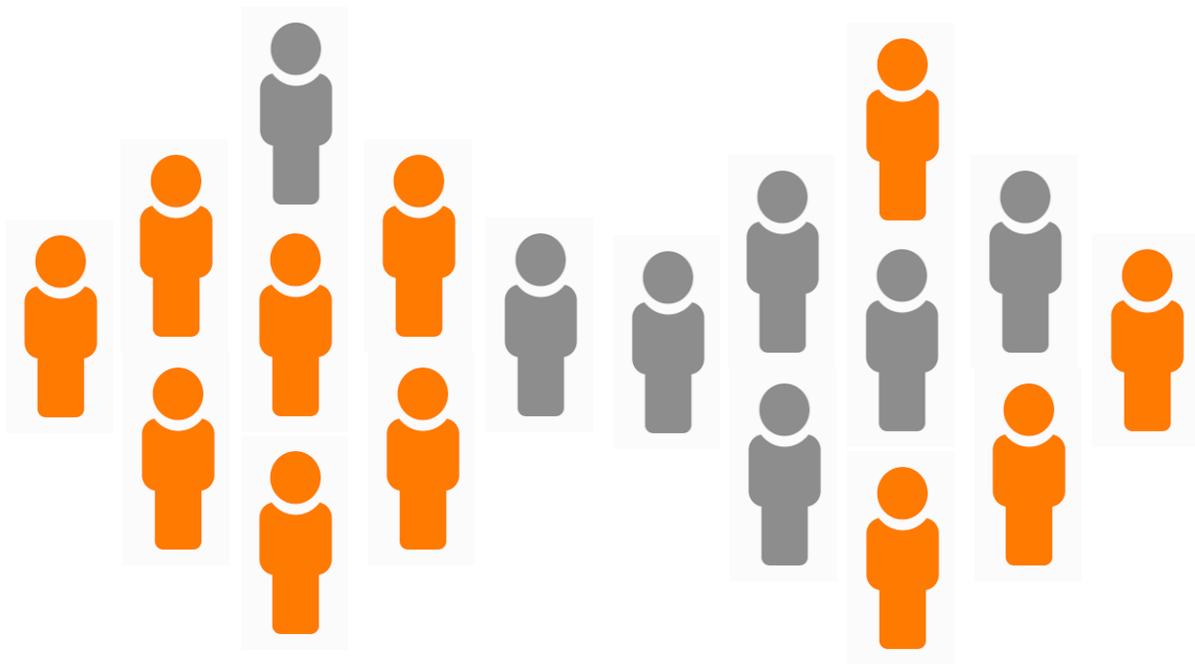

CHANGING SOCIAL NORMS AROUND FGM/C: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MACRO-LEVEL M&E FRAMEWORK



DESK REVIEW

October 12, 2017

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STRUCTURE OF THE DESK REVIEW

This Desk Review has been broken down into four sections to enhance readability (Figure 1):

- **Section 1** offers some background on UNICEF and UNFPA Joint Programme to eliminate FGM/C.
- **Section 2** provides an overview of social norms constructs and theorizing.
- **Section 3** describes how social norms theorizing has been applied to FGM/C.
- **Section 4** introduces the ACT framework for measuring social norms change around FGM/C, which is based on the desk review findings.

The document concludes with a list of **References** and **Appendices** containing supplemental information

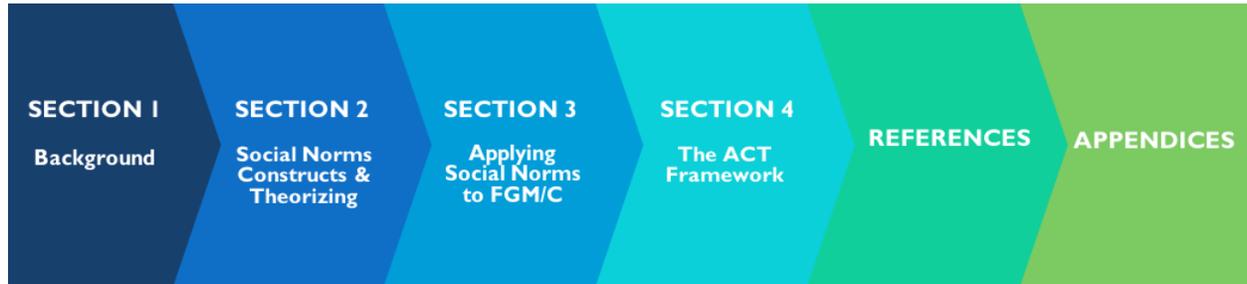


Figure 1: Desk Review Structure

SECTION I: BACKGROUND

Since 2008, UNFPA and UNICEF have implemented a Joint Programme to accelerate the abandonment of female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) through the provision of financial and technical support to 17 countries and the use of human rights-based and culturally-sensitive approaches to address the social and cultural norms that hold the practice in place. Under the leadership of national actors and in partnership with civil society, religious leaders, communities and other key stakeholders, the Joint Programme has contributed to the acceleration of the abandonment of FGM/C. Currently the Joint Programme is in the process of developing the results based management (RBM) and theory of change for Phase 3.

The close monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of FGM/C efforts have been a key priority of the Joint Programme since 2008, as well as a global priority through the inclusion of FGM/C in Target 5.3 of the Sustainable Development Goals. Rigorous M&E provides crucial insights and valuable feedback on: programme implementation, what works, what refinements are needed, what challenges persist and what impact this work has. The Joint Programme's efforts focus on three overarching and overlapping outcomes¹ which indirectly and directly influence and uphold FGM/C related social norms (Annual Report, 2015). Different approaches have been tested in some countries, but there is still no commonly tested methodology that can be scaled-up in all the Joint Programme countries.

The overall purpose of this project is to develop a macro-level M&E framework for social norms change, specifically for FGM/C, which can be adapted over time to local country contexts. This global framework will be accompanied by conceptual definitions of key constructs that comprise social norms, the operationalization of the key constructs and means of verification, including qualitative, quantitative and participatory tools to measure social norms change. This framework should be linked with current and planned social norms measurement efforts under the Joint Programme. It is anticipated that country efforts under the Joint Programme will use the data to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of communication interventions designed to change social norms around FGM/C. In addition, this framework could serve as a reference for other areas of work, most notably child marriage and violence against children.

This document contains key findings from a **desk review of social norms measurement** specifically in the context of FGM/C. This desk review is not meant to be exhaustive, instead it draws heavily from documents provided by experts working in this field in order to provide a common understanding upon which to build upon. This desk review first provides overview of what social norms are, the key constructs that constitute norms and theorizing about social norms. Next, this review provides an overview of FGM/C and describes how social norms theorizing has been applied to FGM/C. This review concludes by introducing the ACT framework for measuring social norms change around FGM/C, a framework informed by the findings of the desk review.

¹Outcome # 1: Enhanced policy and legal environment for FGM/C elimination
Outcome # 2: Increased use of quality FGM/C related services
Outcome # 3 Increase social support for keeping girls intact

SECTION 2: SOCIAL NORMS CONSTRUCTS & THEORIZING

The section provides an overview of how social norms are defined, theorizing about social norms, as well as social norms constructs and their measurement.

2.1 WHAT ARE SOCIAL NORMS?

Social scientists have wrestled with the concept of social norms for quite some time, specifically what they are, how they shape behaviour, and how individuals and groups are influenced by norms. While sociologists tend to emphasize the role of norms in defining society and in dictating social behaviours, social psychologists have focused more on why individuals follow social norms (Marcus & Harper, 2014). It is not surprising that there is great diversity in how social norms have been conceptualized (See Appendix A) and continue to be understood.

Broadly speaking, social norms are the unwritten rules that guide human behaviour; they are in other words, what we do, what we believe others do, and what we believe others think we should do (WHO, 2010). **Social norms exist at the interplay between behaviours, beliefs and expectancies.** For their existence, **social norms inherently require a reference group, i.e. a network of people to whom we identify and compare ourselves** (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). This reference group determines norms because identity with a specific group influences whether or not a behaviour is considered normative within the group and, in turn, may predict whether or not a new behaviour will be adopted (Goldstein, Cialdini, & Griskevicius, 2008).

Over the past several years, UNICEF has played a lead role in applying a social norms perspective to behaviour and social change. Much of this application has been based on collaboration with theoreticians, including philosopher Cristina Bicchieri (2006), political theorist Gerry Mackie (2000; 2009, 2015), and the economist Ernst Fehr (1998, 2004, 2014). Within UNICEF, social norms perspectives have been applied across a variety of domains. Of specific note is the work focusing on changing apparently stable social norms associated with the practice of FGM/C (UNICEF, Innocenti Research Centre, 2010; Tostan, 2016). Beyond UNICEF, incorporating social norms perspectives into interventions for behavioural change have a slightly longer historical pedigree, gaining some currency in public health promotion over the past 20 years, primarily in the United States and some other developed countries, on issues such as alcohol abuse, sexual violence and smoking (Berkowitz, 2004; Yanovitzky & Rimal, 2006). According to the WHO (2010) social norms approaches are one of “seven main strategies for preventing interpersonal and self-directed violence”.

While a thorough understanding of what is really methodologically different about programmes taking a social norms perspective as compared with other behavioural and social change interventions is yet to be crystallized, some researchers have forwarded the following explanation (Figure 2). As illustrated in this figure, while the application of a social norms perspective is promising to ending the practice of FGM/C, it is critical to remember that not all determinants influencing FGM/C practice are governed by social norms. Taking the necessary steps to understand which factors contributing to FGM/C are normative (and which are not) is essential for change to be made and sustained.

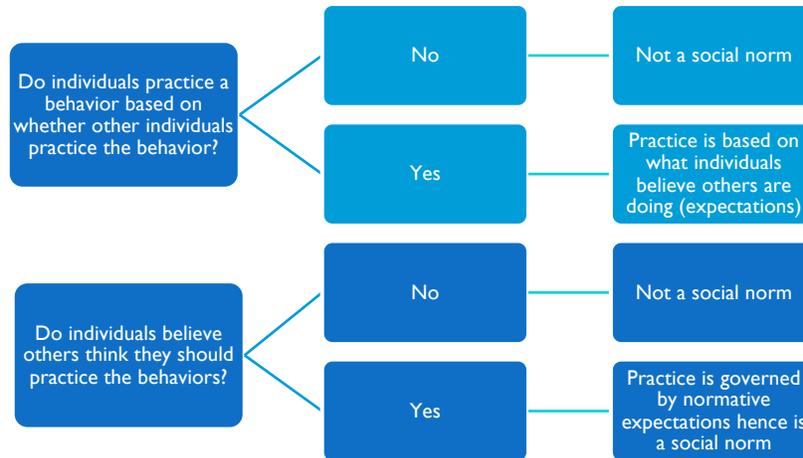


Figure 2: Determining if a Behaviour is Normative (Mackie et al., 2015)

2.2 THEORIZING ABOUT SOCIAL NORMS

There is a rich theoretical body of literature on social norms, which can be consolidated around two predominant approaches. The first set emphasizes social norms as an inherent characteristic of individuals embedded within a larger social system. The second set situates “norms” as one aspect of a larger framework within a social ecological perspective.

In so far as social norms are considered an inherent characteristic of individuals embedded within a larger social system, norms are rules or expectations held by social groups that guide behaviours (Mackie et al., 2015). Members of a group expect and are expected to follow and are motivated to follow norms because of expectations of sanctions for non-adherence and rewards for adherence. Two conditions have to be satisfied for a social norm to exist. First, individuals have to be aware of the norm and that it applies to them and second, individuals conform to the norm if both of the following conditions are satisfied:

- they expect a majority of their social network to conform to the norm (empirical expectations)
- they believe that a sufficiently large part of their social network think that they ought to conform to the norm and may sanction them if they do not (normative expectations).

It is these expectations that keep people from “cheating” out of concern about what others will think of them and may do to them. In this definition of social norms, reciprocal expectations (norm of reciprocity) in which rewards and benefits received should also be returned, establishes an interdependence impacting the behaviour of individuals within a social system. This approach, in the context of FGM/C interventions, supported by UNICEF, has resulted in work at the community level to promote participatory deliberation on values and social justice. The idea being that deliberations on FGM/C can lead to collective decisions and public commitments to abandon the practice (Gillespie & Melching, 2010). The underlying philosophy is that people need to see each other committing to change in order for change to occur. Another key component is that if individuals conform to the norm, they expect to be socially accepted or rewarded. If they do not, they expect to be socially punished or

excluded. What people actually do is more effectively predicted by understanding what they think or believe (for the process may not be particularly conscious) and people may have little idea about “why” they follow a certain practice. In the absence of interpersonal communication, they do not “really” know what others think. As such norms are essentially a communication phenomenon (Yanovitzky & Rimal, 2006). Hence, normative behaviours continue to prosper due to pluralistic ignorance².

Another key aspect of this school of thought is that norms may support each other and be supported by associated beliefs. For example, in the case of FGM/C an associated belief might be that FGM/C is required by religious doctrine. Similarly, the practice of FGM/C is closely intertwined with gender dynamics and indicative of societal discrimination against girls. Therefore, action to rethink supporting beliefs individually and collectively is needed for change to be achieved.

A second set of theorizing about social norms situates them as one construct within larger frameworks. This conceptualization of norms has been central in the field of communication, with several key theories within communication (for example: ideation, the theory of bounded normative influence and the social ecological model) and including social norms as part of a larger equation of behaviour and social change. In this theorizing, norms are considered to be an intermediate step that have to change in order to accomplish behavioural outcomes. The use of a broader social-ecological perspective in this type of theorizing situates individuals within their broader environment (inter-personal, community, institutional, societal etc.) and allows for analysis at different levels of influence and the development of strategies to impact them. UNICEF’s human rights based approach to programming, which is grounded within larger social, political and cultural systems and encourages a focus on intersectional issues such as gender and religion, is built on this type of thinking. Such models are critical to consider when examining norms from a practical standpoint of applied research to design, monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of specific interventions that aim for long term and sustainable change in normative behaviours. See Appendix B for a summary of the two approaches and individual theories within each approach.

Different theoretical positions use different terminology. However, **the underlying premise across social norms theorizing is that norms influence behaviour and vice versa.** If normative beliefs can be changed, behavioural change will ensue and if behaviour change occurs then norms will change.

²Another concept analogous to pluralistic ignorance is the idea of **spiral of silence** proposed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann in 1974. Spiral of silence refers to the tendency of people to remain silent when they feel that their views are in opposition to the majority view on a subject. This silence results from fear of isolation and fear of reprisal, when others realize that an individual has a divergent opinion from the status quo and voicing this divergent opinion may lead to a negative consequence beyond mere isolation.

2.3 SOCIAL NORMS CONSTRUCTS

There are overlaps among the conceptual terms that comprise social norms and even at the expense of oversimplification, drawing upon the work of various scholars (Table 1), this review consolidates these terms into four overlapping social norms constructs (Figure 3).

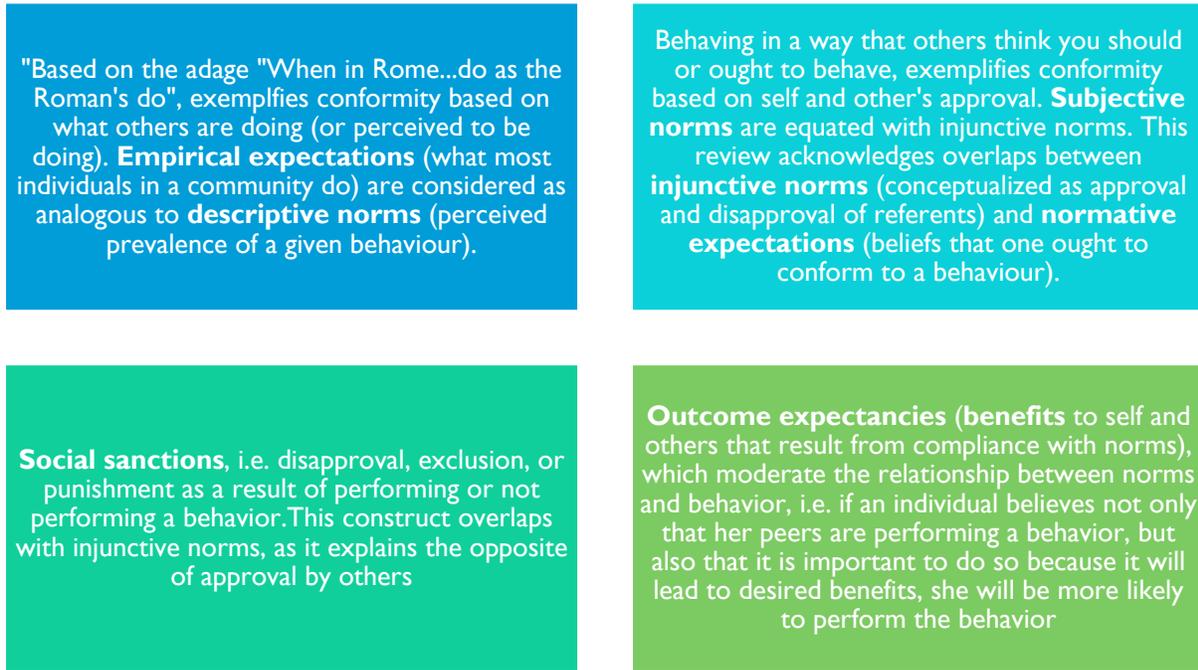


Figure 3: Four Major Social Norms Constructs

Table 1 summarizes these overlapping social norms constructs and provides key citations from where these constructs are selected.

Table 1: Summary of Social Norms Constructs		
Construct	Definition	Theorists/Theoretical Model(s)
Descriptive Norms/ Empirical Expectations	Beliefs about what other people do	Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren (1990) Bicchieri (2006) Mackie, Moneti, Shakya, & Denny (2015)
Injunctive Norms/ Subjective Norms/ Normative Expectations	Beliefs about what others approve of/ think people should do	Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren (1990) Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) Bicchieri (2006)
Outcome Expectancies: Benefits	Beliefs about the perceived benefits/rewards	Rosenstock, (1974) Bandura (1977) Rimal & Real (2005) Rimal (2008)
Outcome Expectancies: Sanctions	Beliefs about the perceived sanctions/punishments	Bendor & Swistak (2001) Rimal & Real (2005) Rimal (2008) Mackie et al. (2015)

A social norm entails both positive and negative outcomes for members of groups. Compliance with a norm may yield simultaneous positive and negative payoffs for an individual which may be aligned with or contrary to the positive and negative outcomes for communities. The role of rewards and sanctions as they relate to individual and community outcomes are summarized in Table 2³.

Table 2: Rewards and Sanctions

		Personal Outcomes	
		Negative	Positive
Community Outcomes	Negative	FGM/C norm change: When individuals and communities experience negative outcomes of FGC	Political correctness – driven underground. “Cutting without ritual”
	Positive	Limited personal change – “aware and willing” but action lacking	Change possible provided the presence of “enabling environment, policy measures”

As Table 2 highlights **harmonization of personal and community-based positive outcomes is necessary for norms change**, provided that such harmonization is accompanied with the presence of an enabling environment, for example through the promotion of equitable gender norms and policy measures, including formal and informal laws regarding FGM/C.

³ This table draws upon Figueroa, M. E., Kincaid, D. L., Rani, M., & Lewis, G. (2002). Communication for social change: an integrated model for measuring the process and its outcomes.

SECTION 3: APPLYING SOCIAL NORMS THEORIZING TO FGM/C

The following section provides an overview of FGM/C, followed by a summary of how social norms theorizing has been applied to FGM/C.

3.1 OVERVIEW OF FGM/C

Female genital mutilation or cutting (FGM/C), also known as female circumcision, is a practice involving the partial or complete removal of the external female genitalia. FGM/C is prevalent throughout much of Africa, in parts of the Middle East and Asia, and is an emerging public health issue in the United States, United Kingdom and other developed countries where immigrant communities continue the practice (World Health Organization, 2012). There are four types of FGM/C: 1) **Clitoridectomy**: where the clitoris is partially or totally removed (sometimes this is referred to as *sunna*); 2) **Excision**: where the clitoris and labia are partially or totally removed; 3) **Infibulation**: where the vaginal opening is narrowed by sewing the labia together; and 4) **Other**: all other forms types of FGM/C procedures including “pricking, piercing, incising, scraping, and cauterizing the genital area” (World Health Organization, 2012).

Most often, the procedure is performed on a girl any time between birth and 15 years, although this varies widely and there are reports of the procedure being done on women during adulthood (World Health Organization, 2012; Shell-Duncan, Hernlund, Wander, & Moreau, 2010). Traditionally, the procedure was carried out in “the bush”, accompanied in many cases by periods of seclusion, rituals, and ceremony. Recent research conducted in Senegal and The Gambia and other African countries suggests that the practice of FGM/C is changing: the communal and ceremonial aspects of the practice are fading away in favour of private procedures in the family or circumciser’s home (Shell-Duncan, Hernlund, Wander, & Moreau, 2010). It is also increasingly common for the cutting to be done on younger girls instead of pre-adolescent girls between 9 and 13 years as was common practice. Hernlund (2000) suggests that this “cutting without ritual” could in part be an unintended consequence of the last few decades of anti-FGM/C campaigns.

3.2 ADDRESSING FGM/C THROUGH A SOCIAL NORMS LENS

The FGM/C literature is equally diverse in its theorizing on social norms. Three specific approaches come to the fore when examining this literature more specifically. **First, social convention theory** emerges as the dominant approach to understanding FGM/C within a social norms perspective (Mackie, 1996, 2000). Mackie argues that when sufficient people perform FGM/C, the practice becomes locked in place; those who do not to practice FGM/C, fail to marry and reproduce. Shifting the convention (and sustaining it) requires a critical mass of people to not only abandon the practice, but also allow their children to marry uncut women. Research conducted by Shell-Duncan, Wander, Hernlund, and Moreau (2011) expands upon Mackie’s work and suggests that FGM/C in Senegal and The Gambia operates as an intergenerational peer convention more so than a marriage convention. In this line of thinking, FGM/C is a convention that facilitates entry into a social network, which in turn grants individuals access to social

support, social capital, and power. Efforts to promote abandonment of FGM/C would then need to work across generations and actively reach to involve many members of women's social networks. Regardless of the type of convention at play (marriage, intergenerational or peer) understanding the conventions at play, which may be poorly understood and articulated, is key to social norm change.

Second, others focus on identifying the economic and social benefits families attribute to cutting. (Bellemare, Novak, & Stinmetz, 2015; Efferson, Vogt, Elhadi, El Fadil Ahmed, & Fehr, 2015). These theorists argue that factors other than conventions are at play when it comes to norms associated with FGM/C. They state that for the convention argument to hold true, in the context of FGM/C, cutting rates would have to be coordinated within relatively homogeneous communities, i.e. either be very high or very low (with attitudes matching the norm). If cutting practices and attitudes vary, then cutting and noncutting communities should be clearly different from one another (Efferson, Vogt, Elhadi, El Fadil Ahmed, & Fehr, 2015). Recent data from work conducted by these authors in Sudan reveal that estimated cutting rates vary substantially within and across communities. Additional data from a representative survey of adults in Sudan indicated that families would not refuse marriage with other families in the communities for FGM/C reasons. Together these findings suggest that there is unlikely to be a single critical threshold where the conventional practice of FGM/C is simply abandoned or replaced by an alternative practice. It is possible to hypothesize that the mixed results regarding public declarations (which aim to address FGM/C as a convention) to reduce FGM/C signals a need to focus efforts elsewhere such as identifying the benefits families attribute to cutting. Meaning social norms change requires honing in on the exchange of incentives, transaction costs, and social welfare benefits.

Third, FGM/C is construed as a complex issue that persists in the face of contradictory and complementary legal, moral, religious, gender, and social norms

(Figure 4). Government institutions enforce legal norms. As of 2012, twenty-four countries in Africa have legislation in place banning FGM/C with penalties ranging from a minimum of six months to a maximum of life in prison and some penalties also impose monetary fines (UNFPA, 2016). Limited knowledge of and poor enforcement of legal actions make it difficult for legal norms to be used as effective tools to shift norms. In Senegal, Shell-Duncan, Wander, Hernlund, & Moreau (2013) found that knowledge of the ban in Senegal was high, but superficial and few knew about cases where it had been enforced. Legislative action criminalizing FGM/C alone does not appear to be a sufficient enough deterrent to the practice. However, for communities that abandon the practice, such legislative action can render support for the new social norm of not cutting and provide ammunition and guidance as communities change their attitudes and behaviours. It is in these instances that legal norms and social norms find themselves to be in harmony.

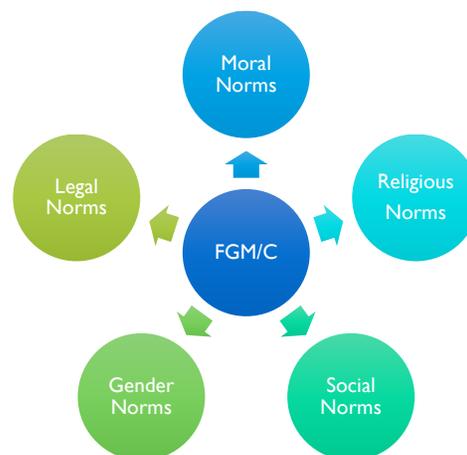


Figure 4: Harmonizing Legal, Moral, Gender, Religious, and Social Norms

Moral norms (inner conviction of right and wrong) are motivated by conscience rather than by social expectations. Those who have more strongly internalized messaging on the potential health risks linked to FGM/C are more likely to support ending the practice (Shell-Duncan, Hernlund, Wander, and Moreau, 2010). As research by Cislaghi, Gillespie, & Mackie (2015) shows, value deliberations have the potential to establish new understandings of peace, security, and equality within a community that could in turn help to flip the “moral norm” from one that used to accept FGM/C to one that rejects the practice.

Religious norms “are distinctive because of their reference to divine command, but otherwise they function as social, legal, or moral norms” (Mackie et al., 2015, p. 35). Some supporters of FGM/C abide by the practice on religious grounds. There are women who believe FGM/C is supported by (as a *sunna*) or even required (as a *farata*) by Islam. Although it is not required by the Qur’an, many see it as a practice that is in keeping with the cleanliness and purification necessary for religious prayer and participation (Shell-Duncan, Hernlund, Wander, & Moreau, 2010). In other cases, FGM/C is thought to be supported by Christian beliefs. In this case, FGM/C as a religious norm functions more as a social norm than a legal one.

FGM/C continues to persist in the presence of legal sanctions (though weakly imposed) and un-supportive moral norms and hence can be construed, as something that a population feels is a social obligation, i.e. it continues to exist due to social norms supportive of FGM/C. This being said, it is essential to keep a broader perspective of social stratification in mind, i.e. focus on issues of gender and power that in many ways result in the codification of social norms around FGM/C practices. Gender norms refer to informal rules and shared social expectations that distinguish expected behaviour on the basis of gender (Marcus & Harper, 2015). Discriminatory gender norms cut across all domains of the social ecological model. For example, they manifest themselves as negative gender role attitudes towards girls and women at the individual level, restrictions on mobility and educational opportunities at the family and community levels and at the social level include restrictions, such as, age of marriage, emphasis on virginity and sexual control. Pervasive negative gender norms across all the levels, likely underpin FGM/C practices. Therefore, attempts to address FGM/C have to account for the individual, social and structural silencing of women’s voices. As such any measurement of social norm change associated with FGM/C have to specifically consider gender normative determinants (CARE, 2017).

From a theoretical perspective, FGM/C practices can largely be construed to exist due to a myriad of factors, i.e. conventions associated with future marital prospects, traditions that have withstood through time, traditions that reinforce power structures and afford social capital, and peer pressure; FGM/C practices provide economic and social benefits and lack of harmonization between legal, moral, gender and religious imperatives.

The mechanisms by which FGM/C operates as a social norm are likely to vary from context to context, further underscoring the importance of tailoring our thinking and our efforts to the local realities. Regardless of the framing changing social norms can be achieved in one of two ways (Figure 5):

1. **The abandonment of the FGM/C norm**
where monitoring and evaluation would consist of maintaining its absence and preventing re-emergence.
2. **Introducing an innovation⁴ associated with a separate set of practices**, i.e., replacing the norm with a new practice, which over time becomes the “new norm.” This approach then requires monitoring of the uptake of the new practices.

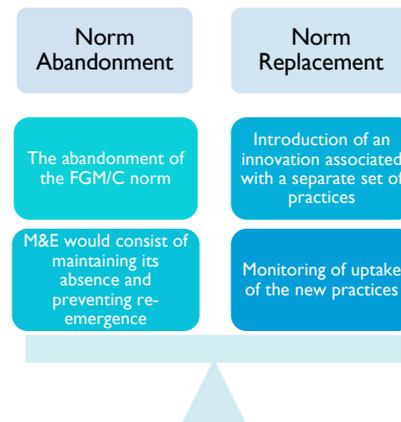


Figure 5: Two Ways of Achieving Social Norms Change

The concept of norm replacement is grounded in the idea that “every innovation begins as a deviation from existing social norms” (Kincaid, 2004, p.37). Introducing a new set of practices to replace FGM/C is a strategy that has yet to be fully explored. Some work has been done to create alternative rituals for FGM/C that keep the ceremony and remove the cutting, in turn allowing families to publically announce that their daughter’s transition into adulthood even though FGM/C has not been performed.

However, promoting alternative initiation rituals that abandon FGM/C is likely to be a feasible strategy only in contexts where FGM/C is linked to marriage or peer convention and is integrated within an initiation ritual (Mackie, 2000). In contexts where FGM/C is not linked to a ceremony or where the ceremonial aspects of FGM/C are fading away, a norms replacement approach focusing on alternative rituals will not work. Instead, another innovation comprising a new set of practices altogether will need to be pitched as the new way forward. Regardless of the approach taken, the importance of promoting viable alternatives to FGM/C cannot be overstated. A clear understanding of the specific communication⁵ approaches being utilized by planned interventions is critical in designing an evidence based mixed methods evaluation framework, including periodic data collection to examine the effectiveness of social norms change in addressing FGM/C.

⁴ Diffusion of innovations theory (Rogers, 2003) suggests that diffusion is the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system. The theory details the characteristics of the innovation, the adopters of the innovation, types of communication and social systems that help and hinder the diffusion process. See **Appendix C** for an overview of diffusion of innovations theory.

⁵ This document uses the broader term communication, to refer to Communication for Development (C4D) which can be defined as a systematic, planned and evidence-based process to promote positive and measurable individual behaviour and social changes that are integral to development programmes, policy advocacy, humanitarian work and the creation of a culture that respects and helps realize human rights (UNICEF, 2009). C4D is a UN term, with various UN agencies being responsible for organizing a UN C4D round table every two years. Across various UN agencies, UNICEF has the longest history of using C4D in support of programmes and goals for children.

SECTION 4: THE ACT FRAMEWORK

Concrete data on the operationalization and testing of effectiveness of social norms approaches, especially those using communication approaches is limited. A WHO (2010) report concluded that approaches taking a social norms perspective in public health (specifically violence prevention) have rarely been evaluated and so the evidence base for their effectiveness is weak. A meta-evaluation of FGM/C programs, including interventions utilizing social norms perspective, also came to a similar conclusion (Berg & Denison, 2012). Mackie et al. (2015) found that only 14% of published essays on norms and global development mentioned measurement methods of any kind.

Based on this desk review, the following macro-level model for measuring social norms change has been developed (Figure 6). Labelled under the acronym ACT, this model includes steps that are necessary to measure social norms change with regard to FGM/C.

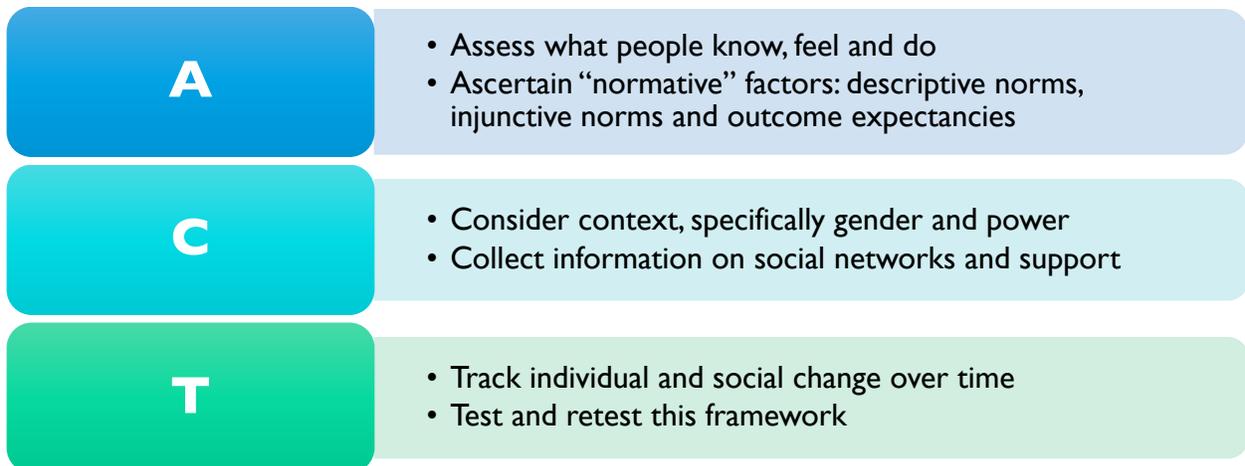


Figure 6: Model for Measuring Social Norms Change

The foundation of a global M&E framework is composed of several components. The elements under ‘A’ and ‘C’ describe specific constructs that need to be measured in order to examine social norms change including: cognitive and affective factors, FGM/C practice, descriptive norms, injunctive norms, outcome expectancies in the form of social sanctions and benefits, gender, power, social support, and social networks. The ‘T’ of the ACT framework links to the overall M&E process that this framework is couched within and takes into consideration opportunities to ensure the adaptability of this macro-level framework to unique contexts.

A separate report focusing on the ACT framework goes into more detail on the specific elements of the Framework. It provides conceptual definitions for and operationalizes the individual constructs within the ACT framework, as well as offering readers potential indicators and means of verification for each of the constructs. Finally, the report also lays out one possible roadmap for implementing the ACT framework on the ground.

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APPENDIX A: OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL NORMS CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

An overview of the many ways in which social norms have been conceptualized over the years and within the fields of sociology and social psychology is taken from Marcus & Harper.

Overview of Social Norms		
Analyst/Tradition	Theoretical Position	Social norms...
Comte	Positivism	Are the influence of individuals over each other
Marx	Dialectical materialism	Are outcomes of property relationships
Durkheim	Positivism	Have strong causal status, coercing individual behaviour
Simmel	Anti-positivism	Are behaviour patterns agents can conform to or deviate from
Weber	Anti-positivism	Are causes of social actions
Parsons	Functionalism	Are the regulatory patterns that ensure social order
Giddens	Structuration	Are both motivation for and consequence of individual action
Bourdieu	Theory of practice	Are part of the 'habitus' into which people are socialised and become 'doxa' (beyond the limits of what can be challenged)
Developmental psychology	Socialisation theory	Are inculcated through socialisation in childhood and adolescence
Elster	Rational choice	Work through shame and guilt rather than reward and punishment
Coleman	Individualism	Are the result of iterated interactions of individuals
Ullmann-Margalit	Game theory	Are Nash equilibria* in coordination game
Bicchieri	Game theory	Are situation frames triggering scripts of behaviour
Mackie	Social convention theory	Are held in place by rewards and sanctions
Social psychology	Conformity studies	Individuals comply with norms because they wish to fit in with their group

*A situation where moving to better outcomes for anyone will require that both (or all) parties change: no one can improve their position unless others change strategy too

Source: Marcus & Harper (2012) who adapted this from Elsenbroich and Gilbert (forthcoming)

APPENDIX B: OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL NORMS THEORIZING

Two strands of theorizing emerge with relation to social norms.

1. Norms are considered an inherent characteristic of individuals embedded within a larger social system
2. Norms are situated as one component within a larger framework.

This appendix provides an overview of theorizing about social norms from both perspectives

NORMS AS AN INHERENT INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTIC

In so far as social norms are considered an inherent characteristic of individuals embedded within a larger social system. Norms guide individual thoughts and behaviours and can be conceptualized as expectations held by social groups that dictate appropriate behaviours and are thought of as rules of standard that guide the social system within which they operate (Detel, 2008). People in general prefer to conform, given the expectation that others will conform too (WHO, 2010). This definition is close to that applied by UNICEF and based on the theoretical work done by Bicchieri (2006) as well as Mackie, Moneti, Denny and Shakya, (2015). These scholars provide a nuanced yet precise operational definition based on game theoretic and psychological approaches wherein a social norm is a behavioural rule that members of a group expect and are expected to follow and are motivated to follow because of expectations of sanctions for non-adherence and rewards for adherence. Two conditions have to be satisfied for a social norm to exist.

1. Individuals have to be aware of the norm and that it applies to them.
2. Individuals conform to the norm if both of the following conditions are satisfied:
 - a. they expect a majority of their social network conforms to the norms (empirical expectations)
 - b. they believe that a sufficiently large part of their social network think that they ought to conform to the norm and may sanction them if they do not (normative expectations).

According to this definition, when a social norm is in place, individuals will expect others to behave in a certain way and they will be conditioned by what they believe others expect of them (reciprocal expectations). In this definition of social norms, reciprocal expectations (norm of reciprocity) in which rewards and benefits received should also be returned, establishes an interdependence impacting the motives, behaviour, preferences of all individuals within the social system. Personal preferences and views subsequently have a relatively minor effect on behaviours, which are now governed by the thought of what others believe and expect (Etzioni, 2000).

Another key component is that social norms are also characterized by social rewards and punishments. If individuals conform to the norm, they expect to be socially accepted or rewarded. If they do not, they expect to be socially punished or excluded. What people actually do is more effectively predicted by understanding what they think or believe (for the process may not be particularly conscious) that others socially significant to them expect them to do, rather than their personal preference. This school of thought further notes that people may have no idea “why” they follow a certain practice. In the absence of interpersonal communication, they do not “really” know what others think. Hence normative behaviours continue to prosper due to pluralistic ignorance. Another key aspect of this school of thought is that social norms may support each other and be supported by associated beliefs. Operational definitions of the approach described above, has been graphically displayed by Guillot (2012) and reproduced here from Mackie et al. (2012). As Figure 9 illustrates norms are viewed in this perspective as patterns of behaviour occurring through individual beliefs and conformity to such norms is dependent mainly on individual beliefs about what others around them are perceived to be doing.

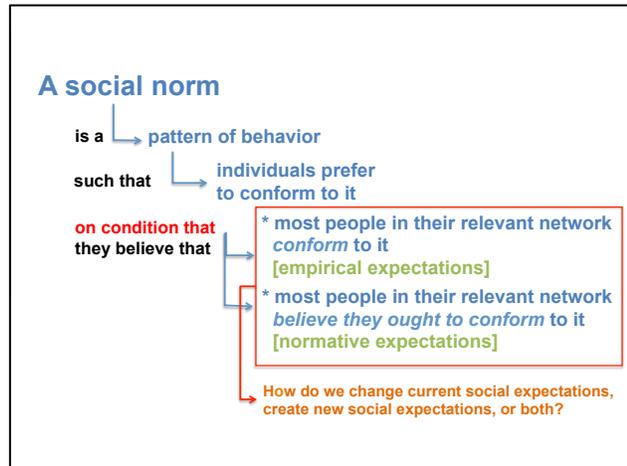


Figure 9: Operationalization of social norms - Guillot, 2012. Reproduced here from Mackie et al 2012

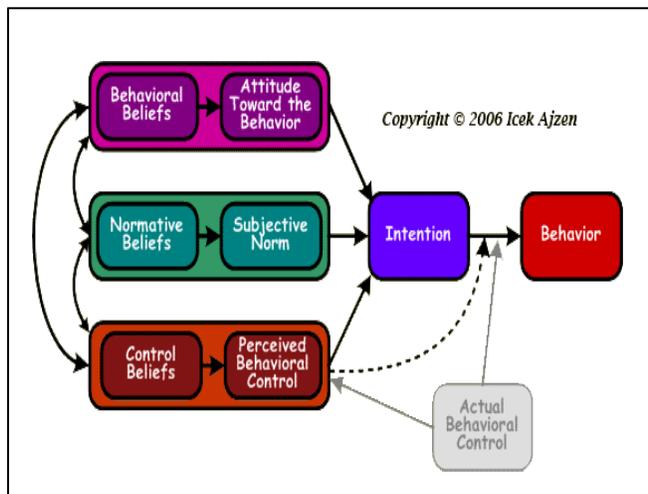


Figure 10: Theory of planned behavior. Available at: <http://population.umass.edu/ajzen/tpb.diag.html>

From an individual change perspective, norms are also part of the Theory of Planned Behaviour, developed by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980). This theory provides a way to predict intentions and subsequently behaviour from an individual’s attitudes, perceived behavioural control and perceived subjective norms. The theory of planned behaviour while accounting for the definition of norms provided above, further extends the notion of normative beliefs by indicating that such beliefs also have to take into consideration the subjective analyses of the strength of a norm and whether or not to comply with it (Montano and Kasprzyk, 2008). Related to the conceptualization of subjective norms is Robert Cialdini’s (1990, 2001) research, which has shown the importance of distinguishing between a descriptive norm (doing what others do) and an injunctive norm (doing

what others think one should do). The first, descriptive norms are defined as an attitude or behaviour that is prevalent among members of a group, regardless of approval and are similar to the idea of empirical expectations in Bicchieri’s work. The second, injunctive norms encourage conformity by implying that a certain attitude or behaviour is either approved or disapproved of by a social group. Injunctive norms are defined in terms of a population’s perceptions that their important referents expect them to comply with a behaviour (normative expectations in Bicchieri’s work).

Injunctive norms are analogous to the concept of subjective norms in the theory of planned behaviour. Both concepts share the common element of pressures that individuals experience to conform to a norm. The key difference between them lies in roles that social sanctions are thought to play in the normative process. Bendor & Swistak (2001) note, for example, that it is meaningless to talk about normative influences without also acknowledging that defiance of norms incurs some sort of social sanction. Thus, to the extent that injunctive norms are based on individuals' perceptions about social approval, an underlying assumption in the influence of injunctive norms is that behaviours are guided, in part, by a desire to do the appropriate thing. However, the Theory of Planned Behaviour does not account for the threat of social sanction, as a necessary element for subjective norms to exert their influence. Therefore, subjective norms can exist simply because others in ones' social network practice a behaviour and not because of fear of being punished or sanctioned if the norm is not adhered to.

Descriptive and injunctive norms have been further exemplified in the Theory of Normative Social Behaviour (Lapinski & Rimal, 2015; Rimal & Real, 2005; Lapinski & Rimal, 2005; Rimal, Lapinski, Cook & Real, 2005). Apart from their reliance on descriptive and injunctive norms, this theory of normative influence (from Rimal & Real, 2005) also incorporates "outcome expectations." This notion is important because apart from relating the prevalence of norms to the idea of sanctions, this provides an alternative in the form of norms resulting from expectations of benefits for oneself and others. This idea of benefits is critical when designing behaviour and social change interventions based on motivating their intended beneficiaries.

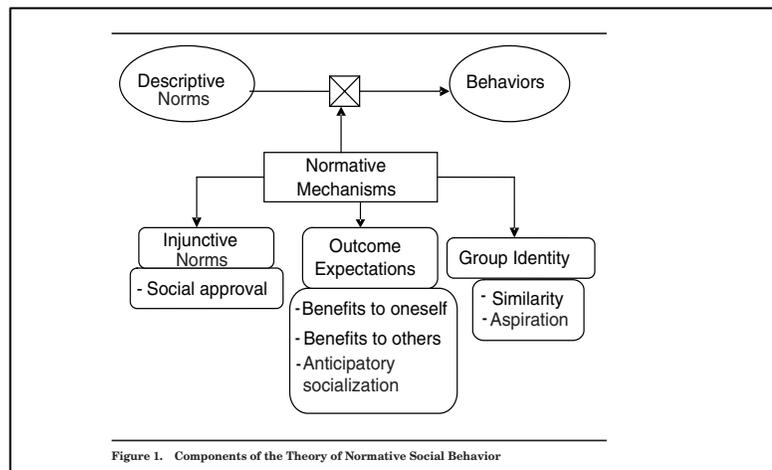


Figure 11: Copied from Rimal and Real, 2005

There are at least two additional social science theories: Social Influence Theory and Social Judgment Theory, which also touch upon the idea of norms. These are not included in this discussion since the main ideas included in these theoretical perspectives are covered within the models noted here.

NORMS AS PART OF AN OVERALL FRAMEWORK

A second set of theorizing about social norms situates them as one construct within larger frameworks. This conceptualization of norms has been central in the field of communication. Communication scholars have long assumed that norms are by definition social phenomena, which are transmitted within a social system through communication. Communication is critical for formulating perceptions about prevalence of a given behaviour (therefore making it an empirical expectation) but also acts as a conduit of influence (when population act in a situation based on the perceived support or rejection of their actions by others in their social system). Several key theories within communication include social norms as part of a larger equation of behaviour and social change. Three overarching models included here are: ideation, the theory of bounded normative influence, and the social ecological model.

Ideation refers to new ways of thinking and the diffusion of those ways of thinking by means of social interaction in local, culturally homogeneous communities. The concept of ideation originated with

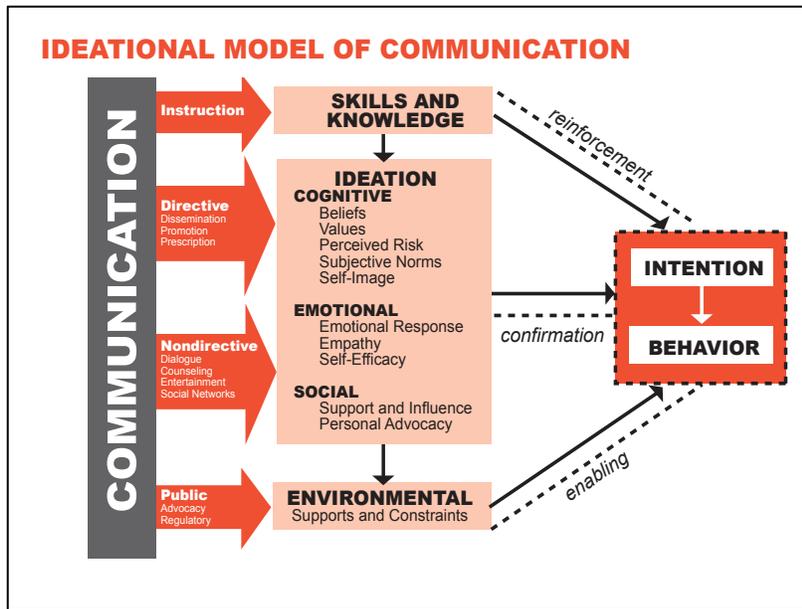


Figure 12: Ideation model adapted from: Kincaid et al (2006). Available at: <http://www.healthcommcapacity.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/ideation.pdf>

demographers in the mid-1980s to describe social cognitive and social interaction factors that explain the historical process of fertility transition (Cleland & Wilson, 1987). Besides family planning, the ideation approach has been used to assess behavioural impact of female genital cutting, youth reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, household water treatment and hygiene programs (Kincaid, 2000; Babalola & Vondrasek, 2005; Kincaid et al., 2007). The theory of ideation suggests that ‘ideation’ variables determine the likelihood of a person adopting a particular behaviour. The more favourable the ideation variables related to a particular behaviour, the more likely a person is to adopt and

practice the behaviour. Ideation variables include cognitive (knowledge, belief, values, etc.), emotional (emotional response, self-efficacy) and social (social influence and personal advocacy) factors. Social norms fit within an overall ideation approach in terms of examining social factors – including for example descriptive norms pertaining to approval and disapproval by others of specific behaviours.

Another systems level approach on theorizing about norms is the theory of bounded normative influence (Kincaid, 2004). This theory derives from the diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 2003) approach by postulating that every innovation⁶ begins as a deviation from existing social norms. The theory of bounded normative influence then asks the fundamental question “Given the strong effect of social norms and pressure, how can any innovation ever diffuse to the point where it becomes a new social norm?” This seeming paradox of diffusion is answered by using social network theory (Rogers & Kincaid, 1981) to explain how a minority can influence the majority within a social system. According to the theory of bounded normative influence social norms influence behaviour within relatively bounded, local subgroups of a social system rather than the system as a whole. As long as a minority maintains its majority status within its own, locally bounded portion of the network, then it can not only survive but also grow and establish its behaviour as the norm for the network as whole. This process is accelerated when the minority subgroup is centrally located in the network and communicates more frequently and persuasively than the majority.

⁶ An innovation has been defined by Rogers (1995) as “An idea, practice or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption”

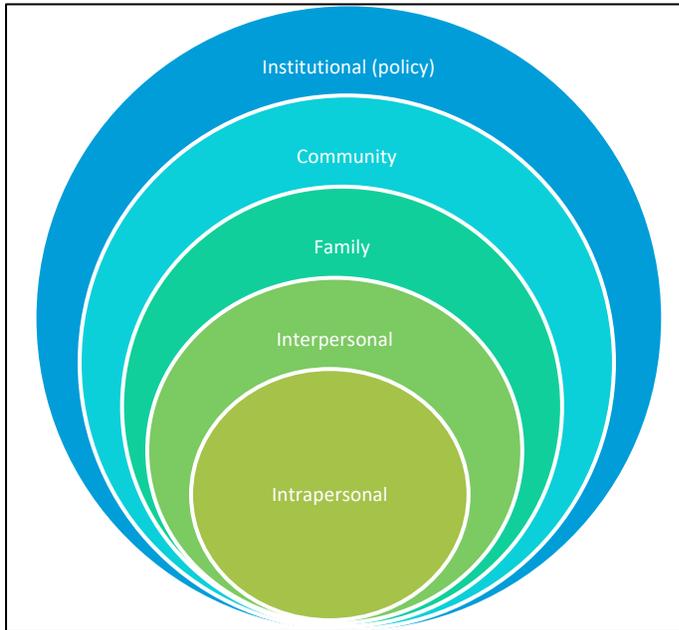


Figure 13: The Social Ecological Model

The social ecological model posits that social and behaviour change are best understood within a social ecological framework that takes into account the interconnected influences of family, peers, community and society on behaviour. Sallis & Owen (2002) describe social ecology as “the study of the influence of the social context on behaviour, including institutional and cultural variables.” The social ecology model can be construed as meta-model or meta-theory in the sense that each level shown in the model encompasses theories of change for that particular level. The main contribution of the ecology model is to emphasize how higher levels facilitate or constrain change at lower levels of analysis; suggesting that interventions for planned change should address all levels to be effective. There are qualities of individuals that cannot be understood without

knowledge of their peer networks, family relationships, partner relationships, community relationships, and societal norms.

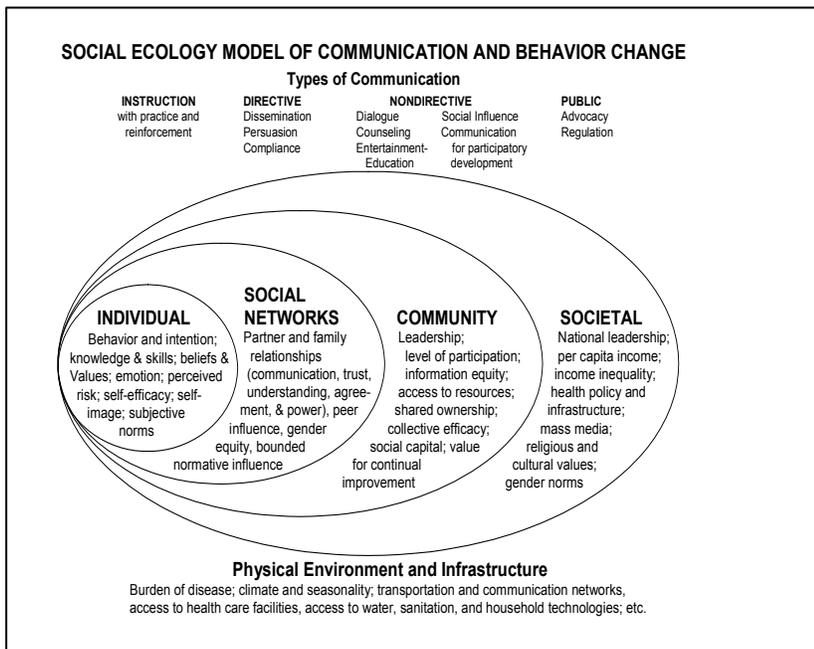


Figure 14: Social Ecological Model Applied to Communication. Copied from Storey & Figueroa (2012)

Application of the ecological model to communication indicates that social norms are often misconstrued and various channels of communication (mass, community and interpersonal) can help overcome pluralistic ignorance about actual behaviour in society. Communication helps cultivate or shift perceptions about what is normative, thereby motivating change. According to Storey and Figueroa (2012), the systems rather than the reductionist approach of the social ecology model describes the complexity, interrelatedness, and wholeness of the components of a complex adaptive system where each level is “greater than the sum of its parts.”

APPENDIX C: OVERVIEW OF DIFFUSION OF INNOVATIONS

The process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system.

An innovation is defined as any idea, attitude, or behaviour that is new to the members of a social system. The theory describes an **innovation-decision process** as follows. The rate of the diffusion of an innovation typically follows an S curve. Factors that predict the rate of adoption for any innovation is determined by several factors, including, **attributes of the innovation**. The theory highlights five key attributes: relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability and observability. External factors that are critical to the success of diffusion include **attributes of the audience** as well as **environmental constraints and facilitators**. Based on demographic, economic, and psychographic profiles, there are some individuals who are likely to adopt innovations first (innovators) while there are others who are likely to delay adoption (characterized as laggards in the model). In between these two extremes are the early adopters, early majority and late majority. Audience attributes include among other items: education, literacy, social mobility, size & connectedness of networks, degree of social participation, attitude toward change, tolerance for ambiguity & risk, exposure to media, exposure to interpersonal channels and information seeking behaviour. In addition, environmental constraints/facilitators also play a role, for example access is a key issue and can be related to education, information and means of communication, as well as access to the innovation, pressure to conform is another constraint, as is socio economic factors. A final component of the theory is the identification of a social system (Kincaid, (2004) extended this idea to theorizing about “bounded” normative influence. Innovations diffuse through social networks where different types of networks – like minded (homophily) and networks comprised of different people (heterophily) both play a role. Also important is the identification of opinion leaders (external influencers) and change agents (internal influencers). Finally, the idea of the “strength of weak ties” i.e. individuals who serve as conduits for diffusion by inhabiting roles in multiple smaller bounded networks.

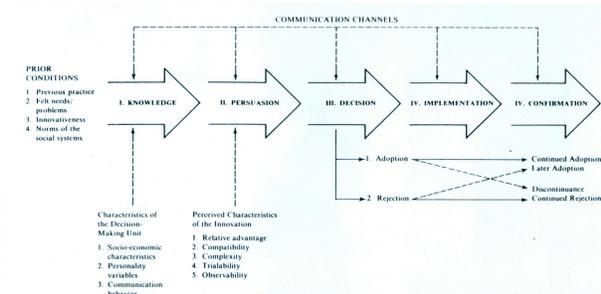


Figure 5-1. A model of stages in the innovation-decision process.

The innovation decision process is the process through which an individual (or other decision-making unit) passes from first knowledge of an innovation, to forming an attitude toward the innovation, to a decision to adopt or reject, to implementation of the new idea, and to confirmation of this decision.

Note that for the sake of simplicity we have not shown the consequences of the innovation in this diagram.

Figure 15: Diffusion of Innovations