes them to stop fighting.

### 4.3. How has the media campaign worked?

Overall, there did not seem to be any differences in perceptions among those who were exposed to the media campaign compared to those who were not. This may have been due to findings on different levels of exposure to different media channels, some mixed understanding of messages, and limited discussion of messages beyond passive observation.

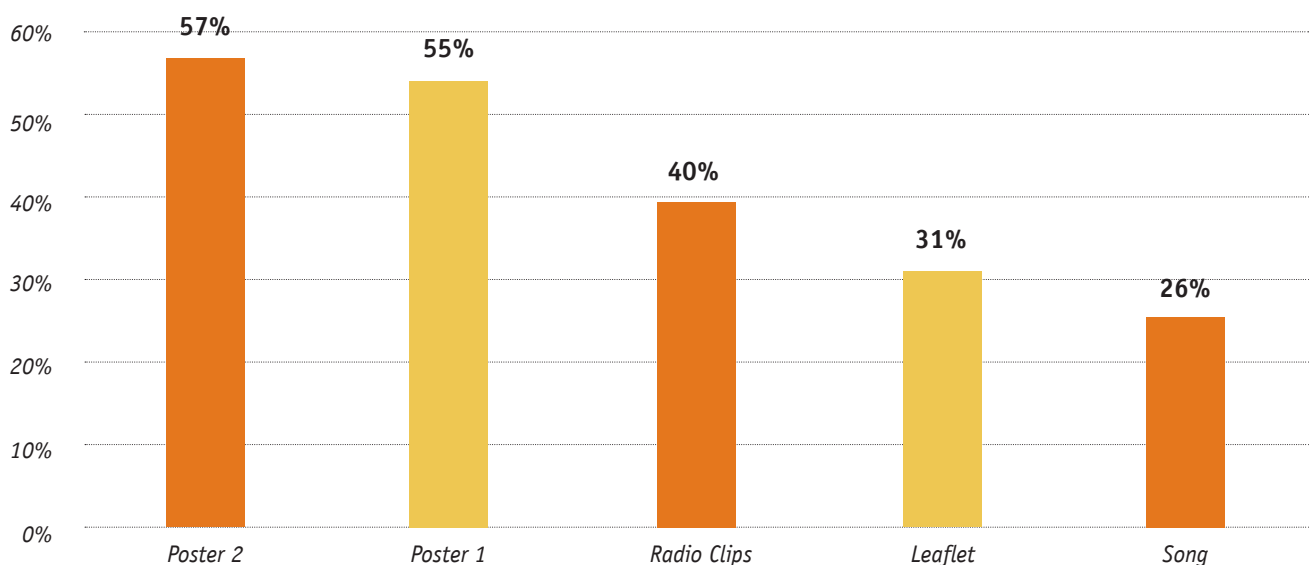
#### EXPOSURE:

The most popular media product with the relatively highest exposure was the posters.

#### TABLE FIVE:

*Media exposure*

*Reported Exposure to Media Channels, endline ReNew survey, n=314*



There was higher exposure to the media campaign materials among men than women. Among women most saw at least one media source, but there was not much discussion and a mixed understanding of the messages. There was an exception on one estate (Shannon Estate) where exposure and recall were strong. This is interesting because this is the first time that the project is working with Shannon Estate. Among men, exposure to the various media sources was comparatively strong among all the groups although recall seemed stronger specifically around the posters and the song.

#### **RECALL:**

Among the women's groups, understanding of messages was varied and the interpretations were broad and not nuanced: for instance, about 'happy families', 'about anger' were common responses. Several men recalled the messages as being ones about a 'good family life' and "ending domestic violence" and how the community will see and support families that are "doing well" and that are "happy". Several respondents supported the idea that empirical expectations - what they see others doing-- influence their behaviors: "when others are living decent lives, why should I continue to behave badly?" and "Now it seems everyone is trying to correct themselves by looking at each other". In Loinorn participants had a particularly good understanding of the messages intended through the posters: "It's making us to think about other families. In that family, the father is bottle feeding the second or youngest child. Mothers is playing with the second child. The elder son is playing. The family is living well;" "People are talking about the family who is doing well. It seems like how to bring about change".

There were some undesirable interpretations of the talk shows, where several FDG participants viewed these as entertainment and some missed the message takeaways. This also occurred, albeit less frequently, for the posters. For example, a poster showing a community environment with positive roles for men and women was seen by one person as a poster about environmental cleanliness.

#### **DIFFUSION:**

A few respondents reported speaking about media campaign messages to friends, family members, husbands, but the nature of their discussion was unclear. Overall, most respondents had not discussed or taken any action in their own lives to put the messages into place.

Among men, there were not many specifics about how these messages impacted respondents' behavior but there were some examples of respondents reporting the media campaigns prompting discussion between their peers and within their families, but about what is not entirely clear. One negative reaction to the media campaign was reported: "who are these people to correct us and make changes in our life?" There were multiple examples of children as mechanisms of diffusion, where children had seen or heard the media messages and spoken to parents about it.

#### **4.4. What do these findings mean?**

All measures show that social norms that promote male use of aggression and violence in marital conflicts still prevail. However, changes in norms observed over the life of this project may be indicative of the emergence of initial "cracks" in universally held social norms and a broader process of norms change in these communities. Using the quantitative composite indices, social norms around men's and women's behavior in resolving marital conflicts appear to show desirable movement, and by most measures there is some weakening or shifting of these norms.

For our overall composite measure for social norms around use of male aggression in resolving marital conflicts, the data indicate that both empirical and normative expectations improved overall by 3% and 4.2%, respectively, from baseline to endline, although the change in empirical expectations just barely missed achieving significance (Table Four). These findings are aligned with other data on the "sub-norms" around women's and men's behavior in marital conflicts, which indicated improvements (weakening) of normative expectations both men's and women's behavior, but mixed results on changes in empirical expectations: while there appear to be changes in empirical expectations around women's behavior, there were no statistically significant changes in empirical expectations for men's behavior.

The qualitative data suggests that difficulties in bringing about change in the targeted social norms are linked to the strength of the social sanctions around these norms. Analysis of the vignettes shows that there are still strong sanctions on a man who listens to his wife's decisions. The possibility of less sensitivity to sanctions among younger generations of men about, for example, listening to his wife, is an important finding and an area for further exploration. This may point to in-roads for catalyzing broader social change

by supporting and linking those individuals and groups who may be more resistant to social sanctions and can act as role models for shifting public perceptions.

As with the quantitative data, the qualitative data indicates that women in particular are reporting a growing value in non-aggressive behavior, though there is as yet no visible or empirical expectation of it because the sanctions are more visible than the positive act. However, anecdotal evidence from interviews with reference group allies suggests that people may have begun to take steps to challenge cases of violence against women in their community. These public actions can contribute to creating visible alternatives / alternative social norms that challenge the use of male aggression against intimate partners.

These results are situated in the overall context of some negative movement in personal attitudes around these social norms, which seem to have worsened. It is not clear if and how these attitudes relate to changing social norms, but we thought it important to measure them to further investigate this relationship. Further research that gathers data on social expectations, attitudes, and behavior will help clarify these relationships.

In terms of the media campaign, given the differences in the ways men and women perceived the media messages, there are lessons learned about how to better target women and the need for longer roll-out periods so that people are better able to engage with the messaging and to encourage diffusion. The findings also point to the important of including vignettes in baseline as well as endline, in order to inform media campaign design with a more nuanced understanding about potential “cracks” in social norms as opportunities to catalyze change more effectively.

## 5. LESSONS LEARNED

### 5.1 Concept and Theory

1. This project is based on theories around social norms that may need to be tailored/localized to specific contexts. For instance, in identifying a social norm, what we found in practice in a non-secular setting, is that often it does not neatly distinguish from a religious norm that sometimes promotes a women's inferior status. For example, "If you are born again, may you be born a man," is a popular refrain amongst the priests, as being born a woman was viewed as a negative consequence of your own past deeds in a previous life. This overlap between the social norms and religious norms makes it a more complex exercise to challenge social norms, as it is seen as questioning religion. It is important therefore to consider specific contexts in trying to adapt theory into practice.

It would be interesting for the theory to further explore the idea of a 'tipping point' – how a community reaches that point, and once there, how this can be measured. This remains a challenge in trying to understand change in social norms.

2. It is difficult to make the link between attitudes and social norms without behavior measurement. But behavior is tricky to measure unless anonymity can be ensured during the data collection process which was a challenge in the tea plantation setting where there was often no private place to meet with survey respondents<sup>1</sup> and where women generally would not speak to an enumerator without her husband or another family member present. Tools such as PDAs could be used to allow for more privacy. Therefore, this may need to be factored into budgets and timelines of a project. We also need to understand more about the "change pathway" for social norm change, to help monitor our strategies. For example, if attitudes and social expectations change but behaviour does not, what does this tell us about where we are in the change process and what we need to do to move along the change pathway, with the goal of achieving a tipping point?

3. It is also important to acknowledge that, while the theory is innovative and useful in framing this

work, feminists and women's rights activists in the global South have been using these approaches – without the framing perhaps - for decades, and theory itself has much to learn from the contexts and history of work in which it is applied.

### 5.2. Process

1. A general observation has been that social norms work requires time to be built in on multiple fronts: building support with local estate management who are suspicious of gender-transformative work; time to develop materials and tools especially with a media campaign; time to sufficiently train and introduce new concepts to reference group members to facilitate their effective involvement; time to train enumerators and facilitators in conducting surveys and FGDs centered around social norms theory. These hours need to be built into design, implementation and project duration.

2. While working with reference groups as allies, it is important to build in time to work with them both individually and collectively, as each brings their own biases and attitudes. Engaging RGs is also central to social norms theory and working with them was useful in trying to build visibility for positive, alternative behaviors and opinions. The caution, however, is that if working with RGs who are also regarded as influential people in the community, there is a risk that we may inadvertently reinforce their positions of power and inequitable power dynamics within a community. Further, the selection of RGs "allies" or role models can become a political issue. The project had to include a few RG allies who were not identified by the community in order to avoid conflicts within the communities and between CARE and local communities.

3. Dealing with backlash and resistance: The project has faced some resistance and backlash in the course of the project for publicly calling attention to and creating critical reflection around what are seen as traditional gender norms that are a part of local culture. For instance, one Kangani (Estate Superintendent) interrupted a talk show, raised his voice against the ideas being presented

<sup>1</sup> Most estate communities continue to live in 'line rooms' – rows of houses immediately adjoining each other, which considerably affects privacy.

there, and demanded that the women tea pluckers leave the talk show. These situations emphasize the importance of strategies to engage local and community leaders about their own attitudes and buy-in as those in positions of power. In addition, some community members that CARE has worked with before also responded to him by saying that these programs had been useful for them and their families, indicating their support.

4. This work involved a sharp learning curve for all staff at multiple levels. In addition, the theory is accessible only to some staff, primarily in Colombo, as it is in English, and terminology for some of these concepts doesn't exist.

### 5.3. Measurement

1. The social norm change “pathway” is long-term, and often nonlinear. Social change itself does not fit neatly into project timeframes. Whilst this is not convenient for measurement of project outcomes, it has forced us to think more deeply about what we can consider as change and impact in the short-term.

Our emphasis was therefore on monitoring incremental changes along the way through regular activity reports, discussions with field staff, and vignettes around endline. For instance, are people talking about ideas from the public campaigns? Do they say that any of these ideas are new? Which of these do they say they have tried or not, to adopt? Have there been signs of backlash or resistance? Or even a weakening or strengthening of social sanctions?

2. Given that this particular approach to working on social norms is a new one, there was a learning curve involved in framing questions around expectations, especially normative expectations. This was complicated by feedback from the community that they did not see a distinction between themselves and the broader community at large, because they

made up the community. So the distinction between ‘what do you think others do?’ and ‘what do you think others expect you to do?’ was often not clear to them.

3. Language – It was sometimes a challenge to translate concepts or the complex wording around expectations into the local Tamil language, and the measurement tools were in turn administered by independent facilitators/enumerators for whom social norms theory was new, in Tamil. Although a brief training was conducted prior to the measurement, it did raise questions as to how well the complex concepts were absorbed in a short period of time in another language where terms did not always exist, and what this meant for the measurement process. One attempt at mitigation was to work with experienced social research enumerators.

4. Facilitators and enumerators need very high capacity training built into the hours required for designing and implementation. This includes not only training on how to conduct focus group discussions, avoiding leading and close-ended questions, but training to develop an in-depth understanding of the theory of change and questions the evaluation is striving to answer.

### CONCLUSIONS:

The ReNEW project provided useful insights into a growing field of practice and measurement of social norms change around violence against women, and lessons in adapting theory to local contexts. This experience could be of use to other practitioners engaging in similar work that builds on social norms theory. The findings of the work also indicate that longer-term interventions have the potential to allow for deeper changes in addressing social norms around violence against women.

# ANNEX ONE

Media Campaign Materials (Posters)



Poster 1:

Headline caption: 'Peace in the home means peace in the community.'

Tagline below: 'Aggression and domestic violence affects us all. We can stop it together.'



Poster 2:

Headline caption: 'Do you know that your community does not like violence?'

Tagline below: "Aggression and domestic violence affects us all. We can stop it together."



# ANNEX TWO

## Vignette One (45 minutes)

Will include the following two social norms

- **Physical Violence**
- **Wives asked to keep silent so as not to prolong fight**

I'm going to tell you a story about Yogaraja (age 28) and Shanthi (25) who are a married couple. Let's pretend they are from [insert name of estate FGD is being conducted on]. I don't want you to think about a real Shanti and Yogaraja who live here. We could have chosen other names, but for now let's stick to those. Yoga's parents live with them.

[**Note to facilitator** - You might want to ask some introductory questions, like: can you describe me their house? Do they have children? How many do you think they have? Maybe have fun with the questions like: what do you think is Yoga's favourite food?]

Every day Shanthi picks up her son from the daycare after work, heads home and prepares dinner for the family. On this particular day she was buying groceries but could not find rice and had to go to another shop to buy it. Because of this she misses her usual bus and has to wait for the next one. As a result, she gets late to go home. Yoga had already returned home and was waiting for her for an hour.

- Now what do you think Yoga's response would be? (If they say it depends, then ask what would the majority of husbands who live on this estate say?)

[**Note to facilitator:** If they don't mention violence, then bring up the following situation of violence. If they bring up violence, then go straight to questions below]. Yogaraja was angry that Shanthi was not home and even their neighbours did not know where she was. As she comes home, in his anger, he hits her even before she could explain why she was late.

- What would most wives like Shanthi do in this situation?
- Yoga's parents who live with them, also witness this incident. What do you think Yoga's mother would expect him to do? What do you think Yoga's father would expect him to do?
- Is there any other way Yogaraja could have responded?

- Is this response better or worse than the beating?
- For whom is it better or worse? Why?
- How many people in your community would choose this way instead if they could?
- Can they choose this way if they wanted to? Why or why not?

Now let's get back to the story. Remember? Yoga was angry, and began to beat Shanti. Now, Shanthi pleads with her husband not to beat her and tries to explain that she was late because she missed the bus as she had to go elsewhere to buy groceries.

- Would most wives like Shanthi try to explain themselves in this situation?
- Would most husbands like Yogaraja who live on this estate listen to her explanation?
- What do you think Shanthi's in-laws would tell her to do in this situation?

Let's continue with our story. As Shanthi is pleading with her husband, he gets even more angry, because he feels she is talking back at him, and he beats her again, this time bruising her quite badly on the face. The next day, her son falls ill as well and Shanthi takes the child to the clinic. While she is waiting her turn at the clinic, a close friend of hers who is also waiting in line, asks Shanthi why her face was bruised.

- How do you think most wives like Shanthi would have explained the bruise on her face to a close friend? Why she would explain in that way?
- If it was an acquaintance instead of a close friend, would she have given the same explanation? If not, what would she have said? Why would she explain it that way?
- What do you think her close friend would have said to her in this situation?
- What would her acquaintance have said to her in this situation?

After Shanthi finally sees the doctor, he also notices the bruise and asks her what happened.

- How do you think most wives like Shanthi would have explained the bruise on her face to an EMA?

- What advice would the EMA give her?
  - Would you say that most EMAs on your estate would give the same advice?
  - Has it always been the case? Or has this situation been changing? Please explain
- Is there any other way Shanthi could have responded to Yogarajah in this situation?
  - Do you think there are others in your community who share the same opinion as you?
  - How easy or difficult would it be for a woman like Shanthi to do this in your own community? Please explain.

### Vignette Two (45 minutes)

Will include the following two social norms:

- **Scolding/Verbal punishment**
- **Wives have to accept the husband's point of view without question**

Yogaraja and Shanthi now have 2 children: an 8-year-old daughter and a 4-year-old son. Of late, the parents have been struggling with money for school books and uniforms for their daughter. They have both been arguing a lot about this, which often results in Yogarajah being aggressive, telling Shanthi to keep quiet or threatening her. One day Yogarajah is really looking forward to relaxing by going out for a drink with his friends. Shanthi gets upset about this because she feels he is going to waste money when they are already struggling to keep their daughter in school.

- What would most wives like Shanthi do in this situation?

[Note to facilitator: First listen to people's responses. Then say]: Shanthi took the decision to ask him not to go out.

- How would most husbands like Yogaraja who live on this estate, react in this situation?
- Is there anyone else who would act differently in the community?
  - Is this response better or worse than what was explained above?
  - For whom is it better or worse? Why?
  - How many people in your community would choose this way instead if they could?
  - Can they choose this way if they wanted to? Why or why not?

Yoga scolds Shanthi and says it is not her place to decide what he does, and then he goes out to meet his friends. The next day when Shanthi is at work, she talks to her close friend about this, as she is still upset.

- What do you think her friend would have said to her in this situation?

Imagine another family like this – where the husband is Kumar and the wife is Kavita. These are not names of actual people. Now imagine a scenario when Kavitha asks Kumar to discuss how they spend money as a family. Kumar listens to her point of view, and they decide together to spend the money on school books for their daughter. Since Kumar had already told his friends that he would join them for a drink, he sent one of them a message saying he was unable to join them. The next day when he meets his friends and they ask him why he did not turn up, he explained that he and his wife had decided to try and save some money.

- When he tells his friends, what would most of Kumar's friends think of him?
- How do you think Yoga's friends reactions make him feel?
- In this community, is it possible for most men like Kumar to be open about the decision he made with his wife in front of his friends? If no, why not? If yes or no – has this changed in the last few years? If yes, what has brought about this change? Please explain.
- Do you think there are many people who would support Kumar's decision in your community?

Kavitha is happy with this decision they have made together and when she goes to work she talks to her friends about what happened. She also speaks positively about Kumar, saying that he is a supportive and understanding husband.

- How would Kavitha's friends react if Kavitha talks about her husband in a positive way with her friends?

Thanks so much – I have a few final questions.

**CLOSING:** Thank you for your time and help. These are all the questions I have for now. Do you have anything you would like to add? Do you have any questions for me?

## **RENEW Baseline and Endline Survey Tool**

### **Instructions to Enumerators:**

Please use the 'Last Birthday Method' to select the respondent within Household. Select a random starting point from each division within the selected estate and continue the random walk until you meet the total number of sample.

Interviews should be conducted among people above 18 years of both gender groups. Interview should be conducted only with the selected person and an attempt should be made to ensure the confidentiality of the interview as well as the data.

A1. Name of the Estate:

A2. Division of the Estate:

A3. Age of the Respondent:

A4. Sex:

1. Male
2. Female

A5. Marital Status

1. Single
2. Married
3. Separated
4. Divorced
5. Widowed

A6. How many children you have:

1. Literate but no formal education	7. Advanced Level
2. Up to grade 5	8. Vocationally trained
3. Grade 6 - 9	9. Technically trained
4. Up to O' Level	10. Professional
5. O' Level	11. Undergraduate
6. Up to Advanced Level	12. Graduate and above

A7. Level of Education (Please circle the category that you belong to)

A8. Do you or anyone in your family live and/or work outside this estate?

1. Yes but in the same district
2. Yes, work/live in urban city
3. Yes, work/live abroad
4. No

- A. Now I am going read some statements about people’s attitudes towards customs and culture in our society. Some people agree with these attitudes while others do not. Please indicate to me, to what degree you would agree or disagree with these statements.

STATEMENT	STRONGLY AGREE 1	SOMEWHAT AGREE 2	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE 3	STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	DON'T KNOW / NOT SURE 5
1. I do not mind, doing away with traditional ideas and accepting new ideas about family life, children and relatives.	1	2	3	4	5
2. There are some traditional beliefs that are disadvantageous to women in our society.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Apart from controlling or being tough with you wife, sometimes, there is no other way to resolve an argument.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I am willing to listen to someone else’s opinion on how I should resolve an argument with my wife/husband.	1	2	3	4	5

- B. Now I am going read some statements on ideas/beliefs about men and how they should act in our society. Some people agree with these attitudes while others do not. Please indicate to me, to what degree you would agree or disagree with these statements.

STATEMENT	STRONGLY AGREE 1	SOMEWHAT AGREE 2	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE 3	STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	DON'T KNOW / NOT SURE 5
1. As a man you need to be tough to keep your wife under control.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Household work such as cooking and washing dishes are not meant for men.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Men should not get involved in child care activities.	1	2	3	4	5
4. The work carried out by men is always harder than the work carried out by women.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Generally speaking, men get easily angry and use violence	1	2	3	4	5
6. In domestic disputes, men act more rationally than women.	1	2	3	4	5
7. It is important that parents pay more attention to the boy child than the girl child as it will be an investment for their future.	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is okay for a husband to associate with many women.	1	2	3	4	5

C. Now I am going to read some statements on ideas/beliefs about women and how they should act in our society. Some people agree with these attitudes while others do not. Please indicate to me, to what degree you would agree or disagree with these statements

STATEMENT	STRONGLY AGREE 1	SOMEWHAT AGREE 2	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE 3	STRONGLY DISAGREE 4	DON'T KNOW / NOT SURE 5
1. Women should not go out of their neighbourhood alone.	1	2	3	4	5
2. It is mainly a woman's duty to cook and look after the household.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Child care is mainly a woman's duty.	1	2	3	4	5
4. A woman who could not give birth to a boy child is less favourable.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Girls should not associate boys other than family members before marriage.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Girls should respect boys of their age, even if boys do not respect them.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Wife should always listen to her husband's advice 'as he is her God'.	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is okay for the wife to talk back at her husband if she thinks he is unfairly scolding her.	1	2	3	4	5
9. A woman should try to secure her marriage at any cost.	1	2	3	4	5
10. A wife should not inform outsiders about the fights that happen between them even if she gets beaten up.	1	2	3	4	5
11. As fights between husband and wife last 'only till the rice is cooked', so the wife should keep quiet if her husband scolds or beats her.	1	2	3	4	5

D. Could you 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.

	<b>VERY PREVALENT 1</b>	<b>SOMETIME OBSERVABLE 2</b>	<b>RARELY OBSERVABLE 3</b>	<b>DO NOT KNOW 4</b>
1. Husbands scolding their wives in filth.	1	2	3	4
2. Husbands beating their wives.	1	2	3	4
3. Wife taken to hospital due to husband's violence.	1	2	3	4
4. Neighbourhood intervention to resolve fights between husband and wife.	1	2	3	4
5. Wife keeping silent so as to not prolong a domestic fight	1	2	3	4
6. Neighbours intervening to advise the wife to keep silent to not to prolong fight	1	2	3	4

E. Now I am going 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?

	<b>GREAT EXTENT 1</b>	<b>TO SOME EXTENT 2</b>	<b>DOES NOT EXIST 3</b>	<b>DO NOT KNOW 4</b>
1. A man who helps his wife in household chores, will be laughed at and referred to as a 'weak man' by his friends and family.	1	2	3	4
2. A man who is not tough enough does not command respect at home.	1	2	3	4
3. A man who does not drink at least once in a while is perceived as 'not manly enough' by his friends.	1	2	3	4
4. A man who beats his wife has no place in his neighbourhood.	1	2	3	4
5. 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.	1	2	3	4
6. A woman who talks back at her husband earns a bad reputation among relatives.	1	2	3	4
7. Relatives won't appreciate it if the woman complains about her husband's violent behaviour	1	2	3	4

F. Thank you very much for answering all the questions that I have asked so far. Now I am going play some radio clips to find out whether you recognise them. Please carefully listen each clip and tell me whether you recognize it or not?

CLIP	YES I HAVE HEARD THIS BEFORE	NO I HAVE NOT HEARD THIS BEFORE
Clip 1	1	2
Clip 2	1	2
Clip 3 – ReNew	1	2
Clip 4	1	2
Clip 5	1	2

If the respondent had heard radio clip 3 ASK the following questions

a) Has anyone told you or spoken to you about any of these?

1. Yes, 2. No
- i. If YES list who?
  1. -----
  2. -----
  3. -----

b) Have you discussed the radio spots with anyone?

1. Yes, 2. No
- i. If YES list who
  1. -----
  2. -----
  3. -----

G. Please have a look at these posters and tell me that you remember seeing this before

POSTER	YES I HAVE SEEN THIS BEFORE	NO I HAVE NOT SEEN THIS BEFORE
Poster 1	1	2
Poster 2	1	2

If you have seen any of these posters please answer the following questions

- a) Where did you see either of these?
1. At the school, 2. At clinic, 3. At the muster-shed,
  4. At a shop, 5. In a newspaper advertisement

b) What do you think the posters are about?

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- c) Did anyone speak to you about these? 1. Yes 2. No
- d) Did you discuss the posters with anyone? 1. Yes 2. No

H. Now I am going play a small clip of a song, please tell me whether you remember hearing this before.

[PLAY THE CLIP]

i) Have you heard this song before? 1. Yes 2. No

ii) If YES what do you think this song is about?

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A. Have you seen this leaflet before? [SHOW THE LEAFLET] 1. Yes 2. No

a. If YES what do you think this song is about?

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**CARE International Sri Lanka,**  
No.73, Isipathana Mawatha,  
Colombo 05, Sri Lanka.  
Tel: +94 115 399 299 Fax: +94 112 583 721  
srilanka@co.care.org  
www.care.lk