Report

Changing discriminatory norms affecting adolescent girls through communication activities

A review of evidence

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Key messages

- There is strong evidence from this review of 61 programmes that communication programmes are an effective way to challenge gender-discriminatory attitudes and practices.

- No one approach is clearly more effective than others, but programmes with more than one communication component have achieved a higher proportion of positive outcomes. Integrated programmes with non-communication activities have also been slightly more effective.

- Many programmes drew on best practice in communication for social change, with sympathetic characters in radio and TV dramas and provision of new factual information and episode summaries; community dialogue-based programmes have created spaces for reflection and addressed key issues directly.

- The highest proportion of positive changes was in programmes addressing early marriage, education, female genital mutilation/cutting and intra-household relationships. These programmes often involve community-level dialogue and reflection.

- Very few studies provide insights into contextual factors, the ways socioeconomic inequalities affect programme success or the sustainability of change.

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Abbreviations

ADP	Adolescent Development Programme
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BAS	Bangladesh Adolescent Survey
BCCP	Behaviour Change Communication Programme
CMS	Centre for Media Studies
DFID	Department for International Development
DISHA	Development Initiative for Self-Reliance and Human Advancement
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ELA	Employment and Livelihoods for Adolescents (Bangladesh)
ELA	Empowerment and Livelihoods for Adolescents (Uganda)
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GEMS	Gender Equity Movement in Schools
GQAL	Gender Quality Action Learning
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
IPA	Innovations for Poverty Alleviation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
RCT	Randomised Control Trial
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	UN Development Programme

UNFPA	UN Population Fund
UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
UNIFEM	UN Development Fund for Women
US	United States
USAID	US Agency for International Development
VAW	Violence Against Women

Executive summary

Background and overview of study

Recent years have seen growing policy interest in adolescent girls, both as a key strategic group, investments in whom will lead to major developmental gains, and as a neglected cohort whose wellbeing is consistently ignored and whose rights are widely abused (Chabaan and Cunningham, 2011; Jones et al., 2010; Levine et al., 2009).[1] Growing global interest in gender equality has led to increasing attention to discriminatory social norms as key factors that continue to impede gender equality and undermine adolescent girls' wellbeing and developmental opportunities (Ball Cooper and Fletcher, 2013; Harper et al., 2012; Huda and Calder, 2013; Wikigender/ Wikichild, 2013). Recent advances in understanding the processes that drive changes in social norms in general, and gender norms in particular (Mackie et al., 2012; Marcus, 2014; Marcus et al., forthcoming; Munoz Boudet et al., 2012) indicate that both large-scale social and economic trends and smaller-scale programmatic activity can lead to change in social norms. However, there is limited synthesised evidence of how different policies and programmes lead to changes in social norms affecting adolescent girls' capability development as they make the transition from childhood to adulthood.

There is a long history in development practice of communications activities that are intended to transform the ways people think and act. Some of this originates in a top-down tradition of public service announcements and communication of information, some in a Freirean-inspired approach to education involving reflection and challenging orthodoxies, some in community-based activism. Recent understanding of the power of social norms has led to increased social norms marketing activity (Paluck et al., 2010), and the transformation of communications with the spread of the internet and mobile telephony in many low-income countries has created opportunities to communicate messages promoting gender equality and social change more broadly in new ways (Plan International, 2010). Despite all this activity, little is known about the effectiveness of different communication approaches to promoting more egalitarian gender norms.

This report presents findings from a review of evidence on the effectiveness of communications programmes for changing norms affecting adolescent girls in low- and middle-income countries. The studies in this review all examined communications initiatives that aimed to change norms on gender issues, reported on certain areas of adolescent girls' wellbeing (see next sentence) or included adolescent girls as respondents. The review focused on changes in norms related to early marriage; education: girls' mobility; girls' aspirations and work; gender relations within the household (including equal treatment of girl and boys, preference for male or female children and girls' voice in decision making in households communities); female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), physical and sexual violence against women and girls; transactional or intergenerational sexual relationships; and broad attitudes to gender equality. This report presents findings in detail and is intended as a reference resource. Shorter outputs drawing on it will be developed over 2014 and 2015 and will be available from the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) website.

The review took place over the period June 2013-June 2014, and used systematic review principles of transparency, comprehensive searching and appraisal of the methodological quality and clarity of the papers examined. Because very few programmes directly examine and attempt to quantify norms in the sense of widely shared beliefs and practices, most of the studies in this review examine changes in attitudes or practices as proxies for norms.

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[1] Other proponents include Girl Hub (http://www.girleffect.org/)

Findings may be affected by the following biases: 89% of studies used either a quantitative or a mixed methods design, and contextual analysis was limited. A total of 50% of studies were judged to be based on high quality research designs (quasi-experimental designs or randomised control trials (RCTs)). Around half the studies were based on internal evaluations, involving people who had also worked on programme implementation. Only 26% were peer-reviewed journal articles, though all the grey literature included in the review is methodologically and analytically rigorous. None of the studies reviewed comments on possible social desirability biases in respondents' reporting on their views and practices Only two studies reported efforts to triangulate what respondents said about how their views and practices had changed. The search was conducted in English, and all but one of the studies examined in this review was in English, despite attempts to find suitable studies in Spanish and French on the websites of well-known communication initiatives in Latin America and Francophone West and Central Africa.

There is very little discussion of specific issues arising in conflict-affected or fragile contexts. Very few of these studies include details of the messages transmitted or of the content of non-formal education curricula, limiting the extent to which is it possible to draw conclusions about the importance of particular forms or types of message in leading to positive outcomes. Finally, most studies were conducted within two years of the end of programme activities, and so give little insight into the sustainability of change.

Overview of programmes examined in this review

The review examined 61 programmes, half of which took place in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and 31% in South Asia. The remaining programmes were divided between Latin America and the Caribbean and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) (respectively, 7% and 8%), with one study from South-East Asia.

There were four main types of programmes:

- **Adolescent development programmes** (26% of total) – typically working face to face with adolescents to change attitudes and practices on a range of issues, and most likely to involve non-communications components.
- **Sexual and reproductive health (SRH) promotion programmes** (38%). These span mass media- and community-based programmes, are principally oriented towards promoting good SRH and integrate gender equality promotion into messaging about SRH.
- **Programmes promoting gender equality as a main objective** (30%). Some of these address multiple aspects of gender equality; others are particularly focused on one issue (e.g. violence, FGM/C, education or early marriage).
- **Broad community development programmes** (7%). These integrate an emphasis on gender equality or adolescent girls' wellbeing into broader activities.

The programmes made use of seven different types of communication activities:

- **Media** (used in 33% of programmes) – mass media programmes, for example TV and radio edutainment programmes or factual programmes, and communication of information through print media.
- **Information, education and communication (IEC) material/large-scale sensitisation** (used in 41% of programmes) – includes leaflets, comic books, posters, billboards, stickers and other promotional material, educational video and events aimed at a large audience, such as street theatre.
- **Community dialogue** (used in 41% of programmes) – discussion-based approaches at a community level.
- **Non-formal education** (used in 59% of programmes) – includes life skills and other education programmes on a variety of issues and targeted at adolescent girls and other audiences. These were almost all participatory and involved dialogue and reflection, and often were part of broader adolescent development programmes.

- **One-to-one communication** (used in 16% of programmes) – includes mentoring and peer education based on communication at an individual level.
- **Public ceremonies** (used in 7% of programmes) – alternative rite of passage and public declaration activities. Principally used in programmes concerned with FGM/C eradication.
- **Training and capacity building** (used in 5% of programmes) – training, most commonly for professional personnel, for example training health workers in the risks of FGM/C.

1. Main findings

Communications programmes are an effective way of promoting change in gender norms, and have reached a variety of stakeholders with both broad pro-gender equality messages and messages on specific discriminatory norms. These evaluations recorded more changes in attitudes than in practices (attitude change comprised 54% of recorded outcomes and practice changes 46%). Overall, 69% of outcomes recorded were positive (i.e. indicated change in a gender-egalitarian direction), with very little difference between attitude and practice change (respectively, 71% and 69% of outcomes positive).

The gap between the proportion of positive changes in attitudes and that of changes in practice recorded was greater for media-based interventions than for other communications approaches (a 30 percentage point difference compared with a mean difference of 17). It was smallest for community dialogue and non-formal education programmes (respectively, 8 and 12 percentage points), perhaps indicating that approaches that involve people more actively, and especially stimulate discussion within a peer group, may help bridge the gap between attitude and practice change.

Longer or more intense exposure to a communications programme usually leads to greater and more sustained change in gender norms. Overall, some of the clearest evidence of norm change took place in long-term programmes such as Tostan in Senegal (Diop et al., 2004) and PRACHAR in India (Pathfinder International, 2011). Short intensive programmes were also associated with significant changes (e.g. Better Life Options in India, Acharya et al., 2009; Choices in Nepal, Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011; Program H in Brazil, Pulerwitz and Barker, 2006). A total of 15 studies analysed the relationship between programme intensity and impact, focusing on 32 outcomes. In 75% of cases, greater exposure (either for a longer time period or to more communication activities or materials) led to an increased impact.

There is no quantitative evidence suggesting a major difference in effectiveness between different communications approaches, particularly when used on their own. It appears that programme delivery issues such as targeting and the extent to which messages are crafted to appeal and encourage people to think and act differently, rather than type of programme, are probably more important factors influencing effectiveness.

Dialogue-based approaches are often important in helping people shift both attitudes and practices. Our analysis of qualitative and quantitative data from studies in this review indicates some tentative evidence that dialogue-based approaches that allow for reflection and discussion among peers (e.g. participatory non-formal education, community conversations) may be associated with greater attitude and behaviour change than approaches that incorporate fewer such opportunities. This may be because dialogue helps participants personalise messages and identify ways they can translate messages into action in their own lives. This insight does not mean approaches such as mass media are ineffective (they are not), but they can often be enhanced by additional components that allow for discussion, such as listener groups or integration of associated material into non-formal education or community dialogue initiatives.

An increase in the number of programme components appears to be associated with a greater proportion of positive outcomes. There is likely to be a threshold beyond which additional activities contribute only marginally to norm change, but the studies in this review did not provide evidence on this issue. Our analysis suggests IEC activities play a helpful role in supporting and extending changes set in motion by other, more intensive, approaches, such as non-formal education.

Integrated programmes were overall slightly more effective than stand-alone communications programmes – they had a slightly higher proportion of positive outcomes (73% compared with 70%) and a slightly lower proportion of negative outcomes (5% compared with 8%). This effect probably reflects the additional attractiveness of programmes, with vocational training or incentives to girls and their families, rather than indicating that families were more able to act on messages because of reduced economic constraints.

Importance of targeting girls, decision makers and influencers. Adolescent girls are important agents of change in gender norms. Empowerment-oriented programmes frequently aim to facilitate girls advocating for their own interests via teaching negotiation skills alongside more factual information. However, girls alone may not be able to challenge discriminatory practices if family decision makers or influencers (such as brothers or community and religious leaders) are not exposed to ideas encouraging them to change. Just under a quarter of programmes targeted decision makers and influencers as well as girls. Qualitative evidence suggests working with multiple stakeholders has often been important in enabling norm change.

The highest proportion of positive outcomes was recorded for early marriage, education, FGM/C and gender relations in girls' natal households. The high success rate on these issues may reflect intensive community-based dialogue processes and non-formal education that led to a greater sense of self-efficacy on the part of adolescent girls to speak out and challenge discriminatory norms and that effectively convinced parents, grandparents, brothers and other influential decision makers of the need for change. With respect to FGM/C, it also reflects attention to targeting adult decision makers as well as adolescent girls. The high proportion of positive outcomes in relation to intra-household relationships is largely driven by programmes that enhanced girls' voice and negotiating ability within (and outside) the household.

With respect to FGM/C, it also reflects attention to targeting adult decision makers as well as adolescent girls. The lowest proportions of positive outcomes were recorded for sexual violence and intergenerational and transactional sex. This is likely to reflect increased reporting of both sexual violence and transactional sex as a result of increased awareness. In the case of transactional sex, a combination of ongoing economic motivations and some poorly framed messages that inadvertently presented transactional sex as normal (Jewkes et al., 2008) may have contributed to limited positive change and to the high proportion of negative changes (increased self-reporting of transactional sex or more positive attitudes towards it). This said, although fewer programmes addressing transactional sex than other issues led to positive change, those that were effective were more likely than programmes addressing other issues to lead to change in both attitudes and practices (rather than one or the other), suggesting that effective programmes were unusually good at convincing people to change both their views and their actions.

2. Key knowledge gaps

Notable knowledge gaps identified in this review include:

Impact issues

Sustainability of change. This set of studies provided little evidence on how far norm changes were sustained. A particular knowledge gap exists as to whether and under what circumstances adolescent girls who adopt more egalitarian norms are able to sustain these norms into adulthood.

Socio-economic differentials in impact. Too few studies explicitly discuss socioeconomic differences in access to communication interventions or in impact to be able to draw conclusions, and such evidence as is available is mixed. There is also very little analysis of differences in impact by age group (e.g. distinguishing between younger and older adolescents) or by geographical location.

Cost-effectiveness of different types of communication programmes and of programmes integrating communications and non-communications components. Media-based activities and peer education are often considered relatively cheap compared with activities requiring the installation of infrastructure or programmes

such as cash transfers. This study could not confirm or refute this as only two studies provided any analysis of cost-effectiveness and only one compared between different approaches (IEC and non-formal education).

Programme design issues

What kinds of messages most motivate change. The studies examined contained almost no information on the detailed content and framing of messages, and thus what types of messages or approaches are most likely to engage adolescent girls and other audiences and motivate change. In particular, we found no evidence as to whether social norm-based framing is any more or less effective than direct injunctions to change behaviour, or statements about acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

Relative effectiveness of different communication approaches and of integrated communications and non-communications activities. There is a general lack of knowledge on the relative effectiveness of different communications activities and a specific gap concerning approaches such as mentoring, one-to-one peer education, community dialogue and public declarations or ceremonies. There is also very little evidence concerning the relative effectiveness of integrated communications and non-communications activities, and stand-alone communications activities.

Thresholds – how many communication activities are enough? Our analysis suggests programmes with multiple communications activities are more likely to achieve positive outcomes than those with single components, but the point at which there are diminishing returns from additional activities is not clear.

Importance of 'real life role models'. Although there is evidence related to the inspirational effects of fictional role model, these studies did not examine the influence of 'real life role models' (such as non-formal education animators) in changing girls' aspirations, attitudes and practices. Understanding this better would shed light on the relative importance of curriculum content as compared with the identity of the person delivering messages.

Role of informal peer communication. Many programmes rely on informal communication between peers or in families, but there is a glaring silence in the studies reviewed on the extent of informal peer communications, the groups most likely to communicate new norms in this manner and whether there are issues that people in different contexts see as taboo for discussing, even among those they trust. There is a specific lack of analysis in these programmes about adolescent girls as peer communicators. The We Can End All Violence Against Women programme in India suggests harnessing the power of informal peer-to-peer communication can be very effective, but further programme experience and evaluation are needed, both of girls as peer communicators and of the potential of peer communication on gender norms more broadly.

Use of social media and new technologies (e.g. mobile phone- approaches and game-based approaches) in promoting gender-egalitarian norms. Although this is an area where practice is developing fast, we found no relevant evaluations. Nor did we find any studies that discussed combating emerging practices such as sexting and cyber-based dissemination of gender discriminatory norms.

Thematic gaps

The issues on which we found least information were changes in aspects of intra-household relationships, such as equal treatment of sons and daughters and preference for children of a particular gender, norms concerning girls' access to economic assets, mobility and transactional sex. We also found limited analysis of changing norms concerning adolescent girls' engagement in community and civic activities.

1 Introduction

1.1 Why this review?

Recent years have seen growing policy interest in adolescent girls, both as a key strategic group, investments in whom will lead to major developmental gains, and as a neglected cohort whose wellbeing is consistently ignored and whose rights are widely abused (Chabaan and Cunningham, 2011; Jones et al, 2010; Levine et al, 2009). This growing global interest in gender equality has led to increasing attention to discriminatory social norms as key factors that continue to impede gender equality and undermine adolescent girls' wellbeing and developmental opportunities (Ball Cooper and Fletcher, 2012; Harper et al., 2012; Huda and Calder, 2013; Wikigender/Wikichild, 2013).

Social norms are fundamentally expressions of ideas and practices simultaneously: ideas about how people in a particular community should and can be expected to behave, and ideas about how people actually do behave in a given situation. Like other social norms, gender norms encompass these two dimensions – corresponding roughly with gender ideologies (views about what gender relations should be like) and gender roles (expectations of how people of a particular gender should behave). Recent advances in understanding the processes that drive changes in social norms in general, and gender norms in particular (Mackie et al., 2012; Marcus, 2014a; Marcus et al., forthcoming; Munoz Boudet et al., 2012) indicate that both large-scale social and economic trends and smaller-scale programmatic activity can lead to change in social norms. However, there is limited synthesised evidence of how different policies and programmes lead to changes in social norms affecting adolescent girls,[2] and what may undermine those changes.

Like other social activists, gender equality activists have long recognised that entrenched discriminatory practices often cut across social classes and are not reducible to economic deprivation. Thus, challenging gender discrimination requires challenging the way people think and act – and not simply making people richer.[3] There is a long history in development practice of communications activities that are intended to transform the ways people think and act, some originating in a top-down tradition of public service announcements and communication of information, some in a Freirean-inspired approach to education involving reflection and challenging orthodoxies, some in community-based activism. Recent understanding of the power of social norms has led to increased social norms marketing activity (Paluck et al., 2010), and the transformation of communications with the spread of the internet and mobile telephony in many low-income countries has created opportunities to communicate messages promoting gender equality and social change more broadly in new ways (Plan International, 2010). Despite all this activity, little is known about the effectiveness of different communication approaches to promoting more egalitarian gender norms.

Systematic reviews are increasingly common in international development as a means of distilling lessons from (potentially) a wide range of contexts on key issues in development policy and practice (Mallet et al., 2012; White and Waddington, 2012). The growing interest in challenging norms that constrain adolescent girls' wellbeing and developmental opportunities has led to some syntheses of evidence on experiences of transforming social norms to promote behaviour change in arenas relevant to adolescent girls (e.g. Ball Cooper and Fletcher, 2012) and of communication interventions intended to promote change in gender norms (e.g. Haider, 2011; UNICEF, 2012). To date, there has been no systematic review covering the impact of communications and media interventions on gender and social norms in low- and middle-income countries.

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[2] Ball Cooper and Fletcher (2012) provide an overview of programmes and research in this area as of 2012.
[3] For a discussion of the contribution and limitations of economic transformation to promoting gender equality, see Marcus (2014), Munoz Boudet et al., (2014) and World Bank (2011).

This review, which uses many of the principles of systematic reviews, is intended to contribute to filling a knowledge gap by focusing specifically on the impact of communication activities on gender norms that affect adolescent girls.[4] It is part of a wider programme of research on achieving gender justice for adolescent girls undertaken by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and funded by the Department for International Development (DFID). This report presents research findings in detail and is intended as a reference document. A short briefing paper based on this research (Marcus, 2014b) is also available from ODI.

Unlike reviews that focus on one area of gender relations (e.g. violence against women and girls or female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C)) and typically examine a range of strategies for effecting change on that issue, this review examines the impact of communication programmes on multiple aspects of adolescent girls' lives that gender-discriminatory norms affect. Thus, we examine changes in norms related to early marriage, education, mobility, work and aspirations, relationships within households including 'son preference' (different cultural valuation and treatment of girls and boys) and voice within households and communities, FGM/C, physical and sexual violence and intergenerational and transactional sex. We also examine evidence of changes in general attitudes to gender equality, as this emerged as an additional area of evidence in a quarter of the review studies.

Box 1 outlines key concepts and definitions used in this study.

Box 1: Key concepts and definitions

Attitude: An individual's psychological tendency to evaluate something (a person, symbol, belief, object) with some degree of favour or disfavour (Heise, 2013). In this study, attitudes are generally understood as 'what people think about a particular issue'.

Behaviour or practice: What a person actually does (Heise, 2013).

Social norm: A set of widely shared beliefs and commonly accepted practices motivated by a desire to conform to the shared social expectations of an important reference group (Ball Cooper and Fletcher, 2012; Heise, 2013; Mackie et al., 2012).

Reference group: A social norm is held in place through the reciprocal expectations of people within, and who influence, that group. This is termed a reference group (Ball Cooper and Fletcher, 2012).

Norms relaxing or bending: Norms relax when people – both male and female – challenge or cross boundaries of traditional gender roles or conduct, but their actions are not recognised as a legitimate and acceptable norm. 'They are assuming new roles or responsibilities, but are not setting a new standard' (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012: 49). This is distinct from norms changing, whereby new roles, responsibilities or ideas are accepted as a new standard.

Gender norm: A social norm related to aspects of gender relations. These can helpfully be broken down into gender roles and ideologies (based on El Bushra and Sahl, 2005).

Gender roles reflect a division of responsibility based on gender. People's empirical expectations or descriptive norms of how others will act are often based on their perception of gender roles.

Gender ideologies: A worldview of what gender relations should be like. These are often more resistant to change than gender roles. Conservative gender ideologies can coexist with shifting gender roles.

Positive change in gender norms refers to change towards greater gender equality. In this we follow Agarwal (1997).

Communication initiatives: Activities explicitly intended to change attitudes or practices through spreading information, campaigning, persuasion or modelling new norms, attitudes and behaviour. Within this we examine six main types of initiatives: media-based programmes (e.g. radio, TV, newspapers); dissemination of information, education and communication (IEC) materials (e.g. cartoons, posters) or other large-scale communication-based activities (e.g. street drama); community-level dialogue/discussion; non-formal education programmes – particularly life skills programmes addressing gender issues; mentoring and one-to-one

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[4] See Annex 1 for a discussion of ways in which this review has modified standard systematic review methodology.

communication; training, usually for professionals, on gender equality in general or on specific issues such as FGM/C; and public ceremonies, such as anti-FGM/C declarations or alternative rites of passage ceremonies.

Intensity of exposure to communications: The length of time people are exposed to particular communications activities; and the number of communication materials or media with a particular message or produced by a particular organisation that people have encountered. Relatively few studies discuss either issue, and we have thus combined insights on both aspects of intensity.

1.2 Research question

The overall question for this study was:

What types of communication activities in what contexts have had the greatest traction in challenging discriminatory gender norms affecting adolescent girls in low- and middle-income countries?

Within this, we found sufficient evidence to at least partially answer the following sub-questions identified as important at the outset:

- How far have the communication activities examined employed accepted strategies for effectiveness? (Paluck et al., 2010; Skuse et al., 2013)
- Are communication interventions on gender norms more effective alone or in combination with other activities? What are the most important complementary activities?
- What are the key target groups for effective communications to shift gender-discriminatory norms affecting adolescent girls?
- What evidence is there concerning the effects of strengthening girls' own voices and advocacy as a contribution to social norm change?
- How have barriers to communication uptake (e.g. based on gender, ethnicity, caste, poverty, geographical location, religion, illiteracy etc.) affected access to and reception of communications with the potential to challenge social norms? What factors and strategies have helped overcome these barriers?

Most review studies contain very little discussion on contextual issues. This limits the extent to which it has been possible to analyse how contextual factors affect programme effectiveness.

Several other questions initially identified as potentially interesting for this review to explore could not be answered using the material gathered for this review:

- What framing of messages has been most successful in shifting gender-discriminatory norms affecting adolescent girls?
- What impact does the context and channel of receiving a message have on changing norms, attitudes or behaviour?
- What strategies have been effective in combating emerging practices using new communication technologies (such as cyber-bullying and sexting) negatively affecting adolescent girls?

Answering the first two questions would probably have required data from formative research studies, comparing different ways of framing messages and different communication channels, which are often undertaken before a programme is developed. However, this information is rarely included in impact evaluations, and so is generally not discussed in the studies examined for this review. We did generate some evidence concerning the type of communications that seem to have had the most traction in shifting social norms, some of which addresses issues of channel (word of mouth, through the media etc.) but could not answer questions about – for example – whether messages received at school seem to carry more weight than those received via a radio programme.

We did not find any evidence on effective strategies for combating newly emerging practices affecting adolescent girls. This is probably because of their relative newness and the time needed for rigorous impact evaluation.

1.3 Theory of change

Figure 1 summarises diagrammatically the working theory of change for this review, which draws both on analysis of the processes that lead to change in gender norms (Marcus, 2014) and insights from the wider literature on effective communication generally, and on the communication for development literature (e.g. Bandura, 1986; Fishbein and Azjen, 1980; Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955; Rogers, 1986, 1995; Singhal et al., 2004). It shows the stylised pathways by which communications of different types can lead to changes in norms, and which the programmes discussed in this report aimed to set in motion. No social change is linear or mechanistic, and provision of information, or encouraging people to think about an issue in a different way, does not necessarily lead to change in attitudes or behaviour (Scott, 2014; Waisbord, 2005). Both the programmes and our analysis recognise this – Figure 1 therefore outlines expected or 'hoped-for' relationships and outcomes, acknowledging that, in any situation, a number of other factors will affect outcomes. In order to keep Figure 1 relatively simple and easy to interpret, it shows only some critical factors and processes that may affect programme effectiveness. These, and the broader processes that lead to change in gender norms, are captured in the project conceptual framework, summarised graphically in Annex 4.

Figure 1: Theory of change

Programmatic issues affected by:

Intensity of exposure
Participation of target audiences in developing messages
wxtent communication methods are combined with each other
Framing of messages
Opportunities to put new ideas into practice

Contextual issues affected by:

Culture/religious beliefs
Politicisation of gender issues
Socioeconomic factors affecting:
-- access to communications
-- capacity to act on changes

Intended processes of change

Develop new knowledge and understanding from:

New information
Dialogue with peers and role models

Develop community of people with new norms

Develop reference groups with new views or commitment to changed practice to sustain change.

Role modelling

Modelling/endorsment of change by peers or change-makers.
Promoting self-efficiency.
Endorsement of change by influential people (e.g. community /religious leaders, celebrities)

Target groups

Adolescent girls/ young women

Adolescent boys/ young men

Parents and grandparents

In-laws

Community leaders

Religious leaders

- **Non-formal, participatory education**
- **Community dialogue**
- **Provision of information materials**
- **Publicity events (e.g. street theatre, puppet shows)**
- **Training for service providers (e.g. on laws and practice)**

- **Non-formal education, group mobilisation**
- **One-to-one communication, mentoring**
- **Public commitments**

- **Edutainment (mass media, street theatre etc.)**
- **mass-media messaging campaigns (public service announcements and other media-based awareness-raising/messaging)**
- **One-to-one communication**

Supported by non-communication activities

e.g. Livelihood strengthening, safe spaces/opportunities for girls to build social networks, bridge to formal education, enhanced access to health services, sports and games etc.

Intended outcomes

More egalitarian gender norms & attitudes

Reduction in gender discriminatory practices:

- early marriage
- transactional and intergenerational sex
- FGM/C
- in education
- related to mobility, roles and aspirations
- son preference
- physical and sexual violence

1.4 Methodology and limitations of the study

This review reports findings from a 13-month process of identifying research foci, document search, appraisal of studies and analysis (which took place between June 2013 and June 2014). The review was based on systematic review principles and involved a comprehensive search and screening process that aimed to identify studies from varied disciplines, locations and methodological approaches and undertaken by different types of organisations. Studies were screened for relevance and then assessed for methodological clarity using a scale based on the Maryland Scale of Scientific Measurement and a bespoke study appraisal tool derived from Pluye et al. (2011)'s Mixed Methods Appraisal Tool. The objective of this assessment was to identify any issues that were significant enough to affect how the results of the study should be interpreted. The 66 studies ultimately included in this review include rigorous qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods study designs, and both evaluations and other relevant studies that examine the impact of communications programmes. Annex 1 outlines the full details of the research methodology.

The field of literature on communications programmes aimed at challenging gender norms is substantially larger than the literature on programmes specifically addressing issues concerning adolescent girls. In order to limit the review to a manageable number of studies, evaluations eligible for inclusion either discuss programmes that have worked with adolescent girls or with other stakeholders on issues affecting adolescent girls (examples include programmes working with boys and young men on gender-equitable relationships), or involved adolescent girls as respondents. Although we recognise that much can be learnt from communication initiatives addressing gender relations across all age groups, systematically reviewing studies of programmes that do not directly concern adolescent girls in one of these three ways was outside the scope of this review. Likewise, although we recognise that discriminatory gender norms are not confined to low- and middle-income countries, and that there are useful lessons from experience in high-income countries, we were particularly interested in approaches that have worked in resource-poor settings. For these reasons, and to keep the review to a manageable size, we include only studies of programmes in low- and middle-income countries.

The language of social norms is relatively uncommon in studies of communication programmes, and the vast majority of evaluative research, particularly studies in the public health tradition, examines changes in attitudes and practices. In this review, we therefore look at measures both of changes in attitudes and of changes in practice as evidence of norm change. Where changes in social norms are discussed explicitly, our review also includes this evidence. The studies included in this review use different indicators to monitor change. Rather than pre-judge relevant indicators, we identified the kinds of indicators that would be of interest to the review and included many additional indicators that emerged through analysis of the review papers. This diversity reflects the different emphases of programmes and evaluation approaches.

The search for this review was conducted in English, as is standard practice for systematic reviews. Where searches found relevant materials in French and Spanish (languages spoken by research team members), these were screened and appraised. Of the three studies found in this way, two were excluded because of a lack of relevant outcomes or because they did not pass study appraisal criteria. One study in French (Ouoba et al., 2004) is included in the analysis. The research team did consider French and Spanish language websites for programmes, including Développement Holistique des Filles (Guinea), Brisons le Silence (Côte d'Ivoire) and Somos Diferentes Somos Iguales (Nicaragua), but did not locate evaluations that met the inclusion criteria for the review. This approach may help explain the relatively few studies from Francophone countries, and from Latin America.

None of the studies examined in this review discusses issues related to conflict-affected or fragile environments, although a few took place in refugee camps (e.g. Lee and Bolton's 2007 study of FilmAid in a refugee camp in Kenya; and Chege et al.'s 2004 study in refugee camps in Ethiopia and Kenya), and one (Koch and N'kolo's 2011 study of Vrai Djo in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)) reports on a film that models responsible sexual behaviour by a soldier. The limited attention to issues related to conflict, fragility and broader societal violence may reflect the fact that many of the programmes were small in scale and thus may have been relatively insulated from geographically contained conflicts occurring at the time of study in some of the countries.

Very few of these studies present the content of their messages in any detail. Often, more detailed project descriptions and non-formal education curricula are discussed in other reports, but these were sometimes unavailable, despite efforts to obtain them. Furthermore, the extent to which messages resonated with audiences is also not much discussed, probably because such issues are discussed in reports of formative research rather than in impact evaluation studies. This lack of detail on message content and reception constrains the analysis in our review and means we focus more on type of communication activity than on content.

1.5 Structure of report and guide to use

Section 2 provides an overview of the studies ultimately included in this review. Sections 3-12 examine evidence of the impact of communications programmes in leading to change in gender norms in each of the domains of wellbeing outlined above. In each section, much of the detailed evidence is presented in tables. For reasons of space, this evidence is not repeated in the text, which concentrates on drawing out broader analysis in each section. Readers are therefore advised not to skip the tables! All quantitative evidence presented in these tables is statistically significant at 5% confidence levels, unless otherwise stated.

Section 13 brings together evidence from across these different thematic areas to probe what the whole set of studies reviewed reveals about effective communications to challenge discriminatory gender norms. It also identifies significant knowledge and practice gaps.

The analysis is arranged by thematic issue so readers interested in particular issues can jump to the relevant chapters. Readers more interested in learning on communications programmes to challenge gender inequalities facing adolescent girls more generally may find Section 13 most relevant. As Section 13 consolidates broader learning, readers are recommended to read this in addition to any thematic sections of particular interest.

Annexes 1-9 provides full details of the methodology. Annex 10 presents an overview of all the programmes examined in this review.

2 Overview of studies and programmes

This review examines 61 programmes reported in 66 studies (see Annex 10 for a detailed overview of programmes and the studies that discuss them). Where more than one study discusses a programme, one study has been selected to represent that programme, unless the studies refer to implementation in different regions, at different times, using different approaches; or these are treated together, unless they report on different aspects of the programme, in which case both studies are included in analysis.[5] Table 1 summarises the key features of the 61 programmes examined in this review. We then present an overview of key dimensions of these programmes.

2.1 Overview of study design and quality

The majority of studies use a quantitative design (43 studies); 16 use mixed qualitative and quantitative methods; and 9 use a wholly qualitative design (Figure 2). This distribution in part reflects a requirement for inclusion that studies involve an element of comparison (over time or between different groups). This may have excluded some qualitative studies, and in particular participatory studies, that were not structured to examine impact in this way. Overall, 50% of studies are based on quasi-experimental designs as assessed by the Maryland Scale of Scientific Measurement and 52% score 60% or above on our study appraisal tool (see Annex 2 for further detail). In each section, papers are classified according to their score on the study appraisal tool and the extent of their focus on relevant issues, with the objective of giving greater weight to high-quality, relevant evidence. Papers scoring over 60% are considered 'high quality'. Scores between 50% and 60% are considered 'moderate' quality.[6]

A total of 74% of studies (49/66) are grey literature, with only 17 studies (26%) published in academic journals. The relatively low proportion of academic studies reflects the fact that many of the academic studies found were not sufficiently relevant or did not describe methods in sufficient detail (often reflecting strict word limits in journal articles) to be included in this review. The studies ultimately included this review are more-or-less evenly split between internal impact or evaluation studies (34 studies) and studies conducted either with or by independent researchers (32 studies). The relatively high proportion of external evaluations may demonstrate increased donor requirement and funding for external evaluations. For example, the four Hutchinson et al. papers that examine the Behaviour Change Communication Programme (BCCP) in Southern Africa were funded by DFID, and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) funded a series of evaluations of the Tostan programme (Diop and Askew, 2009; Diop et al., 2004, 2008).

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[5] Four studies of Tostan's work in Senegal are included in the review, two of which discuss data only from the Kolda region (Diop et al., 2008; Yoder, 2008) and two of which cover three regions (Diop and Askew, 2009; Diop et al., 2004). The Kolda only and multi-regional studies are considered as two separate programmes. Two studies reported on the PRACHAR project in Uttar Pradesh, India (Daniel and Nanda, 2012; Pathfinder, 2011). Three studies consider the Stepping Stones Project in rural South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2007, 2008, 2010), and report the same randomised control trial (RCT) and associated qualitative research in different ways. Two studies report different stages of the Ishraq programme in Egypt (Brady et al., 2007; Elbadawy, 2013) and are considered as separate programmes throughout.

[6] The rationale for this classification is that many good papers were scoring around 2/3 of the possible points on the adapted MMAT scale. Classifying papers that fell in the 60-69% band as high scores recognises this. See Section 3 for an overview of the distribution of papers according to adapted MMAT scores.

2.2 Overview of type and foci of programmes

The 61 programmes examined fall into four main groups (see Figure 2):

- **Adolescent development programmes** – typically working face to face with adolescents to change attitudes and practices on a range of issues. These made up just over a quarter (26%) of programmes.
- **Sexual and reproductive health (SRH) promotion programmes** – these span mass media and community-based programmes, are principally oriented towards promoting good SRH and integrate gender equality promotion into messaging about SRH. This was the largest group (23/61), comprising 38% of programmes.
- **Programmes promoting gender equality as a main objective** – some of these address multiple aspects of gender equality; others are focused particularly on one issue (e.g. violence, FGM/C, education or early marriage). These comprised 30% of the programmes examined (18/61).
- **Broad community development programmes** – these integrate an emphasis on gender equality, adolescent girls or SRH into broader activities. This was the smallest group, with four programmes (7%).

Figure 2: Main types of programme examined in this review
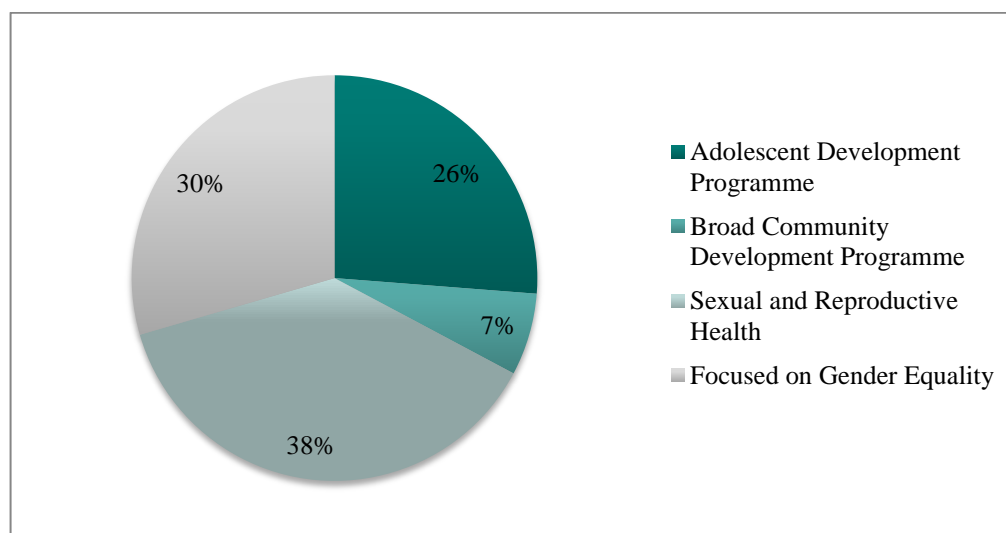
Table 1: Programme overview

Study	Programme	Programme design	Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Acharya, R., Kalyanwala, S., Jejeebhoy, S.J., Nathani, V. (2009)	Better Life Options for Adolescents, India	Project in rural Lucknow district of Uttar Pradesh. Activities conducted over 6-9 months with unmarried adolescent girls. Programme based on Choose a Future curriculum: groups provide a meeting place and discussion of health and gender roles alongside livelihood skills. Group led by an animator recruited from the community. Prior to the intervention activities to build community-level support took place.								√
Achyut, P., Bhatia, N., Singh, A.K., Verma, R.K., Khandekar, S., Pallav, P., Kamble, N., Jadhav, S., Wagh, V., Sonavane, R., Gaikward, R., Maitra, S., Kamble, S., Nikalje, D. (2011)	Gender Equity Movement in Schools, India	Study used a random sample of 45 schools in Mumbai. Programme is delivered in a series of 45-minute sessions over 4 years. Trained facilitators use participatory methods to deliver sessions during the school day, covering gender, the body and violence. Campaign element is delivered over a week through a series of events, competitions, debates and short plays.			▨		▨			X
Adamchak, S., Kiragu, K., Watson, K., Muhwezi, M., Nelson, T., Akia-Fiedler, A. Kibombo, R., Juma, M. (2007)	Straight Talk, Uganda	Mass media programmes implemented in Uganda since 1993. Include Straight Talk radio shows, multilingual Straight Talk newspapers and English language Young Talk newspaper. School and community activities.	▨		▨					X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Alim, A. (2011)	Gender Quality Action Learning Programme, Bangladesh	Programme implemented in four rural areas of Bangladesh. Ultra-poor community members are trained to work as educators and deliver *uthan baithaks* (courtyard meetings*).* Videos on gender-based violence and discrimination and popular theatre also organised. 18,000 *uthan baithaks* have been held. No information on length of training.								X
Alim, A. (2013)	Meyeder Jonno Nirapod Nagorikatto,MEJ NIN Bangladesh	Activities took place with adolescents and community members in Dhaka in 2011; clear aim to build mass awareness. Workshops and docu-dramas held. Leaflets, posters, banners and brochures were distributed in schools and in public spaces to reinforce the messages, raise community awareness and encourage social mobilisation to end sexual harassment. Materials were distributed in 60 schools.								X
Amin, S., Suran, L. (2005)	Kishori Abhijan, Bangladesh	Programme comprised peer-based groups where girls were educated on law, health, early marriage and dowry. Microcredit also offered. No information on length of the intervention is given.								√
Ara, J., Das, N.C. (2010)	Adolescent Development Programme (Border Regions of Bangladesh), Bangladesh	Implemented in the border regions of Bangladesh with the objective of making communities aware of social issues, including gender equality, marriage and dowry in communities where BRAC had not worked before. Targeted at adolescent girls and boys. Life skills education took place in a range of venues: schools, madrassas, youth clubs and courtyards; community events (theatre, video shows) took place. Also included training of 'master trainers', although their role is unclear.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Babalola, S., Brasington, A., Agbasimalo, A., Helland, A., Nwanguma, E., Onah, N. (2006)	Ndukaku, Nigeria	Implemented in Enugu state, the programme combined community mobilisation with targeted advocacy and mass media activities at hamlet, local government area and state level. Community mobilisation used the Community Action Cycle method in order to examine current knowledge, attitudes and practices and create action plans. Community groups were trained to facilitate advocacy with local traditional and religious leaders and run community meetings; regular newspaper columns, radio call-in shows, viewings of the documentary 'Uncut – Playing with Life' and public forums on FGM/C were supported.	▓	▓						X
Bandiera, O., Buehren, N., Burgess, R., Goldstein, M., Gulesci, S., Rasul, I., Sulaiman, M. (2012)	Empowerment and Livelihoods for Adolescents, Uganda	Targeted to adolescent girls. Operated by BRAC, programme combines life skills to build knowledge and reduce risky behaviour with vocational skills training with a focus on girls establishing small-scale enterprise. Life skills training delivered from 'adolescent development clubs' in the community in order to be accessible for both in- and out-of-school girls; groups are led by a female mentor selected by programme staff from within the community. Training is on SRH, rape, negotiation and conflict resolution, legal knowledge around bride prices, child marriage and violence against women. Vocational training in hairdressing, tailoring, computing, agriculture, poultry rearing and small trades operations is available; participants choose. Financial literacy skills are included.					▓			√
Boroumandfar, K., Javaheri, S., Ehsanpour, S., Abedi, A. (2010)	Social Inoculation and Education Programme, Iran	Targets men. Conducted in a premarital counselling centre in Isfahan. One group received a pamphlet, a second group five one-hour sessions and a third group participated in premarital counselling classes as normally provided by the centre.			▓		▓			X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Bradley, J.E., Bhattacharjee, P., Ramesh, B.M., Girish, M., Das, A.K. (2011)	Stepping Stones, Karnataka	Stepping Stones aims to promote communication and relationship skills with the aim of preventing HIV and AIDS through behaviour change. Groups of married and unmarried men and married and unmarried women were trained in separate groups. Group activities included time to plan future community activities. The programme took place on a larger scale than this study, with 202 villages reached in Bagalkot district of Northern Karnataka. Training curriculum is not clear.								X
Brady, M., Assaad, R., Ibrahim, B., Salem, A., Salem, R., Zibani, N. (2007)	Ishraq, Egypt	Designed to target out-of-school girls aged 13-15 in rural Upper Egypt. Programme focused on the creation of safe spaces where girls can interact. Sessions ran for 90 minutes 4 times a week over 30 months. Included 1) literacy and basic academic education, 2) rights awareness, health and life skills using the New Horizons Curriculum, 3) sporting activities to increase activity, mobility and broaden experiences and 4) vocational skills training (provided to some girls). Pre-implementation, local women were recruited as programme promoters and village committees were established; parents meetings were held in order to recruit girls.								√
CMS (2004)	Meena Communication Initiative, India	Launched in 1998, with three-tiered approach comprising 1) advocacy, 2) social mobilisation and 3) behaviour change communication with an aim of reaching as many people as possible. Materials include 13 animation films, talk show, radio programmes, films, storybooks, banners, posters and stickers – in order to maximise reach.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Chege, J., Aksew, I., Liku, J. (2001)	Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage, Kenya	Peer education and a public ceremony are used across all sites. Peer educators identified from the community and are men and women; they receive three days' training, organise one-on-one group meetings and identify girls and parents willing to participate in the alternative rite of passage. Alternative Rite of passage involves three-five days of training for girls in seclusion covering SRH, decision making, FGM/C, marriage and dating and empowerment of men and women. 'Words of wisdom' from community members are also included. Public ceremony then takes place to show girls have abandoned FGM/C. Songs, dances and drama are involved and political, religious and government administrative leaders are invited to give speeches.								X
Chege, J., Askew, I., Igras, S., Mutesh, J.K. (2004)	Community-Based Approaches For Encouraging Abandonment of FGM/C, Kenya and Ethiopia	Activities integrated into existing community-based health projects in both Ethiopia and Kenya. Programme used 1) educational outreach strategies to ensure debate and discussion; 2) training of project staff, community leaders, Ministry of Health staff and youth leaders with a focus on FGM/C consequences and rights in Kenya training received by a broader range of people; 3) community education and public discussion activities, including meetings, theatre, video sessions, discussions led by religious leaders (Ethiopia only) and media activities linked to international events like International Women's Day – 12,948 people were counted as attending educational events in Ethiopia in the intervention site over the 15-month period and 34,508 in Kenya; and 4) community advocates and providing support to advocates to raise issue of FGM/C.								√
Cheung, M. (2013)	Women's Station FM 102, Cambodia	Women's Station FM 102 aims to educate and inform Cambodians on a range of social and women's issues, through edutainment and news based and talk-show/call-in format programming.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Daniel, E.E., Nanda, R. (2012)	PRACHAR, India	Programme focus to increase girls' age of marriage, delay age of first birth to after 21 and ensure spacing of 3 years between pregnancies. Implemented in Bihar, India. Activities reached 650,000 people targeted to adolescents, guardian and community leaders. Activities included reproductive health training for boys and girls, including economic benefits of delaying marriage and childbirth and session on resisting community pressure to marry and sexual abuse and some material on gender roles.								X
Diop N.J., Askew, I. (2009)	Tostan, Senegal	Non-formal education targeted to women based around health, hygiene, livelihoods and problem solving and rights with the ultimate aim of mobilising communities to hold public declarations in support of abandoning harmful traditional practices, including FGM/C and child marriage. Classes, each of two hours, held three times a week from January to June 2001. A total of 2,339 women and 221 men participated. Follow-up classes and other activities took place between 1998 and 2002. Programme introduced to villages in a participatory way. Public declarations varied village to village.								X
Diop, N.J., Faye, M.M., Moreau, A., Cabral, J., Benga, H., Cisse, F., Mane, B., Baumgarten, I., Melching, M. (2004)	Tostan, Senegal	Non-formal education targeted to men and women with modules on hygiene, problem solving, women's health and human rights. Public declaration held on 2002 with representatives from 300 villages present; a girls' forum to allow girls to express opposition to the practice also took place. Classes, each of two hours, held three times a week from January to June 2001. A total of 2,339 women and 221 men participated. Inter-village committees were formed to make decisions about collective actions.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Diop, N., Moreau, A., Benga, H. (2008)	Tostan, Senegal	Non-formal education targeted to women based around health, hygiene, livelihoods problem solving and rights with the ultimate aim of mobilising communities to hold public declarations in support of abandoning harmful traditional practices, including FGM/C and child marriage. Introduced to villages in participatory way with village leaders providing accommodation and food for the programme facilitator. Classroom village committees also formed. Public declarations varied from village to village.								X
Elbadawy, A. (2013)	Ishraq, Egypt	Second-chance informal education programme providing literacy and life skills to out-of-school adolescent girls (12-15) in rural Upper Egypt. Classes lasted 24-28 months between 2009 and 2011; each class was around 3 hours and participants attended 4 times a week. Covered basic literacy skills, life skills, sports and financial literacy skills and reached 1,800 girls in 60 villages. Mentors recruited from the community and community committees formed.								√
Engebretsen, S. (2012)	Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso	Targeted to female adolescent migrant domestic workers (11-16) in urban Burkina Faso to build social capital and skills in SRH, life skills and financial capabilities. Girls provided with a safe space and female mentor recruited from the community (20-30 years old). Mentors received three days' training. Girls' group sessions took place once a week on a Sunday and employers were asked for permission; 30 sessions took place over an 8-month period.								X
Erulkar, A.S., Muthengi, M. (2007)	Berhane Hewan, Ethiopia	Targeted married and unmarried adolescent girls aged 10-19 in Amhara region of Ethiopia. Includes community conversations, formation of girls' groups with adult mentors, support for girls to remain in school, including an economic incentive, and livelihood training for out-of-school girls. Married girls met once a week and unmarried girls five times a week, with community conversations taking place fortnightly.								√

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Equal Access (2010)	VOICES Radio Show Samajhdari, Nepal	Broadcast by the government broadcaster and 20 local FM Stations. Includes presentation of a listener's dilemma followed by discussion of this with hosts, including listeners' emails and letters and expert opinions. Aims to give listeners the skills to resolve similar problems in their own lives. Listening groups have been set up across the country to provide a safe space for women to listen to the programme.	■		■					X
Farrar, T. (2010)	On the Ball, South Africa	Very little information about the programme is provided; combination of football tournaments and non-formal education delivered in schools.					■			√
Ferrando, D., Serrano, N., Pure, C. (2002)	ReproSalud - Reproductive Health in the Community, Peru	Aims to provide information, education and capacity building to women with a focus on reproductive health and child care. Targeted to poor women in nine areas, both rural and urban. Issues identified through a participatory process and include an empowerment element. IEC on reproductive health reached 123,000 women beneficiaries and 66,000 men living in the project area. Few details of what programme activities involved.			■					√
Fiscian, V.S., Obeng, E.K., Goldstein, K., Shea, J.A., Turner, B.J. (2009)	Sugar Daddy Prevention Programme, Ghana	Adaptation of HIV prevention from the US Making Proud Choices; combines non-formal education (health and life skills) with an interactive computer game about the dangers of sugar daddies. Delivered to 61 girls aged 10-14 in church-based junior secondary school in Nsawam. Five days, two to five hours a day and lunch provided.					■			√

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Hutchinson, P., Wheeler, J., Silvestre, E., Anglewicz, P., Cole, E., Meekers, D. (2012)	Southern African Regional Social & Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Lesotho	Various activities designed to achieve behaviour change; uses mass media, community and social mobilisation and face-to-face interactions as part of a regional behaviour change communication programme. Includes OneLove, SafAIDS and Community Media Trust interventions. One Love focuses on distribution of mass communication materials based on OneLove branding; also included radio shows, phone-in and Soul City soap opera. SafAIDS includes print materials, community volunteers and community dialogue. Least level of exposure to Community Media Trust activities, which include an audiovisual kit.								X
Hutchinson, P., Wheeler, J., Silvestre, E., Anglewicz, P., Cole, E., Meekers, D. (2012)	Southern African Regional Social & Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Namibia	Various activities designed to achieve behaviour change; uses mass media (radio, TV and print), community and social mobilisation and face-to-face interactions as part of a regional behaviour change communication programme. Includes OneLove and SafAIDS. OneLove activities include radio, TV and printed booklets, with print materials achieving the highest exposure; adapted from Soul City and renamed Desert Soul and includes a TV programme for children. SafAIDS focus on cascade model of behaviour change using community-based volunteers to disseminate information and cultural dialogue.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Hutchinson P., Silvestre, E., Anglewicz, P., Cole, E., Meekers, D. (2012)	Southern & Regional Social and Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Swaziland	Various activities designed to achieve behaviour change; uses mass media (radio, TV and print), community and social mobilisation and face-to-face interaction as part of a regional behaviour change communication programme. Lsusweti focuses on the production of mass communication materials with OneLove branding, including a number of printed booklets with a circulation of 400,000, and radio drama – although these focus on the risks of having multiple sexual partners. SafAIDS community volunteers and materials, including a newspaper column, gender-based violence toolkit and poster.								X
Hutchinson, P., Silvestre, E., Wheeler, J., Anglewicz, P., Hembling, J., Meekers, D. (2012	Southern African Regional Social & Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Mozambique	Various activities designed to achieve behaviour change; uses mass media (radio, TV and print), community and social mobilisation and face-to-face interaction as part of a regional behaviour change communication programme. N'weti, the Community Media Trust and SAfAIDS included. N'weti produced materials based on OneLove material including radio, TV and printed materials. SafAIDS used community volunteers. Community Media Trust produced a TV programme called Desafio (Beat It) using a call-in format to provide reliable information about HIV and AIDS.								X
Institute for Reproductive Health (2011)	Choices, Nepal	Choices curriculum developed by Save the Children. Implemented over a three-month period with existing child clubs in Bhawanipur and Pokharvinda Village Development Committee, Siraha. Session facilitated by child club graduates, one male and one female. Aims to change attitude and behaviours related to gender norms. Total of 309 children (148 girls and 161 boys) aged 10-14 years completed the curriculum.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Jewkes, R., Nduna, M., Levin, J., Jama, N., Dunkle, K., Wood, K., Koss, M., Puren, A., Duvvury, N. (2007)	Stepping Stones, South Africa	Non-formal education programme designed to build equitable relationships and communication. Programme delivered using participatory learning, including role play and drama, and facilitated by project staff of same age or slightly older than participants. Delivered over 13 3-hour sessions and 3 peer group meetings. One session is devoted to gender-based violence. Implemented in 35 communities in 2 workshops of 20 men and 20 women in each community who met for 17 sessions (50 hours) over a period of 3-12 weeks. Participants were male and female aged 15-26.								X
Jewkes, R., Wood, K., Duvvury, N. (2010)	Stepping Stones, South Africa	Non-formal education programme designed to build equitable relationships and communication. Programme delivered using participatory learning, including role play and drama, and facilitated by project staff of same age or slightly older than participants. Delivered over 13 3-hour sessions and 3 peer group meetings. One session is devoted to gender-based violence. Implemented in 35 communities in 2 workshops of 20 men and 20 women in each community who met for 17 sessions (50 hours) over a period of 3-12 weeks. Participants were male and female aged 15-26.								X
Jewkes, R., Nduna, M., Levin, J., Jama, N., Bunkle, K., Puren, A., Duvvury, N. (2008)	Stepping Stones, South Africa	Non-formal education programme designed to build equitable relationships and communication. Programme delivered using participatory learning, including role play and drama, and facilitated by project staff of same age or slightly older than participants. Delivered over 13 3-hour sessions and 3 peer group meetings. One session is devoted to gender-based violence. Implemented in 35 communities in 2 workshops of 20 men and 20 women in each community who met for 17 sessions (50 hours) over a period of 3-12 weeks. Participants were male and female aged 15-26.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Kabir, M., Afroze, R., Aldeen, M. (2007)	Adolescent Development Programme, Bangladesh	Aims to create a supportive environment for adolescent girls and empower girls to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. *Kishori kendros* (reading centres) act as safe space and facilitate the retention of literacy and numeracy skills. Also includes a peer-led programme for boys and girls that covers reproductive health, early marriage, child rights, dowry, inheritance law, oral divorce, acid throwing, HIV and AIDS, abuse and drug addiction. Length of course or contact time is unclear.					■			√
Kanesathasan, A., Cardinal, L., Pearson, E., Das Gupta, S., Mukherjee, S., Malhotra, A. (2008)	Development Initiative Supporting Healthy Adolescents, India	Integrated programme implemented between 2005 and 2007 in 75 villages in Bihar and Jharkhand with a focus on improved reproductive health outcomes. Programme included 1) youth skills and capacity building (establishment of youth groups, peer education, vocational and enterprise skills training); 2) community mobilisation (mass communication activities – street plays, wall writings, thematic fairs, rallies, mobile health clinics and sporting events along with adult groups and youth–adult partnership groups; 3) youth-friendly reproductive health services; 4) building non-governmental organisation capacity.		■		■	■			√
Kaufman, M., Mooney, A., Kamala, B., Modarres, N., Karam, R., Ng'wanansabi, D. (2013)	Fataki, Tanzania	The national multimedia Fataki campaign aired in Tanzania from 2008 to 2011 with the goal of addressing cross-generational sex by mobilising communities to intervene. Primary target group was family and friends of young women involved with older men, who were urged with the message: 'Protect your loved ones from a *fataki* (*wakinge uwapendao na fataki*)'. The goal was for *fataki* to enter the lexicon in Tanzania as a term for men who initiate and engage in cross-generational sex, and to encourage communities to condemn this behaviour. Radio drama, banners and posters were the main activities, with appearances in other TV and radio programmes. Community and peer facilitators also feature, with a less clear role.	■	■	■					X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
			Activities							
Koch. D.J., N'kolo, T. K. (2011)	Vrai Djo, DRC	Media campaign with the slogan '*vrai djo*' ('real man') challenging men to improve their attitudes towards women. The aim is to raise awareness among men about their role in the elimination of violence against women and build more positive attitudes. TV episodes have been filmed based around five dramatic scenarios, featuring Mazimi Movil, a popular Congolese musician. To be broadcast three times a day for a month in 2011 by three TV stations and available to view on the internet.								X
Lee, K and Bolton, P.. (2007)	FilmAid Kakuma, Kenya	FilmAid aims to educate and empower and provide a location for community dialogue through film screenings and accompanying facilitated discussion at Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya. Little information is given about the content or intensity of films shown.								X
Leerlooijer, J., Bos, A., Ruiter, R., Reeuwijk, M., Rijsdijk, L., Nshakira, N., Kok, G. (2013)	Teenage Mothers Project, Uganda	Targeted to unmarried teenage mothers in Manafwa district of Uganda aims to help girls cope with motherhood. Following a participatory planning project, the project began with the provision of a goat to teenage mothers and has extended to community sensitisation, teenage mother support groups, education and income generation, counselling and advocacy. March 2000 to March 2010: 1,036 mother were reached.								√
Marketers Research and Consultancy (2013)	Choices Curriculum, Egypt	This is Save the Children's Choices curriculum. Here, the project targeted Ishraq girls and their adolescent male brothers/neighbours with the aim of changing boys' gender attitudes. Project participants were 50 boys and 50 girls in BeniSeuf and Assuit. Structure and timing of classes not clear.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
McGinn, K., Ashraf, N. Low, C. (2012)	Negotiating a Better Future, Zambia	Pilot phase of study whose aim is to explore if and how a behavioural intervention with Zambian secondary school girls can improve their educational and health outcomes. Intervention delivered through after-school clubs. After-school programme delivered over two weeks, with six sessions in total including a final session on a Saturday.								X
Miller, E., Das, M., Tancredi, D., McCauley, H., Virata, M., Nettiksimmons, J., O'Connor, B., Ghosh, S., Verma, R. (2013)	Parivartan, India	Adaptation of US programme Coaching Boys Into Men for an urban Indian cricket team. Coaches are trained to act as messengers to adolescent boys around standing up to and intervening in gender-based violence – for example encouraging them to speak out when witnessing negative behaviour among their peers. Coaches have three-day training followed by bi-weekly workshops over four months. Focus on positive deviance, gender transformation and creating a safe environment.					■			X
North South Consultants Exchange (2003)	New Horizons, Egypt	Study looks at implementation of New Horizons between 1999 and 2002. Aims to empower girls and young women (aged 9-20) to broaden their life options. Non-formal education project delivered through 2 manuals and 102 sessions – covers life skills, reproductive health and violence against women. Delivered in a range of settings, school, mosque, courtyard etc., and can be used with literate and non-literate participants. Participants encouraged to share information with parents, friends and community members.					■			X
Oduolowu, E.A. (2007)	Participatory Training Programme to Promote Girls Education, Nigeria	Designed to strengthen the capacity of stakeholders to promote girls education in two communities in Oyo state. Involved community sensitisation activities that began with a town crier, then included drama, dance, public talks in the town square, a debate held between primary school boys and girls on girls education and referrals to appropriate services for those who needed additional support. Length of intervention unclear.		■	■					√

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Ogunfowokan, A,., Fajemilehin, R.B. (2012)	Education Programme Delivered by School Nurses, Nigeria	Sexual abuse prevention package delivered by school nurses. Conducted with adolescent girls over 10 days, 30 minutes a day during lunch break. Girls in the study group received written materials during the intervention and copies of newspaper materials that reported sexual abuse experiences of some school girls in Nigeria, and printed copies of the educational package. Detail of content of sessions not given.								X
Ouoba, D., Congo, Z., Diop, N.J., Melching, M., Banza, B., Guiella, G., Baumgarten, I. (2004)	Tostan, Burkina Faso	Adaption of Tostan non-formal education and social mobilisation programme for implementation in Burkina Faso. Education programme took place with men and women. Community support secure prior to commencement of programme. 62 sessions implemented in each community, each taking 2 hours and taking place every other days; separate sessions were organised for men and women. A public declaration took place in May 2003 with chiefs and local religious leaders present.		X			X		X	X
Pakachere (2007)	Pakachere Institute of Health and Development Communications, Malawi	Multimedia communication strategy (TV, radio, print, advocacy) to promote social change and healthy behaviour related to HIV and AIDS and violence. In 2002, Pakachere produced two booklets, two radio dramas and three TV talk show series; three series of Soul City were also broadcast. These materials were developed to target the general public of Malawi aged 15-49 years.	X	X	X					X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Pathfinder (2011)	PRACHAR, India	Programme focus to increase girls' age of marriage, delay age of first marriage to after 21 and ensure spacing of 3 years between pregnancies. Phase 1 included training for adolescents: male change agents who conducted group meetings and female change agents who conducted home visits as well as increased access to reproductive health services. Phase 2 scaled up the programme and government frontline health workers were recruited as change agents and there were reduced community activities.								X
Pronyk, P.M., Hargreaves, J.R., Kim, J.C., Morison, L.A., Phetla, G., Watts, C., Busza, J., Porter, J.D.H. (2006)	Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity and Participatory Education Programme Based on Sisters for Life, South Africa	Intervention combined microfinance, targeted to the poorest women in communities, with participatory curriculum of gender and HIV education. Participants aged 14-35. Sisters for Life was the gender/HIV education programme used, delivered over 12-15 months during loan group meetings. Phase 1 consisted of 10 1-hour training sessions, and covered topics including gender roles, cultural beliefs, relationships, communication, intimate partner violence and HIV, and aimed to strengthen communication skills, critical thinking and leadership. Phase 2 focused on community mobilisation, with key women receiving additional leadership training.								√

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Pulerwitz, J., Barker, G. (2006) P	Program H, Brazil	Conducted in Rio de Janeiro, the study looked at the impact of different combinations of programme activities on in- and out-of-school youth aged 15-24: 1) non-formal education for young men led by male facilitators in an interactive style; 2) social marketing campaigns; and 3) a combination of both. Non-formal education includes a cartoon and 70 activities, and covers five themes: Sexuality and Reproductive Health; Fatherhood and Caregiving; From Violence to Peaceful Coexistence; Reasons and Emotions (including communication skills, substance abuse and mental health); and Preventing and Living with HIV/AIDS – delivered in 28 hours in weekly sessions over a 6-month period. Social marketing was developed by peer promoters and included radio spots, billboards, postcards and dances with a focus on how 'cool and hip' it was to be a more gender-equitable man.								X
Pulerwitz, J., Martin, S., Mehta, M., Castillo, T., Kidanu, A., Verani, F., Tewolde, S. (2010)	PEPFAR Male Norms Initiative, Ethiopia	Adaption of Engender Health's Men as Partners programme and Promundo's Program H project with male participants aged 15-24 who were members of youth groups. Arm 1 was exposed to group education and community engagement activities; Arm 2 had community engagement activities only; and Arm 3 did not receive any activities. The group education activities included 19 sessions held for about 2 hours once a week. Community engagement activities included distribution of leaflets, newsletters and other materials, music and drama skits, community discussions, condom distribution and an International Father's Day march. Few details of group education curriculum.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Rajan, A., Chakrabarty, S., Kaul, K. (2010)	We Can Campaign, India	Launched in 2004, the We Can campaign targeted reducing social acceptance of violence against women. Activities also took place in India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Communication strategy based on the recruitment of 'change makers' in communities who sign an oath to make changes themselves and to sensitise others. During Phase 1 (2004-2007), community events were also held with the slogan 'equal relationships are violence-free'. Phase 2, from 2007, focused on reengaging change makers, recruitment of additional change makers and sustained attitude change.								X
Rozan (2012)	Humqadam Programme, Pakistan	Formative research led to development of a series of group education sessions for boys and men dealing with the construction of masculinity, alternative ways of being a man and sensitisation to reduce violence and build life skills. Implemented through 15 sessions with groups of 10-25 men in a community (peri-urban) setting. Activities with community also took place, including community theatre and a stop rape campaign.								X
Rijsdijk, L., Bos, A., Ruiter, R., Leerlooijer, J., de Haas, B., Schaalma, H. (2011)	World Starts With Me, Uganda	Computer-based interactive sex education programme aimed at secondary school students aged 12-19 and to enable young people to make informed decisions about sex. Uses virtual peer educators, Rose and David, to guide participants. Lessons tend to be a warm-up activity, presentation by Rose or David and then a game and assignment. Hard copy manuals also available. There are 14 lessons and the programme ends with an exhibition where participants display the materials they have produced during the programme to the community.								X

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Rogers, E., Vaughan, P., Ramadhan, M.A., Rao, N., Svenkerud, P., Sood, S. (1999)	Twende na Wakati, Tanzania	Edutainment radio soap opera that has been broadcast in Tanzania since 1993 aims to provide family planning and HIV prevention information. Each episode is followed by a 30 second epilogue that summarises the episode and discusses implications for listeners. There are around 400 episodes.	■							X
Sangare, M., Tandia, F., Toure, K.A. (1998)	Reduction in Female Genital Cutting, Mali	Intervention included three activities: 1) training of clinical staff in FGM/C and its health-related complications; 2) introduction of IEC materials in community health talks and during clinic consultations; and 3) supervision of key medical staff. 14 health centres were included, with 8 receiving the intervention; 108 service providers reached and 1,633 clients interviewed.			■	■		■		X
Santhya, K.G., Das, A., Lakhani, A., Ram, F., Sinha, R.K., Ram, U., Mohanty, S.K. (2008)	First-Time Parents Project, India	Package of health and social interventions to improve married young women's SRH knowledge and practices and enhance life skills. Implemented in two rural settings in West Bengal and Gujarat. Three components: 1) information provision through home visits and community events; 2) adjustment of health services; and 3) group formation for married girls – typically meeting for two to three hours every month and covering a range of health, financial literacy and life skills. intervention took place from January 2003 to December 2004.				■	■			√
Shahnaz, R., Karim, R. (2008)	BRAC Employment and Livelihood for Adolescents Centres, Bangladesh	Targeted to girls aged between 10 and 24. Provide microfinance and non-financial activities in the shape of the Adolescent Peer Organised Network course. The centres provide books, indoor games and a space for girls to socialise. Focused discussion is held once a month; issues covered include health, child marriage, dowry, girls' rights etc. On average, each centre has 30 participants.					■			√

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Singhal, A., Witte, K., Muthuswamy, N., Duff, D., Vasanti, P.N., Papa, M., Harter, L., Sharma, D., Pant, S., Sharma, A.K., Worrell, T., Ahmead, M., Shrivastav, A., Verma, C., Sharma, Y., Rao, N., Chitnis, K., Sengupta, A. (2004)	Taru, India	52-episode entertainment-education radio soap opera, broadcast in the four Indian states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, and Chhattisgarh from February 2002 to February 2003. Aimed to promote gender equality, small family size, reproductive health and community development. Little detail about content of Taru programmes provided.	■							X
Solórzano, I., Bank, A., Peña, R., Espinoza, H., Ellsberg, M., Pulerwitz, J. (2008)	Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales, Nicaragua	Implemented 2002-2005 with a focus on addressing cultural and social issues that hinder HIV prevention. Activities included a TV soap series Sexto Sentido, nightly youth-focused call-in radio show, development of materials for local groups and various community-based activities – including training workshops and youth camps.	■	■	■		■	■		
Tautz, S. (2011)	Youth to Youth Initiative, Ethiopia and Kenya	Project implementation differs between Kenya and Ethiopia SRH information and services through a large network of youth clubs supported by partner organisations. Young people trained as peer educators to pass messages along through a cascade training model. Other activities include income generation activities, IEC materials, community events and local-level advocacy. The programme has developed from an initial focus on reproductive health.		■	■	■	■	■		√

Study	Programme	Programme design	Activities							
			Media	Community dialogue	IEC, sensitisation	One-to-one communication	Non-formal education	Training	Public ceremony	Part of a package?
Usdin, S., Scheepers, E., Goldstein, S., Japhet, G. (2005)	Soul City, South Africa	Programme aimed to address domestic violence; TV shows, print booklets and radio programmes were produced and there was a telephone helpline to support audiences. Both use of the helpline and community action against violence were included as storylines in the drama and supported advocacy activities towards the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act. Broadcast and campaign dates are not clear.	▓		▓					X
Vaughan, P.W., Regis, A., St Catherine, E. (2000)	Apwe Plezi, St Lucia	An entertainment-education radio soap opera, Apwe Plezi, broadcast from February 1996 to September 1998 in St Lucia. Aimed to influence knowledge, attitudes and behaviour around family planning, HIV prevention, gender equality, relationship fidelity and domestic violence. Characters were developed to serve as positive, negative and neutral role models and negative actions are seen to have negative consequences.	▓							X
Yoder, P., with Diaye, S., Diop, N. (2008)	Tostan, Senegal	Thiès/Fatick and Kolda. Non-formal education focused on problem resolution; basic hygiene and health; and human rights. Women the main target group. The outcome of the programme was to mobilise communities and have them publicly declare they were giving up harmful practices.					▓		▓	√

2.3 Geographical overview

The majority of programmes took place in Sub-Saharan Africa (32) and South Asia (19), with 4 in Latin America and 5 in the Middle East and North Africa (Figure 3). Only one programme took place in South-East Asia (Cambodia), and we found no relevant studies of programmes from Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States region.

Most of the programmes examined in this review took place at a small scale. A total of 48 of the 61 (79%) programmes took place in one geographical area or a few localities; 10 took place at a national level. Of these 10, 6 were part of larger regional programmes, although in most cases evaluations were available for only a few of the countries involved.

Figure 3: Frequency distribution of programmes by region
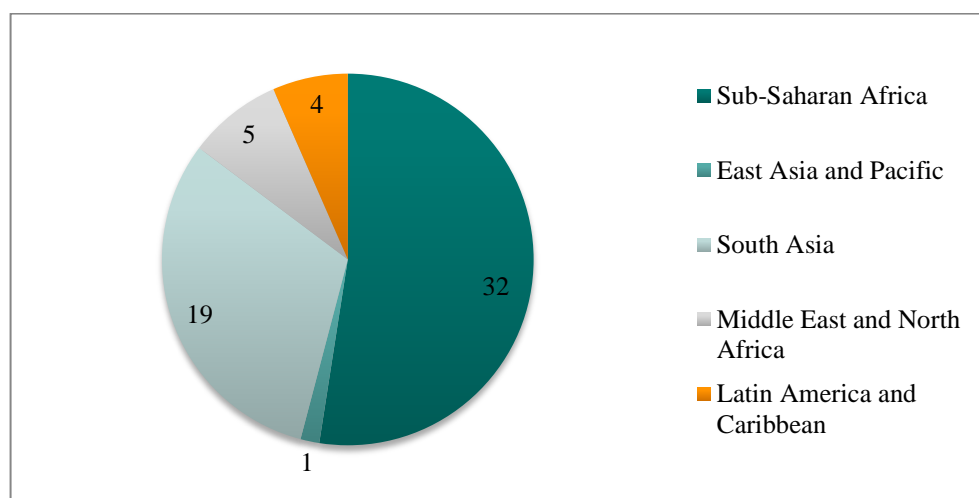
2.4 Programme design

Programmes were classified as either communications only or 'part of a package', whereby communications components were combined with other elements – such as cash transfers, vocational training or health services. The majority of programmes included in the review (43 programmes, 71%) involved only communication activities.

Communications components were classified according to the following categories:

- Media: mass media programmes, for example TV and radio edutainment programmes or factual programmes and communication of information through print media;
- IEC materials/large-scale sensitisation – includes the production of educational leaflets and other materials, such as billboards and educational videos, and events aimed at large audiences, such as street theatre;
- Community dialogue: discussion-based approaches taking place at a community level;
- Non-formal education – includes life skills and other education programmes on a variety of issues and targeted at adolescent girls and other audiences. These were almost all participatory and involved dialogue and reflection, and often were part of broader adolescent development programmes;
- One-to-one communication – includes mentoring and peer education based on communication at an individual level;
- Training and capacity building – includes a variety of training approaches, most commonly for professional personnel, for example training health workers in the risks of FGM/C;
- Public ceremonies – includes alternative rite of passage and public declaration activities. These programmes are most likely to be concerned with FGM/C.

Non-formal education was the most common activity, occurring in 41 programmes (59%); IEC/large-scale sensitisation and community dialogue formed part of 26 and 27 programmes, respectively (41%); and 20 programmes (33%) included media activities. The least common element was training, which formed part of only three programmes (Figure 4). A total of 38% of programmes used one communications approach, 33% involved two and 29% used three or more.

Figure 4: Programmes that include each communication component (%)
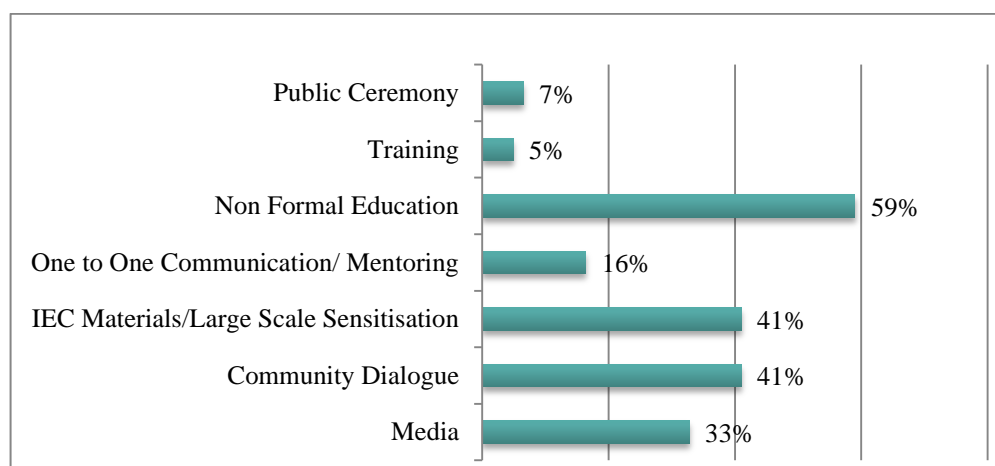
Note: Programmes may include more than one communication component.

A total of 18 programmes included non-communication components. The most common non-communication components were income generation, savings or credit (11 programmes) and safe spaces for girls to develop social relationships with other girls outside the family (7 programmes) (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Total number of programmes with each non-communication component
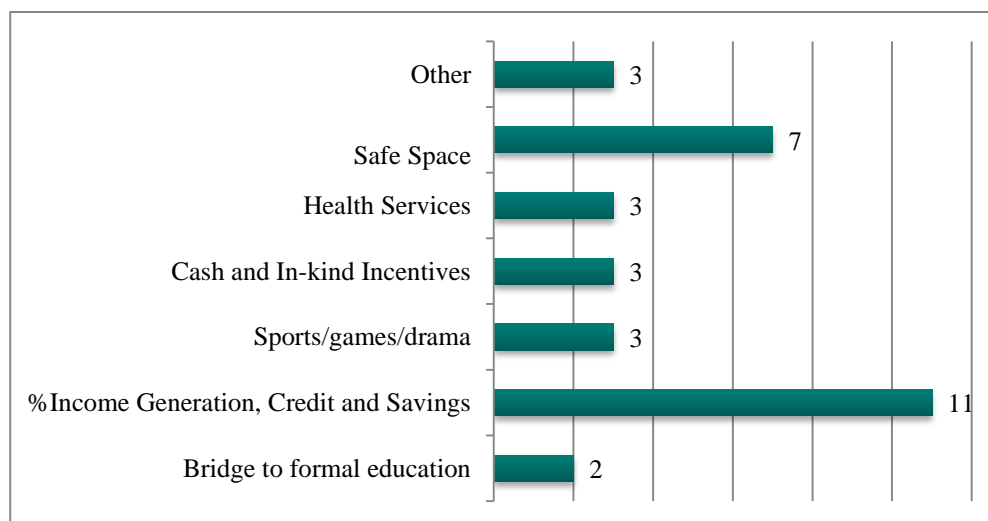
Note: Programmes may include more than one non-communication component.

Non-communications activities were most common in programmes addressing mobility, attitudes to gender equality, paid work and aspirations, and least common in programmes addressing sexual and physical violence and intergenerational and transactional sex (Figure 6). This distribution may reflect the fact that programmes leading to changes in mobility, attitudes to gender equality and attitudes to work and aspirations are often broad adolescent development programmes, whereas those addressing sexual violence and transactional or intergenerational sex are more often public health communication programmes.

Figure 6: Proportion of programmes with non-communications components by thematic area

Figure 6: Proportion of programmes with non-communications components by thematic area

Thematic area	% Communications Only	% With Non Communications Components
Education	67%	33%
Relations in Girls Natal Households	76%	24%
Paid Work and Aspiration	60%	40%
Mobility	50%	50%
Attitude to Gender Equality	53%	47%
Early Marriage	65%	35%
Intergenerational and Transactional Sex	89%	11%
Sexual Violence	93%	7%
Physical Violence	82%	18%
FGM/C	64%	36%
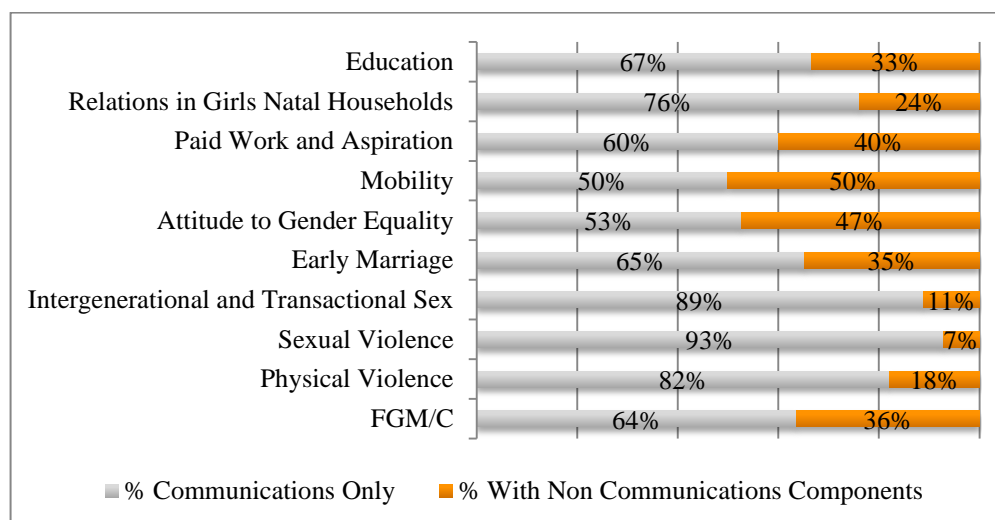
2.5 Target groups

Most programmes, 59%, aimed to reach more than one target or audience group. Adolescent girls were the single most common target group and were targeted by just over half the programmes (33/61).[7] Boys were the next most common group. This reflects the fact that 15 non-formal education programmes targeted both girls and boys as co-participants, and five others targeted boys/ young men in programmes focused on changing norms and attitudes related to masculinity. The relatively strong representation of programmes focusing on masculinity may account for the fact that more programmes targeted adult men than adult women. Furthermore, eight programmes targeted parents of both genders (shown in Figure 7 as 'family'). Programmes targeting the whole community or the general public were also relatively common, reflecting efforts to change gender norms at a broad societal level, in the latter case often through mass media. Only eight programmes targeted community or religious leaders (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Programmes that targeted each group

Target group	%
Health Personnel	3%
Women	20%
Religious Leaders	3%
Public Officials	3%
Policy Makers	2%
Men	24%
Girls	50%
General Public	20%
Family	12%
Community Leaders	9%
Community	27%
Boys	35%
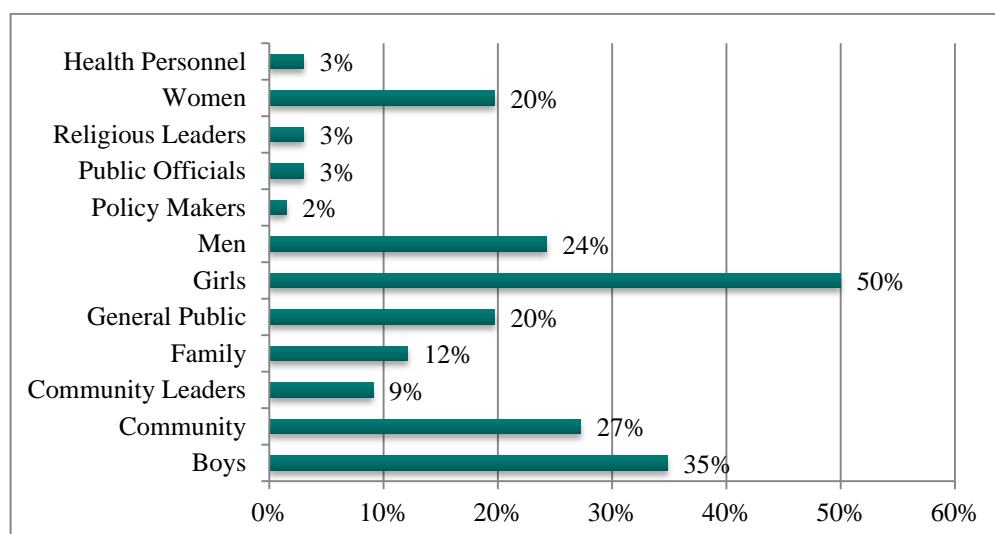
Note: Programmes may include more than one communication component.

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[7] This is likely to reflect the inclusion criteria for this review – that studies addressed gender issues affecting adolescent girls and/or had adolescent girl respondents.

2.6 Thematic distribution of outcomes

The outcomes from each study have been divided into themes and are discussed in detail in Sections 3-12. All relevant outcomes for each study were recorded.

Thematic analysis is reported by outcome rather than by programme foci because some studies used indicators of change that did not relate directly to programme foci. For example, Engebretsen's (2012) study of Filles Eveillées, a programme for adolescent girl domestic workers in Burkina Faso, was set up to help this group of girls learn about their rights and SRH issues. However, the evaluation produced useful insights into how girls' attitudes towards gender equality, education and age of marriage had changed over the period of contact with the programme. Thus, all these outcomes were recorded for this programme. Figure 6 shows that physical violence, education and early marriage outcomes were most frequently recorded; outcomes related to mobility and intergenerational or transactional sex were recorded least frequently.

A total of 70% of programmes (43 out of the 61 programmes) had outcomes in more than one thematic area: 18 programmes reported outcomes in only one theme, whereas 13 reported in 3 themes and 20 in 4 or more. The thematic areas where studies were most likely to address only one outcome of relevance were sexual violence, intergenerational and transactional sex and FGM/C, but, even in these thematic areas, 75-80% of studies examined more than one theme of relevance to this study.

Figure 8: Number of studies addressing each theme
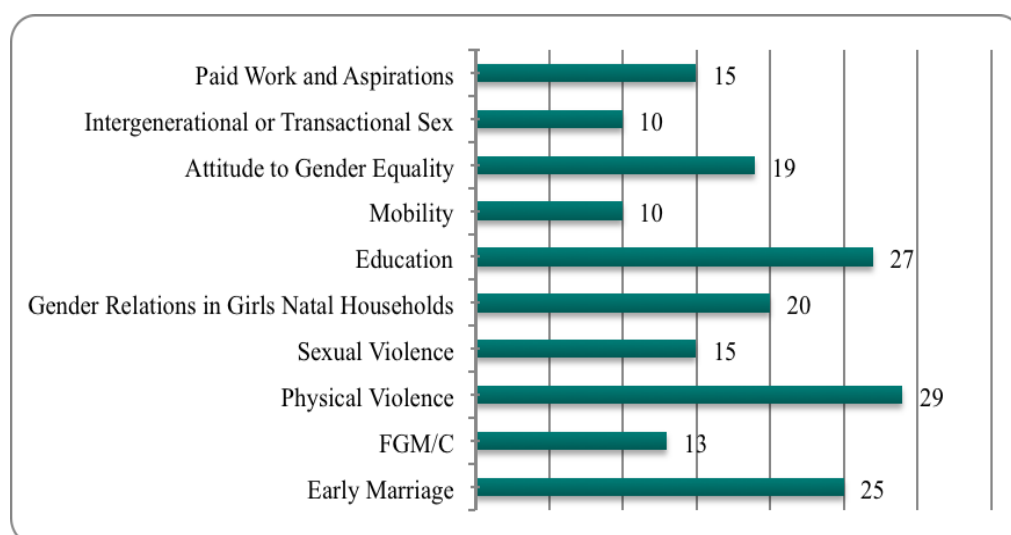
3 Early marriage

Box 2: Summary – early marriage

The problem: One in every three girls in the developing world is married by the age of 18 (UNICEF, 2011), and if current levels of child marriage continue, by 2020 14 million girls a year will be married before they turn 18 (UNFPA, 2012). Married girls are usually unable to access education, limiting their future developmental opportunities, and are likely to bear children at a young age, greatly increasing their risk of health complications or death in childbirth. Child marriage also violates children's right to enter into a freely chosen union when sufficiently mature to make decisions.

Key findings: The majority of programmes examined have led to positive changes in attitudes towards early marriage, with greater support for marriage over age 18 and greater acceptance of girls' right to have a say in decision making about their marriage. Most programmes engaging with dowry issues have also led to a reduction in support for dowry giving or receiving. One study (Acharya et al., 2009) quantified the role of the intervention in achieving change in the desired age of marriage – but this kind of analysis is unusual across the sample of studies.

There is some evidence of changes in practice (e.g. in Berhane Hewan, Ethiopia, and PRACHAR, India), but most studies were conducted without a sufficiently long time lag to examine changes in the age of marriage.

There is insufficient evidence to compare the role of communication and non-communication activities in combined interventions. One study of Berhane Hewan not included in the review (Mekbib and Molla, 2010) attributes most of the change in attitudes and practices concerning early marriage and education to communication activities (particularly community dialogue).

Several of the programmes recording multiple communication approaches have achieved positive changes, but there is insufficient evidence to assess the relative importance of particular components or the added value of receiving messages via multiple channels. There is some evidence that participating in dialogue-based activities (e.g. life skills classes or one-to-one discussions) has a stronger effect on attitudes than exposure to IEC activities alone (e.g. Gender Equity Movement in Schools and DISHA, both in India). That said, some 'stand-alone' media initiatives (e.g. Twende Na Wakati in Tanzania, Taru in India) have also led to strong attitude changes.

There is some evidence of change in gatekeepers' attitudes, although this varies from programme to programme and appears to be less strong than for some other themes examined (e.g. education, mobility).

3.1 Overview of programmes and papers addressing early marriage issues

3.1.1 Quality and relevance of papers

In this section, we examine 25 papers that assess the impact of 23 communication programmes.[8] We examine evidence of impact of communication programmes on attitudes and practices concerning three areas related to marriage: age at marriage; girls' participation in decision making concerning their marriage; and bride price or dowry.

Most of the programmes examined here aimed to change attitudes and practices concerning early marriage. One (Filles Eveillées) did not focus on marriage issues – it had a broader focus on SRH and life skills – but measured changes in attitudes to marriage as part of a broader analysis of the effectiveness of the programme in changing attitudes to gender equality. Of these, the majority of papers (18/25, 74%) focus on attitudes or practices

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[8] Ishraq is considered as two different programmes throughout this section, as the two studies deal with different phases of the programme with different populations in different regions.

concerning the appropriate age of marriage, 7 discuss attitudes or practices concerning girls having a say in the choice of a husband and 4 examine attitudes or practices concerning bride price or dowry. Only two of the evaluations (Diop et al., 2008; Leerlooijer et al., 2013) reflect on changing norms at the community level.

With the objective of giving greater weight to high-quality, relevant evidence, we have classified papers according to their study appraisal score and the extent of their focus on marriage issues. Papers with either a major focus on marriage or a detailed discussion of marriage as well as other issues are classified 'high marriage focus' (see Table 2).

Table 2: Extent of early marriage focus and study appraisal scores in studies examining early marriage outcomes

Moderate early marriage focus in study/high study appraisal score	High early marriage focus in study/high study appraisal score
• Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011) • Teenage Mothers Project, Uganda (Leerlooijer et al., 2013) • Innovations for Poverty Alleviation, Zambia (McGinn et al., 2013) • BRAC ELA Centres, Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008) • Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso (Engebretsen, 2012) • Ishraq, Egypt (Elbadawy, 2013) • Gender Quality Learning Programme, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011) • PRACHAR, India (Daniel and Nanda, 2012; Pathfinder International, 2011)	• DISHA, India (Kanesathasan et al., 2008) • Better Life Options, India (Acharya et al., 2009) • Berhane Hewan, Ethiopia (Erulkar and Muthengi, 2007) • Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007) • GEMS, India (Achyut et al. (2011)
Moderate early marriage focus in study/moderate study appraisal score • Vrai Djo, DRC (Koch and N'kolo, 2011) • Tostan, Senegal (Diop et al., 2008; Yoder, 2008) • New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003) • Meena Communication Initiative, India (Centre for Media Studies, 2004) • We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)	**High early marriage focus in study/moderate study appraisal score** • Choices , Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013) • Kishori Abhijan, Bangladesh (Amin and Suran, 2005)

Twenty-one studies used either quantitative or mixed methods designs and only four studies drew just on qualitative data. Of the quantitative designs, thirteen had high-quality quasi-experimental designs and there were no RCT-based designs.

3.1.2 Regional distribution of programmes
Just over half the programmes addressing early marriage took place in South Asia (India and Bangladesh), with seven in Sub-Saharan Africa (Burkina Faso, DRC, Ethiopia, Senegal, Tanzania and Zambia) and four in Egypt (Figure 9). The four Egypt programmes were linked (both Choices and Ishraq used the New Horizons curriculum) but took place in different regions, with different accompanying components, and so were sufficiently different to be considered different programmes.

Figure 9: Regional distribution of programmes addressing early marriage
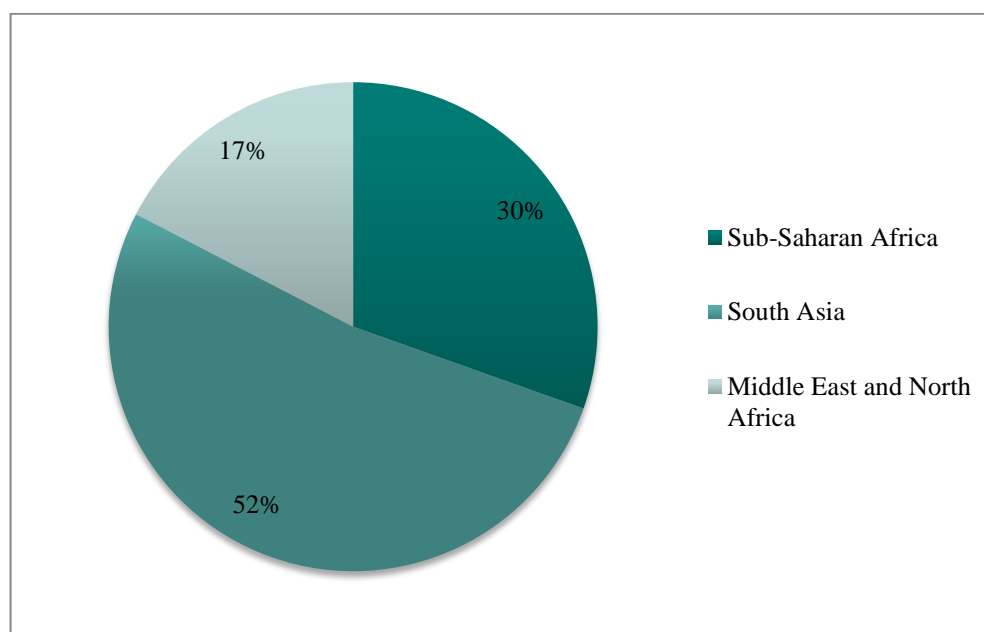
3.1.3 Programme design

There were twice as many programmes that had communications components only as there were programmes that involved non-communications components (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Broad programme design – programmes addressing early marriage
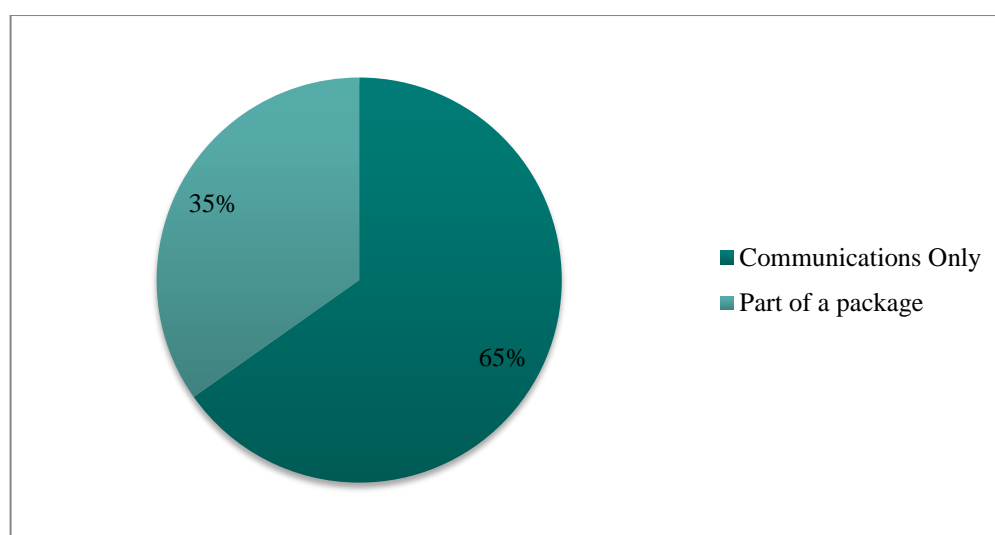
Figure 11 shows the extent to which programmes addressing early marriage made use of different communications components. Eleven programmes had more than one communications component, and five had three or more.

Figure 11: Programmes addressing early marriage that involve each communication component (%)

Public Ceremony — 4%
Non-Formal Education — 70%
One to One Communication/Mentoring — 17%
IEC Materials and Large Scale Sensitisation — 26%
Community Conversation and Discussion Based — 43%
Media — 17%
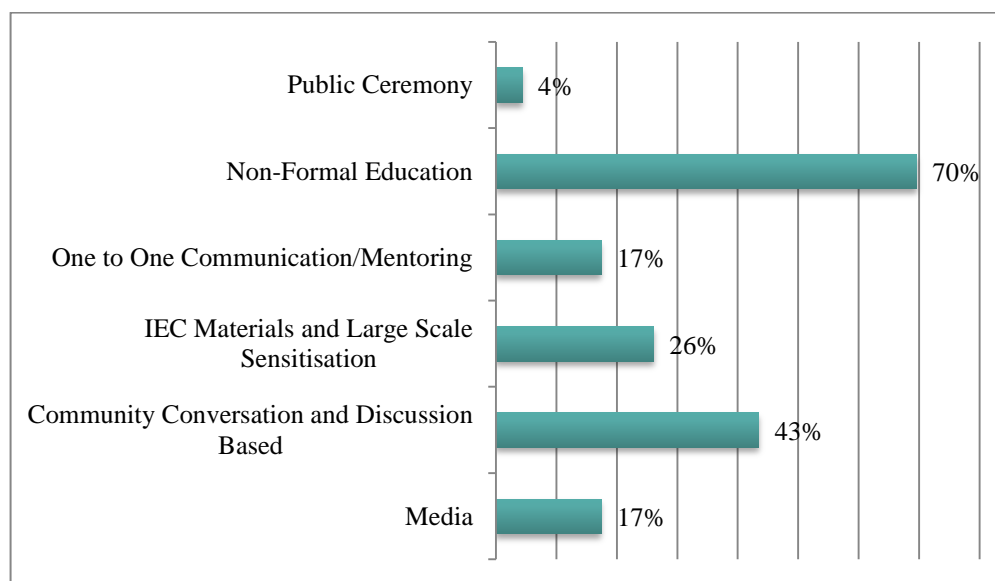
Note: Programmes may include more than one communications component.

Numbers refer to the number of programmes containing a particular component.

Non-formal education was the most common activity, occurring in 16 of the 22 programmes (70%). These programmes provided information on the legal age of marriage, girls' and women's rights within marriage and the negative consequences for girls' health and wellbeing of early marriage. One course – provided to teenage schoolgirls in Zambia – also included negotiation skills. Community dialogue was the next most common approach, forming part of 10 programmes. This often focused on parents or wider community members and ran in parallel to girl- or youth-focused initiatives (as in Berhane Hewan in Ethiopia, Development Initiative for Self-Reliance and Human Advancement (DISHA) in India, Ishraq in Egypt or Kishori Abhijan in Bangladesh, for example).

IEC activities formed part of six programmes and involved print materials (e.g. posters), dramas, puppet shows and showings of videos, while mass-media based approaches formed part of four programmes: two radio soap operas (Taru in India and Twende na Wakati in Tanzania), a film screening programme (Vrai Djo in DRC) and the Meena Communication Initiative in South Asia, which involved TV broadcasts. The radio dramas ran over extended periods (a year in Taru's case, four in the case of Twende na Wakati). BRAC's Gender Quality Action Learning (GQAL) programme, primarily a community education programme, also involved some radio-based messaging, but no further information on this is given and it is not evaluated separately. Four programmes involved mentoring or other one-one communication; it formed a small component of the Teenage Mothers Support project in Uganda (Leerlooijer et al., 2013) and of PRACHAR[9] in India (Daniel and Nanda, 2012). DISHA peer educators in India led both group non-formal education sessions and individual outreach activities (Kanesathasan et al., 2009). Unusually, in the We Can programme in India, peer communication by individual change makers was the main element of the programme (Rajan et al., 2010).

Just over a third of programmes involved additional activities alongside communication. The most common additional activities were livelihood support activities and programmes aiming to provide a safe space for girls to meet with other girls (Figure 11). Our overview analysis indicates that programmes with non-formal education components appear slightly more effective in leading to positive change (see Section 13).

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[9] This involved targeted visits to young married women to discuss the benefits of delaying birth, so was not an aspect of the programme that directly affected age of marriage outcomes. In the case of the Teenage Mothers Project, it involved counselling support to parents.

Figure 12: Frequency of non-communication components – programmes addressing early marriage
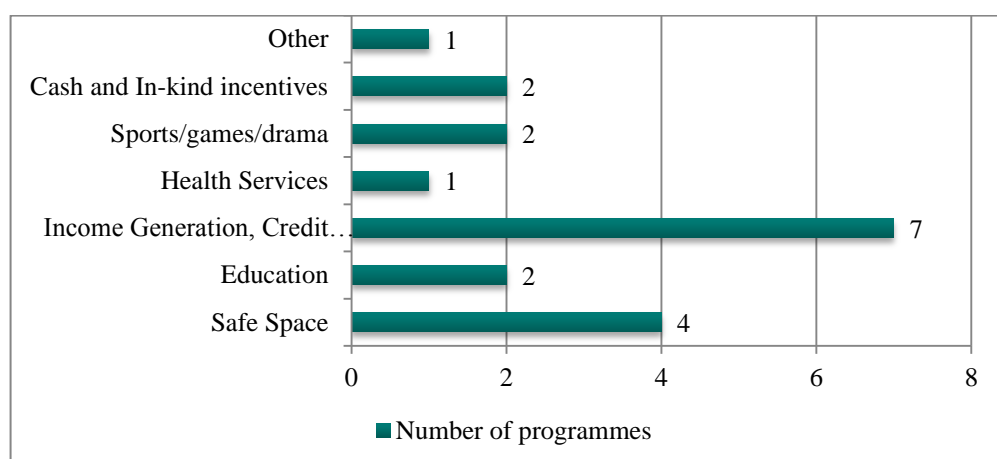
Note: Numbers add up to more than nine as most programmes had multiple non-communication components.

Adolescent girls were the single most common target group, particularly for non-formal education. Classes that aimed to empower adolescent girls with knowledge on issues related to SRH, gender equality and their legal rights related to marriage. Most were aimed at out-of-school girls, who had either dropped out or had never attended. Two courses took place in schools (Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS), India, and Innovations for Poverty Alleviation (IPA), Zambia).

Boys were the next most common target group and were either offered the same life skills activities as girls (as in DISHA and GEMS), or targeted, with gender-segregated activities aiming to shift boys' attitudes on early marriage and other gender equality issues (as in Ishraq and New Horizons).

Parents and the wider community were the target of initiatives that aimed to change the attitudes of gatekeepers and key decision makers in girls' lives, such as Berhane Hewan, BRAC's GQAL, DISHA, Ishraq, Kishori Abhijan, PRACHAR and Tostan. The radio soap operas, Taru and Twende Na Wakati, were also intended for a broad audience of adults and adolescents, whereas Vrai Djo, which was specifically concerned with preventing sexual violence and child marriage, aimed to promote new models of masculinity and was targeted at men only. Meena Communication Initiative activities in India, such as TV broadcasts and video showings, were aimed at children of all ages, not just adolescents, and their families (CMS, 2004). Figure 13 indicates the distribution of target groups for programmes addressing early marriage issues.

Figure 13: Frequency of target groups – programmes addressing early marriage
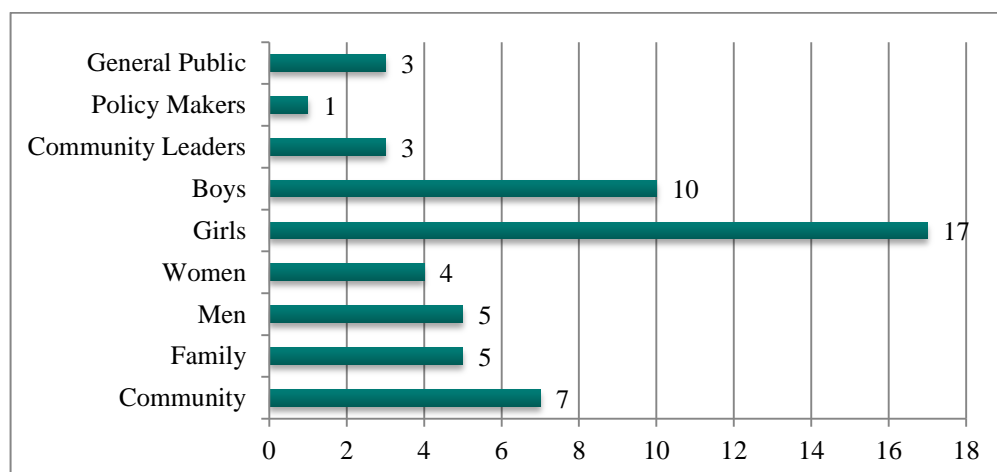
Note: Each programme may have more than one target group.

3.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

3.2.1 Age of Marriage

Figure 14 shows the extent to which the studies recorded positive, neutral and negative changes in attitudes and practices related to early marriage. Less than a third of the studies (28%) recorded positive changes in both attitudes and practices, indicating that successful programmes generally concentrated on changing attitudes or practices.

Figure 14: Frequency of positive, neutral and negative outcomes
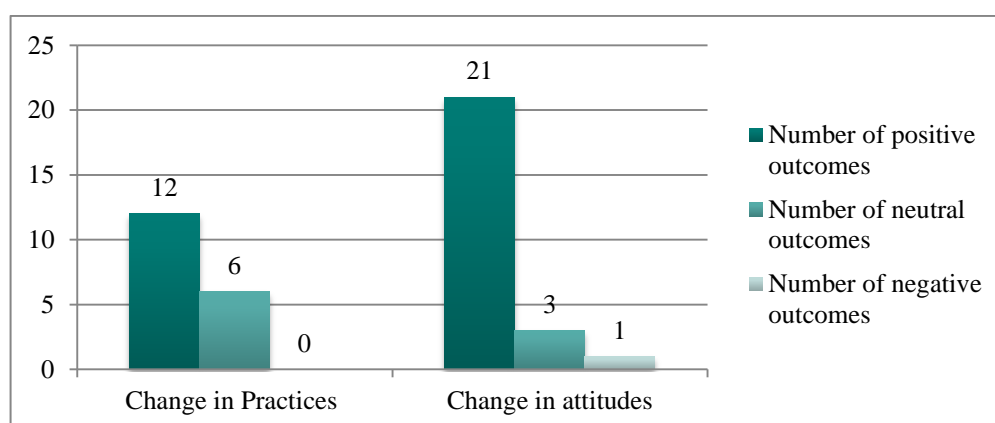
Table 3 summarises the main findings of the 15 programmes that aimed to shift attitudes and practices concerning age of marriage for adolescent girls. Six of these programmes led to girls aspiring to get married at age eighteen or older, and four may have contributed to delays in the age of marriage. In six programmes boys', parents' or other adults' attitudes to early marriage of girls changed to become more supportive of marriage over the age of 18. The two main approaches of these successful programmes were non-formal education and media (radio or film broadcasts). The three programmes that achieved limited or no change in attitudes or practices on early marriage were also primarily non-formal education programmes, but the evaluations of these programmes do not discuss in any detail why their impacts were limited.

Table 3: Evidence – Changes in attitudes and practices regarding early marriage

Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive changes	Neutral changes
BRAC Employment and Livelihoods for Adolescents (ELA) Centres, Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008)	Non-formal education for girls in community setting	Attitudes: Evidence of changed aspirations towards later marriage (qualitative finding). Practices: ELA participant girls significantly less likely than controls to get married during two-year period of programme operation.	
Berhane Hewan, Ethiopia (Erulkar and Muthengi, 2007)	Non-formal education Community dialogue	Attitudes: Decline in proportion of participant and control girls considering under 18 appropriate age of marriage.[10]	
Better Life Options, India (Acharya et al., 2009)	Non-formal education	Attitudes: Proportion of girls wanting to marry after 18 rose more for participants (from 53% to 72%, 19 percentage points) for all intervention participants and by 20 percentage points, from 55% to 75%, among regular intervention participants, compared with 54% to 64% (10 percentage points) among girls in the control site and 53% to 62% (9 percentage points) among non-participants in the intervention site. 47% of change attributed to intervention.[11] Practices: Timeframe of project and evaluation too short to discern changes in marriage rates. Five to six months in delay of marriage among programme participants compared with non-participants or girls in control areas.	
DISHA, India (Kanesathasan et al., 2008)	Non-formal education, mentoring IEC	Attitudes: The upward trend in age at marriage among girls who married while participating and changes in knowledge and attitudes attributed to DISHA indicates growing acceptance of delaying marriage in the project communities. Attitudes: Adults exposed to DISHA were 7% more likely to feel girls should wait until they are 18 or older to marry than adults not exposed to DISHA.	

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[10] It is not clear if the difference in the extent of decline between intervention and control groups is significant.
[11] Based on difference in difference analysis.

Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive changes	Neutral changes
		Attitudes: Youth exposed to DISHA were 4% more likely to think the ideal age at marriage for girls was 18 or older than matched youth not exposed to DISHA (a small but statistically significant difference).	
GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011)	Non-formal education IEC	Attitudes: By end of intervention almost all students believed appropriate age of marriage was over 18. Greatest increase in perception of 21 as appropriate age of marriage occurred in non-formal education plus IEC campaign schools compared with IEC-only or control schools.	
Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007) Elbadawy (2013)	Non-formal education	Attitudes: Girls who spent a year or more in Ishraq were significantly less likely to wish to marry by age 18 than non-participants or controls in non-Ishraq villages. Attitudes: Relative to control girls, more Ishraq girls think the appropriate age at marriage is 18 or above (85% as opposed to 63%).	Attitudes: Girls' participation in Ishraq had no impact on their brothers' or parents' perception of the appropriate age of marriage.
Kishori Abhijan, Bangladesh (Amin and Suran, 2005)	Non-formal education Community dialogue	Practices: One group – younger girls, attending school in poorer districts – had reduced likelihood of early marriage as a result of intervention.	Practices: No impact on likelihood of early marriage for most groups of girls.
New Horizons, Egypt (North-South Consultants Exchange, 2003)	Non-formal education for girls in community setting		Attitudes: No difference between participants and non-participants with regard to ideal age at marriage (qualitative finding).
PRACHAR, India (Daniel and Nanda, 2012) (Pathfinder International, 2011)	Non-formal education IEC	Attitudes: Young men exposed to PRACHAR much less willing to marry before the legal age of marriage, and young women more likely to talk with parents about desired marriage age than those in the comparison group. Young women who had participated in PRACHAR more likely than non-participants to say they wanted to delay (or had delayed) marriage because they were too young to marry, and/or wanted to complete education or find employment first, and were 44% less likely to be married than comparison groups. Practices: Intervention led to later mean age of marriage among participants (21.3 for females; 24.1 for males) than among controls (19.4 and 22, respectively).	
Taru, India (Singhal et al., 2004)	Media (radio) programme with IEC	Attitudes: People involved in listener groups with intensive IEC activities more likely than those exposed to more limited IEC activities to believe that child marriage was a 'social evil'.	

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Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive changes	Neutral changes
Teenage Mothers Project, Uganda (Leerlooijer et al., 2013)	Non-formal education	Attitudes: Norms became less stigmatising and more supportive of teenage mothers. Instead of encouraging marriage and discontinuation of the girl's education after out-of-wedlock pregnancy, parents had become increasingly supportive of delayed marriage and continued education (qualitative analysis).	
Tostan, Senegal (Yoder, 2008)	Non-formal education Radio Mentoring Public declarations	Practices: Slight reduction in prevalence of marriages under age 15.	No impact on marriage rates in 15-18 age group.
Twende Na Wakati, Tanzania (Rogers et al., 1999)	Media (radio soap opera)	Ideal age at marriage increased 0.9 years in areas receiving broadcasts compared with 0.1 years in comparison area, a statistically significant result.	
Vrai Djo, DRC (Koch and N'kolo, 2011)	Media (film screenings)	Attitudes: 10 percentage point increase in young single men agreeing after seeing Vrai Djo film that one should not marry off a daughter performing badly at school. Among teachers, local authority staff and soldiers exposed to film, respectively 22 percentage point, 22 percentage point and 14 percentage point increase in opposition to child marriage.	
We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)	One-to-one communication IEC Community dialogue	Attitudes: Some qualitative evidence of change makers' own attitudes to age of marriage changing and some evidence of persuasion of others to change. Attitudes and practices: 25% of change makers in Rajasthan cited early marriage as an issue where they had changed attitudes/practices.	

3.2.2 Girls' participation in decision making concerning marriage

Of the eight studies that examined changes in attitudes or practices concerning girls' participation in decision making on marriage, three found statistically significant evidence of positive change, with either increased participation in decision making in practice or an increased proportion of girls feeling they had the right to or could influence the timing of their marriage or the choice of husband.

All these programmes primarily used non-formal education methods to change attitudes and practices in this area – principally of girls, and in some cases also of their parents or brothers.

Furthermore, two studies found non-statistically significant evidence of a trend towards positive change (an increased sense that girls could or should have a say in decision making about their marriages), as did the one qualitative study (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003); in one study the numbers concerned were too small to test for statistical significance (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011) and one study did not state the statistical significance of its finding (Engebretsen, 2012).

Table 4 summarises findings.

Table 4: Changes in girls' participation In decision making concerning their marriage

Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011)	Non-formal education Community dialogue IEC	Significant increase from 7.3% of boys and girls[12] who had been able to give opinions about their marriage at baseline to 31.5% at endline.	
Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011)	Non-formal education	Girls felt empowered to talk to parents about continuing their studies and avoiding early marriage. Girls who participated in Choices reported that their brothers advocated with their parents for their sisters' education and delayed marriage. Boys also started discussing these topics among their friends and neighbours.	
DISHA, India (Kanesathasan et al., 2008)	Non-formal education Mentoring Community dialogue	Unmarried girls were more than twice as likely to report being able to talk to their parents about getting married at endline than at baseline (54% vs. 21%), and to feel their opinions on marriage wishes were taken into consideration by their parents at endline compared with baseline (61% vs. 39%). Compared with matched controls, participant girls experienced a significant increase in feeling they could discuss their marriage with parents, but there was no significant impact on feeling their wishes were taken into account.	
Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso (Engebretsen, 2012)	Non-formal education	Proportion of girls believing that they should be able to choose their marriage partner increased from 85% at baseline to 94% at end-line (statistical significance not given).	
IPA, Zambia (McGinn et al., 2012)	Non-formal education	Girls participating in information and negotiation programmes were more likely to believe marriage choices were in their own hands (56%) than those in the information-only programme (41%).[13]	
Ishraq (Brady et al., 2007)	Non-formal education for girls		Reduction (not statistically significant) in proportion of girl participants who felt girls should have no say in selection of their husband compared with controls or non-participants.

[12] This percentage is not disaggregated by gender in Alim (2011).
[13] The sample size was too small for tests of statistical significance.

Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003)	Non-formal education	More unmarried participants than non-participants felt they should have a say in the choice of husband (qualitative finding).	
Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013)	Non-formal education	Increase in proportion of girls who said they were the main decision makers in relation to their marriage (from 8% at baseline to 17% at endline). Decrease in proportion of girls who said fathers were main decision makers in their marriage, from 92% at baseline to 81% at endline.	
Tostan, Senegal (Diop et al., 2008)	Non-formal education Mentoring Community dialogue Media (radio)	'A shift is taking place regarding [...] the right of girls to choose their own husbands.'	

3.2.3 Dowry

Only four studies examined changes in attitudes towards or practices of giving dowry (see Table 5). All were from parts of South Asia where dowry is common and there were no studies examining changes in attitudes to bride wealth.[14] Of these, the two BRAC programmes in Bangladesh involved non-formal educational and IEC activities aimed at adults (GQAL) and at girls (Kishori Abhijan). Taru (in India) involved a radio broadcast and differing intensity IEC activities for different groups, and the Meena Communication Initiative in India comprised multiple activities, including TV cartoons, stickers, comic books, posters and in some area girls' clubs known as Meena clubs, which formed to promote girls' rights (CMS, 2004). As Table 5 shows, both BRAC programmes registered a reduction in dowry payments. In Kishori Abhijan, this change was confined to a small group of girls who were younger, and relatively better educated when they married. Alim's (2011) evaluation of GQAL found a reduction in dowry payments across the programme area. However, as families appeared to be substituting gifts of furniture, electronic goods and ornaments for cash, this suggests norms concerning dowry changed to only a limited extent. The evaluation of Taru also indicates a mixed picture: while any exposure to the radio drama was associated with reduced support for dowry, neither low- nor high-intensity IEC activities had any additional effect on attitudes, and activities were, in fact, associated with more support for dowry than among people who had been exposed only to the radio drama. This should not be seen as a general comment on the effectiveness of radio only and radio plus IEC activities, as in other norm areas[15] a combination of activities had a greater effect. Exposure to Meena activities was associated with a reduction in intention to give or ask for dowry.

Table 5: Key findings – changes in attitudes and practices concerning dowry

Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011)	Community dialogue IEC	Significant reduction in dowry giving as a result of intervention, but some substitution of cash gifts with furniture, goods and ornaments.	
BRAC Kishori Abhijan, Bangladesh (Amin and Suran,2005)	Non-formal education Community dialogue	Reduction in dowry payments among a sub-group of participants (who were younger and more educated).	
Meena Communication Initiative, India (CMS, 2004)	Media (TV, radio) IEC	13% of respondents exposed to Meena say they intend to give dowry as compared with 27% of respondents not exposed to Meena. Similarly, 27% of respondents exposed to Meena communication materials say they are against the practice of asking for dowry compared with 11% of people unexposed.	
Taru, India (Singhal et al., 2004)	Media (radio) IEC Health services	Overall exposure to Taru associated with less favourable attitudes towards dowry.	Mixed impacts: those exposed to Taru only less in favour of bride's family paying dowry than control group. However, Taru-only listeners also more

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[14] Section 12 reports on a study from Mozambique that examined whether communication programmes had affected norms around whether paying bride price gave a man the right to beat a woman (Hutchinson et al., 2013).
[15] This point will be developed when studies on other norms areas have been examined in detail.

Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
			likely to favour dowry than those exposed to IEC activities, with those exposed to moderate IEC activities most in favour of dowry.

3.3 What explains findings?

Changes in early marriage norms may reflect both programme activities and broader changes in society. Although many evaluations attempt to control for these, only one of the evaluations examined here (Acharya et al., 2009) uses statistical techniques to analyse how far the intervention contributed to change. Using difference-in-difference analysis, Acharya et al. (2009) report that 47% of the change in girls' attitudes towards their preferred age of marriage was attributable to programme activities. This implies that more than half the change related to broader changes in society, and/or to girls' attitudes changing as they grew older.

3.3.1 What led to changes?
Programme design issues. In the radio- or film-based interventions (Taru, Vrai Djo and Twende Na Wakati), sympathetic characters and interesting, believable story lines appear to have been important (Koch and N'Kolo, 2011; Rogers et al, 1999; Singhal et al., 2004). In the non-formal education programmes, the following issues may have contributed to change. First, they communicated information about SRH and gender equality, which may have changed girls and adults' sense of girls' rights and the costs to their health and wellbeing of early marriage. Without more details concerning actual curricula, it is impossible to draw stronger conclusions about this. Second, the animators running these programmes, themselves usually local young women, may have appeared as role models of alternative possibilities beyond immediate marriage, and may have contributed to increased work and educational aspirations among adolescent girls (e.g. Ishraq, BRAC ELA, IPA). Where non-formal education courses encourage girls to express their opinions, not simply to absorb information presented to them by trainers or mentors, this may also contribute to girls' sense of self-efficacy in feeling more confident about being able to influence the timing of their marriage and the choice of husband (e.g. in Ishraq, Better Life Options, Choices and New Horizons).

Evaluations of four programmes – DISHA, GEMS, IPA and Taru – examined the relative contribution of different communications approaches to changing norms on appropriate age of marriage. Table 6 summarises key findings. In general, more intensive activities, involving direct communication with key target groups, and with space for dialogue, had greater impacts than mass communications alone. This may also point to the importance of fora for debate and discussion as arenas for norm change. This is consistent with conclusions in Malhotra et al. (2011)'s systematic review of 23 programmes addressing early marriage, which found the strongest and 'most consistent results in a subset of programs fostering information, skills and networks for girls in combination with community mobilization'. One partial exception was the finding from Taru: the dowry attitudes of people participating only in listener groups changed more than those participating in listener groups plus IEC activities of different intensities (Singhal et al., 2004). Section 13 discusses the issue of intensity of exposure further.

Table 6: Comparative impact of different communication activities

Programme	Comparison of activities	Findings
DISHA, India (Kanesathasan et al., 2008)	IEC only IEC plus youth-focused life skills education	Male youth participating in life skills education almost twice as likely as those exposed only to mass IEC materials to consider age 18 or older the ideal age for girls to marry. Female youth with similar exposure almost 4 times as likely to believe 18 or older was the ideal marriage age.

		Adults who participated in discussion activities almost 2.5 times as likely to believe girls should be at least 18 when they are married compared with those not exposed to DISHA. Adults who experienced DISHA IEC campaigns only 1.5 times as likely to agree girls should be 18 or older at marriage.
GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011)	IEC campaign only IEC campaign plus life skills education	By second follow-up, almost all students believed girls should be 18 or older at marriage. In the life skills education group, support for marriage from at least 21 years of age increased from 15% at baseline to 22% at second follow-up among both boys and girls. In control schools, support declined from 18% at baseline to 14% at second follow-up; it remained around 10-13% in the IEC-only schools.
IPA, Zambia (McGinn et al., 2012)	Life skills education, Life skills education plus negotiation skills	Girls receiving negotiation skills training were more likely (56%) than those receiving life skills training only (41%) to believe marriage choices were in their own hands.[16]
Taru, India (Singhal et al., 2004)	Taru broadcast only Taru broadcast plus listener group Taru broadcast, listener group, some IEC activities and enhanced access to health services Taru broadcast, listener group, intensive IEC activities and enhanced access to health services	People involved in listener groups with intensive IEC activities were more likely than those exposed to more limited IEC activities to believe child marriage was a 'social evil'. Those exposed to Taru only were less in favour of bride's family paying dowry than control group. However, Taru-only listeners were also more likely to favour dowry than those exposed to IEC activities, with those exposed to moderate IEC activities most in favour of dowry. Overall exposure to Taru associated with less favourable attitudes towards dowry.

None of the evaluations of these programmes compares the additional impact of non-communication activities over communication-only programmes quantitatively. However, several programmes with livelihood components (e.g. DISHA, BRAC ELA Centres, Better Life Options) report perceptions by participating girls that involvement in a livelihood programme had increased their standing within their families and contributed to greater decision-making power. None of these evaluations, however, specifically relates changes of this nature to changes in attitudes towards age of marriage, or girls' right to make decisions about their marriages. This is not to say such effects did not occur – but they are not reported. Thus, it is difficult to draw conclusions concerning the relative effectiveness of communication and other programme activities in inspiring change in attitudes and practices around early marriage.

In Mekbib and Molla's (2010) study of Berhane Hewan,[17] parents and husbands of adolescent girls perceived community conversations and group meetings to have had the greatest effect on delaying early marriage. A total of 75% of adult respondents said community conversations had been important, and 70% mentioned group meetings. Around 30% also mentioned house-to-house visits from mentors as important in changing views and practices on early marriage. Despite the fact that Berhane Hewan took place in a very poor area, only 6% felt provision of school materials had helped shift early marriage norms, and only 4% felt provision of livestock to households had played a significant role. This study thus points to the importance of dialogue in changing attitudes and practices.

Intensity of exposure. Across the programmes as a whole, there was evidence of how various aspects of intensity of exposure affected outcomes: length or regularity of participation, number of times respondents were exposed to messages and number of messages or media products to which they were exposed. For each theme, we

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[16] The sample size was too small for tests of statistical significance.
[17] This study is not included as a review study because it lacks a comparative dimension, but is discussed here as contextual material that strengthens understanding of Berhane Hewan.

discuss such evidence on intensity-related issues as is available. Two evaluations (Acharya et al., 2009; Brady et al., 2007) examined how far differences in the extent of exposure affected attitude or behaviour change on early marriage issues. Acharya et al. (2009) compared effects on regular and irregular participants and found statistically significant increases in girls' desired age of marriage for both groups (with an only one percentage point difference between those attending regularly and those attending irregularly). By contrast, Brady et al. (2007) found that the longer the exposure to Ishraq (an adolescent girls development programme in Egypt), the greater the decline in the proportion of girls preferring marriage before age 18, from 28% to 1% among girls who completed Ishraq courses. For both girls who completed Ishraq courses and girls who participated for over a year, the decline was significantly greater than among the control group or non-participants in programme villages. Although there was a selection effect, with girls more negatively disposed to early marriage more inclined to join and complete the Ishraq programme, Brady et al. (2007) argue that this does not mean the programme was ineffective, but the difference in attitudes between those who complete the programme and those who dropped out before they completed a year's participation may partially reflect these initial attitudes. (The sample size was too small to use statistical tests to probe the size of these effects further.) Furthermore, a greater percentage of full-term participants than girls who did not complete the Ishraq course rejected the idea that a girl should have no say in the choice of her husband, but the effect was not statistically significant.

3.3.2 Explaining neutral and negative impacts

No one factor appears to explain the 10 negative and neutral impacts recorded, which appear to depend substantially on the programme. In the case of Tostan in Senegal, they may reflect greater emphasis on ending FGM/C than on abandonment of early marriage. They may also reflect the success of FGM/C campaigns: there is some evidence that FGM/C abandonment has increased pressures for girls to get married early to avoid out-of-wedlock pregnancies, which are now more stigmatised than is not being excised (Diop et al., 2008). Although few other evaluations discuss the reasons for limited impact, they may include too short a timeline for changes in the age of marriage to take place, and continued strong economic incentives as well as cultural norms favouring early marriage (Amin and Suran, 2005; Erulkar and Muthengi, 2007). Two programmes also achieved qualified success – reducing marriage rates among the youngest girls (Tostan in Senegal, Berhane Hewan in Ethiopia) but no impact or even higher rates of marriage among 15-18 year olds, as girls who had delayed marriage as a result of programme participation got married.

It is notable that, though Ishraq (Egypt) was successful in changing girls' perceptions concerning appropriate age of marriage, it had limited impact on parents' or brothers' views. This may reflect the relatively shorter exposure of parents and brothers to Ishraq curricula (girls could participate for up to two and a half years, whereas the courses aimed at brothers were six months long and parents' attitudes were addressed through community meetings rather than structured courses). The evaluation of New Horizons (a similar life skills education-based programme in Egypt) (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003) does not explore why attitudes towards ideal age of marriage were no different between participant and non-participant groups. However, girls' sense of their right to make marriage decisions did increase among New Horizon participants, indicating that the programme was partially successful in helping change attitudes to early marriage.

Socioeconomic issues. Only four evaluations examined whether socioeconomic status affected the target group's access to programmes and/or their outcomes. Rogers et al. (1999) found that, in Tanzania, Twende Na Wakati listeners tended to have higher incomes, be more likely to live in urban areas and attend school for longer. Acharya et al. (2009) also found that the girls who took part in Better Life Options (India) tended to be better off than non-participants in the programme's areas of operation. By contrast, Elbadawy (2013) found wealth was not a significant predictor of participation in Ishraq (Egypt).

Age. There is some evidence that effects on marriage rates have been stronger for younger children. Amin and Suran (2005) suggest that BRAC-implemented Kishori Abhijan activities in Bangladesh contributed to delays in marriage only for a defined group – younger girls attending school at appropriate grade-for-age level in a specific poor area where there was high involvement in BRAC programmes. It is not clear what inferences can be drawn from this, except to note that the combination of life skills education, safe spaces and livelihood support seemed to have little effect on age of marriage elsewhere, although it did influence other aspects of girls' wellbeing, for example education and mobility (see Sections 5 and 9).

Erulkar and Muthengi (2007) also found that Berhane Hewane in Ethiopia led to delays in marriage rates among younger girls (10-14). However, marriage rates were actually higher among 15-19 year olds in intervention than in control areas, which the authors attribute to strong social norms that tie fathers' honour to girls' chastity and thus favour early marriage. In this context, the success in delaying younger girls' marriages, though insufficient, should be interpreted as evidence of programme effectiveness.

4 Girls' access to education

Box 3: Summary – girls' access to education

The problem: Globally, 32 million adolescent girls are out of school (http://data.uis.unesco.org). Education is a major pathway for capability development. However, girls' access to education is often constrained by the perception that investing in girls' education is a waste of resources or unnecessary, since they will 'just' get married and benefits will accrue to another family. It is also constrained by gender divisions of labour that assign the bulk of household chores to girls and so undermine home-based study.

Key findings: Positive changes were considerably more common than negative changes, or no impact, and changes in attitudes were more common than changes in practice. The extent of positive change on education issues may reflect a wider shift in norms on girls' education, in part resulting from changing perceptions of its value, and in part reflecting widespread promotional campaigns.

The size of effect varies considerably, from major changes in attitudes or practices pre- and post-intervention or between intervention groups and controls (BRAC in Bangladesh, Berhane Hewan in Ethiopia, Taru in India) to much smaller differences in other programmes (e.g. Filles Eveillées in Burkina Faso, ReproSalud in Peru).

The small change in attitudes in some programmes may reflect the fact that gender equality in education was not a major programme focus (Filles Eveillées in Burkina Faso, ReproSalud in Peru) or that there was already strong support for girls' education or widespread communication efforts on this issue (Chege et al., 2001; Diop et al., 2004).

Programmes that targeted gatekeepers (parents, brothers) were generally effective in shifting attitudes and practices, although most of the evidence on practice change in programmes targeting gatekeepers was qualitative so the size of the effect is unclear (e.g. New Horizons, Choices Egypt).

There is some qualitative evidence in these studies that poverty is in some contexts an important barrier to changing practices as well as attitudes towards girls' education (e.g. Erulkar and Muthengi, 2007; Leerlooijer et al., 2013).

In this section, we examine the impact of communication activities on two sets of issues related to education: attitudes and norms concerning the value (or otherwise) of educating girls, and girls' school attendance. Some studies that examined efforts to change norms concerning girls' household chores (which have an impact on their ability to attend school and study at home) are discussed in Section 7. We do not examine programmes attempting to change norms that may have an impact on both girls' experience of education and their access, such as violence in schools or gender stereotyping in curricula and classrooms, as we did not find any studies that met inclusion criteria for the review.

4.1 Overview of programmes and studies addressing education issues

This section discusses 27 studies examining 27 programmes. There are two studies each discussing Ishraq in Egypt and Tostan in Senegal. In both cases, the two studies discuss implementation in different regions.

4.1.1 Quality and relevance of studies

Table 7 shows the distribution of studies by extent of study focus on education and by study appraisal score. This indicates that there were three studies judged as of high quality, with a significant focus on education, and eight with a limited focus on education.

Table 7: Distribution of studies by extent of education focus and study appraisal score

Some discussion of education/high study appraisal score	Detailed discussion or strong focus on education/high study appraisal score
• Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage, Kenya (Chege et al., 2001) • Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007) • IPA, Zambia (McGinn et al., 2012) • Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011) • Taru, India (Singhal et al., 2004) • Teenage Mothers Project, Uganda (Leerlooijer et al., 2013) • Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso (Engebretsen, 2012) • TOSTAN, Senegal (Diop et al., 2004) • Stepping Stones, India (Bradley et al., 2011) • GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2009)	• Berhane Hewan, Ethiopia (Erulkar and Muthengi, 2007) • Ishraq, Egypt (Elbadawy, 2013) • ReproSalud, Peru (Ferrando et al., 2002) • BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011)
Moderate focus on education/moderate study appraisal score • BRAC ADP, Bangladesh (Kabir et al., 2007) • CARE Reproductive Health Programme, Ethiopia and Kenya (Chege et al., 2004) • Choices Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013) • FilmAid – Kakuma, Kenya (Lee and Bolton, 2007) • Kishori Abhijan, Bangladesh (Amin and Suran, 2005) • PRACHAR, India (Pathfinder, 2011) • Tostan, Senegal (Diop et al., 2008) • Vrai Djo, DRC (Koch and N'tkolo, 2011) • We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)	**Detailed discussion or strong focus on education/moderate study appraisal score** • Meena Communication Initiative, India (CMS, 2004) • Promoting Girls' Education, Nigeria (Oduolowu, 2007) • New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003)

The majority of studies (22/27) used quantitative and/or mixed methods designs. Compared with other thematic issues, a larger number of studies used qualitative approaches. Only nine studies (33%) used strong quasi-experimental designs.

4.1.2 Regional distribution of programmes

As Figure 15 shows, most programmes aiming to influence attitudes or practices on girls' education were in Sub-Saharan Africa (Burkina Faso, DRC, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda and Zambia) or South Asia (Bangladesh, India and Nepal) (11 in each region), with 4 in Egypt and 1 in Peru.

Figure 15: Regional distribution of programmes
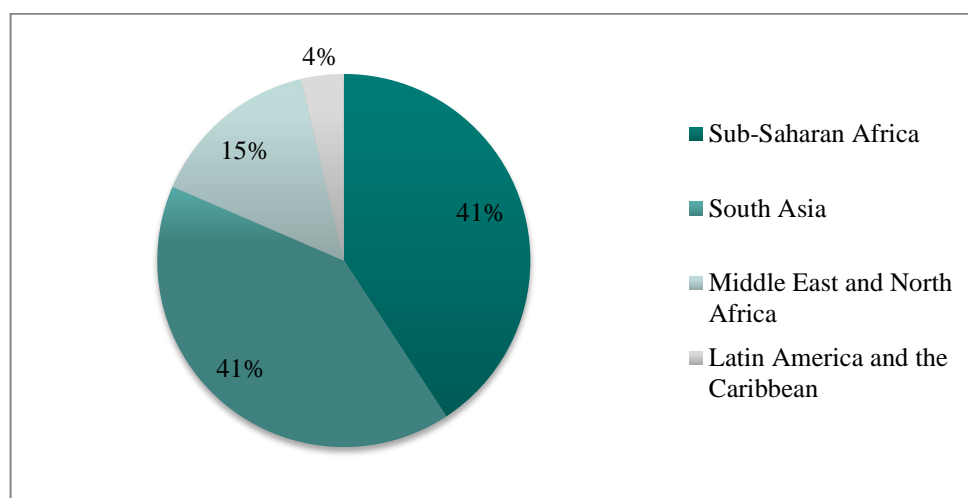
4.1.3 Programme design

Just over two-thirds of this set of programmes involved only communications activities (Figure 16). Non-formal education was the most common communications approach (used by 18 programmes), followed by community dialogue (14 programmes) and IEC materials (9 programmes). Five programmes used mass media to communicate messages (Figure 17). The most common combinations were non-formal education with community dialogue, non-formal education with IEC and IEC with community dialogue. Figure 18 shows the distribution of non-communication programme components – it is clear that economic-strengthening activities are considerably more common than any others.

Figure 16: Broad programme design – programmes addressing girls' education
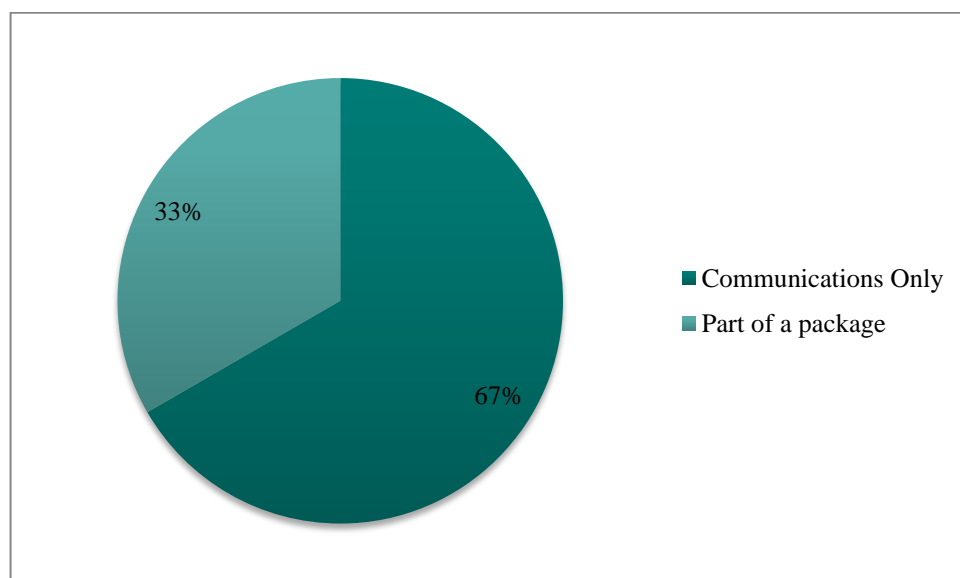
Figure 17: Programmes with each communication component (%)

Component	%
Public Ceremony	11%
Training	4%
Non-Formal Education	67%
One to One Communication/Mentoring	15%
IEC Materials and Large Scale Sensitisation	33%
Community Dialogue	52%
Media	19%
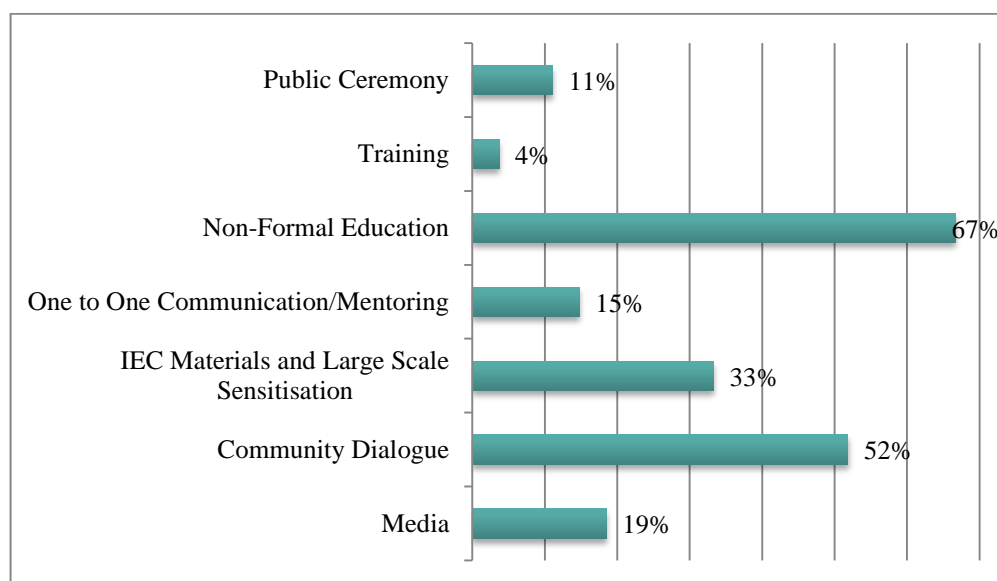
Note: Programmes may include more than one communication component.

Figure 18: Frequency distribution of non-communication components – programmes addressing girls' access to education

Component	Value
Other	1
Cash and In-kind Incentives	3
Sports/games/drama	2
Health Services	1
Income Generation, Credit and Savings	5
Bridge to Formal Education	2
Safe Space	3
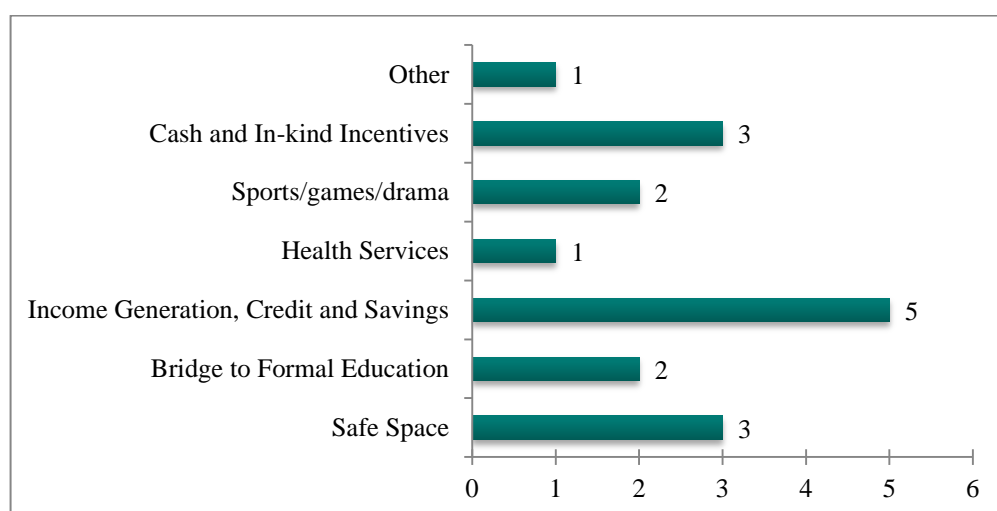
Note: Programmes may include more than one non-communication component.

Figure 19 shows the main target groups for initiatives aiming to change attitudes and practices regarding girls' education. Adolescent girls are notably the largest target group, reflecting the emphasis of life skills programmes on this group. As with several of the other thematic areas examined in this study, boys are also a prominent target group, either as co-participants in youth-focused life skills initiatives or as gatekeepers of adolescent girls' opportunities. Wider community and girls' families are the other two most common target groups, reflecting recognition of their role in upholding wider norms and in individual attitudes that affect particular girls' opportunities.

Figure 19: Frequency distribution of target groups – programmes addressing girls' access to education
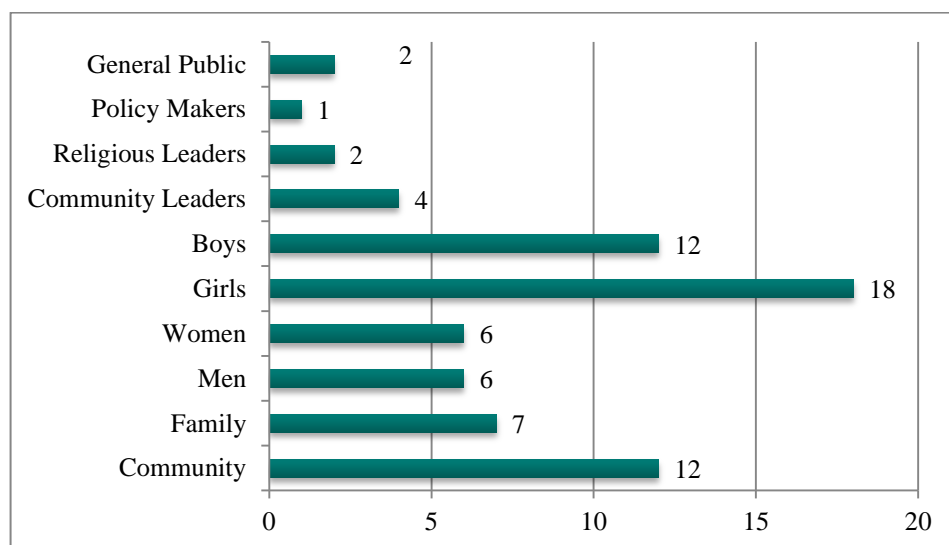
Note: Each programme may have more than one target group.

4.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

This set of studies recorded approximately double the number of changes in attitudes as changes in practice. Leerloijer et al's (2013) study of the Teenage Mothers Support Project in Uganda discussed changing norms at community level more broadly. As Figure 20 shows, significantly more positive outcomes were recorded than neutral or negative outcomes, and many more changes in attitudes than practices were recorded.

Figure 20: Distribution of types of outcomes
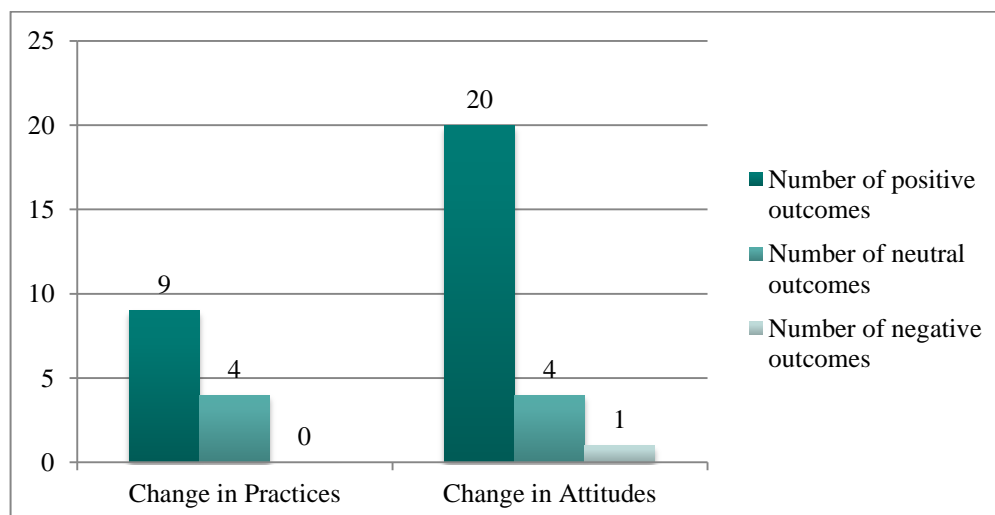
Table 8: Changes in attitudes and practices – girls' education

Programme and study	Type of communications activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
BRAC ADP in Border Areas, Bangladesh (Ara and Das, 2010)	Non-formal education with youth Community dialogue with parents	Attitudes: Belief among parents that boys and girls should have equal education opportunities increased 5 percentage points more among intervention group than control group.	
BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011)	Community dialogue IEC	Attitudes: 96% of respondents in midline survey said boys and girls should have equal priority in education, compared with 46% at baseline (statistical significance not given).	Practices: No change in gender differentials in provision of school bags and private tutors.
BRAC ADP, Bangladesh (Kabir et al., 2007)	Non-formal education for boys and girls in community setting	Attitudes: Male ADP participants more likely than equivalent adolescents in Bangladesh Adolescent Survey (BAS) to believe boys' and girls' education equally important.	Attitudes: No difference between participant girls and BAS sample on attitudes to whether boys or girls' education is more important.
Berhane Hewan, Ethiopia (Erulkar and Muthengi, 2007)	Non-formal education Community dialogue	Practices: Statistically significant reduction in proportion of girls in intervention area 10-19 who had never attended school from 44% at baseline to 24% after 2 years. Practices: 10-14-year-old girls in intervention area half as likely to be in school at baseline as girls in control area. At endline, girls in the intervention area were nearly three times as likely to be in school as those in the control area. Among older girls, there were no significant differences in school status between girls in the experimental or control area, either at baseline or at endline.	
Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013)	Non-formal education	Practices: 80% of respondents at endline (compared with 90% in the baseline) said girls' fathers were the main decision makers about their education. 15% of respondents (compared with 4% at baseline) said girls were the main decision makers about their education. (Statistical significance of these increases not given.) Practices: Where girls were prevented from going to school, 19% more children were prepared to take action at endline than at baseline): the proportion of children who would try to convince their parents to let the girl go to school increased from 79% at baseline to 93% at endline.	

Programme and study	Type of communications activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
Choices Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011)	Non-formal education for boys and girls in community setting	Attitudes: Statistically significant increase towards greater equality in attitudes to education index.	
Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso (Engebretsen, 2012)	Non-formal education for girl domestic workers in community setting	Attitudes: Proportion agreeing boys should be prioritised for education fell from 54% to 43% between endline and baseline (statistical significance not given).	
FilmAid, Kenya (Lee and Bolton, 2007)	Media (films)	Attitudes: 70% of respondents perceived a positive impact on girls' education as a result of the films.	
BRAC Kishori Abhijan, Bangladesh (Amin and Suran, 2005)	Non-formal education IEC and community conversation	Practices: Only younger girls in one district more likely to attend school as result of intervention.	
GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2009)	Non-formal education and IEC for boys and girls in secondary school setting	Attitudes: After two years of intervention, students exposed to IEC and non-formal education on gender issues were three times as likely as control students to disagree with the statement, 'Since girls have to get married, they should not be sent for higher education.'	
IPA, Zambia (McGinn et al., 2012)	Non-formal education	Practices: Girls who attended information and negotiation sessions were more likely to negotiate with parents for time to do homework after the course; however, for those who attended the information-only sessions, the likelihood of doing so declined.	
Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007)* (Elbadawy, 2013)**	Non-formal education for girls in community setting	Practices*: 69% of girls who had remained in Ishraq for the full 30 months were enrolled in formal schooling by the endline survey (compared with 0% at baseline). Practices*: Participation had a significant net impact on improving academic skills such as writing one's name, solving a maths problem and reading a simple paragraph.	Attitudes**: No statistically differences between control girls and Ishraq girls with respect to attitudes towards whether girls should have at least secondary education or the same education level as boys.

Programme and study	Type of communications activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage Programme, Kenya (Chege, 2001)	Non-formal education		Attitudes: No statistically significant difference between girls attending alternative rite course and those not attending in attitudes towards equal priority for boys' and girls' education. Also, no difference among parents of the two groups.
Meena Communication Initiative, India (CMS, 2004)	Media and IEC materials Community dialogue	Attitudes: Use of Meena films reported to lead to softening of negative attitudes towards girls' education. 27% respondents viewed the importance of girls' education as the most important learning from Meena, with 41% of girls highlighting this and 37% of boys.	
New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants, 2003)	Non-formal education	Practices: Among those girls who had dropped out of school, many had restarted studying (qualitative finding).	
PRACHAR, India (Pathfinder International, 2011)	Non-formal education IEC One-to-one communication	Attitudes: Boys have been encouraging their parents to let their sisters go to school (qualitative finding). Practices: Both boys and girls are staying in school longer, and parents are increasingly aware of the benefits of education (qualitative finding).	
ReproSalud, Peru (Ferrando et al., 2002)	IEC	Attitudes: Slight increase in agreement that daughters and sons have the same right to education in participant communities and decreased agreement among control communities between baseline and study. Project led to a greater increase in support for equal rights to education among women (12 percentage point increase) than men (3 percentage point increase).	
Stepping Stones, India (Bradley et al., 2011)	Non-formal education	Attitudes: In Stepping Stones villages, 40% of respondents believed girls with too much education do not make good wives, compared with 44% of those in non-Stepping Stones villages (p=0.02).	

Programme and study	Type of communications activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
Strengthening Capacity in Promoting Girls' Education, Nigeria (Oduoluwu, 2007)	IEC Community dialogue	Practices: Increase in girls' school enrolment in one study district.[18]	Practices: Fall in girls' school enrolment in the other study district.
Taru, India (Singhal et al., 2004)	Radio soap opera	Attitudes: Compared with non-exposed people, Taru listeners were significantly more supportive of the view that girls should be allowed to continue studying as much as they want, and were more likely to disagree with the view that when resources are scarce only boys should be sent to school.	
Teenage Mothers Project, Uganda (Leerlooijer et al., (2013)	Non-formal education Community dialogue Mentoring	Practices: Going back to school after giving birth became more common and more accepted by parents, community and schools. Before the project started, a large majority of teenage mothers did not continue their education. This study found 65% had returned to school. Of activities involved, awareness raising, persuasion and/or counselling played the greatest role.	
Tostan, Senegal (Diop, 2004)	Community dialogue Non-formal education One-to-one communication Media (radio)		Practices: Statistically similar increases in proportion of girls attending school in both comparison and intervention group and thus no discernable effect of Tostan.
We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)	One-to-one communication IEC	Attitudes: 18% of change makers in Rajasthan pledged to educate their daughters, and/or encourage all the girls in their family to attend school or study further.	

[18] Data for only three years are given, and show an appreciable increase in one community but a fall in the other. The limited data mean it is hard to discern the trend or relate it to interventions.

4.3 Explaining findings

4.3.1 Explaining positive outcomes

As Figure 20 shows, the majority of recorded outcomes (29 out of 38) were positive. Contextual factors favouring girls' education may have played an important role, as in much of the world gender differentials in school enrolment have declined in recent years (UNESCO, 2013). Globally, norms concerning the value of education for girls as well as boys appear to be changing, which means these initiatives may well have been operating in a broadly supportive context. That said, attitudes and practices concerning education are often determined by local factors, such as the nature of local labour markets and the perceived quality of education on offer in an area, and by local social norms, which do not necessarily reflect larger-scale trends.

Non-formal education for girls (and sometimes also boys) combined with community dialogue was the most common type of intervention. Although none of these studies analysed the added value of engaging parents and community gatekeepers (including, in some contexts, brothers) over engaging with girls alone, community dialogue likely encouraged a broader shift in norms concerning education. There is quantitative evidence of change in parental attitudes (e.g. from BRAC's Adolescent Development Programme (ADP) and GQAL in Bangladesh) and in brothers' attitudes in Ishraq, Egypt (Elbadawy, 2013), as well as qualitative evidence (e.g. from Choices in Nepal and PRACHAR in India) of boys advocating for their sisters' education. The evaluations of Vrai Djo in DRC (Koch and N'tkolo, 2011) and Stepping Stones in Karnataka, India (Bradley et al., 2011) also provide evidence of shifting attitudes at the community level.

There is also evidence of combined non-formal education and community dialogue programmes affecting practices. For example, Berhane Hewan in Ethiopia led to a substantial increase in 10-14-year-old girls attending school – respondents in Mekbib and Molla's (2010) study attribute this principally to the effects of community dialogue in convincing decision-makers to let girls continue at school . Ishraq and New Horizons (Egypt) both led to girls who had dropped out returning to school (Brady et al., 2007; North South Consultants Exchange, 2003). Oduolowu's (2007) analysis of the Strengthening Capacity programme in Nigeria also suggests the observed rise in female enrolments in one study district may be related to IEC activities in support of girls' education, although this would not explain the decline in the other study district.

The Teenage Mothers Project in Uganda was one of the few interventions examined that involved one-to-one communications. Specifically, non-governmental organisation (NGO) staff visited the parents of teenage mothers and encouraged them to let their daughters return to school. They also provided individual support/mentoring to girls who had dropped out of school because of pregnancy and encouragement to return. Qualitative evidence cited by Leerlooijer et al. (2013) indicates that this one-to-one communication was important in encouraging teenage mothers to return to school and their parents to allow this.

The two main media programmes – Taru and Meena (both in India) – both had a positive effect on attitudes towards girls' education. In part, this may reflect the use of characters audiences can identify with. An evaluation in three Indian states of the Meena Communication Initiative, which features a strong-minded girl, Meena, who confronts various gender equality and health and hygiene issues, found that between 55% and 63% of respondents identified with Meena and 93% aspired to be like her (CMS, 2004). The evaluation found that Meena broadcasts had been perceived as 'eye openers', and had stimulated discussion on gender equality issues, particular girls' education and equal treatment of boys and girls. However, it also suggests the sporadic nature of broadcasts has limited its impact and that Meena could have contributed to more extensive attitude and behaviour change if it had been screened more regularly over a longer period.

Similarly, Taru, a radio drama aimed at adults promoting family planning gender equality, broadcast in India in 2002-2003, was perceived by audiences as realistic, of high production and story quality and to have likeable characters with whom they identified (Singhal et al., 2004). The epilogues, which summarised key issues arising in an episode, were also perceived as helping listeners think about the main educational messages from an episode. This is likely to have contributed to its success in helping change attitudes towards girls' education.

Comparison of impacts of different activities. Only three studies compared the impact of different communication activities. This is much too small a sample from which to be able to draw conclusions about the value of specific combinations of activities in catalysing change in norms concerning girls' education. Singhal et

al. (2004) found people exposed to Taru (India) were much less likely than controls to think that when resources are scarce they should be spent on boys' education in preference to girls' education. Among people who listened to Taru, those who were also exposed to intense IEC activities (listener groups plus a range of IEC activities) disagreed more strongly than those experiencing fewer IEC activities or those solely involved in listener groups. Only 20% of those exposed to all Taru activities agreed scare resources should be spent on boys' education compared with 57% of the control group and 21-28% of people exposed to different intensities of Taru activity. By contrast, there was very little difference in attitudes to the statement, 'Girls should be allowed to continue studying as much as they want', with over 94% of all groups agreeing and the strongest agreement in the control group, indicating Taru had no effect on attitudes on this issue.

McGinn et al. (2012) found, unsurprisingly, that girls in the IPA programme in Zambia who took part in the information and negotiation life skills course were more likely to negotiate with parents over having time to spend on homework than those in the information only course. Ferrando et al. (2002) compared changes in communities with non-formal education activities only and those with non-formal education plus an income-generation component (provision of small loans), and found less egalitarian attitudes concerning the value of boys' and girls' education than in communities that just received IEC. They suggest this may have occurred by chance or be related to data problems, but that it merits further analysis.

Intensity of exposure. Only one study that examined educational outcomes examined any aspects of intensity of exposure, in this case length. Brady et al. (2007) found girls who completed the Ishraq non-formal education programme in Egypt were much more likely to re-enrol in school than those who attended a shorter amount of the course, or who did not attend (69% of full-term participants compared with 24% who attended between 13 and 29 months, 8% of those who attended for a year or less and 5% of non-attendants). However, because the programme involved a literacy skills course aimed at helping girls return to formal education, the rate of Ishraq participants re-enrolling in school cannot be interpreted as an effect of the communication programme alone.

4.3.2 Explaining neutral and negative outcomes

In some cases, limited change as a result of an intervention reflects already high levels of support for girls' education (Chege et al., 2001 on Kenya) or a general trend towards increasing education (e.g. Diop, 2004 on Senegal). In one study in Bangladesh (Alim, 2011), the programme of community dialogue and IEC on gender issues aimed at adults had helped shift practice towards greater enrolment of girls but had not yet changed a norm that prioritised boys' education. Thus, parents were still investing more in boys' education than that of girls, with a greater proportion paying for private tuition and buying school bags for boys than girls.

Elbadawy's (2013) analysis of Ishraq's impacts in Egypt suggests the extent of change may be underestimated because they include analysis of all girls who ever attended, rather than only those who completed the programme. This may, for example, help account for the absence of statistically significant changes between control girls and Ishraq participants with respect to attitudes towards whether girls should have at least secondary education or the same education level as boys.

Erulkar and Muthengi (2007) found that Berhane Hewan in Ethiopia had little impact on school enrolment for girls aged over 15. This mirrors their findings on early marriage, where the intervention was also much more successful for girls under 15. They attribute this to the strength of norms favouring early marriage and the negative implications for men's honour of having unmarried daughters.

Several of the evaluations examined recorded positive change towards more gender-egalitarian norms on education on one indicator and no change, or even negative change on another (e.g. Singhal et al., 2004 on Taru in India; Ferrando et al., 2002 on ReproSalud in Peru; McGinn et al., 2012 on IPA, Zambia; Brady et al., 2007 on Ishraq, Egypt). It is easy to over-interpret these differences but they may indicate that more targeted exposure, or spending a greater length of time on education-related issues in life skills courses, might shift attitudes and practices further. However, the studies examined provide no evidence to confirm or refute this.

Socioeconomic issues. Although eight studies disaggregate their findings by socioeconomic group (or a proxy indicator) to some degree, or control for socioeconomic differences, most do not report how socioeconomic differences may have affected access to or the impact of the communication activities concerned on attitudes and practices concerning girls' education. Ara and Das (2010) note there were very few socioeconomic

differences between participants and the control group, so socioeconomic factors are unlikely to have influenced the effectiveness of BRAC's ADP in the border areas of Bangladesh. Amin and Suran (2005) find that BRAC-run Kishori Abhijan activities in Bangladesh were the most effective in retaining a specific group of girls in school – younger girls in a poor district with high levels of BRAC membership. Taken together, these studies do not provide clear evidence to confirm or refute the hypothesis that poverty may constrain access to, or impede people acting on, messages concerning the value of girls' education.

Many of these projects took place in poor communities and, while the evaluations do not explicitly examine how poverty affected reception of and ability to act on messages received through communication initiatives, several mention poverty as a major factor affecting girls' wellbeing outcomes. Erulkar and Muthengi (2007) found that, although Berhane Hewan (Ethiopia) was effective for younger girls, among older girls socioeconomic factors and whether or not they were married had the greatest impact on whether or not they were attending school. Leerlooijer et al.'s (2013) qualitative study found poverty was a major obstacle to girl mothers returning to school, even though the Teenage Mothers Support Project (Uganda) had played a significant role in changing norms.

5 Mobility

Box 4: Summary – adolescent girls' mobility

The problem: At puberty, girls' mobility is often restricted, which curtails their access to livelihoods, learning and recreational and social activities, and limits girls' ability to participate in life outside the family. Mobility is often restricted because of perceived threats to safety and security, and because of ideologies that associate family 'honour' with women's and girls' confinement to the private sphere.

Key findings: The 10 programmes examined had a positive effect on adolescent girls' mobility, with the majority of evidence concerning shifts in practice. A total of 75% of recorded outcomes were positive, one of the highest proportions among the different thematic areas.

A combination of non-formal education and community dialogue targeting different groups was the most common approach. However, there are no assessments of the effectiveness of particular components, or of whether there is added value from integrating communication and other developmental activities, in terms of effect on adolescent girls' mobility. It may be that non-communication components (many of which involved vocational or literacy training) were perceived to increase girls' competence and thus families were more trusting of daughters' ability to go to various places unaccompanied. In some programmes (e.g. BRAC's ELA in Bangladesh), increased mobility also reflected trust of the specific programme and its organisers.

Three evaluations recorded neutral changes, with either positive changes that were not statistically significant (e.g. First Time Parents Project, India) or some continued resistance to girls' mobility (PRACHAR, India).

The extent to which socioeconomic factors affect outcomes on adolescent girls' mobility is unclear from the evidence reviewed here.

5.1 Overview of programmes and studies

5.1.1 Quality and relevance of programmes

Ten studies, each examining a different programme, measured outcomes related to changes in girls' mobility. Since mobility is one of a number of themes examined by all these studies, rather than a significant focus of any, in this section we do not distinguish studies by their degree of focus on mobility. Table 9 therefore presents the studies examined in this section grouped by their overall study appraisal score.

Table 9: Distribution of study appraisal scores

Moderate study appraisal score	High study appraisal score
• Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013) • New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003) • We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)	• Better Life Options, India (Acharya et al., 2009) • BRAC ADP in Border Areas, Bangladesh (Ara and Das, 2010) • BRAC ELA Centres, Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008) • BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011) • DISHA, India (Kanesathasan et al., 2008) • First Time Parents Project, India (Santhya et al., 2008) • Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007)

All but two of these studies used a quantitative design or mixed methods design. Seven studies scored four on the Maryland Scale of Scientific Measurement, indicating the use of strong quantitative designs, such as quasi-experimental designs with matched participants.

5.1.2 Regional overview

Reflecting the regional distribution of norms restricting girls' and adult women's mobility, all the programmes examined here took place either in South Asia (India and Bangladesh) or North Africa (Egypt) (Figure 21).

Figure 21: Regional distribution of programmes – programmes addressing mobility
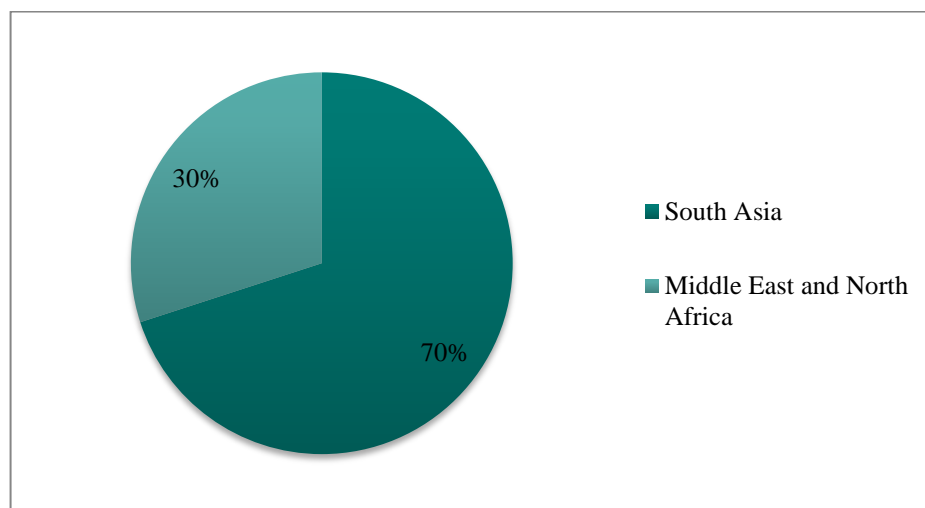
5.1.3 Programme design

Figures 22 and 23 show the breakdown of types of programme: half involved only communication activities and half integrated other components. Non-formal education and community conversations were the most common approach, with some programmes also using IEC materials and one, DISHA in India, also engaging some young people via one-to-one communication.

Figure 22: Broad programme design – programmes addressing mobility
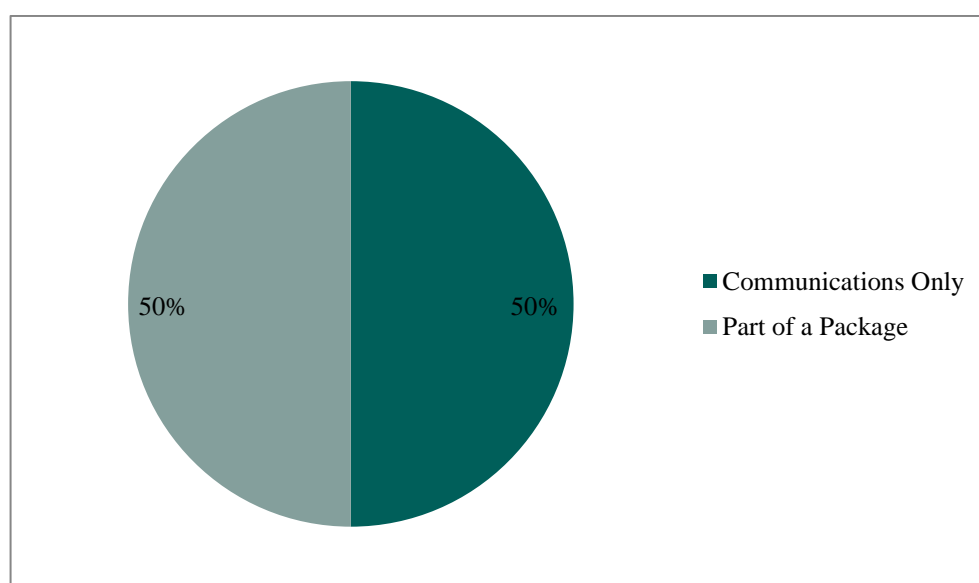
Figure 23: Programmes with particular communication components – programmes addressing mobility
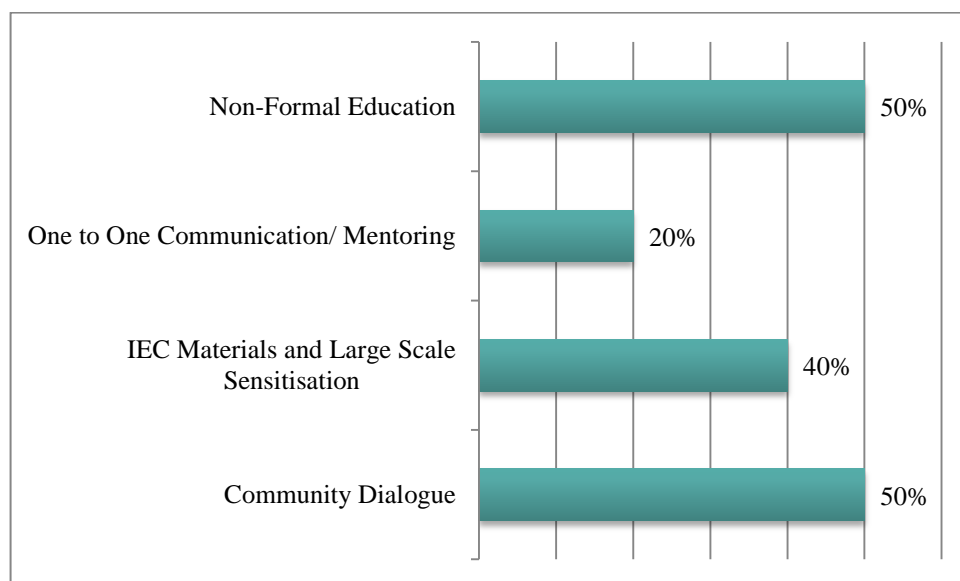
Note: Programmes may include more than one communication component.

Six programmes involved more than one communication activity. Community dialogue with IEC was the most common combination and occurred in three programmes. Five programmes involved non-communication components. These were distributed as shown in Figure 24.

Figure 24: Frequency distribution of non-communication components – programmes addressing mobility
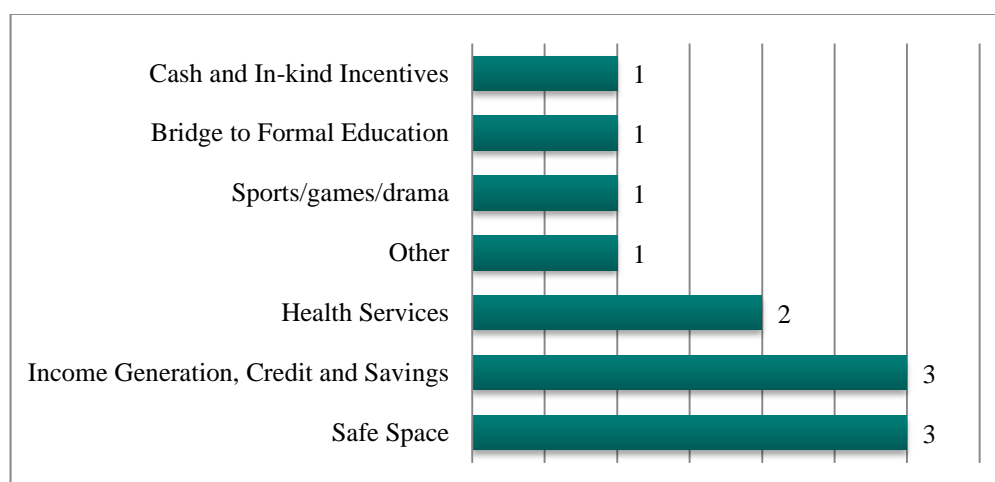
Note: Programmes may include more than one non-communication component.

As Figure 25 shows, as with the programmes addressing education and early marriage, adolescent girls are the principal target group for programmes aiming to promote an increase in girls' mobility. As with early marriage and education programmes, boys are another important audience, either as co-participants in youth life skills programmes, or because they are directly targeted as gatekeepers of girls opportunities, as in two of the three programmes in Egypt (Ishraq and Choices). In the same vein, girls' families and communities are also the target of community dialogue to promote more gender-egalitarian norms.

Figure 25: Frequency distribution of target groups – programmes addressing mobility
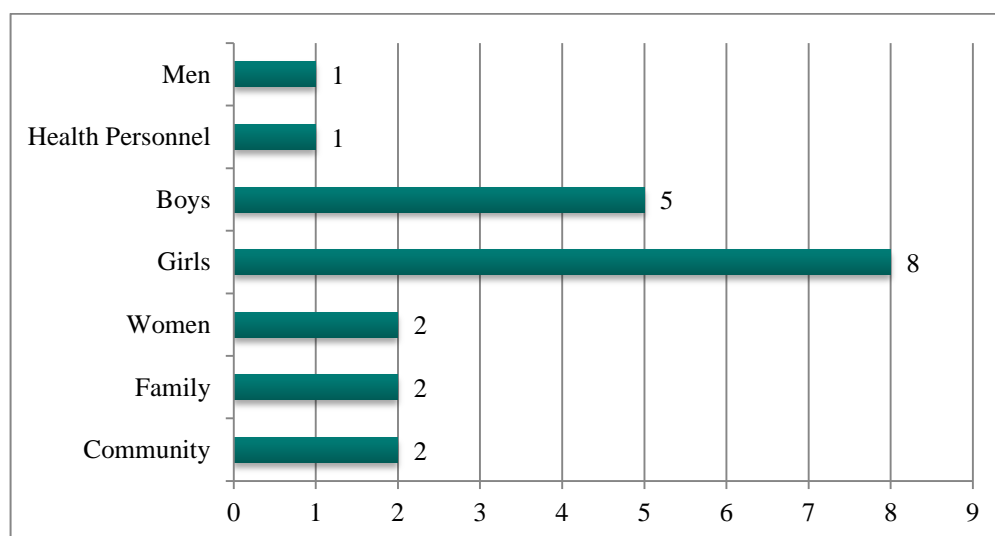
Note: Programmes may target more than one group.

5.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

5.2.1 Types of outcomes examined

In contrast to some of the other themes examined in this review, where the focus is primarily on changes in attitudes rather than practices, most of these studies report on changes in girls' actual mobility (nine instances) rather than attitudes to their mobility (two instances). One programme reported changes in both attitudes and practices (Ara and Das' 2010 study of BRAC's ADP in Border Areas of Bangladesh).

Figure 26: Distribution of types of outcome – programmes addressing mobility
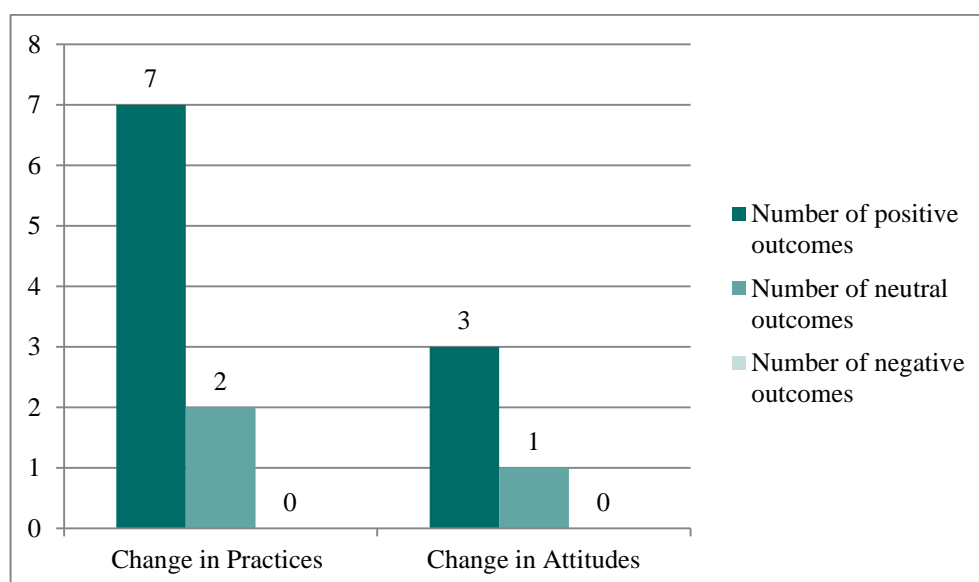
As Figure 26 shows, the majority of recorded outcomes were positive (75%). Table 10 presents findings from these studies in more detail.

Table 10: Changes in attitudes and practices concerning adolescent girls' mobility

Programme and study	Communication approach and country	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
BRAC ADP in Border Areas, Bangladesh (Ara and Das, 2010)	Non-formal education	Practices: Mobility index (covering places adolescents could visit) increased substantially for intervention group but not for control group – a statistically significance difference. Statistically significant differences in mobility to friends' houses and village playgrounds (sports fields). Proportion of adolescent girls being restricted from any activities (including those requiring mobility) during menstruation decreased from 47% to 41% in intervention group, compared with 1% (from 38% to 37%) in comparison group.	Practices: No statistically significant impact on mobility to school, clubs or health care facilities.
BRAC ELA Centres, Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008)	Non-formal education	Practices: Statistically significant increase in both actual and perceived mobility (places that girls perceive they are allowed to go to) among participants. Qualitative data indicate that, because parents and community trusted the BRAC centre, girls could go unaccompanied and without permission. Some girls had also started travelling in groups to the city market, cinema, fairs, concerts and circuses. Non-participant girls only travelled with relatives, and to fewer destinations.	
Better Life Options, India (Acharya et al., 2009)	Non-formal education	Practices: Mobility index value increased by 62% for girls in control site, by 86% among all intervention participants and by 100% among regular intervention participants (from 1.4 to 2.6 and from 1.4 to 2.8, respectively). Difference in difference analysis indicates that 32% of the change in mobility reported by all participant girls and over 42% of the change among regular participants is attributable to the intervention.	
BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim et al., 2011)	Community conversation IEC	Practices: Reduction in proportion of girls sent nowhere outside the home (from 55% to 41%); increase in proportion of girls sent to shops (from 33% to 49%). Small reduction in proportion of girls going to bazaar and to relatives' houses. Statistical significance of changes not given.	

Programme and study	Communication approach and country	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts
Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013)	Non-formal education	Practices: Increase in children reporting that girls go out alone from 47% at baseline to 55% at endline Attitudes: Increase in boys agreeing girls can go out alone from 59% at baseline to 63% at endline. Attitudes: Proportion of children intending to 'take action' if girls' mobility is restricted by parents increased from 15% to 45%. Statistical significance not given for any data.	
DISHA, India (Kanesathasan et al., 2008)	Non-formal education One-to-one communication	Practices: Proportion of girls/young women who reported being able to seek health services outside of the village unaccompanied increased from 21% to 32% for unmarried girls and from 27% to 43% for married girls/young women between baseline and endline.	
First Time Parents Project, India (Santhya et al., 2008)	Non-formal education		Practices: Mobility increased for both control groups and participants – there was a statistically weak additional effect of the intervention.
Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007)	Non-formal education Community conversation	Attitudes: Statistically significant reduction in proportion of girls believing girls who go out without permission should be beaten.	
New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003)	Non-formal education	Practices: Increased mobility for both married and unmarried groups. Parents of girls attending New Horizons gained confidence in their daughters' ability to properly manage different situations, and they were granted more autonomy to visit friends or to join school or other trips.	
PRACHAR, India (Pathfinder International, 2011)	Non-formal education Community dialogue IEC	Practices: Qualitative evidence of norms shifting to allow adolescent girls increased mobility.	Attitudes: Young women moving alone for work would still not be acceptable to many people in participant communities.
We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)	One-to-one communication IEC	Practices: 8% of change makers in Uttaranchal said they would no longer restrict their family members' mobility.	

5.3 Explaining findings

'There has been a lot of change in 5 years. Earlier parents would not send their daughter out; the parents felt that she had to stay at home for the sake of honour/dignity. Now [the daughters] go out openly. Community influencer' (Pathfinder International, 2011: 24).

The fact that most studies recorded increased mobility of adolescent girls and young women attributable to the intervention indicates that this is an area where communications around gender equality and adolescent girls' rights have started to shift norms. All these programmes were broader adolescent development programmes or gender equality promotion programmes that addressed mobility as part of a wider set of concerns. As we were unable to access details of non-formal education programme curricula, or the detailed foci of community dialogues, we do not have any evidence as to how directly these programmes addressed issues of mobility. In this case, it may be that norms have shifted more because practices have changed, and become seen as acceptable and normal – as Selim et al.'s (2013) analysis of Ishraq in Egypt emphasises, the very fact of adolescent girls travelling within their communities to attend non-formal education classes, and in the case Ishraq, attending classes in youth centres formerly reserved for boys, constitutes a powerful statement about girls' right to use public spaces that may have helped set in motion a virtuous circle expanding girls' mobility.

In some studies, changes were notable (around 10-15 percentage point differences between participants and controls, or pre- and post-intervention) as in BRAC's GQAL, Bangladesh, and in Better Life Options and DISHA, both in India. Others recorded increases in mobility to some destinations but not to others (e.g. BRAC's ADP in the border areas of Bangladesh (Ara and Das, 2010) or smaller increases (e.g. New Horizons in Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003)). Alim's (2011) study of BRAC's GQAL in Bangladesh, which compared changes in perceptions of places that girls could go with those they actually went to, found the range of places they could go had expanded faster than the number of places they actually went to.

Apart from four programmes that involved only one communications approach – non-formal education – all these programmes combined communications activities, with non-formal education and community dialogue a particularly common combination. None of these studies tests the contribution of different components to the outcomes observed. It is likely that the combination of non-formal education aimed principally at girls and secondarily at boys, and community conversations aimed at family and community members, has helped change attitudes and norms concerning girls' mobility. However, there is insufficient evidence in the studies presented to draw a strong conclusion about the reinforcing effect of multiple communications methods. It is also unclear how strong messaging about girls' mobility was in life skills curricula or communications activities that focused on gender equality more broadly, and whether, for example, the programmes that achieved stronger effects were those that addressed mobility issues more directly and more intensively.

Although five programmes involved non-communication components, such as economic-strengthening activities, safe spaces and other activities, such as sports and improved access to health services (Figure 24), none of this set of studies attempted to quantify the relative effect of communications and other activities. In the case of programmes such as Better Life Options (India) and BRAC's ELA Centres programme (Bangladesh), it is also clear that economic-strengthening activities contributed to both parental approval of the programme and a greater sense of daughters as competent and trustworthy (Acharya et al., 2009; Shahnaz and Karim, 2008). Qualitative insights from BRAC's ELA Centres programme (Bangladesh) indicates that, because parents trusted BRAC centres, they allowed girls to go there unaccompanied and without obtaining permission each time. This had led to some girls travelling in groups out of the village. Likewise, the overall positive effect of the New Horizons Programme in Egypt led parents to trust their daughters' capacities more and to be more likely to allow them to visit friends or participate in school trips.

Intensity of exposure. Only two studies measured any aspect of intensity – in this case duration of exposure (Acharya et al., 2009; Brady et al., 2007). Both of these found that longer exposure to a programme was associated with a greater change in attitudes or practices concerning adolescent girls' mobility. Brady et al. (2007) found that the proportion of girls who agreed a girl should be beaten if she went out without permission declined with the length of participation in Ishraq (Egypt), although it remained high (over 60%). Acharya et al. (2009) found in India that, although an index of girls' mobility increased for all participants and for girls in the control group, the increase was greatest for those who participated regularly in the Better Life Options

programme, for whom it doubled. Difference-in-difference analysis indicates that 32% of the change in mobility reported by all participant girls and over 42% of the change among regular participants is attributable to the intervention.

Socioeconomic issues. Only two[19] of the nine studies considered how socioeconomic inequalities may have affected outcomes. Acharya et al. (2009) note that, although the Better Life Options programme targeted poor communities, within these the regular Better Life Options participants attended more regularly and, as a result, experienced a greater degree of empowerment on various different indicators. Ara and Das' (2010) study of BRAC's ADP in Border Areas also found that participating adolescents were generally from better-off families than non-participating adolescents were, but that they had generally had less education than control adolescents. As with the other issues examined, these studies give relatively little insight into how far efforts to change norms through communication are enhanced or undermined by socioeconomic factors.

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[19] Other studies control for socioeconomic differences between participant and control group but do not discuss how such differences may have affected outcomes (e.g. Kanesathasan et al., 2008; Santhya et al., 2008).

6 Attitudes to women working and adolescent girls' aspirations

Box 5: Summary – attitudes to women working and adolescent girls' work-related aspirations

The problem: Adolescent girls' aspirations are often constrained by expectations that they will get married young and concentrate on raising a family, and by norms that disapprove of women working outside the household. Girls' aspirations may also be affected by assumptions that girls cannot perform difficult work or work demanding as a high a skill level as boys.

Key findings: Thirteen programmes were associated with changed attitudes on women's work and/or girls' aspirations to engage in paid work in the public sphere as adults. Only two programmes were not associated with clear or statistically significant changes. Two studies recorded change on some female work-related indicators but not on others – related to men's breadwinning role and on young women migrating for work. Three evaluations recorded increased aspirations among adolescent girls as a result of project participation.

Non-formal education was the most common approach, followed by community conversations and large-scale sensitisation via IEC campaigns. There is insufficient evidence to assess the relative effectiveness of any of these communication approaches, or of different combinations in shifting attitudes on work-related issues.

Just under half the programmes examined combined communication and other activities. Again, none of these evaluations tests the relative contribution of communication and other activities in leading to change on work-related attitudes. However, it is likely that both safe spaces where girls could develop new views in a supportive environment and programmes that provided vocational skills training or support to start up small businesses may have contributed to girls developing a stronger sense of self-efficacy in relation to paid work.

This section focuses on attitudes towards young women working outside the home, and attitudes towards the types of work older girls and young women are able to do. It also examines girls' aspirations, which are often constrained by norms disapproving of young women working. It does not examine changes in young women's work participation or working conditions, as these are outside the scope of the study.

6.1 Overview of programmes and studies

6.1.1 Quality and relevance of studies

There were 15 studies discussing 15 programmes[20] examining changes in attitudes towards women or older girls working outside the home and/or adolescent girls' future work aspirations. Although in all of these studies work was one of a number of issues examined, the extent of analysis and discussion of these issues varied considerably. Table 11 gives a breakdown of studies by study appraisal score and by extent of focus on work and aspirations.

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[20] Although two studies discuss Ishraq in Egypt, the programmes they discuss were implemented at different times and in different regions – Elbadawy (2013) evaluates an extension of Ishraq to a region previously not served by the programme – and are thus considered different interventions.

Table 11: Distribution of studies by study appraisal score and extent of work and aspirations focus

High study appraisal score/moderate work or aspirations focus	High study appraisal score/stronger work or aspirations focus
• Apwe Plezi, St Lucia (Vaughan et al., 2000) • Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007); Elbadawy (2013) • BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011)	• Better Life Options, India (Acharya et al., 2009) • BRAC ADP in Border Regions of Bangladesh (Ara and Das, 2010) • BRAC ELA, Uganda (Bandiera et al., 2012) • BRAC ELA Centres and APON Programme, Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008) • Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health. 2011) • Humaqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012)
Moderate study appraisal score/moderate work or aspirations focus	**Moderate study appraisal score/stronger work or aspirations focus**
• BRAC ADP, Bangladesh (Kabir et al., 2007) • Meena Communication Initiative (CMS, 2004) • New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants' Exchange, 2003)	• Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consulting, 2013) • PRACHAR, India (Pathfinder, 2011)

Almost equal numbers of studies used quantitative (eight studies) and mixed methods research designs (six studies), with one study drawing solely on qualitative research. Eight studies used designs considered to have the greatest strength: quasi-experimental designs or RCTs.

6.1.2 Regional overview
As Figure 27 shows, just over half the programmes examined took place in South Asia (Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan), four in North Africa (Egypt) and one each in Sub-Saharan Africa (Uganda) and the Caribbean (St Lucia).

Figure 27: Regional distribution of programmes addressing work and aspirations
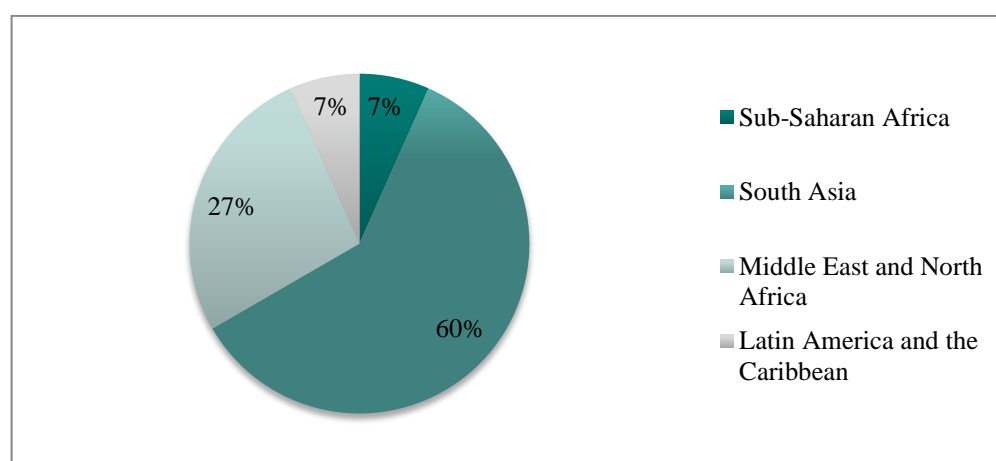
6.1.3 Programme design
Three fifths of the programmes examined used only communication approaches (Figure 28).

Figure 28: Broad programme design – programmes addressing work and aspirations
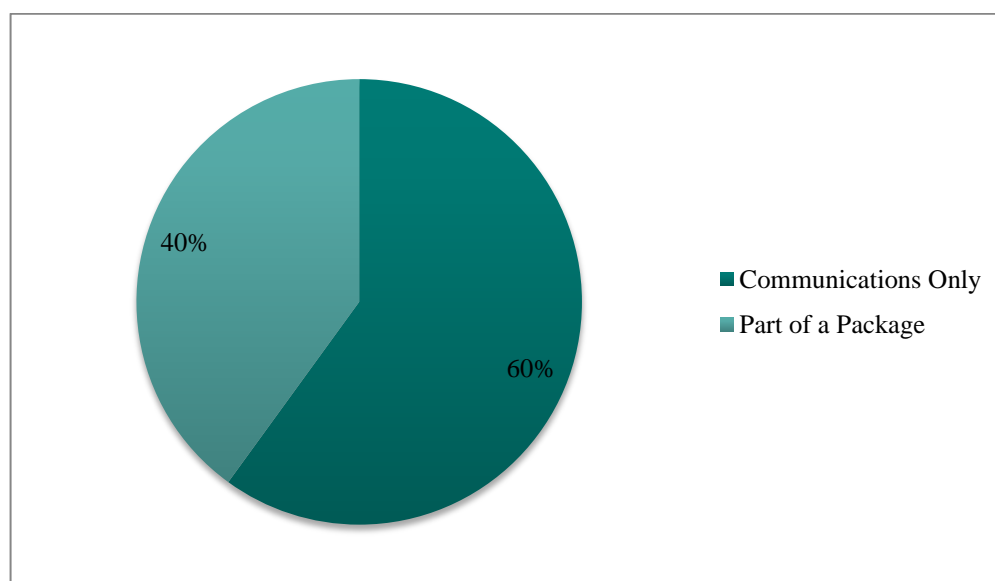
Non-formal education was the most common communications activity in this group of programmes, with community conversation or other discussion-based approaches the next most common. Only one intervention was based on use of media (radio); three involved IEC or other large-scale sensitisation activities (Figure 28). Two-thirds had only one communication component, while four involved three or more activities.

Figure 29: Programmes that included each communication component – programmes addressing work and aspirations (%)
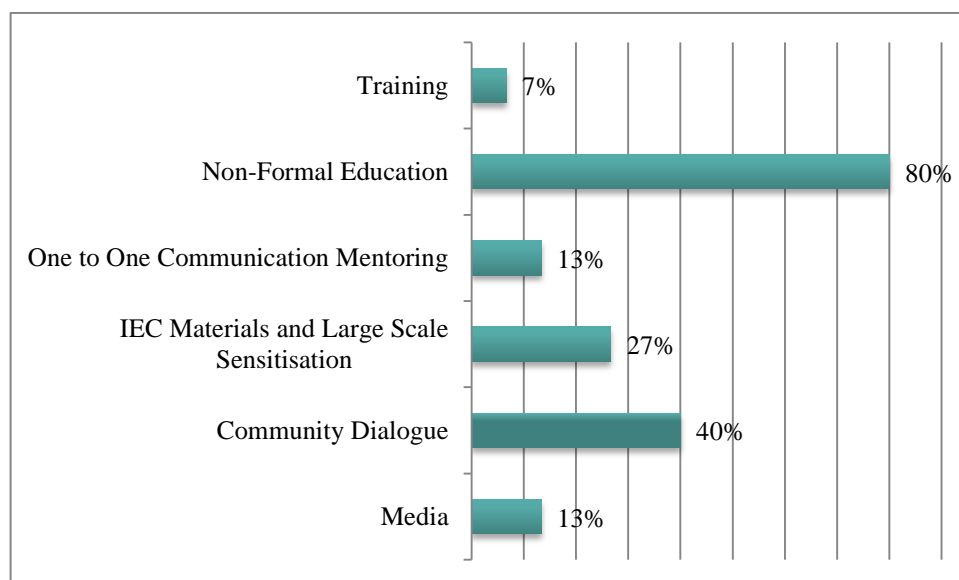
Note: Programmes may include more than one communications component.

Two-fifths of the programmes involved non-communication components, with safe space and livelihood activities occurring most frequently (Figure 30).

Figure 30: Frequency distribution of non-communication components – programmes addressing work and aspirations
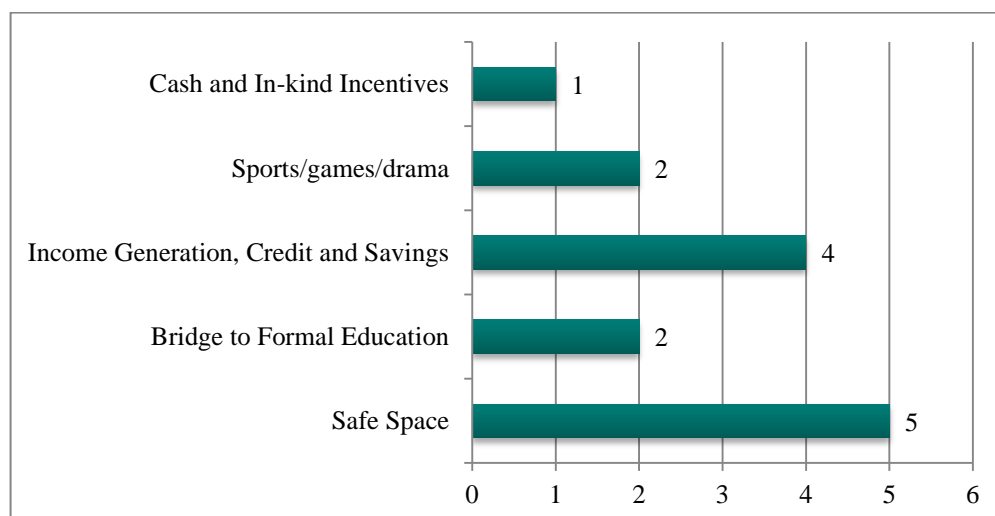
Note: Programmes may include more than one non-communication component.

Girls were the principal target group, followed by boys and then adult 'gatekeepers' such as family members (Figure 31).

Figure 31: Frequency distribution of target groups – programmes addressing work and aspirations
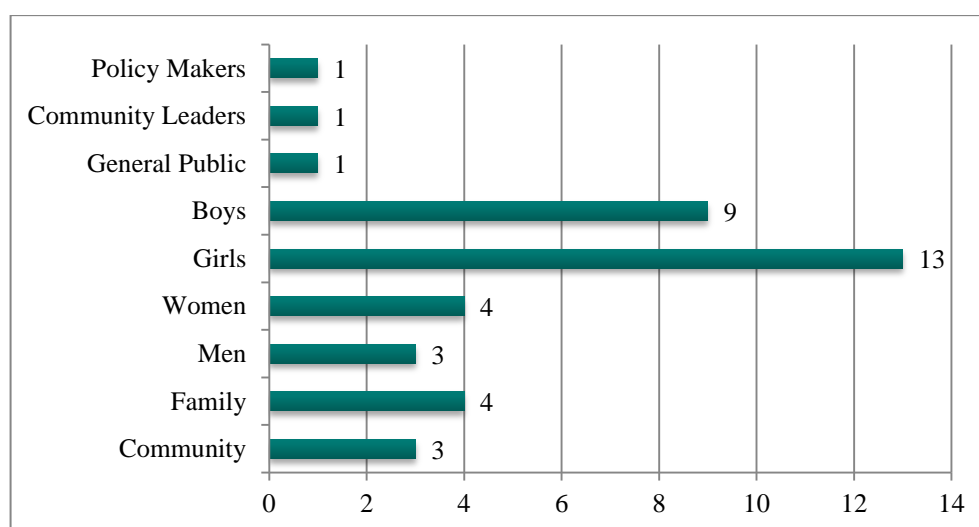
Note: Programmes may have more than one target group.

6.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

In this section, we focus on changes in attitudes and aspirations. We initially attempted to examine changes in practice, but the information presented in these studies was insufficiently age-disaggregated to allow us to interpret data on changes in income earning or work activity reliably. Table 12 presents key evidence on the impact of the programmes examined on attitudes to women working and girls' aspirations. Figure 32 shows that the majority of studies (13) recorded positive impacts; 5 also recorded neutral impacts (no change attributable to the programme).

Figure 32: Distribution of positive and neutral changes in attitudes to work and aspirations
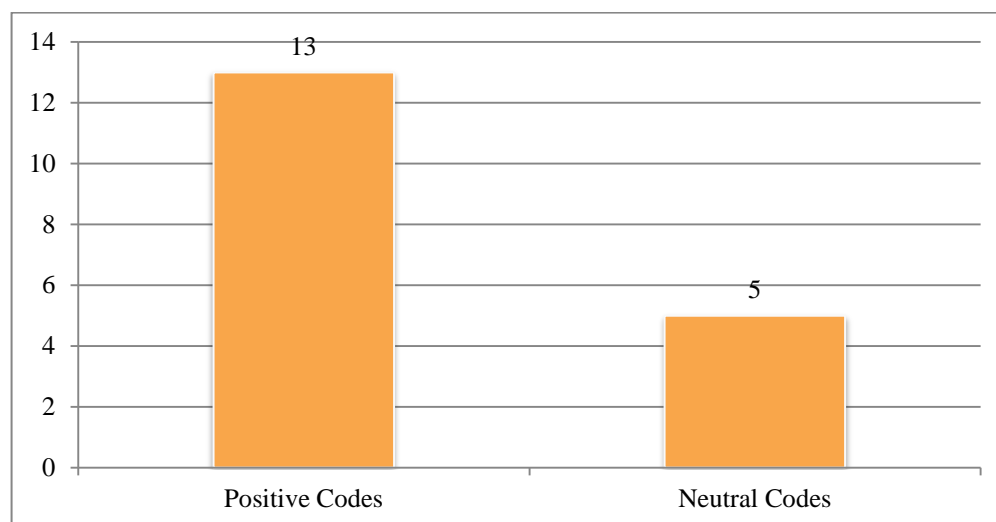
Note: Only changes in attitudes are shown here, as no changes in practices were recorded. Likewise, no negative codes were recorded.

Table 12: Changes in attitudes concerning work and aspirations

Programme and study	Main communication activities	Positive changes	Neutral changes
Apwe Plezi, St Lucia (Vaughan et al., 2000)	Media (radio)		Proportion of respondents believing wives needed their husbands' permission to work declined significantly from 84% pre-test to 72% post-test, but this decline was not related to extent of exposure to Apwe Plezi in a statistically significant manner.
Better Life Options, India (Acharya et al., 2009)	Non-formal education	Change in gender role attitudes and gender-egalitarian work-related attitudes significantly greater among girls in the intervention group, particularly those who attended intervention activities regularly, than among girls in the control site. About 44% of the change in gender role attitudes and all of the change in gender-egalitarian work-related attitudes reported by participant girls can be attributed to the programme.	
BRAC ADP in Border Areas, Bangladesh (Ara and Das, 2010)	Non-formal education	Decline in proportion of intervention group believing married women cannot usually earn income 13 percentage points greater than for control group; decline in proportion of intervention group believing women with a child cannot usually involve themselves in earning 16 percentage points greater. Both results statistically significant.	
BRAC ADP, Bangladesh (Kabir et al., 2007)	Non-formal education for male and female adolescents in community setting		Both male and female adolescents participating in ADP had more negative attitudes towards women working than comparison adolescents.
BRAC ELA Centres Programme, Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008)	Non-formal education	Qualitative findings: girls participating in ELA Centres aspired to participate fully in the public realm in professions such as doctors, lawyers, NGO staff members and officials, and to continue into higher education, get good jobs, marry later and financially support their families.	

Programme and study	Main communication activities	Positive changes	Neutral changes
BRAC ELA Programme, Uganda (Bandiera et al., 2012)	Non-formal education	Among girls resident in participating communities, an increase of 18 percentage points in girls agreeing with the statement that 'females should earn money for the family' statement, relative to a baseline of 37% agreeing with it. Comparative figures for the control group are not given.	
BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011)	Community conversation IEC and large-scale sensitisation	Increase in proportion of intervention group agreeing women could earn income 29 percentage points greater than for comparison group. Proportion of intervention group believing women could go to the market and do shopping 8 percentage points greater than for comparison group. Both results statistically significant.	
Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011)	Non-formal education	Participation in Choices appears to have influenced children's perception of gender roles, broadening the duties they felt could be successfully conducted by a girl or woman. Boys in the control group were more uncomfortable with women performing non-traditional roles than boys in the experimental group. Statistically significant increase in more equal attitudes on gender roles index (which covered points about women working outside the home and women earning) from 0.33 at baseline to 0.824 at endline, while among comparison group the increase was far smaller (going from 0.316 to 0.338).	
Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013)	Non-formal education	The proportion of boys and girls who agreed girls can work indoors to earn money increased from 79% to 92% after participation in Choices. Those agreeing girls could work outdoors to earn money increased from 50% at baseline to 66% after participation in Choices.	
Humqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012)	Community conversation IEC and large-scale sensitisation	Qualitative analysis: shift in attitudes among participants leading to greater acceptance of women working.	Mixed evidence on shifts in attitudes towards men as breadwinners – reduction in proportion agreeing a man 'is born to earn', but no reduction in proportion believing a man must meet all family's financial needs.

Programme and study	Main communication activities	Positive changes	Neutral changes
Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007)	Non-formal education for girls and their brothers in community setting	Qualitative data: parents and community attitudes towards Ishraq promoters' work (older adolescent girls trained as programme facilitators) became more positive over time.	
Ishraq, Egypt (Elbadawy, 2013)	Non-formal education for girls and their brothers in community setting	Ishraq girls have more positive views of women working (1 standard deviation) than non-Ishraq participants. 15% of Ishraq girls compared with 5% of non-Ishraq girls have their own business project. 50% of control girls but only 24% of Ishraq girls perceived they could not start their own business.	There was no statistically significant difference between the attitudes of brothers of Ishraq participants and brothers of non-participants to women working.
Meena Communication Initiative, India (CMS, 2004)	Media (TV) IEC (stickers, posters, comics)	A higher percentage of respondents who have been exposed to Meena (85% in Bihar, 52% in Orissa) believe girls can do the same work as boys of the same age compared with respondents not exposed to Meena (61% in Bihar and 39% in Orissa). (Statistical significance of these differences not given.)	
New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003)	Non-formal education for girls and young women in the community	Only 6% of non-participants aspired to have a job in the future, compared with 48% of participants (calculated from data given in study).	
PRACHAR, India (Pathfinder International, 2011)	Community conversation IEC and large-scale sensitisation	Qualitative analysis: women are increasingly seen as able to combine domestic work and work outside the home. Young women said they wanted to achieve higher education and work outside the home. Parents wanted girls to study and work, in order to be self-sufficient.	Barriers to women working outside the home persist, including requirements for permission from husbands and in-laws. It is more acceptable for a single woman, whose husband has left her or died, to go out to work to provide for her children. A young woman would not be allowed to move to take up work.

6.3 What explains findings?

6.3.1 Explaining positive impacts

Thirteen positive changes in attitudes concerning women's work or in girls' aspirations were recorded. The following section examines how they may have achieved this. We examine issues of programme design, and discuss the limited evidence from this set of studies concerning how length of exposure to an intervention and socioeconomic issues may have affected outcomes.

Programme design. Two-thirds of programmes involved only one communications component. Among the programmes with more than one component, the most common combinations were non-formal education with community conversation, and community conversation plus IEC/large-scale sensitisation. It is not clear from this sample that conclusions can be drawn about the relative effectiveness of single component or combined communication activities; in this set of programmes there is evidence of effective change among both. It seems likely that the ways in which messages were framed and delivered (principally through non-formal education programmes or processes of community conversation that encouraged dialogue), and the extent to which issues of work and aspirations were the focus of discussion, may have had a greater impact on these programmes' success in changing attitudes concerning work. It is also likely that targeting communications directly to girls and simultaneously to gatekeepers may have contributed to a shift in attitudes. However, none of these studies tests the relationship between programme design and outcomes so these conclusions must remain tentative.

Integration of non-communication components. Two-fifths of this set of programmes (six out of the fifteen) combined communication and other activities. The most common of these were safe space and income generation/livelihood-strengthening programmes (Figure 29). None of these studies examines the relative effect of different communications and non-communications components. It is likely, however, that the combination of communications activities focused on gender equality and livelihood-strengthening activities may specifically have helped shift attitudes towards young women working and strengthened girls' belief in their capacity to undertake income-earning activities. Similarly, the safe space four programmes provided may have provided a supportive environment in which girls could develop non-traditional work aspirations in the company of peers and female role models.

Intensity of exposure. Only two of these studies examined how differences in intensity of exposure to the interventions may have affected outcomes related to attitudes to work and aspirations. Vaughan et al. (2000) did not find a statistically significant relationship between exposure to Apwe Plezi and attitudes towards wives working without a husband's permission. This may reflect the fact that Apwe Plezi was focused primarily on family planning and gender relations related to sexual relationships and domestic violence. By contrast, Acharya et al. (2009) did find a significant difference in outcomes between regular Better Life Options participants and irregular participants: while both groups adopted more egalitarian attitudes to gender roles and to work between baseline and endline, the difference was greater for more regular participants. Based on difference-in-difference analysis, Acharya et al. conclude that all the change in attitudes towards gender-egalitarian work-related issues and 44% of change in attitudes towards broader gender roles can be attributed to the Better Life Options programme.

6.3.2 Explaining negative and neutral findings

Five of the programmes reported no significant changes on norms related to work and aspirations. In three cases (Humqadam, Ishraq and PRACHAR), attitudes had started to change around women working, but were held in tandem with norms that continued to constrain women's earning activities (PRACHAR, Ishraq) or that continued to emphasise men's responsibility as a breadwinner (Humqadam). This suggests programme activities had started to make a 'dent' (Rozan, 2012) in discriminatory norms, but that considerably more sustained action would be needed to achieve a deeper shift. The programme of dialogue on gender issues that Rozan facilitated in the Humqadam programme took place over a 15-week period, and was accompanied by theatre activities. PRACHAR's programme in India was longer – and took place over a 10-year period, but was focused primarily on reproductive health; promotion of gender-equitable attitudes towards work was one important component but not the primary focus (Daniel and Nanda, 2012; Pathfinder, 2011). We return to issues of programme length and focus in Section 13, where we look at evidence on the importance of sustained programmes for shifting gender norms across all the themes examined in this study.

In the case of Apwe Plezi in St Lucia (Vaughan et al., 2000), it appears that there was a general decline in the prevalence of beliefs that wives needed a husband's permission to work, which was not attributable to the programme. It is unclear why participants in BRAC's ADP held more negative views towards women working than did a control group of adolescents, particularly since their attitudes were more gender egalitarian on other issues, such as age of marriage. Although we were unable to access the details of messages or curricula for most of these programmes, it is likely that aspirations and equality related to gender roles and work were among multiple topics covered.[21] Breadth of curriculum is likely to have affected the extent to which programmes led to changes in this area and may account for neutral impacts in this programme.

Socioeconomic factors. Acharya et al.'s (2009) study of Better Life Options (India) found the programme tended to attract relatively wealthier girls within poor communities, while Brady et al.'s (2007) study of Ishraq and Ara and Das' (2010) study of BRAC in the border areas of Bangladesh found no significant socioeconomic differences between participant and non-participants. Other than these three studies, this set of evaluations does not discuss how these interventions may have affected different socioeconomic groups differently. It is therefore not possible to draw any conclusions as to whether better-off or poorer girls and their families accepted messages concerning gender equality in work and aspirations more readily.

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[21] This is the case with Choices Nepal, where aspirations and gender roles are among multiple topics covered (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011).

7 Gender norms and relations in girls' natal households

Box 6: Summary – gender relations in girls' natal households

The problem: Patriarchal norms persist in household decision making and relationships. Girls are often seen as less important than boys, leading to greater domestic workloads, less leisure and, in some contexts, unequal access to health care and food. Adolescent girls often have little control over household assets or their time and little say in decisions affecting their lives, such as marriage and schooling. They are often expected to be submissive and not speak up in their family or community to challenge ingrained practice or instances of injustice.

Key findings: The 20 evaluations examined indicate mixed change on 'sticky' (hard-to-change) norms including son preference and boys' involvement in housework, with some studies showing substantial change and others finding much more limited effects. There were particularly large changes in girls' aspirations to treat their future sons and daughters equally, a reduction in preference for having a son or daughter and some evidence of more equal treatment within families as a result of exposure to communications promoting gender equality. Programmes that worked with young adolescent boys (e.g. Choices in Nepal and Egypt) also led to significant changes in attitudes, and some change in practice related to gender divisions of labour. The area where outcomes were most mixed was attitudes and practices concerning boys engaging in housework.

In most cases, direct engagement of boys and men as well as girls, and dialogue-based approaches such as non-formal education and community conversations, appears to have been associated with change on these norms. Radio and TV programmes promoting gender equality have also shifted attitudes towards equal treatment of girls and boys (e.g. with Meena Communication Initiative in India), but this has not always been the case and there is some (unexplained) evidence of a radio programme (Taru in India) being associated with more discriminatory attitudes among some groups of listeners.

Eight evaluations recorded improved communication or relationships between girls and their families and seven recorded an increase in girls' self-confidence in speaking out, within the family, among peers and in the community. In all cases, this was attributed to participation in non-formal education classes.

There is insufficient evidence to draw firm conclusions, but two evaluations found that a combination of communication activities had no additional effect over one activity in leading to norm change. Two studies found that the degree of change was associated with intensity of exposure to communication activities.

This section discusses a somewhat disparate set of issues related to gender norms experienced primarily by unmarried girls in their natal households, or the households where they grow up. We use the term 'natal households' as shorthand for contexts in which girls are considered minors and under the authority of adults who are not their spouses, while recognising that some groups of girls – for example those fostered by relatives or girl domestic workers – primarily grow up outside their natal households. This section examines changing norms related to equal treatment of boys and girls, allocation of resources, such as food and health care, preference for a male or female child (son preference) and responsibilities for housework. We then move on to examine changing attitudes and practices concerning girls' voice and capacity to speak out in decision making about their own futures, on family matters and on wider community issues. As the data reported in the studies on voice and speaking out often cover married as well as unmarried girls, our discussion reflects this.

7.1 Overview of programmes and studies

This section discusses 20 studies, examining 20 different programmes. As Table 13 shows, only four studies discussed gender norms and relations in girls' natal households in any detail or covered several aspects of this area of norms – in most there was a very brief discussion of one or two indicators of relevance.

7.1.1 Quality and relevance of studies

Table 13: Extent of focus on gender norms in girls' natal households and study appraisal scores

High study appraisal score/limited discussion	High study appraisal score/detailed discussion
• BRAC ADP in Border Areas, Bangladesh (Ara and Das, 2010) • BRAC ELA Centres, Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008) • Ishraq, Egypt (Elbadawy, 2013) • Women's Station FM 102, Cambodia (Cheung, 2013) • GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011)	• Better Life Options, India (Acharya et al., 2009) • IPA, Zambia (McGinn et al., 2012)
Moderate study appraisal score/limited discussion • CARE Reproductive Health Programme (Chege et al., 2004) • Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso (Engebretsen et al., 2012) • Humaqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012) • Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage, Kenya (Chege et al., 2001) • Straight Talk, Uganda (Adamchak et al., 2007) • Stepping Stones, South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2010) • We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010) • Youth to Youth, Kenya and Ethiopia Tautz (2011)	**Moderate study appraisal score/detailed discussion** • Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013) • Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2012) • Meena Communication Initiative, India (CMS, 2004) • New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultancy Exchange, 2003) • Taru, India (Singhal et al., 2004)

As in other thematic areas, quantitative and mixed methods designs predominated, comprising 16 out of 20 studies. A third of these studies (7/20) used quasi-experimental research designs, and there were no RCTs.

7.1.2 Regional overview
The programmes examined in this section were fairly evenly divided between Sub-Saharan Africa (Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Africa and Zambia) and South Asia (Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan). In addition, there were three in Egypt and one in Cambodia; none was in in Latin America (Figure 33).

Figure 33: Regional distribution of programmes
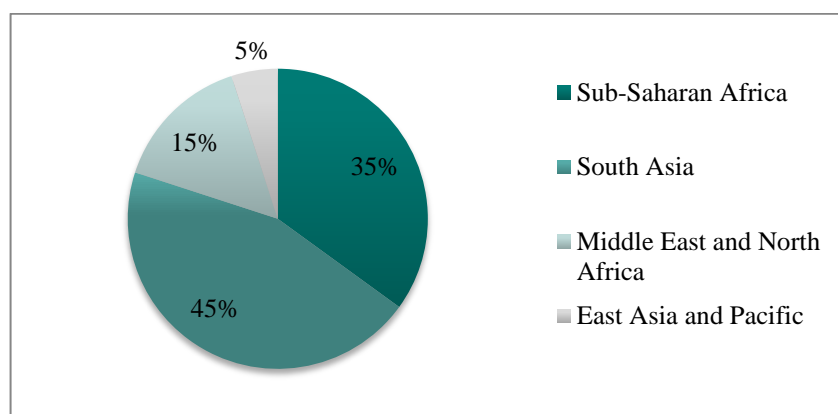
7.1.3 Programme design
Three-quarters of the programmes examined only involved communication activities (Figure 34).

Figure 34: Broad programme design – programmes addressing aspects of gender relations in girls' natal households
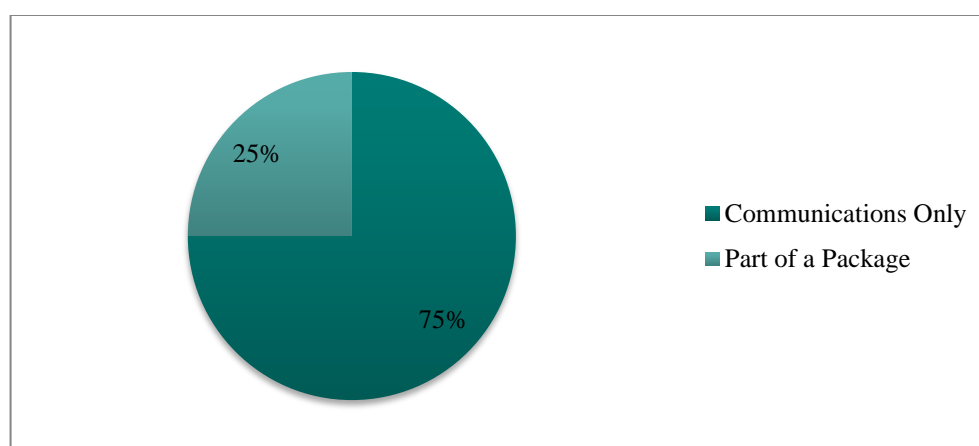
In common with many of the other thematic areas examined, non-formal education was the single most frequently used communication approach (Figure 35). Community conversations and large-scale sensitisation/use of IEC materials were also common. Compared with other thematic areas, media-based approaches were relatively more common, with four of the programmes examined attempting to change norms via radio or TV programmes.

Figure 35: Programmes containing each communication component (%)
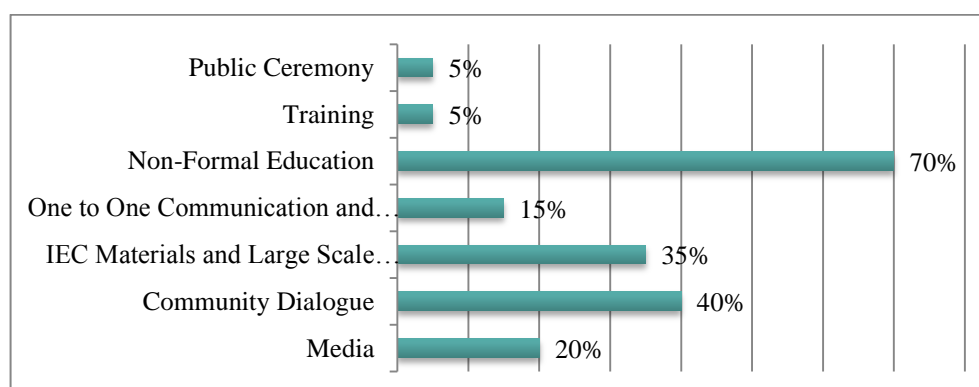
Compared with the programmes examined in in other thematic areas, more programmes addressing aspects of gender relations within girls' households relied on one communication component, usually non-formal education or mass media activity (mostly radio). Half the programmes examined had two or more communication components. The most common combinations of activities were community conversations with IEC materials (six programmes) and non-formal education with IEC materials (four programmes).

Five programmes included at least one non-communication component. Figure 36 shows the distribution of non-communication components. Income generation, credit and savings was the most common (three programmes) follow by the provision of safe spaces for girls (two programmes).

Figure 36: Frequency distribution on non-communication components – programmes addressing aspects of gender relations in girls' natal households
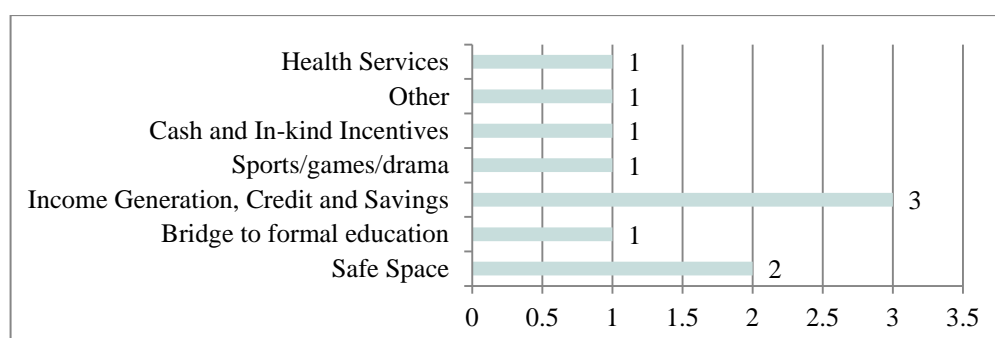
Girls were the single most important target group (Figure 37), followed by boys, reflecting the number of programmes targeting adolescents. Like in other thematic areas, these programmes also targeted gatekeepers such as adult family and community members. One programme, which aimed to change norms concerning FGM/C, and to promote gender equality more broadly (Chege et al., 2004) also targeted religious leaders.

Figure 37: Frequency distribution of target groups
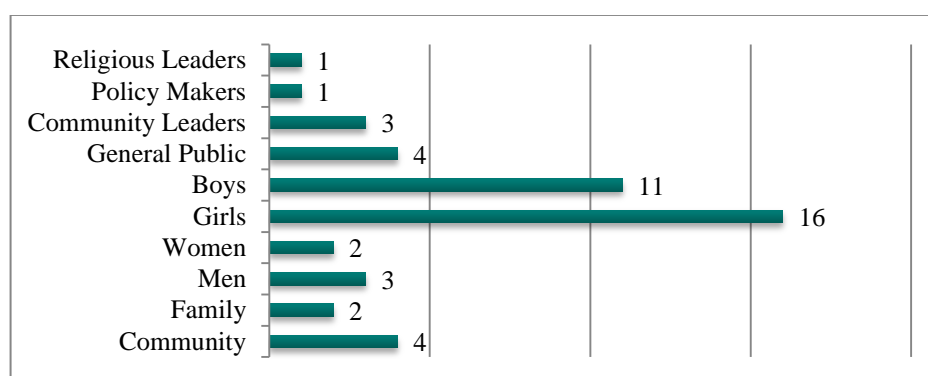
7.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

Tables 14 outlines the main changes in attitudes and practices recorded in this set of studies. Findings are split into three tables to group together the rather disparate findings from this set of studies most effectively. Table 14 presents changes related to intra-household divisions of labour, preference for children of a certain gender, equal treatment of boys and girls and in one case distribution of assets (inheritance). Table 15 presents evidence concerning girls' voice and capacity to speak out, both within the family and beyond.

Table 14: Changes in attitudes and practices concerning – equal treatment of boys and girls, intra-household resource allocation, son preference and gender divisions of labour

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Maendeleo ya Wanawake, Alternative Rite of Passage, Kenya (Chege et al., 2001)	Non-formal education in community setting, in girl-only groups	Attitudes – equal rights for girls and boys: Statistically significant difference in support of the view that girls and boys should have equal rights between parents of girls participating in the alternative rite of passage and parents of non-participants.		
BRAC ELA Centres, Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008)	Non-formal education for girls in community setting	Attitudes: equal treatment of girls and boys. Qualitative findings: increased recognition among community members that girls, like boys, need rest and leisure. Shift in brothers' attitudes accepting girls could go out, learn and recreate, and should not just stay at home helping mothers with housework.		
Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013)	Non-formal education for adolescents in community setting; single-gender groups for girls and their brothers	Attitudes: inheritance. Percentage of boys and girls who agree inheritance should be distributed among men and women increased significantly from 82% in the baseline to 100% at endline. Percentage of children who said inheritance should be distributed according to religious law increased from 82% at baseline to 90% at endline. Percentage preferring a traditional approach (where girls consent to give up their share) decreased from 14% at baseline to 10% at endline. Attitudes: gender divisions of labour. Proportion of children who agreed brothers could help sisters do chores significantly increased to 86% at endline from 59% at baseline. Attitudes: equal treatment. Proportion of children who agreed girls should go to the doctor when sick increased from 90% to 98% between baseline and endline. Respective figures for boys going to the doctor were 95% and 99%. Practices: gender divisions of labour. Significant increase in proportion of boys helping sisters with homework and vice versa.	Attitudes: gender divisions of labour. Cooking, cleaning and washing are still considered girls' tasks. No change in girls' leisure time. Attitudes: allocation of household resources. Increase (not statistically significant) in proportion of children agreeing boys and girls needed the same amount of food (from 92% at baseline to 97% at endline), and the same type of food (from 89% at baseline to 97% at endline).	

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011)	Non-formal education in the community in mixed-gender groups of adolescents	Attitudes and practices: gender divisions of labour. At baseline, most respondents agreed with traditional gender norms in both control and participant groups; after Choices, the participant group rejected stereotypical gender norms. More boys in the participant group than in the control group recognised gender inequity and said they were making small changes in their own behaviour (helping their sisters and mothers with household chores, advocating for their sisters' education and against early marriage) and were engaging in discussions with family members, friends and neighbours to do the same. Girls in participant groups corroborated this. Practices: Parents noted increased harmony in their home and cooperation between brothers and sisters on household chores and studies.		
Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso (Engebretsen et al., 2012)	Non-formal education in community setting for girl domestic workers	Attitudes: gender divisions of labour. Proportion of girls believing boys and girls should do an equal share of household work increased from 22% at baseline to 40% at endline (statistical significance not given).		
GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011)	Non-formal education and IEC for boys and girls in secondary schools		Practices: gender divisions of labour. Boys participating in non-formal education were 5 percentage points more likely than boys only exposed to IEC campaign to say they 'do more housework' but this difference was not statistically significant.	
Ishraq, Egypt (Elbadawy, 2013)	Non-formal education in community setting, for girl-only groups and for groups of Ishraq participants' brothers	Attitudes: Ishraq girls are more likely than non-Ishraq participant girls to disagree with the statement that a wife with only daughters should have more children until she has a son. Difference between the groups is statistically significant.		

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Humqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012)	Community dialogue and IEC programme with young men and boys; small component with young women	Attitudes: son preference. Some qualitative evidence of reduction in son preference among participants. Practices: equal treatment. Some qualitative evidence of young men treating their sisters with greater respect.		
IPA, Zambia McGinn et al. (2012)	Non-formal education in girls' school with one group learning life skills and the other also learning negotiation skills	Practices: household resource allocation. Some suggestive evidence of girls' increased access to food: decreases in number of meals skipped and days they felt hungry. Practices: gender division of labour. Girls in the negotiation skills group reported they were more likely to talk to their parents about being able to spend more time doing homework after undergoing the negotiation treatment (a 67% increase).The proportion reporting they could discuss spending more time on homework with parents fell by 50% in the information-only group. (Numbers too small to test statistical significance.)		
Meena Communication Initiative (CMS, 2004)	Media (TV) IEC (comics, posters etc.)	Attitudes: equal treatment of boys and girls. Out of 242 respondents in the three states who said Meena had made a difference to their lives, nearly 80% said they had started believing in equal food, education and treatment for boys and girls. Among adults who felt their children had learnt something from Meena, 55% said boys and girls should be treated equally and get the same food. Attitudes: son preference. 57% of respondents not exposed to Meena agreed with the statement that a male child was preferable to a female child compared with 45% of those exposed to Meena. (Statistical significance of these changes not given.)		

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003)	Non-formal education for girls and young women in community settings.	Equal treatment within family. Qualitative finding: Participants' families treated them and their brothers equally, unlike the non-participants, who felt they were subordinated to the boys in the family. Since participating in New Horizons, girls also felt their brothers treated them with greater respect, acknowledging their new knowledge. All New Horizons participants wanted to raise their children equally, whether boys or girls. Among non-participants, some respondents wanted to raise their children equally, but felt restricted by traditions and unable to do so. The majority of both married and unmarried participants stated that boys and girls needed equal opportunities concerning mobility, education, jobs, selection of clothes, ways of spending leisure time, age of marriage and sharing their opinions in family matters.		
Taru, India (Singhal et al,, 2004)	Media (radio) IEC activities Enhanced access to health care	Attitudes: son preference. Respondents post-Taru exposure were less likely than those pre-Taru exposure to agree that, if parents are having a girl child, they should be free to terminate the pregnancy. On a three-item index of son preference, the control group was more likely to favour boys than Taru-only group participants. The Taru-only group members were less likely than any other group to choose boys over girls. Those exposed to the most intensive IEC activities expressed less son preference than the control group, but more than the Taru only group. Those exposed to less intensive IEC activities had the greatest son preference index. These results imply that listening to the Taru broadcasts helped reduce son preference but that the IEC activities had little additional effect. Control group members were significantly more likely to expect women to continue bearing children until they produced at least one son, compared		Attitudes: gender division of labour. Taru listeners had more negative attitudes to boys and girls sharing housework equally. Groups receiving IEC activities more receptive to sharing housework than those only listening to Taru broadcasts, although still less receptive than non-listeners.

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
		with people exposed to Taru. The Taru-only group respondents and the less intensive IEC group respondents were also more likely to believe that it was a woman's duty to deliver at least one son, in comparison with the more intensive IEC group respondents.		Attitudes: economic support. Post-Taru respondents were more likely than pre-Taru respondents to agree with the statement, 'Sons can provide economic security in old age but not daughters.'
We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)	One-to-one communication IEC	Attitudes and practices: equal treatment. Qualitative evidence of people believing they should treat sons and daughters equally (attitude) and treating them equally (practice) as an outcome of We Can. Around 10% of change makers in Rajasthan made specific commitments to treat children equally.		
Women's Station FM102, Cambodia (Cheung, 2013)	Media (radio)		Attitudes: son preference. No statistically significant relationship between women's radio station listenership and index of son preference. However, there is suggestive evidence of reduced son preference among listeners.	

Table 15: Changes in self-efficacy/self-confidence in speaking out within the family or outside

Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive impacts
Better Life Options, India (Acharya et al., 2009)	Non-formal education in community setting (girl-only groups)	Practices: Over 70% of all participants and around 90% of regular participants reported that they had become more confident, were better able to speak without hesitation or fear and were more likely to speak out if they disagreed with another's viewpoint. Practices: Statistically significant increase in communication between participant girls and parents on SRH issues compared with control group; regular participants had strongest impacts. Difference-in-difference analysis shows 15% of change attributable to intervention.
BRAC ELA Centres, Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008)	Non-formal education in community setting (girl-only groups)	Participants in village organisations (part of ELA programme) reported being able to speak their mind and offer recommendations on family issues in the presence of parents and elderly relatives. Increased decision-making power in family, e.g. purchasing own clothing. Some young people had brought the village chairperson's attention to cases of (illegal) early marriage, abuse and dowry.
Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013)	Non-formal education for young adolescents (boys and girls) in community setting	Significant increase in proportion agreeing boys and girls should have a say in decisions about their education.
Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011)	Non-formal education in community setting – mixed-gender groups of young adolescents	In discussions, girls in the experimental group were more comfortable expressing their opinions than girls in the control group.
IPA, Zambia (McGinn et al., 2012)	Non-formal education in girls' school. One group received life skills information and the other group also received negotiation skills training	An increase of 63% in the negotiation group and 46% in the information-only group in respondents stating that they alone had control over their futures.

Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive impacts
New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants, 2003)	Non-formal education in community setting (girl-only groups)	Girls and young women who participated in project activities likely to have greater self-confidence and better communication with parents/family members and the community. Participants said they hardly experienced any hindrance in expressing ideas and were consulted by most family members. 35% of unmarried non-participants and 8% of unmarried participants had difficulties communicating with parents. 65% of participants and 35% of non-participants expressed no difficulty in communication with parents. Unlike the control groups, the majority of both married and non-married participants expressed confidence convincing others of their point of view. Participants generally felt free to express themselves confidently in the presence of men or mixed groups, unlike the majority of non-participants, who did not dare to talk in the presence of men. Both married and unmarried participants found it easier than non-participants to express themselves to the elders in their families. About 60% of married participants could always express themselves to the elders in the family and to their in-laws, while the vast majority of married non-participants only 'sometimes' dared speak in the presence of their families, and only on accepted matters. Participants also found it easier to express themselves in front of their peers. 72% of participants stated that it was easy most of the time compared with 34% of non-participants.
Stepping Stones, South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2010)	Non-formal education in community setting	Practices: qualitative data – examples of increased capacity among young men and women to talk with their family and friends about SRH issues, and improved communication with families and others in the community as a result of learning negotiation skills.
Straight Talk, Uganda (Adamchak et al., 2007)	Media (radio and newspaper) IEC	Practices: Controlling for demographic factors, exposure to Straight Talk was significantly associated with ever having talked with parents about adolescent SRH matters for both male and female adolescents. Extent of exposure to materials was associated with the likelihood of having talked with parents, and at the highest level of exposure both male and female adolescents were four times as likely to have talked with their parents, compared with those who had not been exposed.

Programme and study name	Communication activities	Positive impacts
Taru, India (Singhal et al., 2004)	Media (radio soap opera) IEC activities Enhanced access to health care	Qualitative data: 'A number' of girl interviewees explained that prior to Taru they never used to sit with boys. Now they not only sit with boys in public areas of the village, but they also talk about many issues including socially controversial topics such as gender equality, caste, dowry and family planning.
Youth to Youth, Ethiopia and Kenya (Tautz, 2011)	Non-formal education through youth clubs, IEC, some one-to-one counselling (Kenya) and community conversations (Ethiopia)	Qualitative data: Communication between youth and elders has improved. Youth club members participate in community discussion forums.

7.3 What explains findings?

Substantially more positive than negative or neutral outcomes were recorded for both changes in attitudes and changes in practice (Figure 38). Seven programmes (35% of the sample) recorded change in both.

Figure 38: Distribution of outcomes
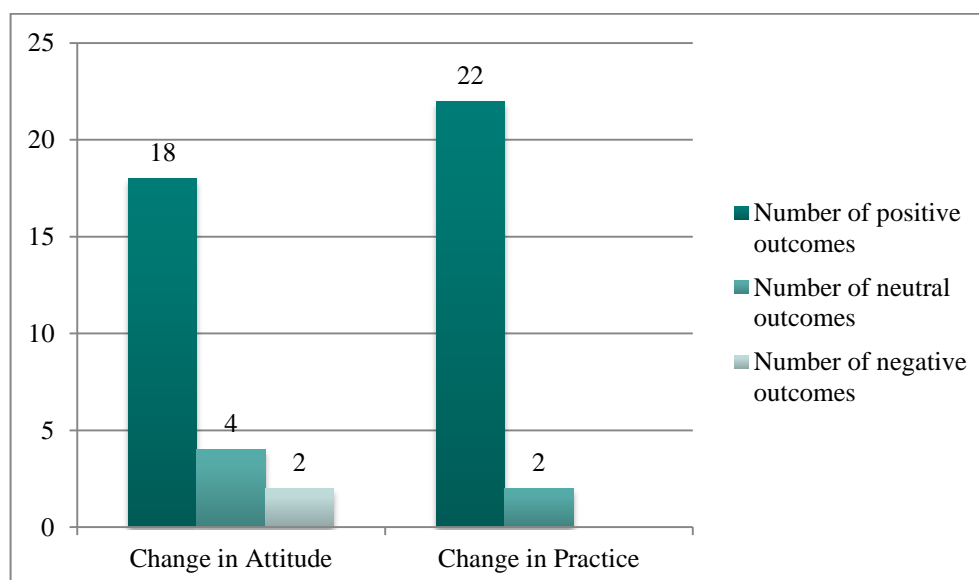
7.3.1 Explaining positive impacts

Table 14 shows that the evaluations of 12 programmes recorded positive changes in attitudes and practices related to equal treatment of boys and girls. Eight of these involved non-formal education with adolescents, two each involved media (radio and TV) and two were based primarily on community dialogue and IEC with adults. This points to the contribution that well-planned and well-delivered dialogue-based programmes (non-formal education and community dialogue) can make in shifting sticky gender norms. In some cases, there were dramatic shifts, such as the increase in the proportion of adolescents who thought it acceptable for boys to undertake housework as a result of the Choices Egypt programme. The extent of change may reflect the programmes' focus on boys as well as girls, as well as clear, direct messages in the Choices curricula. Although we could not access curricula or messages for the majority of programmes, for those that we could, it is clear that there was strong emphasis on equal rights and treatment for girls and boys (e.g. in Choices in Egypt and Nepal, the Meena Communication Initative in India and Humqadam in Pakistan).

Qualitative evidence underlines the role of messages that provoke new ways of thinking about particular issues, as in this example from the Meena Communication Initiative: '*I used to also give my son more food, but never thought otherwise. After watching Meena (during my training), I was shocked and even a little ashamed to admit that I did that with my own children. Meena made me look at myself and also think. Now, I feel I am little more cautious that I do not treat boys and girls differently whether it is my home or classroom*. Teacher in Orissa' (CMS, 2004: 73).

In this case, the respondent was able to make changes in practice resulting from the new learning acquired from Meena.

The numbers of programmes recording change on each indicator are small, making it difficult to draw conclusions about the relative stickiness of particular norms, and on several issues there are examples of positive change, negative change and no change. Thus, for example, three positive changes were recorded on attitudes to boys doing housework, two neutral changes and one negative change. Likewise on son preference, three positive, one neutral and one negative change were recorded, with the evaluation of one programme (Taru) recording both positive and negative changes on different aspects of the issue.

All eight evaluations that discuss changes in communication or relationships within the family and all seven evaluations that discussed girls speaking out or participating in decision making (Table 15) recorded positive changes. Evidence of improved communication within families falls into two main clusters: parent–child communication on SRH that challenges norms about discussing issues of sexuality (Better Life Options, India, Stepping Stones, South Africa, Straight Talk, Uganda), and improved brother–sister relationships (Choices Egypt and Nepal, Humqadam, Pakistan, New Horizons, Egypt), generally related to brothers treating their sisters with greater respect. McGinn et al.'s (2012) study of IPA, Zambia, also noted that participant girls reported improved relationships with their parents or carers, which they (the girls) attributed to the negotiation skills they had learnt. These programmes all involved non-formal education, which may indicate the importance of a setting where people are both exposed to new information and dialogue and where exploration of norms and views is possible. While programmes that led to changes in communication on SRH issues involved only young people (and not their parents), all the programmes that led to a change in brothers' attitudes involved activities for adolescent boys/young men as well as for girls (in mixed groups in Choices Nepal and Egypt and single-sex groups in other programmes). In other words, they targeted boys directly rather than expecting change from more generalised communications.

As Table 15 shows, these evaluations recorded an increase in girls speaking out in multiple contexts, including interactions within the family, between peers and in communities. Because there were relatively few instances of increased speaking out outside the family, we have grouped findings on girls' voice and activism in the community with greater voice within the household, although we recognise that norms governing speaking out within one's family and in broader community settings can differ. Two evaluations recorded improved communication with community leaders or elders, one of which involved protesting to village authorities in cases of violation of girls' rights. All but one of the programmes that led to greater speaking out involved non-formal education, suggesting empowering girls with both knowledge of their rights and confidence to speak out was crucial. The qualitative element of the evaluation of Taru – a radio soap opera plus IEC activities in India – suggests listeners strongly identified with the characters, and this may have inspired adolescent girls to model their behaviour on Taru, a strong role model of a confident young woman.

Intensity of programme exposure. Only three evaluations examined the extent of programme exposure and its impact on norm change. Achyut et al.'s (2011) analysis of GEMS in India found that participating in two rounds of the IEC campaign and non-formal education programme led to participants maintaining their more gender-egalitarian views, but did not lead to any further increase in gender-egalitarian attitudes after the first year. By contrast, Acharya et al.'s (2009) analysis of Better Life Option in India and Adamchak et al.'s (2007) analysis of Straight Talk in Uganda both found that longer or more intense programme exposure was associated with a greater degree of change in practice – in both cases in communications between parents and children on SRH matters. Acharya et al.'s (2009) difference-in-difference analysis indicates that about 15% of the change in parent–daughter communication on SRH matters reported by participant girls can be attributed to Better Life Options.[22] Adamchak et al. (2007) found that girls exposed to one Straight Talk output (radio shows or print materials on SRH and gender equality) were 2.32 times more likely to have ever talked with a parent or guardian; those exposed to two items were slightly more likely (2.67 times) to have done so; and those exposed to three items were most likely (4.03 times) to have done so. For boys exposed to two or more Straight Talk outputs, there were statistically significant differences in the extent of talking to parents on SRH issues.

Comparison of different communication activities. The evaluation of three programmes assessed the relative contribution of different communication activities to the recorded outcomes. Singhal et al.'s (2004) evaluation of Taru in India does not find clear evidence that additional activities (listener groups, IEC) were more effective than radio broadcasts only; indeed, on some issues, those exposed only to broadcasts held more gender-egalitarian views on son preference than those participating in additional activities. Nor were there statistically significant increases in the proportion of boys considering it acceptable to do housework among boys exposed to GEMS non-formal education in Mumbai, over and above those exposed to GEMS' IEC campaign (Achyut et al., 2011). This is an interesting finding, given evidence, discussed further in Section 13, that dialogue-based activities often lead to greater attitude or behaviour change. The lack of change here may reflect the engrainedness of norms concerning appropriate masculine behaviour in this context. More intuitively, McGinn et al. (2012) found that girls who participated in the negotiation arm of the IPA Zambia programme were more

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[22] They do not discuss what other factors were likely to have contributed to this change.

likely to record better communication and relationships within their family than those who participated in information-only sessions. This reflects the additional value of the skills they had learnt.

Integration of non-communication activities. Approximately a third of this set of programmes involved other non-communication-focused activities. As with the other thematic areas examined, none of these evaluations examines the relative contribution of communications and non-communications activities to changing attitudes and practices. Figure 35 shows that the most common non-communications components were livelihood activities and safe spaces. Qualitative comments provide some evidence that livelihood activities played an important role in shifting attitudes, particularly concerning the equal value of boys and girls and in relation to girls' right to speak out on matters that affect them. However, this does not seem as important as girls' greater knowledge obtained through non-formal education classes or their increased self-confidence as a result of these classes.

Socioeconomic issues. Only three studies discussed the ways in which socioeconomic factors might influence access to programmes or their outcomes. Chege et al. (2001) found in Maendeleo ya Wanawake's Alternative Rite of Passage programme in Kenya that girls who participated in the alternative rite of passage were from notably better-off households, and may thus have been from households that were less dependent on their daughters making an early marriage and more able to espouse gender equality between sons and daughters. Acharya et al. (2009) and the Centre for Media Studies (CMS) (2004) both note that the interventions they discuss (respectively, Better Life Options and Meena Communication Initiative, both in India) were more accessible to families and girls, respectively, from better-off socioeconomic groups. There is no evidence from other programmes that socioeconomic differences may have affected access to or uptake of messages.

7.3.2 Explaining negative and neutral impacts

This is one of the few thematic areas where negative outcomes were recorded. Negative outcomes indicate not simply that an intervention failed to change attitudes or practices (which would be coded as neutral) but that attitudes or practices became more discriminatory after exposure to an intervention. These negative outcomes were recorded among listeners to Taru, who as a group became more discriminatory on some issues after listening to the radio broadcasts, such as aspects of son preference and opposition to boys doing housework (Singhal et al., 2004). Why this could have occurred, given shifts to more gender-egalitarian attitudes on some issues (e.g. dowry and foeticide) is not discussed.

More common than an increase in discriminatory attitudes or practice was a lack of statistically significant change. In three cases, this reflected a positive change that was too small to be statistically significant – as in the case of the Women's Station FM 102 in Cambodia in relation to son preference, GEMS (India) with respect to boys doing housework and Choices Egypt in relation to norms about food allocation. The numbers of programmes are too small to draw any conclusions about whether particular approaches are more commonly associated with negative or neutral effects. We return to this issue in Section 13.

8 Female genital mutilation/cutting[23]

Box 7: Summary – female genital mutilation/cutting

The problem: The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) estimates that 125 million women alive today have undergone FGM/C (UNICEF, 2013). FGM/C can compromise girls' health and wellbeing by increasing the risk of problems with menstruation and childbirth and can lead to fistula. FGM/C is held in place through the perception that it is a social obligation to perform the practice, and that, without it, girls are likely to suffer social exclusion, ridicule and criticism and may be unable to marry.

Key findings: The programmes considered here were mostly effective in changing attitudes towards FGM/C, with almost three times the number of positive outcomes recorded than negative or neutral outcomes. Few evaluations examined changes in the reported practice of FGM/C – those that did found a reduction in the practice, although with a small increase among the youngest girls in one case (Diop and Askew, 2009; Diop et al. 2004).

Compared with other programmes, fewer of the FGM/C programmes worked with girls directly – apart from the Kenyan Alternative Rite of Passage programme, those that did so incorporated FGM/C into wider life skills and gender equality-focused curricula, rather than having a major focus on it. Relatively more anti-FGM/C programmes targeted decision makers – such as women – or aimed to influence community norms.

In contrast to some of the other thematic areas examined, community dialogue and mentoring/interpersonal communication were relatively more common. As with other thematic areas, non-formal education remained a common approach, while approximately similar numbers of FGM/C programmes used IEC, as did programmes with other foci. While these dialogic approaches were particularly common, the two programmes using media (radio in one case, radio and newspapers in the other) also recorded changes that could be attributed, in part, to these activities, suggesting they may be a useful complement to dialogue-based approaches.

The use of multiple communication methods was particular common, with only one programme using just one communication activity (New Horizons in Egypt, which involved only non-formal education). Only one evaluation examined the relative contribution of different programmes, making it difficult to draw conclusions about the added value of multiple components. All the Tostan programmes involved public declarations, and, while there are no assessments of the relative importance of this approach in the evaluations examined, the broader literature on social norm changes suggests public declarations carry important symbolic value in shifting norms on FGM/C.

Four programmes involved non-communication components (economic-strengthening activities, sports and games and literacy/numeracy programmes that provided formal education). There is no discussion of how these programmes may have contributed to changing attitudes and practices on FGM/C.

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[23] We use this term as it is the most inclusive of the different terminology for this issue. Some of the studies reviewed use the term FGM, others FGC and others female circumcision.

8.1 Overview of studies and programmes

This section discusses 13 studies examining 11 programmes.[24] Unlike in many of the other thematic areas examined, the majority of these studies focused on FGM/C in depth, rather than discussing changing attitudes and practices briefly or as one indicator of change among many (see Table 16).

Table 16: Extent of focus on FGM/C and study appraisal scores

High study appraisal score/moderate FGM/C focus Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007; Elbadawy, 2013)	**High study appraisal score/high FGM/C focus** • Ndukaku, Nigeria (Babalola et al., 2006) • Tostan, Burkina Faso (Ouoba et al., 2004)
Moderate study appraisal score/moderate FGM/C focus • New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003) • Youth to Youth, Kenya and Ethiopia (Tautz, 2011)	**Moderate study appraisal score/high FGM/C focus** • CARE Reproductive Health Programme, Ethiopia and Kenya (Chege et al., 2004) • Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage, Kenya (Chege et al., 2001) • Tostan, Senegal ((Diop and Askew, 2009; Diop et al., 2004, Diop et al., 2008; Yoder, 2008) • Training health workers, Mali (Sangare et al., 1998)

The majority of studies used quantitative or mixed method designs (10/13 studies). Only three studies used strong designs, such as quasi-experiments with matching of participants, although six evaluations used quasi-experimental designs with matched areas or without matching of participants.

8.1.1 Regional distribution
All programmes took place in areas of high FGM/C prevalence – the vast majority in Sub-Saharan Africa, principally West Africa (Burkina Faso, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal), with two in East Africa. Three took place in Egypt (Figure 39).

Figure 39: Regional distribution of programmes addressing FGM/C
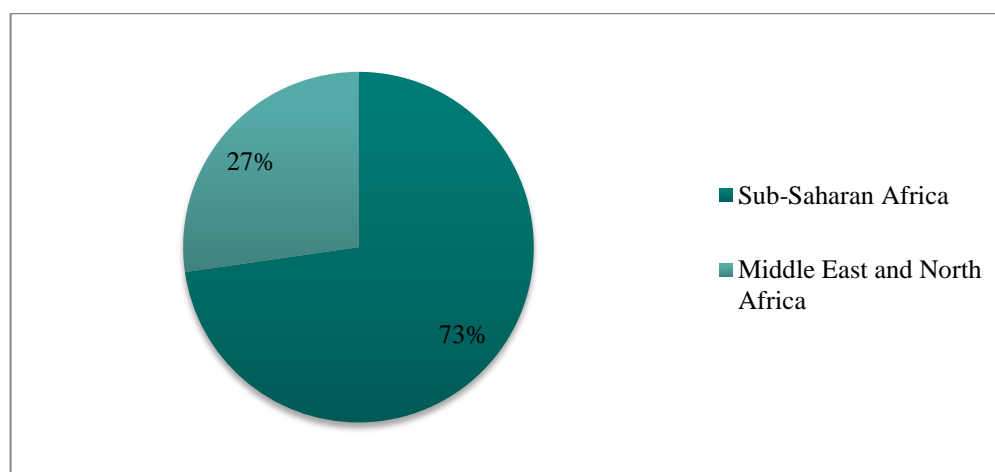
8.1.2 Programme design
Approximately a third of FGM/C programmes combined communication and other activities (Figure 40).

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[24] Ishraq is considered as two different programmes throughout this section, as the two studies deal with different phases of the programme with different populations and different communication components.

Figure 40: Broad programme design – programmes addressing FGM/C
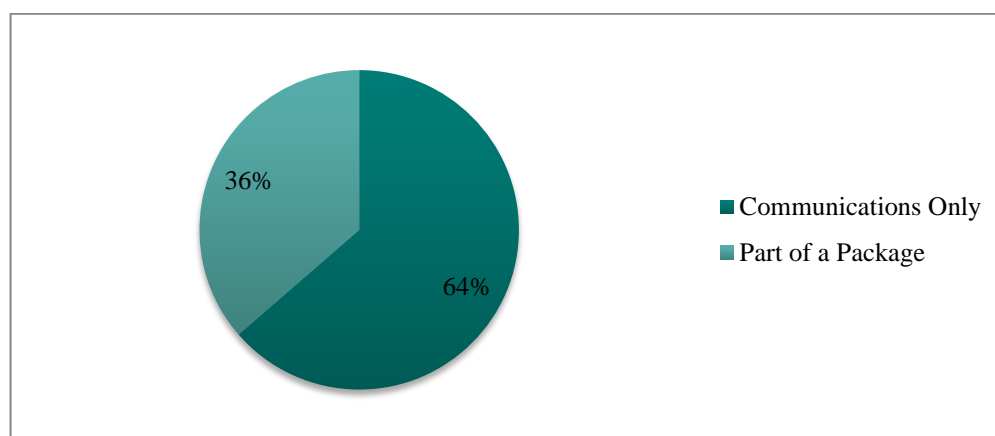
As Figure 41 shows, non-formal education and community dialogue were the most common approaches, followed by use of IEC materials and interpersonal communication. That relatively few programmes used mass media (radio, and in one case also newspapers) may reflect a preference for dialogue as a means of challenging norms on issues such as FGM/C, on which people are more likely to take action if they are convinced that others will also take action (Mackie and Le Jeune, 2009). It may also reflect limited access to mass media in the mostly rural communities where these programmes took place, although few evaluations give sufficient details on media access to draw firm conclusions on this. This said, there is evidence that these radio and newspaper activities contributed to change in attitudes in Senegal and Nigeria. Three programmes involved public declarations against FGM/C or alternative rite of passage ceremonies – visible public commitments not to practise FGM/C.

Figure 41: Programmes with particular communications components – -programmes addressing FGM/C (%)
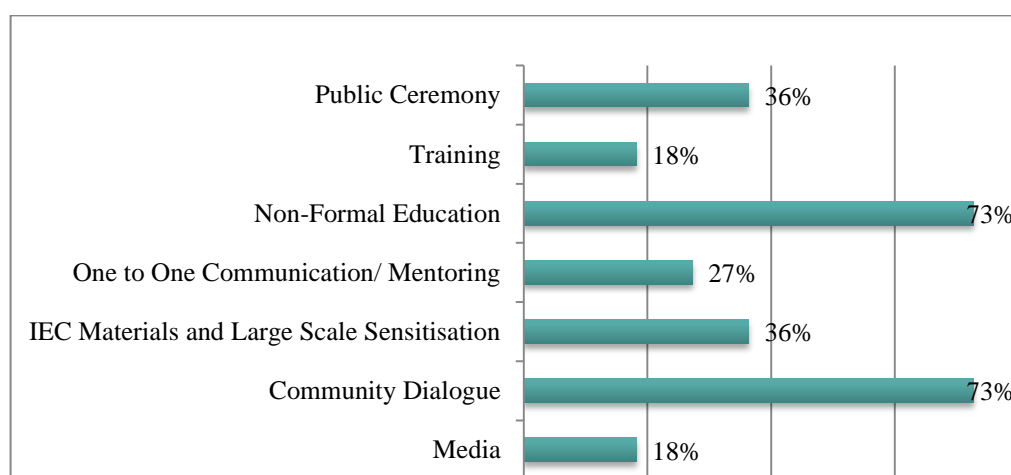
Note: Programmes may include more than one communications component.

Within communication components of the programmes examined, multiple activities were common, with 10 of the 11 programmes examined involving more than one communications activity, an unusually high proportion compared with other thematic areas. The most common combinations of communications activities were non-formal education and community dialogue, followed by non-formal education with public declaration/ceremony, and IEC and community conversation. The most common non-communications activities were sports/games and drama, economic strengthening and bridges to formal education (Figure 42).

Figure 42: Frequency distribution of non-communication components – programmes addressing FGM/C
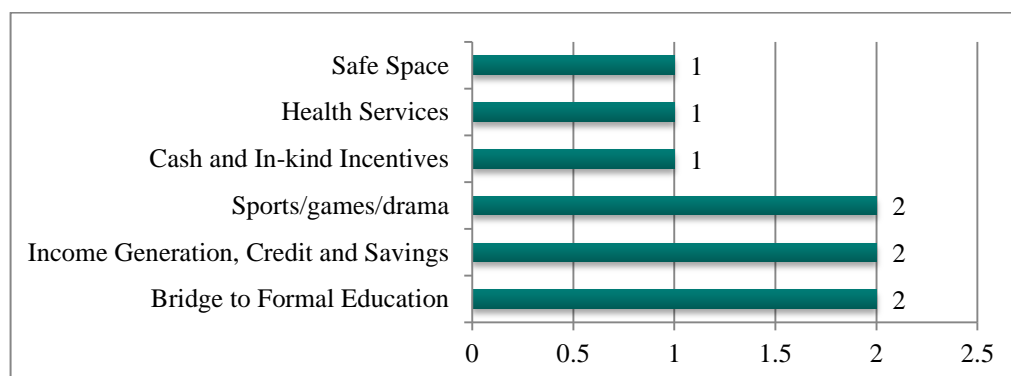
Note: Programmes may include more than one non-communications component.

8.1.3 Target groups

Figure 43 shows the distribution of target groups for the programmes examined. Unlike programmes focusing on other thematic areas, it is notable that girls are not the principal target group. Although girls continue to be an important target group – particularly in the East African programmes examined – there is a clear emphasis on gatekeepers and broad norm change – hence the frequency with which programmes were aimed at whole communities, or specifically at women as key decision makers about whether their daughters or grand-daughters should be cut. Four programmes aimed to change attitudes among influencers and role models, such as community and religious leaders, a higher proportion than for the other programme areas examined.

Figure 43: Frequency distribution of target groups – programmes addressing FGM/C
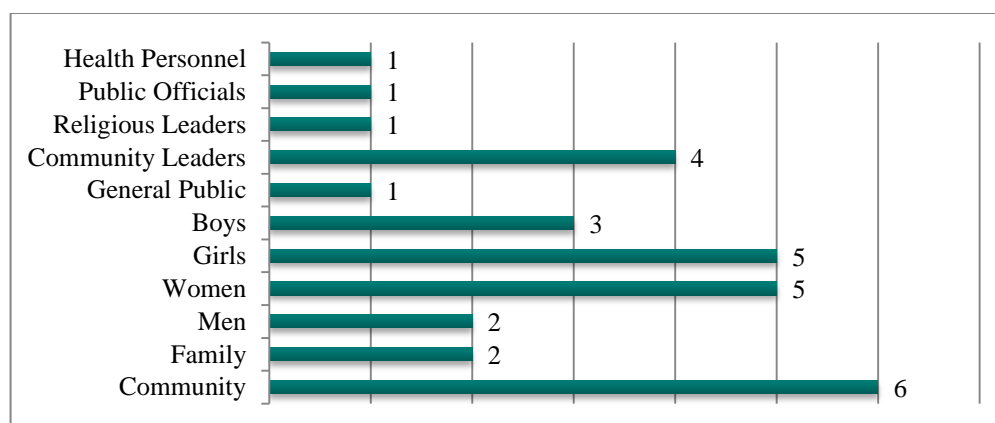
Note: Programmes may have more than one target group.

8.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

Table 17 provides an overview of key evidence on changes in attitudes and practices on FGM/C. More evidence of change in attitudes was recorded (11 changes in attitudes and 6 changes in practice). This is likely to reflect the greater ease of measuring changes in attitudes than even self-reported cutting, and often the relatively short timeframes between intervention and evaluation, which meant changes in practice were unlikely to have occurred. It also shows that evaluations of programmes with adolescent girls who were generally past the age where they would have been cut (e.g. Ishraq, New Horizons) examined girls' attitudes towards the necessity of cutting any future daughters. Almost half the programmes with positive outcomes achieved these in both attitudes and practices, suggesting successful programmes were managing to change attitudes and practices simultaneously. Only in one other thematic area – transactional and intergenerational sex – was there a higher proportion of programmes with positive outcomes for both attitudes and practice.

Table 17: Change in attitudes and practices concerning FGM/C

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage, Kenya (Chege et al., 2004)	Non-formal education Public ceremony	Attitudes: Girls participating in the alternative rite were more likely than non-participants to express the view that FGM/C contravenes the rights of women and children (59% vs. 20%). Attitudes: 93% of girls and 81% of boys in households with participating girls do not intend to circumcise their daughters, compared with 36% of girls and 13% of boys in non-participating households. Attitudes: 79% of circumcisions arranged by parents of participating girls are now regretted by parents, compared with 16% of circumcisions of non-participant parents' daughters. (The statistical significance of these differences is not given.)		
CARE Reproductive Health Programmes, Kenya and Ethiopia (Chege et al., 2004)	Community dialogue IEC	Attitudes: There were significant changes in favour of abandoning FGM/C (among adult respondents) in Ethiopia (increasing by 145% in the intervention site compared with 67% in the control site), but not in Kenya. Attitudes: The odds that respondents from the intervention sites would support FGM/C abandonment were 0.59 and 0.57 times higher (Ethiopia and Kenya, respectively) than in control/comparison sites. Endline survey respondents were 1.6 and 1.2 times more likely than baseline survey respondents to support abandonment in Ethiopia and Kenya, respectively. At baseline, 8-14% of respondents did not intend to cut their daughters. In Kenya, these proportions remained similar at endline; in Ethiopia they increased significantly in the intervention site (by 26 percentage points) compared with a fall of 1 percentage point in the control site.	Attitudes: In Kenya at baseline, about one in four respondents already believed women were compromised by FGC. By the endline survey, the proportion of people who believed FGC compromised women's rights had increased in both groups, but more in the comparison than in the intervention group (48% and 24%, respectively) for all respondents (men and women), as well as for women respondents alone. Increases in the belief that FGM/C	

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
			compromises girls' rights occurred in all groups but more among the comparison group (56% increase) than the intervention group (43% increase). Attitudes: Kenya saw a significant increase in the proportion of respondents in the control site who supported FGM/C eradication, but none in the intervention site.	
Choices, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003)	Non-formal education	Attitudes: 60% of unmarried participants compared with 50% of unmarried non-participants believe FGM/C should be ended. (No statistical significance given.)	Attitudes: 38% of beneficiaries compared with 44% of non-beneficiaries considered FGM/C unacceptable. Attitudes: Qualitative findings – around 50% of beneficiaries opposed to FGM/C felt they should circumcise future daughters because of family and community pressures to do so. Some beneficiaries opposed to FGM/C found it difficult to convince their families not to circumcise their younger sisters or cousins, but felt they could do so with support.	

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Ndukaku, Enugu and Ebonyi states, Nigeria (Babalola et al., 2006)	Community dialogue Media (newspaper, radio)	Attitudes: In Enugu state, significant positive change on the following indicators – decline among men and women in belief there are benefits to FGM/C (22 and 18 percentage points, respectively); reduced personal approval of FGM/C (10 and 15 percentage point decline, respectively); increase in perceived self-efficacy to refuse pressure to perform FGM/C; increased support for abandonment (especially among women); increase in intention not to cut daughters (18-19 percentage point increase among women and men, respectively).	Attitudes: No change on various indicators of support for FGM/C in Ebonyi: prevalence of the belief (that there are benefits to men and women in FGM/C); personal approval of FGM/C and perceived self-efficacy to resist FGM/C.	Attitudes: Support for FGM/C abandonment reduced in Ebonyi.
Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007; Elbadawy, 2013)	Non-formal education for girls in community setting	Attitudes: Ishraq participants twice as likely as control to know FGM/C is not mandated by religion (42% as opposed to 21%) and twice as likely not to have the intention to circumcise their daughters in the future (26% as opposed to 10%). However, levels of support for FGM/C are still high. Attitudes: Only 1% of Ishraq graduates believed FGM/C was necessary compared with 76% of non-participants. Among girls who participated for over a year, support for FGM/C declined from 71% to 18%. Practices: Girls who had participated for over a year had lower prevalence of FGM/C at endline and baseline than those who participated for under a year or non-participants, but prevalence in all intervention groups at both baseline and endline was higher than for control girls.		
Tostan, Kolda, Thies and Fatick regions, Senegal (Yoder, 2008)	Non-formal education for adults in community settings Public anti-FGM/C declarations Mentoring Tostan radio	Attitudes: While 62% of women in intervention villages and 60% in declaration-only villages (that had not received a Tostan programme but had heard about public declarations and decided to emulate them) did not intend to get their daughters cut, only 20% women in control villages did not intend to get their daughters cut. This study was undertaken four years after the end of Tostan activity, indicating long-term impacts.		

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
		Practices: Statistically significant decline in proportion of all daughters of women in intervention group reported as being cut among participants (from 66% to 59%), and down to 57% among non-participants. No significant change found in comparison group between baseline (71%) and endline (70%). Practices: Statistically significant increase in proportion of under-10-year-old girls uncut by endline reported: from 46% at baseline to 60% at endline among participants and to 64% among nonparticipants. Greatest reported reductions in 5-10 age group: from 21% at baseline to 49% among participants and to 44% among non-participants. No statistically significant change reported for 5-10-year-old girls in the comparison group. Practices: In the intervention group, there was a significant trend towards leaving 1-9-year-old girls uncut (63% at endline compared with 43% at baseline). Although the proportion of cut girls in the control group also declined by endline, this decline was not statistically significant.		
Tostan, Kolda region, Senegal (Diop and Askew, 2009; Diop et al., 2004)		Attitudes: Among the 84% of female participants who explicitly disapproved of FGM/C at endline, 85% that their attitudes had changed as a result of participating in Tostan. Of the 72% of women indirectly exposed to the programme who disapproved of FGM/C at endline, 64% attributed their attitude change to Tostan. Among the 40% of women in the comparison group who disapproved of FGM/C at endline, 12% reported that Tostan was responsible for their change of attitude – they had been reached by diffusion of Tostan activities or Tostan radio.	Practices: Among the group of daughters aged 0-2 years of mothers living in the intervention villages, there were more daughters cut at the endline survey than in the comparison group (12% of daughters of women in the intervention group compared with no daughters of women in the comparison group).	

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
		Attitudes: For all men, proportion intending to have a future daughter cut dropped significantly by endline. The change was greatest among Tostan participants (from 66% to 13%) and least among men living in comparison villages (from 78% to 56%). At endline, men who had participated in Tostan were the least likely (20%), and men in the comparison group the most likely (63%), to express a preference for a woman who had been cut. Following the Tostan programme, approximately three-quarters of the male participants, but under 30% of those in comparison villages, indicated their willingness to ask people in their community to end FGM/C and would support women calling for its abandonment. Attitudes: At endline, level of the intervention group (34%) believing religion supported FGM/C lower than level of comparison group (48%). Attitudes: At baseline, 71% of women with uncut daughters said they wanted to have them cut in the future. This fell to 12% of participants and 23% of women indirectly exposed to Tostan activities. In comparison group, 54% of women expected to have daughters cut at endline, a smaller but still statistically significant decrease. In medium term, more than three-quarters of women decided no longer to have daughters cut. Attitudes: The proportion of women who do not regret having cut their daughters dropped significantly after the introduction of the programme to 10% at endline among programme participants and 15% among non-participants. No significant difference was seen in the comparison group. Attitudes: 63% of people who had participated in a public declaration felt it would be respected, compared with 48% of non-participants. 57% of participants felt a declaration would mean no girl would be cut, compared with 44% of non-participants.	This suggests women in the intervention villages who wanted to cut their daughters may be doing so at an increasingly young age, although the numbers are small.	

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
		Qualitative analysis: Pregnancy outside marriage now considered more shameful and results in greater marginalisation than lack of FGM/C. Non-circumcised girls are being associated with looser morals; respondents attribute this to lack of traditional education about behaviour that accompanied FGM/C. Decline in FGM/C now viewed more as an obstacle to avoiding pregnancy outside marriage than one hindering marriage itself. Qualitative data indicate a significant decline in FGM/C in villages that have undertaken public declarations against it.		
Tostan, Burkina Faso (Ouoba et al., 2004)	Community conversation Non-formal education	Attitudes: Significant increase in proportion of women and men participants disapproving of FGM/C; no statistically significant increase in comparison zone. 36% of women participants and 37% of men participants and 16% of women non-participants and 12% of men non-participants attribute their disapproval of FGM/C to Tostan's programme. Attitudes: Significant increase in proportion of women in intervention zone who regretted having their daughter cut; increases among non-participants and in comparison zone were not statistically significant. Practices: In the intervention group overall, the low prevalence of FGM/C did not change, but the proportion of girls aged 0-10 years who had not been cut clearly increased. Indeed, no girls under the age of 5 years were reported to have been cut, compared with 3% in the comparison area. However, the validity of these responses may be affected by widespread knowledge that FGM/C is illegal.		

Programme and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Training Health and Social Agents, Mali (Sangare et al., 1998)	Training and capacity building IEC	Attitudes: At baseline, 39% of health workers stated that uncut females tended to have 'loose morals', declining to 26% in a follow-up study. The proportion of health workers agreeing that men prefer to marry circumcised women dropped from 32% to 28%, while those who thought FGM/C guaranteed virginity until marriage dropped from 14% to 9%.		
Youth to Youth, Ethiopia and Kenya (Tautz, 2011)	Community conversation IEC Mentoring Non-formal education	Attitudes: Young people interviewed in Ethiopia were convinced of having contributed decisively to the reduction in FGM/C by reporting preparations to village authorities or the police.		

Figure 44: Distribution of types of outcome
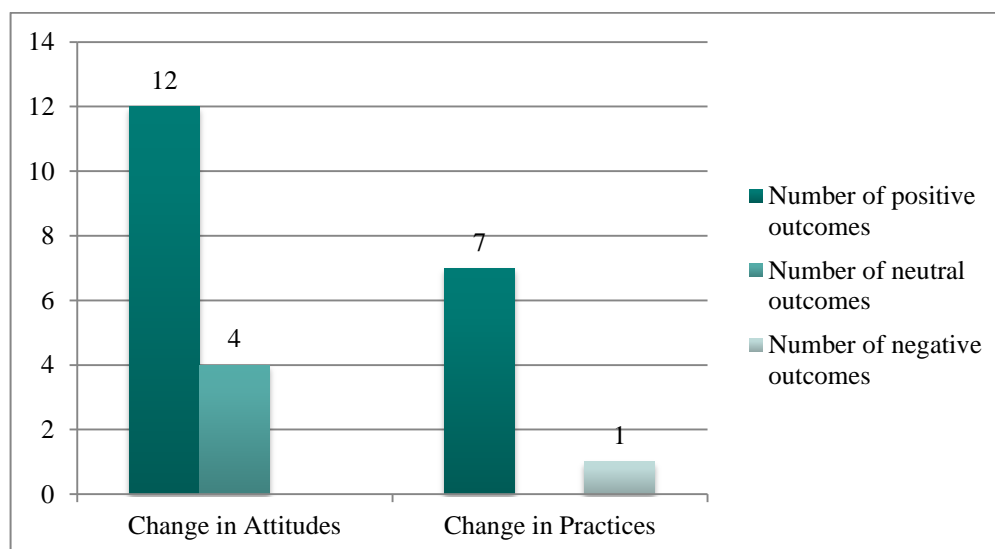
As Figure 44 shows, positive outcomes were considerably more common than neutral or negative effects, with 19 positive outcomes recorded and only five neutral or negative outcomes. In some cases, changes in attitudes were substantial – as in Ishraq in Egypt, Tostan in Senegal and Ndukaku in Enugu state, Nigeria. The evaluations of Tostan in Senegal also indicated a substantial decline in cutting of daughters in some age groups – particularly among 5-10 year olds.[25]

Three studies found a greater decline in support for FGM/C among control groups or a hardening of pro-FGM/C attitudes among participants in some areas, although two of these programmes also led to declining support for FGM/C in other areas (Ndukaku in Nigeria: Babalola et al., 2006; CARE in Ethiopia and Kenya: Chege et al., 2004; New Horizons in Egypt: North South Consultants Exchange, 2003). In one case (CARE in Ethiopia and Kenya), this is likely to reflect substantial communication and interaction between intervention and control groups (Chege et al., 2004). In Ndukaku, Nigeria, Babalola et al. (2006) found attitudes towards FGM/C abandonment grew more negative in one state (Ebonyi). The authors do not discuss why this might have occurred, given that the same programme of radio broadcasts, newspaper articles and community dialogue activities was implemented in both Ebonyi and Enugu states, and led to positive changes in Enugu.

Evaluations of Tostan in Senegal also found that, although reported numbers of girls being cut had declined dramatically, among those families that continued to have their daughters cut there had been a small increase in the 0-2 age group, suggesting supporters of the practice are carrying it out earlier to ensure it takes place (Diop and Askew, 2009; Diop et al., 2004). Studies such as Diop et al. (2004), which combine qualitative and quantitative evidence, underline that the process of change in attitudes and practices on FGM/C is not linear, and, as might be expected, even in villages that have undergone education programmes and made public declarations against FGM/C, there are still dissenting voices. As one elderly woman interviewed by Yoder (2008: 54) put it, '*About circumcision, the point is that I no longer have a daughter of the right age. But if I did, I would put up a fight. It would be difficult to have me give it up, I'm not trying to hide it*. Non-participating woman.'

8.3 Explaining change

Target groups. Part of the success of these programmes may have been their strong focus on adult decision makers and on changing attitudes at community level. Only one of the programmes examined – Tostan in Senegal – engaged religious leaders. The inclusion of religious leaders, some of whom believed FGM/C had no religious justification, is likely to have contributed to a reduction in the proportion of men and women who

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[25] Although this age group is younger than the primary focus of this study – adolescent girls – these studies are included as they show how combined communication activities have been effective in shifting a gender-based norm with a significant impact on adolescent girls – particularly given high rates of early marriage and childbearing in Tostan's regions of operation.

believed FGM/C was a religious obligation (Diop et al., 2004). Some programmes working directly with girls, such as Ishraq in Egypt, show a substantial change in attitudes. However, only longitudinal studies would show whether participant girls have been able to sustain anti-FGM/C attitudes as they marry and in time need to make decisions about their own daughters. Seven evaluations (those of CARE in Ethiopia and Kenya, Tostan in Senegal and Burkina Faso and Ndukaku in Nigeria) reported on changes in men and women's attitudes, although not always comparing male and female attitudes on the same issue. There was no clear pattern across the studies, in part because most studies examined multiple indicators and gender differences were not always consistent. For example, within one study, the decline in support for FGM/C might be greater for women than men, while the increase in the proportion of men not intending to have their daughters cut might be greater than for women. There was clear evidence of a greater shift in attitudes and more anti-FGM/C attitudes among men in some evaluations (e.g. Chege et al.'s 2004 evaluation of CARE's Reproductive Health Activities in Kenya and Ethiopia) and among women in others (Tostan in Senegal – Diop et al., 2004); in others (e.g. Babalola et al.'s 2006 analysis of Ndukaku in Nigeria) gender differences in changes varied from question to question, but often were not very large.

Thought-provoking messages and processes. Although little detail of messages was available, the information that could be gleaned from evaluations and supporting documents suggests these programmes emphasised both health and human rights violations related to FGM/C.[26] The qualitative elements of the evaluations of Tostan show how these programmes were instrumental in providing people with new information that led to a change in thinking, and then to new forms of behaviour, as the following quotes illustrate:

'At first, some men were somewhat suspicious of these girls, but for some time now they have realized that these non-circumcised girls are cleaner and healthier than the circumcised girls. Since then they have a great deal of respect for them. Which means that today they have no problems finding suitors. Tostan Facilitator' (Diop et al., 2008: 25).

'I think that this declaration enabled people to reflect deeply on the issues of FGC, early marriage and personal violence. It was a turning point for the abandonment of FGC. Man, opinion leader, Sakar in the intervention group, 2003' (Diop et al., 2004: 28).

Programme design. Many of the programmes in this set involved processes of dialogue to change attitudes, and most involved multiple communications activities: there is a considerably greater spread of communications activities than in some other thematic areas. Non-formal education and community dialogue were the most common approaches, followed by IEC and public ceremonies. Only four programmes[27] involved non-communications activities – these were all broader programmes that involved a FGM/C component – such as CARE's reproductive health programme in Ethiopia and Kenya, two Ishraq programmes in Egypt, which involved basic education as a bridge to formal education and provided a safe space for girls to meet and the opportunity to play sports and games, and Youth to Youth, a holistic youth development programme in Ethiopia and Kenya. No programmes sought to provide alternative livelihood sources for circumcisers. Although these programmes with non-communication components were associated with positive changes in attitudes towards FGM/C,[28] there is no evidence to suggest these additional components played any role in shifting attitudes. It is more likely they served to attract participants to these programmes, during which they were exposed to anti-FGM/C messages.

Public declarations and ceremonies. Anti-FGM/C programmes are unusual among the programmes examined in the extent to which they involve public declarations of commitment not to practise FGM/C.[29] Public declarations are part of the Tostan 'model' as implemented in Senegal and Burkina Faso. They are intended to be the result of community dialogue and agreement to abandon the practice together. Yoder (2008) and Diop et al. (2008) show, however, that some villages that did not have access to Tostan's full non-formal education and

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[26] Chege et al's (2004) study of CARE's Reproductive Health Programme in Kenya and Ethiopia has the most detailed information on messaging on about why FGM/C should be abandoned. The descriptions of Tostan's curriculum indicate FGM/C is the focus of one class out of thirty (Diop et al., 2004), although other activities, such as public declarations, reinforce attention on FGM/C.

[27] Programmes such as Tostan that are based on a communicative process – non-formal education classes – that then may lead to other actions, e.g. infrastructure improvements, are considered 'communications programmes', as the non-communications components are not integral to the model, nor are they described in any of the papers we examined.

[28] Although Chege et al.'s (2004) evaluation of CARE's Kenya programme also recorded greater change among controls than participants.

[29][29] The only other set of programmes with public declarations comprised programmes combating early marriage – either led or inspired by Tostan.

community dialogue programme have nevertheless undertaken public declarations not to practise FGM/C. This appears to be the result of spontaneous communication between people in different villages, and may also reflect Tostan radio, which covered both intervention and control regions.

Public declarations supported by the majority of people in a community are considered important in the social norms literature since they signal the change of a norm in a particular location, not just individual attitudes (Mackie and Le Jeune, 2009). They also signify collective action to change from an equilibrium where everyone practises cutting, since it ensures marriageability, to an equilibrium where no one practises it. Essential to this approach is that a critical mass of other communities is abandoning FGM/C simultaneously, so girls' prospects of finding a marriage partner are not compromised. The evaluations of Tostan specifically address this point, highlighting how people who received training in one village took it on themselves to discuss their intention to abandon FGM/C with people from surrounding villages, with whose people marriages were commonly contracted (see Box 8). Also important is that girls feel assured they will not be stigmatised for not being circumcised, as Chege al. (2001) found in Kenya. The testimony of the following mother highlights this point:

'The first time [the speaker's daughter was invited to attend the alternative rite of passage] she hesitated to accept because of the obvious fact that her friends will ridicule her, but when we explained it to her she easily agreed and she was happy especially when she went for the training and found many other girls. She was encouraged' (Chege et al., 2001: 20).

The Tostan evaluations do not disaggregate data according to whether a public declaration took place or not and therefore it is not possible to assess how important such declarations are in shifting attitudes and practices. This said, in Diop et al.'s (2004) study in Senegal, 63% of people who had participated in a public declaration felt the declaration would be respected, compared with 48% of non-participants. A total of 57% of participants felt the declaration would mean no girl would be cut, compared with 44% of non-participants. While their assessments may or may not be correct, these figures indicate that public declarations are no silver bullet, although the fact that the Tostan programmes registered some of the largest declines in support for FGM/C (compared with other programmes examined) indicates they are likely to play an important role.

One programme in Kenya involved an alternative rite of passage for girls who had not undergone FGM/C, to replace the traditional initiation ceremony for cut girls. The appeal and effectiveness of this alternative ceremony varied considerably; it was most effective in ethnic groups where FGM/C took place in adolescence and where thus the alternative rite of passage replaced a valued existing ceremony.

Box 8: Spotlight on public declarations – Tostan, Senegal

The Senegalese NGO, Tostan, has been running non-formal community education programmes since the late 1990s.[30] These are broad programmes covering human rights problem-solving and health issues, including FGM/C and child marriage, and are aimed primarily at adults. In addition to community education classes, Tostan's approach involves one-to-one communication, whereby class participants disseminate their learning to a mentee who has not been able to attend classes, community events and dialogue and Tostan radio, which disseminates information on development issues.[31] Another key element of Tostan's approach is public declarations by whole communities of a commitment not to practise FGM/C or child marriage. As of 2014, over 7,000 communities had made such declarations.[32]

Tostan's programme as a whole has led to substantial changes in attitudes towards FGM/C, parents' intentions to have their daughters cut and reported prevalence of FGM/C. The table below shows examples:

Examples of changes resulting from Tostan programmes:

Attitudes: Proportion of women respondents in Kolda region believing FGM/C is necessary decreased significantly in the intervention villages, from 70% at baseline to 15% among participants and to 29% among non-participants at endline. A smaller decline occurred in the comparison group (from 88% to 61%) (Diop and Askew, 2009).

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[30] Tostan is now active in six West African countries (http://www.tostan.org/tostan-model, accessed 6 June 2014). In this box we discuss only its work in Senegal, as this is the focus of the evaluations considered in our review.

[31] It was not possible to ascertain whether these are primarily factual programmes or involve edutainment.

[32] http://www.tostan.org/tostan-model, accessed 6 June 2014.

Intention to cut: 62% of women in intervention villages and 60% in villages that had made declarations after hearing about Tostan's programme did not intend to get their daughters cut, compared with 20% in control villages (Yoder, 2008).

Reported prevalence of cutting: Reported prevalence of girls and women having been cut declined from 65% to 15% in intervention villages and from 86% to 47% in control villages between 1996-2000 and 2001-2005 (Yoder, 2008).

Reflecting on the contribution of different approaches to change, one interviewee stated:

'*I think that this declaration enabled people to reflect deeply on the issues of FGC, early marriage and personal violence. It was a turning point for the abandonment of FGC* (man, opinion leader, Sakar in the intervention group, 2003' (Diop et al., 2004: 28).

Quantitative evaluations of Tostan indicate it has contributed to a decline in support for FGM/C and a reduction in its practice, some reduction in the extent of marriage among girls under 15 and an increase in girls' school enrolment. There is some evidence that from qualitative studies of norm change, for example:

'*There are many non-circumcised girls in the village. They are well regarded. They are not excluded socially at all for anything having to do with FGM/C. I think that people are more or less aware of the danger of these practices for people's health and their children's future.* (Non participating woman, farmer, age 42)' (Diop et al., 2008: 25).

Interviews with people in programmes reached by Tostan – either directly or indirectly through word-of-mouth contact between villages – indicate that public declarations are often effective because people feel bound to honour them. For example, the chair of a women's group in the village of Diabougou said:

'*I simply say to myself that when an ass gorr* [honourable person] *stands before everyone and declares that she has abandoned FGM/C, she must keep her word [...] We would be really ashamed if people said Diabougou declared that it was abandoning FGM/C, but people are still doing it* (women's group president)' (Diop et al., 2008: 21).

These sentiments were echoed in other villages. No social change is uncontroversial and, though it appears that the majority of people in communities that undertook public declarations do support them, there is inevitably some resistance. Qualitative studies also revealed the perception that:

'*About circumcision, the point is that I no longer have a daughter of the right age. But if I did, I would put up a fight. It would be difficult to have me give it up, I'm not trying to hide it.* (Non-participating woman)' (Yoder, 2008: 54).

And that '*It is difficult to see a person who has been circumcised or hear that circumcision has been performed [...] There are people who get their daughters circumcised secretly*. (Non-participating woman) (Yoder, 2008: 54).

Source: Compiled from Diop and Askew (2009); Diop et al. (2004, 2008); Yoder (2008); and www.tostan.org

Intensity of exposure. Only one programme measured the effect of the extent of exposure. Brady et al. (2007) found the length of time a girl had participated in Ishraq had a substantial effect on her intention to have a future daughter cut. Any participation in Ishraq was associated with a statistically significant reduction in intention to circumcise, with the greatest reduction among those who had participated longest.[33] Full-term participants had lower reported prevalence of FGM/C than girls who had participated for a shorter time, and both reported lower levels of having undergone FGM/C than control girls. It is not clear from the discussion whether this could partially reflect underlying differences in attitudes towards FGMC between participant and control groups.

Only a few evaluations outlined the length of programme activities, but it is clear that some of the more successful programmes (such as Tostan and Ishraq) have been long term and their effects may reflect a trusted presence over a long period (Tostan had been in operation for 15 years at the time of these evaluations and Ishraq between 6 and 10 years in different locations). However, some of the shorter programmes (e.g. Ndukaku

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[33] The exact values for each group are not given but the extent of decline for each group is presented in a bar graph.

in Nigeria and health worker training in Mali) also achieved notable attitude changes. These evaluations do not provide a sufficient basis for drawing conclusions on the importance of programme length.

Relative effectiveness of different approaches. Only one evaluation compared the effect of different approaches. Babalola et al.'s (2006) study of Ndukaku in Nigeria found that exposure to radio broadcasts, newspaper articles and community activities had a stronger impact on attitudes than exposure to mass media or community activities alone.[34] Babalola et al. also found that exposure to the intervention had greater impact than any demographic factors or variables such as education, listening to the radio or attending religious services. However, Ndukaku was only effective in one of the two states where it was implemented (Enugu); in the other (Ebonyi), neither activity resulted in a decline in support for FGM/C. Babalola et al. do not discuss why the programme was so much more successful in Enugu than it was in Ebonyi.

Role of intervention versus broader changes. Several interventions (Tostan in Senegal and Burkina Faso, Maendeleo ya Wanawake's Alternative Rite of Passage in Kenya, CARE's Reproductive Health Programme in Kenya and Ethiopia) took place in contexts where substantial other anti-FGM/C activity had been taking place, and the evaluations of these programmes recognise that declines in support for FGM/C are likely to reflect the combined effect of multiple interventions. Indeed, two studies recognised the deterrent effect of the law in criminalising FGM/C (Diop et al., 2004; Ouoba et al., 2004).

Two evaluations investigated the extent to which participants attributed changes to particular interventions. Ouoda et al. (2004) found that just over a third of men and women (36% of women and 37% of men) attributed their change in attitudes to Tostan activity, as did 12% of male non-participants and 16% of female non-participants, indicating that communications activities had a broader impact outside intervention areas. In Senegal, Diop et al (2004) found that 85% of women who had changed their views on FGM/C as a result of participating in Tostan attributed their change in attitude to Tostan, as did 64% of indirect participants who disapproved of FGM/C, and 12% of those in the comparison group who disapproved of FGM/C.

Socioeconomic issues. Only three evaluations discuss how socioeconomic differences may have affected access to these programmes and thus to uptake of anti-FGM/C messages. Chege et al. (2001) found girls who participated in non-formal education provided by the programme, culminating in the alternative rite of passage, were more likely to be from better-off socioeconomic groups, slightly less likely to be labourers or farm workers, slightly more likely to have ever attended school and more likely to belong to the Methodist or African Gospel Church, both of which have spoken out against FGM/C.[35]/[36] They are also slightly more likely to be from families where the women and girls have more egalitarian gender attitudes and where cutting is less common. In other words, this programme may have been drawing from families that were already more inclined to abandon FGM/C. Likewise, Ouoba et al. (2004) found participants had a higher level of education than non-participants and controls, and a higher of male participants were young and unmarried, compared with non-participants and controls. They had a high level of mobility (with many outside contacts) and were generally open to change and already in favour of giving up FGM/C. This skewed self-selection of participants may mean those who were more likely to sustain FGM/C may have self-excluded from the programme. Unlike Chege et al. and Ouoba et al., which both found socioeconomic differences affected access to programmes, Elbadawy (2013) found household wealth was not a significant predictor of participation in Ishraq. Thus, it is unlikely that shifts in attitudes towards FGM/C were greater among one socioeconomic stratum than another.

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[34] The study does not examine the relative impacts of media and community sensitisation activities.
[35] It appears that this study was carried out in areas where the predominant religion was Christianity of various different denominations.
[36] Chege et al. (2001) attribute differences by religious affiliation in part to churches' stance on FGM/C. They note that in the study area the Methodist, African Gospel, African Inland and Seventh Day Adventist churches actively condemn FGM/C, whereas the Catholic and Pentecostal churches do not.

9 Physical violence against women and girls

Box 9: Summary – physical violence against girls and women

The problem: Recent studies indicate that, across the world, one in three women have experienced violence from an intimate partner (Jones et al., 2010), and younger women are often more vulnerable (Hindin et al., 2008, in Jones et al., 2010. Adolescent girls are also at risk of physical violence from parents, brothers and other family members, particularly if they transgress norms concerning appropriate female behaviour. Social norms in many contexts condone violence against women and girls in particular circumstances and emphasise that they should put up with such violence and define physical violence as a private matter in which others should not get involved.

Key findings: Overall, the evaluations examined indicate a considerable degree of success in reducing the acceptability of violence against women and girls, with 64% of recorded outcomes indicating a positive change and an equal number of positive changes in attitudes and practices. Changes in attitudes indicate a decline in the proportion of respondents considering any violence against women and girls acceptable and a reduction in those considering it acceptable in particular circumstances, and a reduction in the belief that women should tolerate violence to keep their family together. Changes in practice included increased intervention to where violence was occurring as well as reduced perpetration. Increases in reported violence after exposure to communications interventions may reflect increased recognition of certain acts, which were previously normalised, as violence and thus should not necessarily be considered negative outcomes. When these are removed from the analysis, the proportion of positive outcomes rises to 71%, similar to in other thematic areas.

The majority of studies (24) focused on violence in intimate partner relationships. Five studies examined changes in attitudes or practice towards violence against adolescent girls as siblings, daughters or peers, four of which found positive shifts away from considering violence acceptable.

There are no clear patterns of particularly effective intervention designs. In the few studies that compared intervention designs, programmes combining IEC materials and publicity with dialogue-based non-formal education were generally more effective than those using IEC only in reducing the acceptability and perpetration of gender-based violence. Longer or more intense exposure to media or other communication interventions was generally associated with greater change in attitudes or practices. Unfortunately, most of the evaluations do not go into sufficient detail on IEC materials, non-formal education curricula or the storylines of edutainment programmes to draw conclusions as to the importance of particular messages, although there is evidence from one study (Usdin et al., 2005) of people modelling anti-violence actions they had seen on a soap opera, indicating that, at the very least, this framing was effective.

This section discusses physical gender-based violence (GBV) against women and girls. Both in programmes and evaluations, such violence was often framed as violence against women, rather than violence against women and girls. In keeping with the inclusion criterion for the whole study, the studies examined in this section either include adolescents as respondents (often within a wider set of respondents including adults) or report on attitudes and practices specifically concerning violence against adolescent girls. Sexual violence is discussed in Section 10. We do not discuss emotional violence in this review because very few studies examined this issue. Furthermore, we do not discuss other forms of violence against girls, such as corporal punishment at home or at school. None of these studies specifically discusses conflict-affected settings.

9.1 Overview of studies and programmes

More studies reported on physical violence than on any of the other thematic issues discussed in this review: 44% reported outcomes related to changes in physical violence against women and girls. This section discusses 29 studies examining 28 programmes.[37] As Table 18 shows, 12 of the 28 studies either focused entirely on physical violence or examined it in depth. In the others, physical violence was one of a large number of issues covered, or measured only by one indicator with limited discussion.

9.1.1 Quality and relevance of studies

A total of 25 of the 29 studies used either a quantitative or mixed methods design, and there were 14 studies using a strong quasi-experimental design or RCT.

Table 18: Distribution of studies by extent of focus on physical violence and study appraisal score

High study appraisal score/moderate physical violence focus	High study appraisal score/high physical violence focus
• Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso (Engebretsen et al., 2012) • Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007) • First Time Parents Project, India (Santhya et al., 2008) • Stepping Stones, India (Bradley et al., 2011) • Stepping Stones, South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2007)	• GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011) • IMAGE, South Africa (Pronyk et al., 2006) • Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Namibia (Hutchinson et al., 2012a) • Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Lesotho (Hutchinson et al., 2012b) • Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013) • Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012c) • Humaqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012) • Parivartan, India (Miller et al., 2013) • Soul City, South Africa (Usdin et al., 2005)
Moderate study appraisal score/moderate physical violence focus	**Moderate study appraisal score/high physical violence focus**
• Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013) • Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage, Kenya (Chege et al., 2001) • New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003) • Male Norms Initiative, Ethiopia (Pulerwitz et al., 2010) • Pakachere, Malawi (Pakachere Institute for Health and Development Communication, 2007) • ReproSalud, Peru (Ferrando et al., 2002) • Tostan, Senegal (Diop et al., 2008) • Stepping Stones, South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2010) • Tostan, Senegal (Diop et al., 2004) • Tostan, Burkina Faso (Ouoba et al., 2004) • Whizz Kids United 'On the Ball' Intervention, South Africa (Farrar, 2010)	• Changing Married Men's Attitudes, Isfahan, Iran (Boroumandfar et al., 2010) • Equal Access, Nepal (Equal Access, 2010) • We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)

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[37] Where there are separate evaluations of programmes implemented in different regions under one broad banner, these are treated as separate programmes. Thus, for example, the evaluation of Tostan's programme in Kolda, Senegal (Diop et al., 2004) is examined separately from the evaluation of Tostan's programme in three regions of Senegal (Diop et al., 2008) or that in Burkina Faso (Ouoba et al., 2004).

9.1.2 Regional distribution

There was a wider geographical spread of programmes addressing physical violence against women and girls than for other issues, with programmes from five regions represented in the review. As Figure 45 shows, just over half the programmes examined took place in Sub-Saharan Africa (Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland), and a quarter took place in South Asia (India, Nepal, Pakistan). There was one programme each in Latin America (Peru) and South-East Asia (Cambodia), and three in the Middle East and North Africa (Egypt and Iran).

In all but four of the programmes in SSA, physical violence issues were integrated into broader behaviour change programmes aiming to address issues of gender inequality, sexual behaviour and HIV/AIDS prevention. The programmes in South Asia were either primarily focused on physical violence or addressed it as part of broader gender equality promotion programmes, often with a focus on changing men and boys' gender norms. With the exception of a violence-focused programme in Iran, all the other programmes were broader gender equality promotion programmes.

Figure 45: Regional distribution of programmes
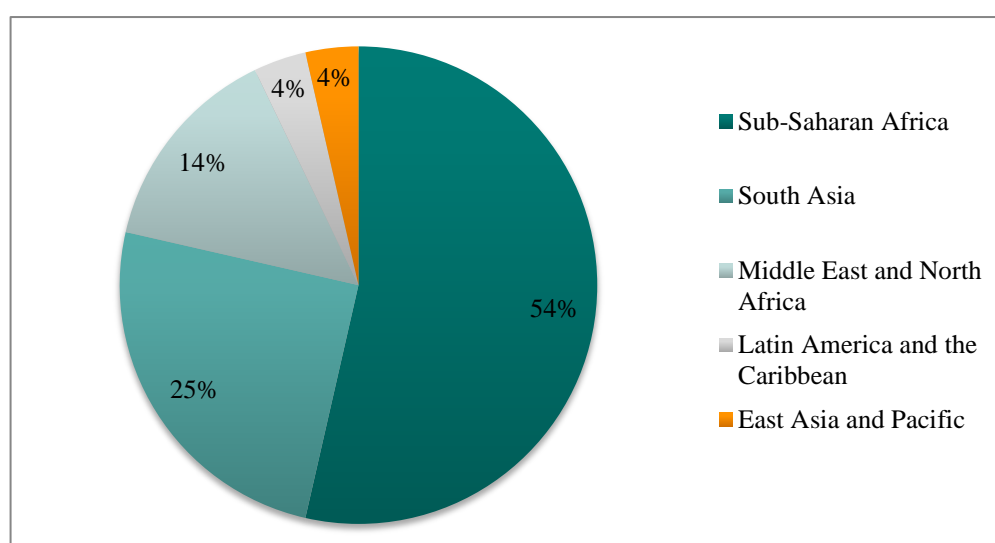
9.1.3 Programme design

Four-fifths of these programmes involved communications activities only (Figure 46), a higher proportion than in many thematic areas. This may reflect the fact that a smaller proportion than in other thematic areas were broad, integrated adolescent development programmes.

Figure 46: Broad programme design – programmes addressing physical violence against women and girls

- 18% Part of a Package
- 82% Communications Only
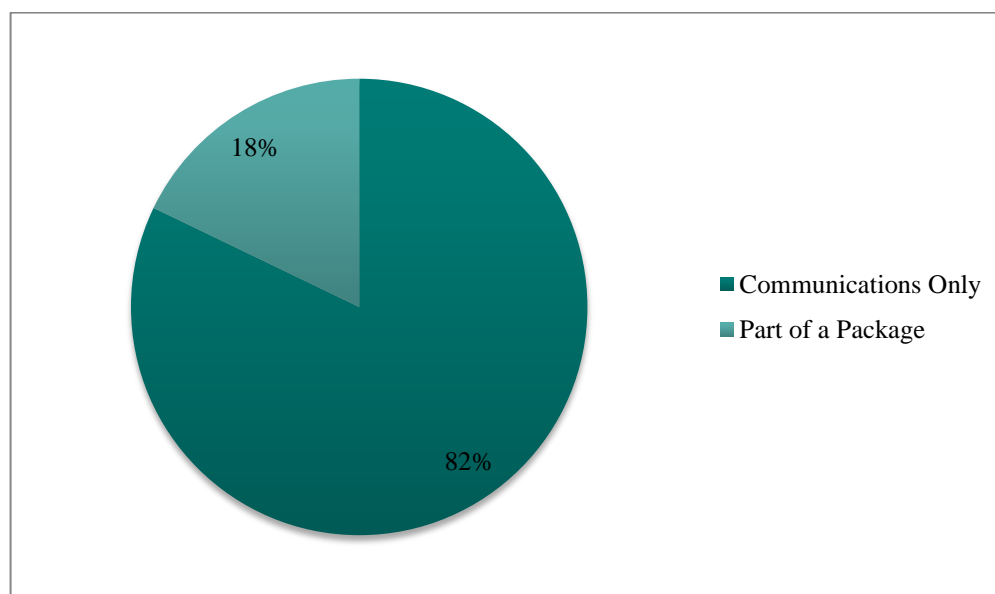
Multiple programme components were common, with 19 programmes undertaking at least 2 communication activities and 9 involving 3 or more. As Figure 47 shows, the most common components were non-formal education, IEC and community dialogue. The use of mass media was more common than in some of the thematic areas examined, as was one-to-one communication or mentoring.[38] The most common combinations were media with IEC (eight programmes), community dialogue with IEC (six programmes) and non-formal education with community dialogue (five programmes).[39]

Figure 47: Programmes addressing violence against women and girls with each communications component (%)

- Public Ceremony — 14%
- Non-Formal Education — 64%
- One to One Communication and mentoring — 18%
- IEC Materials and Large Scale Sensitisation — 46%
- Community Dialogue — 36%
- Media — 32%
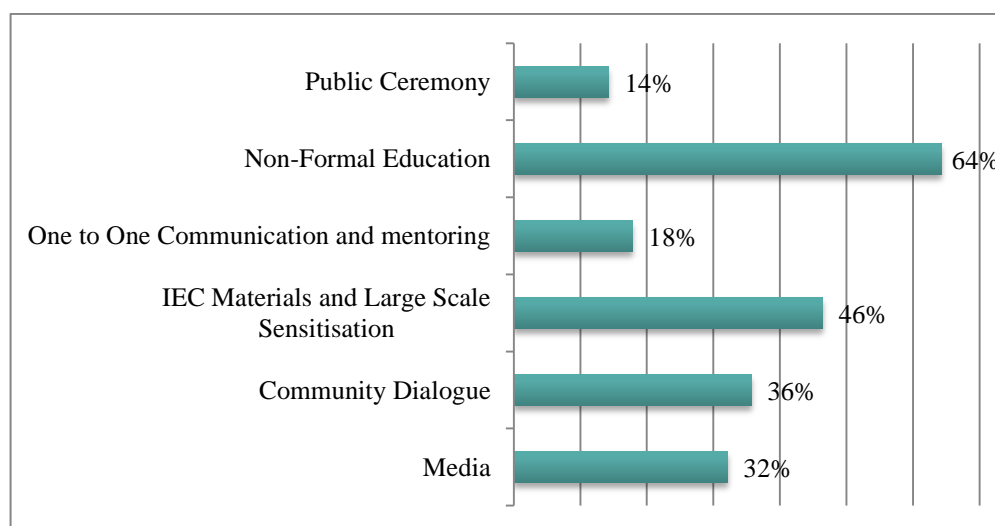
Note: Programmes may include more than one communications component.

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[38] The four alternative rite of passage and public declaration programmes reflect that all the anti-FGM/C programmes with public ceremonies also recorded changes on physical violence. These public declarations/ceremonies focused on FGM/C only rather than including public pledges against physical violence.
[39] These data are not shown graphically.

Only five programmes involved non-communication components. Of these, economic strengthening was the most common type of activity (Figure 48).

Figure 48: Frequency distribution of non-communications components
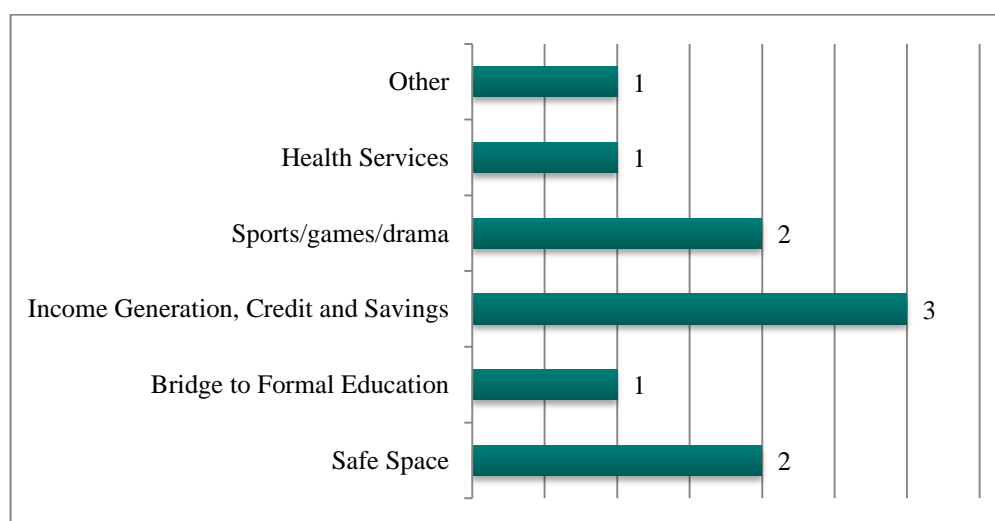
Note: Programmes may include more than one non-communications component.

9.1.4 Target groups

As Figure 49 shows, this set of programmes principally targeted women, girls, men and boys. The number of programmes focusing on adult men is unusual in comparison with other thematic areas, and reflects a strong emphasis in many of these programmes on shifting male norms that condone violence.

Figure 49: Frequency distribution of target groups – programmes addressing violence against women and girls
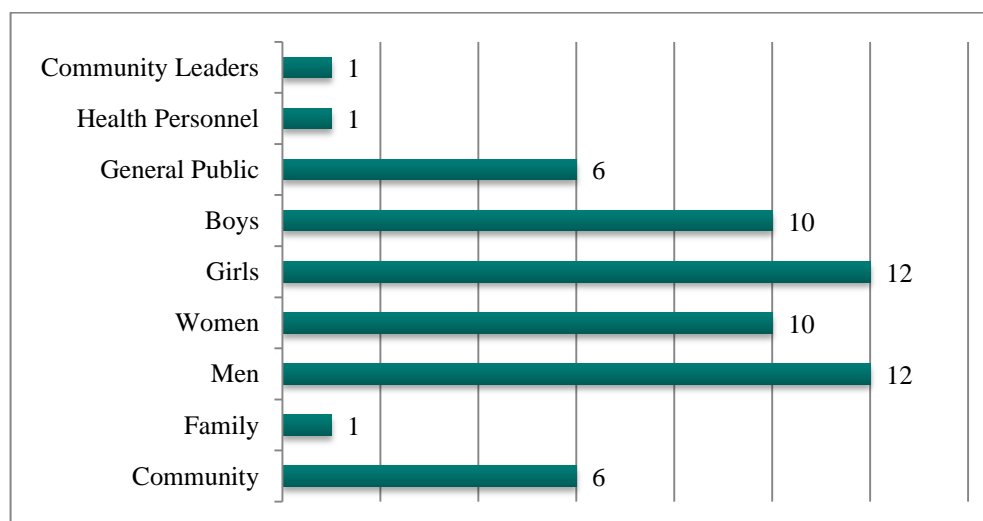
9.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

Table 19 summarises findings concerning changes in attitudes and practices on physical violence.

Table 19: Changes in attitudes and practices – physical violence

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Changing Married Men's Attitudes, Iran (Boroumandfar et al., 2010)	One group received IEC materials – pamphlets on domestic violence; the other attended non-formal education (an hour a day for five days)	Attitudes: Non-formal education sessions contributed to change in male attitudes on emotional, sexual and physical violence. Participants who received IEC materials showed a smaller degree of change, and only on physical and sexual aspects of violence.		
Choices, Egypt (Marketeers Research and Consultancy, 2013)	Non-formal education for girls and their brothers in community setting	Attitudes: Boys and girls who agree that brothers can hit their sisters decreased significantly from 51% at baseline to 27% at endline. Attitudes: Boys' perception of what they would do if their sister did something wrong declined from 65% saying they would hit them to 37% reporting they would do so at endline. The proportion that would talk with them increased from 31% to 61%. 49% would shout at them at baseline compared with 39% at endline. However, there is a disjuncture between girls' and boys' reports of brothers' violence: only 38% of girls said brothers would discuss with them if they did something wrong (against 74% of boys); 52% stated that their brothers would hit them (against 22% of boys). Attitudes: Boys and girls who agree with men hitting their wives significantly decreased from 49% at baseline to 31% at endline. The proportion agreeing fathers had the right to hit their daughters decreased significantly from 75% at baseline to 41% at endline.		

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Community Media Trust, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	Media (radio)	Attitudes: As compared with people unexposed to Desafio (radio soap opera), women who are exposed are less likely to disagree that 1) violence between men and women is a private affair (93.6% vs. 81.3%); 2) people in the community think that a woman should tolerate violence for the family (88.6% versus 78.1%); 3) people in the community believe that sometimes a woman deserves domestic violence (89.3% versus 77.4%); and 4) people in the community believe that bride price gives men the right to beat a woman (95.1% versus 83.8%).		Attitudes: Among men, 76% of those exposed to Desafio vs. 83.3% of unexposed and 63.2% of those exposed to any outputs vs. 82.9% of unexposed disagreed with statement, 'People in the community believe bride price gives men the right to beat a woman.'
Equal Access, Nepal (Equal Access, 2010)	Media IEC	Attitudes: Substantial increase in proportion of respondents agreeing intervention is needed if someone is beating a woman: from 13% of men and 26% of women at baseline to 79% of men and 89% of women at endline. Attitudes: Proportion of women agreeing women should seek help if they are experiencing violence rose from 22% at baseline to 39% at endline. Attitudes: Proportion of female respondents disagreeing women should tolerate violence from husband and family to keep family together rose from 33% at baseline to 44% at endline; those strongly disagreeing rose from 8% to 24%. Attitudes: At endline, 92% of female and 95% of male respondents agreed women should take collective action against domestic violence inflicted on them by strongly agreeing and agreeing on the matter, up from 91% and 88%. Practices: Increase in proportion of men and women speaking out against physical assaults occurring in public	Attitudes: No recorded change in male attitudes towards women having to tolerate violence to keep the family together.	Attitudes: Proportion of men agreeing women should seek help if experiencing domestic violence fell from 13% at baseline to 9% at endline. (Statistical significance not given.)

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
		from 7% of women and 16% of men at baseline to 35% and 49% at endline. Practices: Proportion of women seeking help from public authorities increased from baseline to endline: from 5% to 14% for use of courts, from 15% to 28% for seeking police help and from 11% to 17% for use of legal counselling services. No information on statistical significance is given.		
Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso (Engebretsen et al., 2012)	Non-formal education for girl domestic workers in community setting	Attitudes: Proportion of respondents (girl domestic workers) believing men have right to beat disobedient wives fell from 58% at baseline to 31% after the intervention.		
First Time Parents Project (Santhya et al., 2008)	Non-formal education One-to-one mentoring		Attitudes: Regression analysis shows exposure to the intervention *per se* did not have a significant net effect on young women's views regarding non-acceptability of domestic violence in either site. In short, although attitudes had become more positive on the non-acceptability of domestic violence across all groups, this change could not be attributed to intervention exposure.	
GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011)	School-based IEC and non-formal education on gender equality for adolescents in school; one group received IEC only; the other received IEC plus	Attitudes: Statistically significant reduction over 2-year period in proportion of boys in IEC and non-formal education NFE schools agreeing with the statement, 'There are times when a boy needs to beat his girlfriend.' 20 percentage point reduction in girls in IEC and campaign		Practices: Reported perpetration of physical violence by boys after three months went up in IEC and non-formal education NFE arm but decreased in

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
	non-formal education	group disagreeing with statement, 'A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.' Practices: Among students who participated in both rounds of the intervention, those in the IEC and non-formal education group (boys and girls combined) reported a 4-point decrease in physical violence at the second follow-up survey, while there was a 6-8 point increase in the control and IEC-only group.		campaign arm from baseline to the first follow-up. These changes were significant when compared with change in control group. For girls in IEC and non-formal education arm, increase in perpetration of physical violence at school was also significant when compared with control group. These increases may, however, reflect increased sensitisation to what constitutes violence, rather than increased incidence. By second follow-up, reported violence had reduced among participant groups compared with control.
Humqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012)	Non-formal education Community dialogue IEC	Attitudes: Statistically significant reduction in proportion believing a woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together and in proportion believing it is OK for a man to hit his wife if she will not have sex. Practices: Some qualitative evidence of a reduction in violence against young men's younger siblings.		
IMAGE, South Africa (Pronyk et al., 2012)	Non-formal education	Attitudes: Women who took part were more likely to report progressive attitudes towards gender violence at endline than control group (this was not measured at baseline).		

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
		Practices: Over a two-year period, levels of intimate partner violence reduced by 55% in women (not disaggregated by age) in the intervention group relative to those in the comparison group.		
Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007)	Non-formal education in community setting for adolescent girls and their brothers Community dialogue	Attitudes: Proportion of participant girls agreeing a girl should be beaten if she disobeys her brother declines with length of participation in Ishraq. 64% of full-term participants and 93% of control group agreed with this statement – a statistically significant difference. A statistically significant but smaller reduction also occurred among participants who spent 1-2.5 years in Ishraq. For these two participant groups there was also a statistically significant reduction in the proportion agreeing a girl should be beaten if she goes out without permission, though support for such violence remained high (over 70% agreement).[40]		
Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage, Kenya (Chege et al., 2001)	Non-formal education	Attitudes: Statistically significant difference participants vs. non-participants as to whether it is justified for a man to hit his partner. Despite high levels of overall disapproval of physical violence between spouses, youth in families of participant girls were significantly more likely to disapprove than those in non-participant families (95% vs. 90%).		
Male Norms Project, Ethiopia (Puleritz et al., 2010)	Non-formal education IEC	Attitudes: Qualitative evidence of more gender-egalitarian attitudes on GBV. Practices: Violent behaviour was reduced more in the intervention groups than in the comparison group. Young men from the IEC-only group were 65% less likely to exhibit violence towards their partner compared with participants from the comparison group, and those from the non-formal education +IEC group were 55% less likely to exhibit violence over time.	Attitudes: No statistically significant changes on attitudes to domestic violence between either intervention group, or between intervention and control group	

[40] Exact numbers are not clear from the graphs (Ssee Brady et al., 2007: 27).

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
		Practices: In the non-formal education+IEC group, the proportion of young men physically violent to a primary partner in the previous six months decreased from 36% to 16%. In the IEC-only group, figures decreased from 36% to 18%, respectively. Violent behaviours either stayed the same or increased in the comparison arm, but were less common than in the intervention group at baseline.		
New Horizons, Egypt (North South Consultants Exchange, 2003)	Non-formal education for girls in community setting	Attitudes: Qualitative findings – the vast majority of non-participants justified beatings by husbands, in contrast with participants who justified beating only as a last resort after discussion. Both groups cited various justifications for beating: refusing to have intercourse, neglecting children, talking to other men. In Alexandria, all group members said husbands should not beat their wives for burning food or talking to other men; in Qena and Beni Suef talking to other men was considered a justifiable reason for being beaten by husbands.		
OneLove, Lesotho (Hutchinson et al., 2012b)	Media (TV, radio) IEC Community dialogue			Practices: Women exposed to one radio show are more likely to report experiencing physical violence in the previous 12 months than unexposed women (8% vs. 5%). This may, however, reflect increased awareness rather than increased incidence of violence.

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
N'weti/ OneLove, Mozambique, (Hutchinson, 2013)	Media (TV, radio) IEC	Attitudes: Exposure to OneLove TV has a significant effect on women disagreeing it is acceptable for a man to beat his wife (+5 percentage points) and violence between men and women is private affair (+10 percentage points). This effect is also observed in the general population although the effect size is smaller (+5 percentage points). Perception of community norms: Women exposed to any radio programmes are significantly more likely than unexposed women to disagree people in the community believe sometimes women deserves to be a victim of domestic violence (86.6% vs. 78.4%) and bride price gives a man the right to beat a woman (90.7% vs. 85.1%). Attitudes: Women exposed to N'weti radio programmes (70%) are more likely to disagree with the statement, 'People in community believe bride price gives men the right to beat a woman', as compared with those unexposed (55%). Similarly, women exposed to TV spots (71%) are more likely to disagree with this statement than those unexposed (55%). All individuals with high intensity of exposure are also more likely to disagree with this statement as compared with those unexposed (69% vs. 54%) as well as men exposed to medium intensity of programmes (71% vs. 51%). Practices: People exposed to N'weti more likely than those not exposed to report they have done something to help end domestic violence in the community, and those with medium exposure are most likely to have taken action.		

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
OneLove, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	Media IEC Community dialogue			Attitudes: Women exposed to one or more OneLove media products had more inegalitarian attitudes towards domestic violence than those exposed to none, and less likely to disagree: that people in the community think a woman should tolerate violence for her family; that people in the community believe a woman sometimes deserves domestic violence; and that people in the community believe bride price gives the man the right to beat a woman.
OneLove, Namibia (Hutchinson et al., 2012a)	Media (radio, TV) IEC (booklets) Community dialogue	Practices: Exposure to OneLove booklets and media channels is associated with higher reporting of GBV.		
OneLove, Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012c)	Media (radio, TV) IEC (booklets) Community dialogue	Practices: Respondents exposed to two or more booklets are less likely to report experiencing physical violence in past 12 months (total, 4.0% vs. 8.0%; men, 2.5% vs. 5.7%; women 5.8% vs. 9.5%).		
Pakachere, Malawi Pakachere (Institute of Health and Development Communications,	Media (radio drama TV talk show) IEC (booklets)	Attitudes: People exposed to Pakachere less likely to accept GBV as a private matter (46% among those exposed to Pakachere TV and 26% among those not exposed to Pakachere TV).		

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
2007)		Attitudes: Some 46% of those who watched Pakachere on TV disagreed violence between man and woman was a private matter in which others should not interfere, compared with 26% of those who had not watched Pakachere on TV (this was statistically significant for less educated women).		
Parivartan, India (Miller et al., 2013)	Non-formal education Mentoring		Attitudes: No statistically significant change in attitudes on disapproval of violence against females between participants and control group. Practices: No significant differences between control and intervention group in bystander behaviour (willingness to intervene if witnessing violence).	
ReproSalud, Peru (Ferrando et al., 2002)	IEC	Attitudes: Proportion of men in participant communities believing women should not be physically abused under any circumstances rose from 57% at baseline to 64% after two to three years (depending on timing of evaluation). Although this indicator increased in control communities, the increase there was not significant. Attitudes: The percentage of women in project communities who would be prepared to go to the police or to the authorities if physically abused by their husband rose from 14% at baseline to 38% at evaluation, a statistically significant increase. This represents an increase by a factor of 1.69 compared with 1.37 in control communities, indicating a greater change in participant communities.		Attitudes: Proportion of men in communities with microfinance believing women should not be abused under any circumstances fell by 2.2 percentage points while it rose by 26 percentage points in IEC-only communities, a statistically significant difference. The authors indicate this result needs further investigation.

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
SafAIDS, Lesotho (Hutchinson et al., 2012b)	Media IEC Community dialogue		Practices: SafAIDS had no statistically significant effect on the percentage of respondents who reported experiencing GBV or that they reported it to someone.	
SafAIDS, Namibia (Hutchinson et al, 2012a)	Media IEC Community dialogue		Practices: SafAIDS had no statistically significant effect on the percentage of respondents who reported experiencing GBV or that they reported it to someone.	
SafAIDS, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	Media IEC Community dialogue		Practices: SafAIDS had no statistically significant effect on the percentage of women respondents who reported experiencing GBV or that they reported it to someone, although it was associated with a statistically significant reduction in experiencing violence among men.	
SafAIDS, Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012c)	Media (TV, radio) IEC (booklets) Community dialogue	Practices: The likelihood of reporting intimate partner violence (to family, friends or authorities) is higher – 85% among those exposed to SafAIDS materials vs. 64% among those not exposed.	Practices: SafAIDS had no statistically significant effect on the percentage of respondents who reported experiencing GBV or that they reported it to someone.	

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Soul City, South Africa (Usdin et al., 2005)	Media (Radio, TV) IEC	Attitudes: An increase (from 37% to 59%) was observed from baseline to evaluation on agreement with, 'My community feels violence between a man and a woman is not a private affair.' 53% of respondents with no exposure to Soul City fourth series radio compared with 63% of respondents with high exposure held this view. Attitudes: Significant shifts in both personal attitudes and community norms, e.g. 14% increase in people agreeing no woman ever deserves to be beaten, 18% increase in those agreeing violence against women is not a private matter, 18% increase in those saying their family or community agree no woman deserves to be beaten and 20% saying their family agree no woman should put up with it. Attitudes: Qualitative evidence from police and community organisations suggesting norms are changing concerning speaking out about domestic violence. Practices: Soul City fourth series intervention increased participation in community action, i.e. intervening in cases of violence against women. 3% of respondents reported protesting/intervening in incidents of violence against women. 1% of respondents with no exposure the fourth series and 5% of respondents with exposure to Soul City sources reported intervening/protesting.	Attitudes: No statistically significant impact on the following statements, with which the vast majority of respondents disagreed at baseline (85+%): 'In my culture it is acceptable for a man to beat his wife' and 'As head of the household, a man has the right to beat a woman.'	
Stepping Stones, India (Bradley et al., 2011)	Non-formal education for adults (including married 15+ year olds) in community setting		Attitudes: No statistically significant impact on agreement with statement, 'There are times when a woman should be beaten.'	

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Stepping Stones, South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2007)	Non-formal education for adolescents and young adults in community setting	Practices: Proportion of Stepping Stones participant men arm who disclosed perpetrating more than one episode of physical or sexual intimate partner violence significantly lower at 12 and 24 months) than at baseline. Some qualitative evidence of men changing their attitudes towards beating their wives/girlfriends, some because they now felt it was wrong, others because they were afraid of the law and of young women aspiring to more respectful and non-violent relationships, although some women continued to feel violence against women was acceptable in some circumstances.		
Tostan Burkina Faso (Ouoba et al., 2004)	Non-formal education Community dialogue Public declarations	Practices: Statistically significant reduction in proportion of participant women who had experienced intimate partner violence from 11% at midline to 7% at endline.		
Tostan, Senegal (Diop et al., 2004, 2008)	Non-formal education Community dialogue Public declarations Radio	Practices: Qualitative evidence suggesting a reduction in violence and improved communication between spouses as a result of the programme.	Practices: Percentage of women in intervention group reporting they had experienced violence fell significantly among both participants and non-participants (a 7 percentage point drop in both cases). Also a significant (19 percentage point) decline in proportion of control group reporting having experienced violence.	
WhizzKids United 'On the Ball' Intervention, South Africa (Farrar, 2010)	School based non-formal education for boys and girls	Attitudes: Proportion of respondents disagreeing strongly that it was OK for a man to hit a woman if she disobeyed him rose 17 percentage points from 42% at baseline to 59% at endline – a highly statistically significant change.		

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)	Community dialogue One-to-one communication IEC	Attitudes: Approximately 39% of respondents exhibited a significant deepening of change and 20% some deepening of change; 25% of change makers reported deepened understanding alone with no concomitant actions and 12% showed no change of any kind at all. Overall, 60% of change makers deepened changes (either significantly or somewhat) as a result of re-engagement with the issue and/or the campaign. Attitudes: 77% of people interviewed in the change maker's circle of influence reported personal change as a direct result of their interactions with the change maker and/or the campaign. There is a distinct relationship between the deepening of change among change makers and behavioural changes (or at least a shift in thinking) in their circle of influence, indicating this is an effective model for social change. Attitudes: 25% of change makers in Rajasthan and 11% in Uttaranchal pledged not to commit violence against women and girls as a result of participation. Practices: 11% change makers in Rajasthan had intervened in a violent dispute between a neighbouring couple as a result of We Can. Practices: Qualitative evidence of some interviewees abandoning domestic violence, convincing others to do so or intervening in disputes as a result of the programme.		

Programme and study	Communication activity	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Women's Station, FM 102, Cambodia (Cheung, 2013)	Media (radio)		Attitudes: Listening to Women's Station was not associated with statistically significant difference in attitudes to domestic violence, compared among with non-listeners.	

9.2.1 Overview of changes

Overall, slightly more studies recorded changes in attitudes (22) than changes in practices (17); 9 recorded changes in attitudes and practices. Figure 50 shows the majority of outcomes recorded were positive. Some of the apparently negative outcomes may in fact reflect increased awareness of violence, and thus an apparently negative outcome may in fact indicate greater reporting rather than increased incidence. Several of the Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication studies and Achyut et al. (2011) offer this explanation of an otherwise counterintuitive finding. A third of the studies recording positive outcomes on physical violence recorded positive changes in both attitudes and practices, suggesting these programmes were effective in leading to changed behaviour as well as changed attitudes.

Figure 50: Distribution of outcomes – programmes addressing violence against women and girls

The majority of studies relate to physical violence in intimate partner relationships/marriage. Although 12 studies found no statistically significant evidence of change, 7 found a reduction in the perpetration of intimate partner violence, 7 found increased reporting of, or intervention in, cases of domestic violence and 15 recorded a decline in the acceptability of violence in marital/intimate partner relationships.

Two studies from Egypt (examining Ishraq and Choices) discuss attitudes to violence faced by unmarried girls – from brothers and parents – and find a decline in acceptability of such violence among participants, although overall levels of support remain high (Brady et al., 2007; Marketeers International Research and Consultancy, 2013). Achyut et al.'s (2011) study of GEMS in India discusses physical violence perpetrated by secondary school students in and around school, as well as their broader attitudes towards violence in intimate partner relationships. Rozan (2012) also draws on qualitative evidence to suggest the Humqadam programme in Pakistan may have led to less physical violence against young men's younger sisters.

9.3 Explaining findings

Programme design. It is difficult to draw conclusions about the relationship between programme design and success in changing attitudes or practices. Successful programmes used a wide range of approaches, and it is not clear, for example, that dialogue-based approaches led to greater change, as some of the mass media-based programmes led to notable changes while some of the non-formal education-based programmes did not.[41] It is also the case that several programmes recorded multiple outcomes. For example, the evaluations of the four Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication programmes all recorded positive, negative and neutral changes.

It appears that some programmes clearly articulated anti-physical violence messages in ways that resonated with young men. As recounted by a participant in the Male Norms Initiative in Ethiopia,

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[41] The non-formal education programmes are considered as dialogue-based as their descriptions indicate that they use participatory methods and encourage discussion and reflection.

'I believe in refraining from beating a girl. I believe that it is not right to beat a girl if a girl makes you angry [...] I have got awareness about these issues from the Hiwot Ethiopia program' (Pulerwitz et al., 2010: 24).

As in other thematic areas, very few evaluations describe the details of the messages on domestic violence. It is thus difficult also difficult to draw conclusions about the importance of the strength or memorability of messages from this sample, although much research on communication for development suggests this is an important ingredient of successful attitude and behaviour change (see Section 13). Some anecdotal examples from this set of studies point to the importance of memorable messages or actions. For example, after characters in Soul City's fourth TV series in South Africa interrupted an episode of domestic violence by banging pots and pans, key informants interviewed by Usdin et al. (2005) cited evidence of this being replicated in everyday life as a means of showing disapproval.

As noted above, many more of this set of programmes targeted men and boys as key target groups as compared with programmes in other thematic areas. This may reflect the fact that these programmes were centrally concerned with changing male norms, attitudes and behaviour. Girls and women were the other key target group, with programmes aiming both to change attitudes and behaviour (such as reporting violence) and raise awareness of sources of support, such as helplines or the kinds of help available through the justice system. Unlike some other programmes that targeted gatekeepers or decision makers (e.g. on girls' mobility or FGM/C), many of the dialogue-based aspects of these programmes focused directly on men and women and adolescent boys and girls. This may reflect an understanding (correct or otherwise) that norms among peers have the greatest influence on the likelihood of perpetrating violence. Programmes raising awareness of sources of support such as helplines or the justice system tended to be media-based, and to challenge the idea that women and girls should accept violence to keep their families together, through role modelling. See Box 10 on Samajdhari radio programme in Nepal.

Box 10: Samajhdari radio programme, Nepal

The Samajhdari ('Mutual Understanding') radio programme was a central component of the VOICES project, which took place between 2007 and 2010 in Dadeldhuda, Surkhet, Dang, Mahottari, Makwanpur and Sindhupalchowk districts of Nepal. Supported by the UN Trust Fund and UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), and implemented by Equal Access Nepal, the project jointly targeted behaviours and attitudes around violence against women (VAW) and HIV/AIDS through the provision of information and helping people develop solutions. The project aimed to encourage the use of health services, and for men and women to take collective and individual action to address HIV/AIDS and VAW.

Samajhdari was broadcast weekly for 30 minutes on local FM stations between 2008 and 2010 and reached over 3 million regular listeners. Each episode opened with an ordinary listener talking about a dilemma they were experiencing. The show's presenter then hosted a discussion, which brought together calls, letters and emails from listeners, expert opinion and guest participants. The programme aimed to give the information and inspiration audience members needed to tackle similar problems in their own lives. The show also featured case studies recorded by 12 community reporters across Nepal, all survivors of violence or living with HIV. Listening groups were also set up in 60 rural communities; these brought women together weekly to discuss and take action on the issues raised in the radio programme.

A baseline survey was conducted in 2008 and an impact study in 2010. One-fifth to a quarter of female respondents were aged between 15 and 19. Women's willingness to speak out about and report violence increased from 85% of women respondents reported that they responded to violence by keeping silent, compared with 8% of women in the endline survey. The proportion of respondents who would seek legal action increased from 5% to 14%. Both men and women became substantially more willing to intervene in cases of violence, with an increase of 66 percentage points among men and 63 percentage points among women. However, there was no significant change in men's views on whether women should tolerate violence in order to keep the family together.

Regular listeners also felt empowered to speak openly among family members about their rights and choices and the low status of girls in Nepal. Respondents in focus group discussions indicated that increased knowledge and the broader messaging of the programme contributed to changed attitudes:

> *'I broke my 15-year-long silence after listening to Samajhdari and learning that forced sex even by a husband if rape and Nepal's law has defined it as a crime by giving it the name of marital rape'* (female focus group discussion respondent, Dang) (Equal Access, nd: 2).
>
> *'Being father of three daughters, it was tough for me. More distressing were the looks of my neighbours on my fate. The Samajhdari radio program stopped me to develop inferiority complex and my longing for a son. Now, I feel proud to have only daughters'* (Male focus group discussion participant, Sindhupalchowk, district) (Equal Access, 2010: 33).
>
> Sources: Equal Access (2010, nda, ndb).

One programme – We Can, India – aimed to use one-to-one communication to develop a network of people whose attitudes towards violence against women and girls had changed, with the explicit aim of creating a tipping point, where the majority of people abandoned support for it. The evaluation indicates that this was a successful strategy up to a point and did indeed lead to change in attitudes and practices in change makers' (peer educators') circles of influence, although, as noted above, it also suggests such approaches need to be backed up with public events and publicity for anti-violence against women and girls messages. This was notable in that rather, than targeting a particular group, the spread of such messages was more organic. This approach seemed to work well in a context where levels of support for violence against women and girls and its practice were very high, but might be less effective in reaching specific groups in cases where support for particular practices is more concentrated.

Integration of non-communication components. None of the evaluations examines the relative effect of communication and other components. As discussed in previous sections, it may be that the existence of additional activities and services helped draw people into participation, which led to subsequent changes in their attitudes and practices on physical violence. However, since only five programmes had additional components, this can have had only a limited role. As Figure 48 shows, livelihood-based components were the most common non-communication activities in this set of programmes.

Relative effectiveness of different approaches. Three of the studies examined in this section compare the impact of different approaches on physical violence outcomes, and one principally qualitative study (Rajan et al., 2010) also makes observations about the relative effectiveness of different approaches. Table 20 summarises the findings of these comparisons. Although this is a very small sample, these three studies suggest programmes that gave participants more opportunities for discussion and reflection were associated with greater change. Rajan et al.'s (2010) conclusions, based on analysis of We Can in India, also point to the need to embed one-to-one communication within other public events and messaging to provide a supportive context in which one-to-one communication can be effective.

Table 20: Evidence from studies comparing the effectiveness of approaches to end physical violence against women and girls

Programme/study	Comparison	Finding
Changing Married Men's Attitudes, Iran (Boroumandfar et al., 2010)	IEC materials (booklets) vs. short non-formal education course for married men	Non-formal education sessions contributed to change in male attitudes on emotional, sexual and physical violence. Participants who received IEC materials showed a smaller degree of change, and only on physical and sexual aspects of violence.
GEMS (Achyut et al., 2011)	IEC only versus IEC plus non-formal education on gender equality	IEC plus non-formal education group (boys and girls combined) reported a 4-point decrease in physical violence at the second follow-up survey while there was a 6-8 point increase in the IEC only and control group.
Male Norms Intervention, Ethiopia (Pulerwitz et al., 2010)	IEC only versus IEC plus non-formal education in community setting	Percentage of young men who reported committing physical violence against their partners declined by 20 percentage points in the IEC and NFE group and 18 percentage points in the IEC-only group. Both changes were statistically significant compared with change in the control group, where reported violence actually rose.

Programme/study	Comparison	Finding
We Can, India (Rajan et al., 2010)	One-to-one communication Community dialogue IEC	The authors comment that the experience of Rajasthan suggests a combination of community-level events and interpersonal interactions may be more effective in building broader community change than reliance on the change maker (peer communicator) alone.

Intensity of exposure. Four studies show a strong relationship between the extent of exposure to communication interventions and the degree of change in attitudes. Achyut et al.'s (2011) study of GEMS in India examined changes in the perpetration of violence and found that, after an initial rise, it fell in the second year, suggesting sustained involvement with the programme led to greater changes. With the exception of OneLove Namibia, greater exposure – either through length of time or to more media products – is associated with greater change in attitudes or practices. Table 21 summarises findings.

Table 21: Extent of exposure and changes in attitudes and practices concerning physical violence

Programme and study	Finding re extent of exposure
GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011)	Though there was an initial rise in reported violence in the non-formal education plus IEC group (likely because of increased awareness of what constitutes violence) after the second year of participation, the level of reported violence had fallen again.
OneLove, Namibia (Hutchinson et al., 2012a)	Women exposed to any OneLove materials were more likely than those exposed to none to report GBV to others. Women exposed to two or more materials were less likely to report GBV to anyone than those exposed to only one material.
Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007)	Participation in Ishraq of a year or more associated with significant decline in acceptance that girls should be beaten for disobeying their brothers or going out without permission. The longer the exposure, the greater the decline.
N'weti/ One Love, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	All individuals with high intensity of exposure more likely to disagree with the statement, 'Bride price gives men the right to beat their wives' as compared with those unexposed (69% vs. 54%) as well as men exposed to medium intensity of programmes (71% vs. 51%).
Soul City (Usdin et al., 2005)	Men and women with high exposure to Soul City fourth series print media were more likely to know of organisations working in the area of VAW in their communities than people with low exposure. A total 3% of respondents reported protesting/intervening in incidents of VAW, 1% of respondents with no exposure to the fourth series and 5% of respondents with exposure to three Soul City sources.

Socio-economic analysis. None of these studies discusses how socioeconomic inequalities may have affected outcomes on physical violence.

Role of intervention vs. broader changes. Only one of this set of studies discussed the relative importance of communication interventions and broader trends leading to change in norms concerning physical violence against women and girls. Jewkes et al.'s (2010) study of Stepping Stones in South Africa points to the deterrent effect of visible law enforcement as a factor that has contributed to changing norms on violence against women and girls.

10 Sexual violence

This section discusses evidence concerning the following forms of sexual violence: rape and attempted rape, other sexual assaults and sexual harassment (referred to as 'teasing' or 'eve teasing' in some of the papers from South Asia).

Box 11: Summary – sexual violence

The problem: Recent research in Asia and the Pacific shows found that nearly a quarter of men interviewed reported perpetrating rape against a woman or girl (UNDP et al., 2012) and an estimated 150 million girls and 73 million boys experience sexual violence every year (Pinheiro, 2006). Where violence towards women and girls is perceived as normal, or even acceptable, women and girls are less likely to speak out about violence and people are less likely to intervene when they witness harassment.

Key findings: Sexual violence was one of the two thematic areas that recorded a low proportion of positive outcomes (54% positive). This apparently low success rate may actually reflect increased awareness and thus increased reporting of forced sex, as in the four Southern African behaviour change communication programmes. When these are removed from the analysis, the proportion of outcomes recorded as positive rises to 63%. Some of the studies with qualitative components (e.g. Humqadam, Pakistan, GEMS and Stepping Stones, India) indicate men and boys changing attitudes in ways that may lead to changes in their relationships with girls and women, for example by intervening if friends are harassing girls.

Relative to other thematic areas, more programmes achieved neutral results, largely because the effects they achieved were too small to be statistically significant. In some cases, this may reflect relative short-term or low-intensity programmes. Alternatively, it may reflect the entrenchedness of norms concerning sexual conduct.

As with the other thematic foci, there is no clear relationship between type of programme and outcomes – both non-formal education and media-based interventions have led to both successes and neutral impacts. IEC materials appear to have been helpful in backing up other initiatives. Evidence on both the added value of combined interventions and length or intensity of exposure is mixed, although on the whole it indicates that more extended or intensive exposure has led to greater change.

10.1 Overview of studies and programmes

This section discusses 15 studies that examine 14 programmes. Two studies focus entirely on sexual violence or harassment (MEJNIN in Bangladesh and a sexual abuse education programme in Nigeria); six others discuss the issue in detail or examine change on several relevant indicators. Apart from the two programmes focused on sexual violence prevention, the others integrate messages on sexual violence into broader HIV/AIDS prevention programmes.

Table 22 shows the distribution of studies by level of focus and study appraisal score.

10.1.1 Quality and relevance of studies

Table 22: Quality and relevance of studies discussing sexual violence and harassment

High study appraisal score/moderate sexual violence focus	High study appraisal score/high sexual violence focus
• BRAC ELA Programme, Uganda (Bandiera et al., 2012) • GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011) • Humaqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012) • Stepping Stones, India (Bradley et al., 2011) • Stepping Stones, South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2007, 2008)	• BRAC MEJNIN Programme, Bangladesh (Alim, 2013) • Sexual Abuse Education Programme, Nigeria (Ogunfowokan and Fajemilehin, 2012) • Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Namibia (Hutchinson et al., 2012a) • Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Lesotho (Hutchinson et al., 2012b) • Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013) • Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012c) • The World Starts with Me, Uganda (Rijsdijk et al., 2013)
Moderate study appraisal score/moderate sexual violence focus	Moderate study appraisal score/high sexual violence focus
• Pakachere, Malawi (Pakachere Institute of Health and Development Communications, 2012) • WhizzKids United On the Ball Intervention, South Africa (Farrar, 2010)	Parivartan, India (Miller et al., 2013)

Four-fifths of these studies used quantitative designs, while a fifth used mixed methods. None used only qualitative designs. Twelve of the studies used strong quasi-experimental designs or RCTs.

10.1.2 Regional distribution
Just over a third of these programmes took place in South Asia (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan). The majority took place in Sub-Saharan Africa (Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Namibia, Swaziland, South Africa and Uganda) (Figure 51).
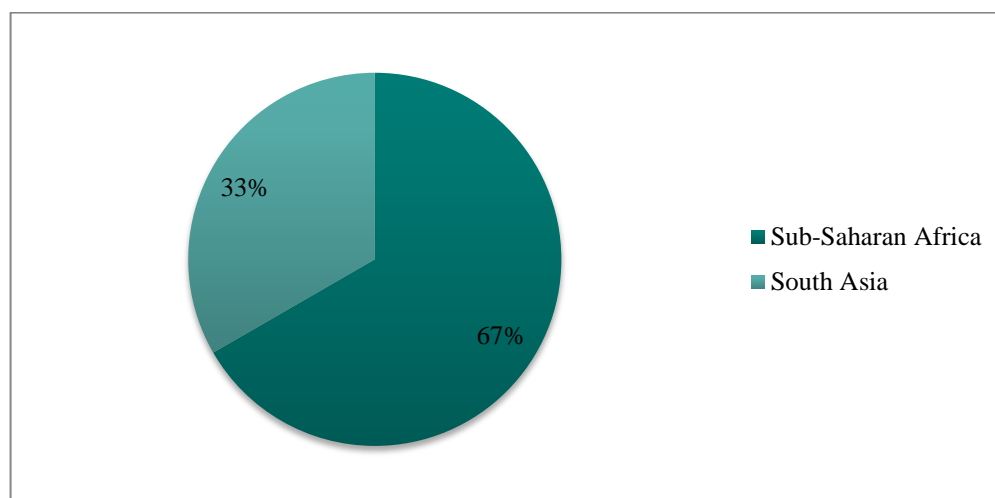
10.1.3 Programme design

All but two of these programmes involved only communications activities (Figure 52). The two programmes with non-communications components were a children and youth development programme that integrated sports and non-formal education on HIV/AIDS, sexuality and gender issues (Whizz Kids in South Africa) (Farrar, 2010) and an adolescent development programme in Uganda (BRAC Empowerment and Livelihoods for Adolescents (ELA) programme (Bandiera et al., 2012). Roughly equal numbers of programmes had one, two or three components. There is no clear relationship in this set of studies between number of components and type of outcome.

Figure 52: Broad programme design – programmes addressing sexual violence against women and girls
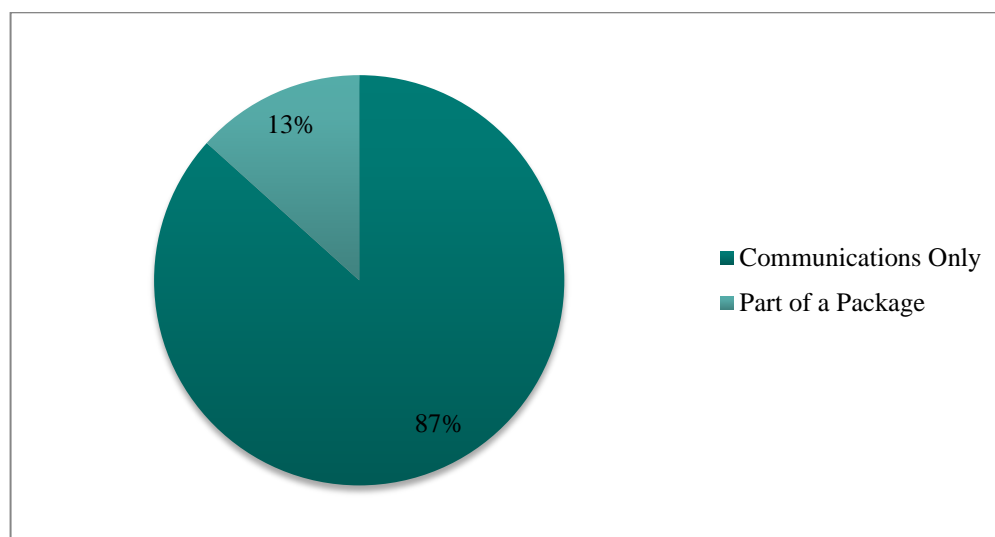
Non-formal education and IEC were the most common approaches, followed by community dialogue and media-based approaches (Figure 53). One-to-one communication was relatively uncommon, and was used by only two programmes (Humqdam in Pakistan and Parivartan in India).

Figure 53: Programmes containing each communications component – programmes addressing sexual violence against women and girls
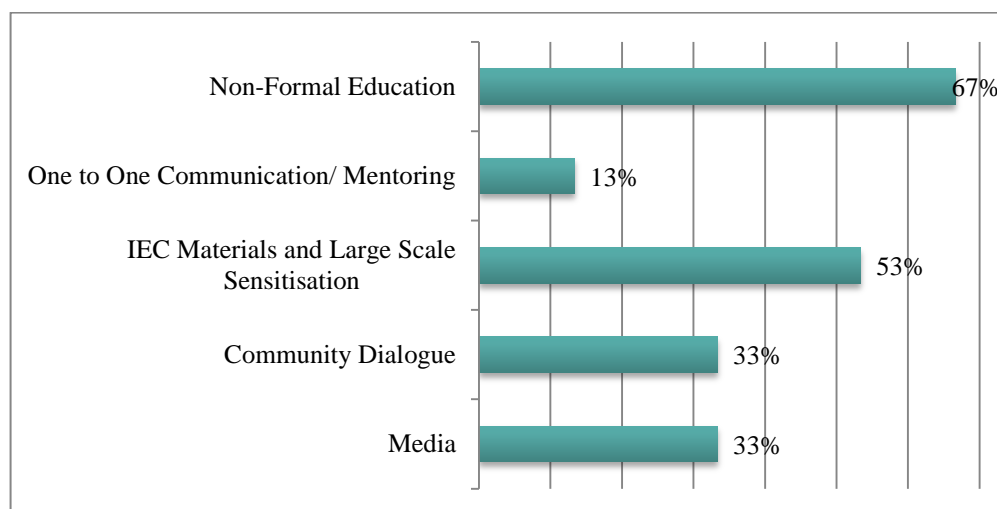
Note: Programmes may include more than one communications component.

10.1.4 Target groups

Figure 54: Frequency distribution of target groups – programmes addressing sexual violence against women and girls
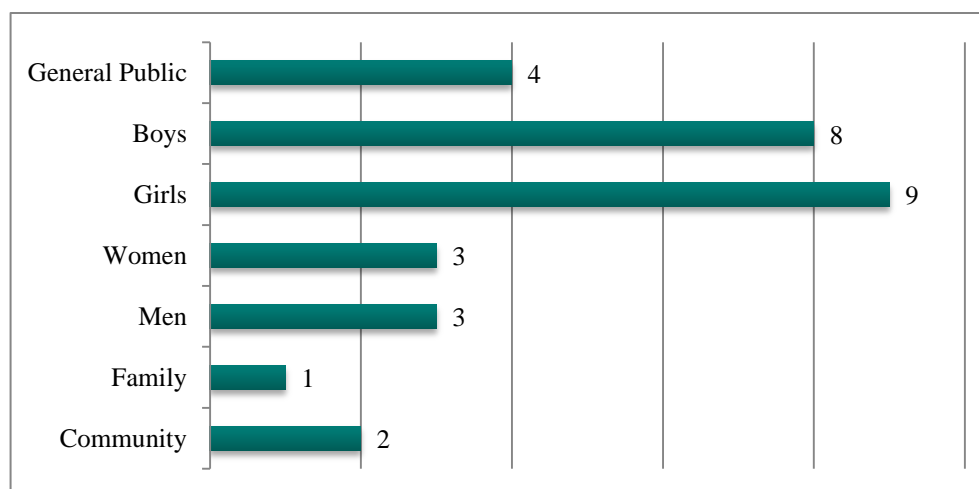
Note: Programmes may target more than one group.

Figure 54 indicates that adolescents and young people were the primary targets of the programmes examined in this section, particularly non-formal education programmes. Media programmes aimed at both sexually active adolescents and adults are classified here as targeting the 'general public'.

10.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

Table 23 summarises findings.

Table 23: Changes in attitudes and practices – sexual violence against women and girls

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
BRAC ELA Programme, Uganda (Bandiera et al., 2012)	Non-formal education with vocational training	Practices: Substantial fall in girls reporting having recently had sex unwillingly – from 21% at start of the project to 4% at time of the evaluation.		
BRAC MEJNIN Programme, Bangladesh (Alim, 2013)	Non-formal education for girls in school setting IEC	Attitudes: Significantly higher proportion of intervention group than control group held more 'appropriate' attitudes towards sexual harassment.	Attitudes: No statistically significant difference between intervention and control groups in proportion of respondents holding neutral or non-egalitarian attitudes on sexual harassment. Practices: No significant difference between treatment and control girls in taking action if they experience sexual harassment.	
Community Media Trust, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	TV IEC	Practices: Women exposed to any Community Media Trust activity are less likely to report forced sex in the past 12 months (3.1% of those exposed vs. 7.2% of those unexposed).		
GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011)	IEC and non-formal education on gender equality for adolescents in school setting; one group received IEC only; the other received IEC plus non-formal education	Attitudes: At end of intervention (i.e. after seven months) no significant positive changes for intervention boys or girls compared with control ON whether they would protest or complain to someone about sexual harassment. But at second follow-up (after second round, a year after first follow-up survey), significantly more students in the non-formal education+IEC groups said they would take action. This was primarily driven by an increase among girls. Practices: Qualitative evidence of boys intervening if their peers were sexually harassing a girl.		

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Lusweti/OneLove, Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012c)	Media (TV, radio) IEC Community dialogue		Practices: No statistically significant differences between women exposed to one radio channel and those not exposed in reported experience of forced sex.	Practices: Exposure to one Lusweti OneLove media channel was associated with increased experience of forced sex as compared with unexposed – likely to reflect increased recognition of the issue, rather than increased incidence.
Humqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012)	Non-formal education Community dialogue IEC One-to-one peer communication	Attitudes: Statistically significant reduction in proportion of men believing women's dress and 'gait' cause men to lose control, and that it is OK for a man to hit his wife if she will not have sex with him. Some qualitative data supporting statistical data.		
N'weti/ OneLove, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	Media (TV, radio) IEC	Attitudes: Statistically significant increase in proportion of people exposed to one or more output (TV, radio or booklets) agreeing that 'if a person forces a woman to have sex against her will, it is a crime', as compared with unexposed people. 44% of people with no exposure, 54% of people with exposure to one output and 59% with exposure to two outputs considered it a crime. Attitudes: As compared with unexposed people (45%), respondents exposed to the programme with low (56%) and medium (61%) intensity (i.e. have seen a greater number of communication materials) are also more likely to agree that if a person forces a woman to have sex he is breaking the law.		Practices: Women with exposure to domestic violence materials more likely to report forced sex than unexposed women. 8% of women exposed to films experienced forced sex vs. 3% of unexposed women. 19% of ever-married women exposed to interventions with a high level of intensity

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
		This is largely driven by changes among women; changes among men related to degree of exposure were not significant.		(i.e. saw more communication materials) experienced forced sex compared with 2% of unexposed women. These results are likely to reflect increased awareness.
OneLove, Lesotho (Hutchinson et al., 2012b)	Media (TV, radio) IEC			Practices: Women – both the whole cohort and 15-24 year olds – exposed to any OneLove print materials more likely to report forced sex in the past 12 months. Practices: Reported prevalence of forced sex in fact twice as high among exposed women (3.8%) as unexposed women (1.6%). Women exposed to one or two media channels also significantly more likely to report forced sex.

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
OneLove, Namibia (Hutchinson et al., 2012a)	Media (TV, radio) IEC	Practices: In border areas, a significantly lower proportion of respondents exposed to two or more media channels (1.8%) report forced sex in the past 12 months than unexposed individuals (4.8%). Practices: People with longer-term exposure to OneLove significantly less likely to report forced sex than those with more recent exposure (less than three years ago) or no exposure. Practices: Any exposure to OneLove TV associated with significant increase in reporting forced sex to family members, and, among exposed men, to police.		Practices: Exposure to one OneLove media channel associated with increased reported experience of forced sex as compared with people with no exposure – this is likely to reflect increased recognition rather than increased incidence.
Parivartan, India (Miller et al., 2013)	Non-formal education Mentoring		Practices: Small decline in boys going along with peers' abusive behaviour recorded among athletes compared with control but this was not statistically significant (p = .07). No significant differences in positive bystander intervention or self-reported abuse perpetration between participants and control.	
Pakachere, Malawi (Pakachere Institute of Health and Development Communications, 2007)	Media (TV, radio) IEC (pamphlets)	Attitudes: 54% of respondents who listened to Pakachere on radio agreed women had the right to refuse sex with their husband or boyfriend compared with 43% of those who had not listened to Pakachere on the radio. However, this association was only significant for men with low levels of education.		

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
The World Starts With Me, Uganda (Rijsdijk et al., 2013)	Computer and print-based non-formal education course in schools for girls and boys	Practices: Post-intervention, both intervention group students and comparison students were more confident they could deal with situations where sexual pressure and force would be used as compared with pre-test, but the increase in the mean score was significantly higher among the intervention group than in the comparison group.	Attitudes: No significant effects found for past performance behaviour on avoiding and escaping risky situations, attitudes to sexual coercion or intention to deal with unwanted sex and force.	
SafAIDS, Lesotho (Hutchinson et al., 2012b)	Media IEC Community dialogue		Practices: No significant effects of exposure to SAfAIDS detected on reports of forced sex.	
SafAIDS, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	Media IEC Community dialogue	Attitudes: Exposure to SafAIDS associated with statistically significant increase in agreement that, 'If a person forces a woman to have sex against her will, it is a crime.' This is driven by an increase in women agreeing with this statement; no significant increase among men.	Practices: Exposed women no more or less likely than unexposed women to report being victims of sexual violence in past 12 months (5.6% vs. 6.7%, p=.663).	
SafAIDS, Namibia (Hutchinson et al., 2012a)	Media (TV, radio) IEC Community dialogue	Practices: A significantly lower percentage of women exposed to SAfAIDS report being forced to have sex in the past 12 months (2.5% vs. 6.1%).	Practices: SafAIDS – no impact on young women's (age 15-24) experience of forced sex in past 12 months.	
Sexual Abuse Education Programme, Nigeria (Ogunfowokan and Fajemilehin, 2012)	Non-formal education in schools		Attitudes: No significant difference in attitudes to sexual abuse between intervention and control groups post-intervention. (Details of attitudes measured not given.)	
Stepping Stones, India (Bradley et al., 2011)	Non-formal education for adults and older adolescents in community setting	Attitudes: Qualitative finding: Male participants said they used to think girls who talked to boys were 'loose' or available for sex but Stepping Stones had changed their ideas.		

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Stepping Stones, South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2007, 2008)	Non-formal education for young people in community setting	Practices: Statistically significant reduction in intimate partner violence (sexual or physical) at 12-and 24-month follow-up surveys. Practices: Statistically significant reduction in men reporting perpetrating or attempting rate at 12 months and non-significant decline at 24 months.		
WhizzKids United On the Ball Intervention (Farrar, 2010)	Non-formal education in schools	Attitudes: Statistically significant reduction in proportion believing if a girl/woman is raped she must have done something to deserve it.		

Figure 55: Distribution of types of outcome
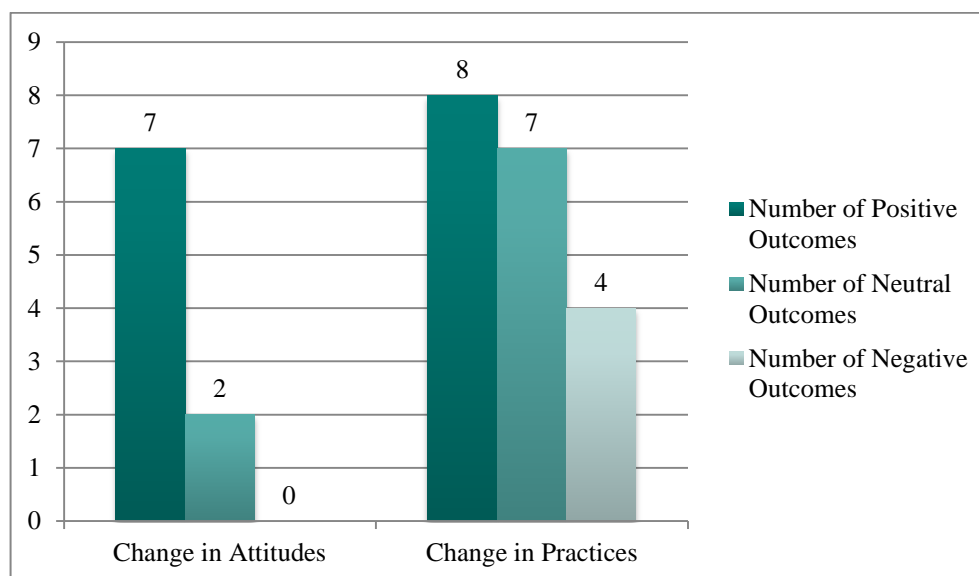
Figure 55 shows equal numbers of positive outcomes in attitudes and practices and similar numbers of neutral and negative outcomes were recorded. Under a fifth of programmes with positive changes had positive changes in both attitudes and practices, the lowest proportion in any thematic area other than mobility (where almost all outcomes involved changes in practice). This probably reflects the generally lower proportion of positive outcomes in this thematic area.

10.3 Explaining the findings

10.3.1 Explaining success

There is no obvious pattern of types of programme that led to successful change in attitudes or practices. Both media-based programmes and non-formal education-based programmes have helped shift attitudes and practices on sexual violence and harassment. Both types of successful programmes have been backed up with IEC materials, and the use of IEC materials may help explain the differences in success between different non-formal education programmes. However, without access to the actual content of media and IEC messages and non-formal education curricula, it is hard to draw stronger conclusions about how IEC materials have contributed to more positive impacts.

Relative effectiveness of different communication approaches. Among the studies that compared the relative effectiveness of different approaches, not all reported on differential impacts with respect to sexual harassment and violence. Thus, for example, Achyut et al.'s (2011) study of GEMS in India, which distinguishes the effects of exposure to IEC only or IEC and non-formal education on attitudes and practices with respect to many issues of interest in this study, does not do so for sexual violence. The evaluations of the Southern African HIV/AIDS communication programmes did not directly compare the relative effectiveness of different media approaches. They did, however, examine the added value of exposure to a combination of different media initiatives (SafAIDS, OneLove and Community Media Trust activities). In Namibia and Swaziland, Hutchinson et al. (2012a; 2012b) did not find any additional effect from exposure to SafAIDS and OneLove on reported rates of forced sex. They found contradictory effects in Mozambique – people exposed to N'weti (OneLove) and SafAIDS reported higher rates of forced sex but those exposed to Community Media Trust activities and SafAIDS reported lower rates (Hutchinson et al., 2013). The Lesotho evaluation did not report findings on the added value of combined programmes on reported incidence of forced sex. Unlike evaluations in some of the other thematic areas, these evaluations provide little support for the view that exposure via multiple channels necessarily leads to greater change as far as norms on forced sex are concerned.

Intensity of exposure. There is mixed evidence concerning intensity of exposure to communication programmes on changes in attitudes and practices on sexual violence and harassment. Achyut et al.'s (2011) study of GEMS

in India found length of exposure was important, and that, although participants' attitudes had changed little at the first follow-up (straight after the intervention, i.e. after six months of exposure), they had become significantly more critical towards sexual harassment and more prepared to intervene against it by the second follow-up, a year later, and after 12 months of programme exposure.

Jewkes et al.'s (2008) study of Stepping Stones in South Africa suggests the immediacy of exposure may also be important – at 12 months after the intervention there was a statistically significant reduction in men reporting perpetrating or attempting rape, but by 24 months post-intervention there was no statistically significant difference between the intervention and the control groups. By contrast, Hutchinson et al. (2012a) found in Namibia that people (men and women combined) with longer-term exposure to OneLove were significantly less likely to report forced sex than those with shorter (exposed less than three years ago) or no exposure. However, findings on OneLove are mixed, as Hutchinson et al. also found that men with continuous exposure to OneLove were more likely to disagree with the proposition that men have a right to sex for gifts than men exposed either over three years ago, under three years ago or not at all (ibid.).

Another aspect of exposure is the number of interventions or types of media to which participants were exposed. The OneLove and SafAIDS evaluations, which analysed impacts by intensity of exposure, found some positive relationships between intensity of exposure and shift in gender attitudes. For example, in Mozambique, 44% of people with no exposure to N'weti (OneLove) radio or TV, 54% of people with exposure to one channel and 59% of those with exposure to two channels considered forced sex a crime. As compared with unexposed people (45%), people with low-intensity (56%) and medium-intensity (61%) exposure are also more likely to agree forced sex is a crime. These changes are largely driven by changes among women; changes among men related to degree of exposure were not significant (Hutchinson et al., 2013).

10.3.2 Explaining neutral and negative findings

The unusually large number of neutral effects recorded reflects the fact that many programmes achieved small shifts towards more gender-egalitarian attitudes or practices but that these were not statistically significant. This may indicate that norms governing sexual conduct are more ingrained than some others and are harder to change. It may also be the case that, in programmes covering many issues, as with SafAIDS and OneLove (in Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia and Swaziland), for example, the range of messages and issues covered means some messages are diluted. However, two programmes that were entirely focused on sexual violence and harassment (MEJNIN in Bangladesh and the Sexual Abuse Education Programme in Nigeria) also recorded neutral outcomes. In the Nigerian sexual abuse education programme and with Parivartan, in India, the relatively short duration of the intervention activities may explain their limited impact. Although the MEJNIN programme took place over a year, it is unclear how intensive communication activities on sexual harassment were.

The negative outcomes recorded for OneLove programmes in various countries indicating increased self-reporting of forced sex may reflect increased recognition of the issue as a result of exposure to OneLove, rather than increased incidence of forced sex or rape. As with physical violence, therefore, these apparently negative outcomes may be masking more positive effects of the OneLove TV and radio programmes.

Socio-economic issues. There is very little analysis among this set of studies of the ways in which socioeconomic inequalities may have affected access to and uptake of communication messages. Pakachere Institute of Health and Development Communication's (2007) evaluation of Pakachere's health and gender equality communication programme in Malawi found changes in attitudes towards forced sex were statistically significant only among men with low levels of education. Alim's (2013) analysis of the MEJNIN in Bangladesh indicated that it had made a difference to attitudes among girls from families who 'broke even', that is, were above the poverty line but who did not consider themselves poor or rich. Although the sample is very limited, these two findings are encouraging in that they suggest attitude and practice changes have not been confined to more advantaged groups.

11 Transactional and intergenerational sex

This section discusses findings concerning attitudes to and adolescent girls and young women's engagement in transactional sex. Some of the studies considered in this section report on intergenerational sex rather than transactional sex, as such relationships also significantly increase girls and women's risk of contracting HIV. As many intergenerational relationships occur in the context of transactional sex, these issues are discussed together. Other contexts in which intergenerational sex occurs (e.g. early marriage) are outside the scope of the studies reviewed in this section.

Box 12: Summary – transactional and intergenerational sex

The problem: Demographic and Health Survey data from Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s cited by Luke and Kurz (2002) suggest that between 11% and 38% of unmarried 15-19-year-old girls had recently received money or gifts in exchange for sex. However, some studies find much higher prevalence – for example, Nyanzi et al. (2000), in Luke and Kurz (2002), cite a study of Ugandan secondary school girls (aged 12-20) that found that 85% had ever received money or gifts in exchange for gifts. Girls' limited economic options mean transactional sex can be one of the few economic options available to them to bring money into the household, pay school fees and pay for school supplies. A combination of factors in transactional and intergenerational sexual relationships renders girls vulnerable – large age gaps act to intensify gendered power relations, making it harder for girls to negotiate condom use or other safer practices, and to participate in decision making as equals.

Key findings: Of the thematic areas examined, this was the one with the lowest proportion of positive outcomes (43%), and the only one in which negative or neutral outcomes outnumbered positive outcomes. The number of negative and neutral outcomes suggests norms concerning transactional and intergenerational sex may be among the stickier of the gender norms considered in this study. One study suggests that, by emphasising the relatively common nature of intergenerational and transactional sex, communication programmes inadvertently suggested such relationships were common and unproblematic. Alternatively, messages may have been 'buried' among a number of other messages concerning sexuality and gender, and thus had relatively less impact.

This set of programmes primarily principally combined media and IEC-based approaches, and there were fewer non-formal education programmes than in other thematic areas. There is tentative evidence that approaches that combined one or more communications method led to greater changes than programmes that used one. However, as many of these combined programmes were also associated with some negative changes, the combination of approaches may be less important than the actual message or the way it is framed. Evidence concerning the impact of intensity of exposure is also mixed. Only one programme had a non-communications component, but the study of this programme did not compare the relative effects of communications and non-communications activities.

This was a particularly quantitative set of studies, with little contextual discussion or discussion of operational issues, such as the way messages were framed. There was also no discussion of how socioeconomic inequalities affected outcomes.

11.1 Overview of studies and programmes

This section examines 10 studies that discuss 9 programmes. As Table 24 shows, two-thirds of these studies had a strong focus on transactional or intergenerational sex and nine of the ten achieved a high score on the study

appraisal tool. Nine were primarily quantitative and 70% used high quality quasi-experimental or RCT-based designs.

11.1.1 Quality and relevance of studies

Table 24: Distribution of studies by study appraisal score and extent of thematic focus

High study appraisal score/moderate intergenerational sex or transactional sex focus • IPA, Zambia (McGinn et al., 2012) • Stepping Stones, South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2007, 2008)	**High study appraisal score/high intergenerational sex or transactional sex focus** • Fataki, Tanzania (Kaufman et al., 2013) • Southern African Regional Social and Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Lesotho (Hutchinson et al., 2012b) • Southern African Regional Social and Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Namibia (Hutchinson et al., 2012a) • Southern African Regional Social and Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013) • Southern African Regional Social and Behaviour Change Communication Programme, Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012c)
Moderate study appraisal score/moderate intergenerational sex or transactional sex focus Straight Talk, Uganda (Adamchak et al., 2007)	**Moderate study appraisal score/high intergenerational sex or transactional sex focus** HIV/AIDS Prevention Programme, Ghana (Fiscian et al., 2009)

11.1.2 Regional distribution

All programmes addressing issues of intergenerational or transactional sex took place in Sub-Saharan Africa: six in Southern Africa (Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, South Africa and Zambia), two in East Africa (Tanzania and Uganda) and one in West Africa (Ghana).

11.1.3 Programme design

Only one of these programmes involved non-communication components (Figure 56). This was an HIV/AIDS prevention programme for secondary school girls in Ghana, which also had a small vocational skills component (Fiscian et al., 2009). Given the relationship between economic deprivation and transactional sex (Luke and Kurz, 2002), it is surprising that not more programmes addressing this issue involved economic-strengthening components. As with physical violence, this may reflect the fact that communications on transactional and intergenerational sex were usually a component within broader HIV/AIDS communications programmes, rather than integrated adolescent development programmes.

Figure 56: Broad programme design – programmes addressing transactional and intergenerational sex
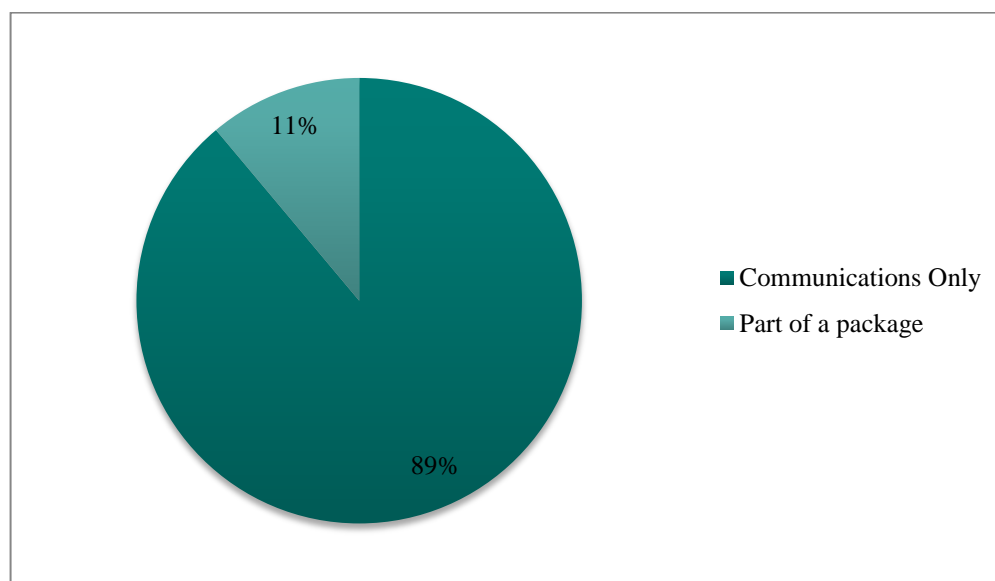
The most common approaches were community dialogue and mass media-based communication, followed by dissemination of IEC materials (Figure 57). In comparison with the other themes examined, non-formal education was less common, and formed part of only three programmes. None of these programmes made use of one-to-one mentoring or peer education.

Figure 57: Programmes with communications component – programmes addressing transactional or intergenerational sex
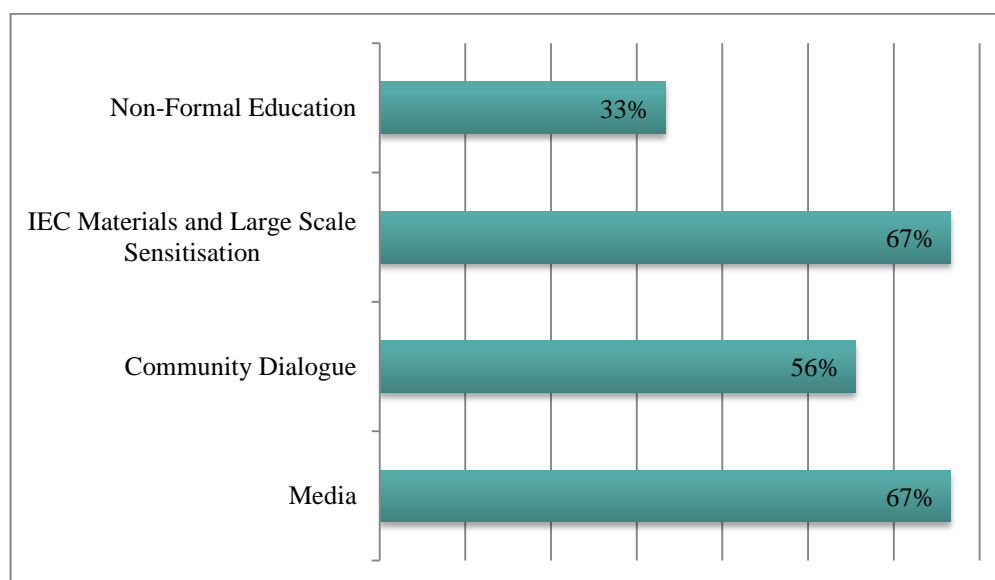
Note: Programmes may include more than one communications component.

Two-thirds of the programmes involved more than one communications component. The most common combinations were media plus community dialogue, media plus IEC and community dialogue plus IEC.

11.1.4 Target groups

Reflecting the importance of media-based approaches, the general public was the most common target group (Figure 58). Four programmes targeted girls, two in single-sex non-formal education, one through a mixed non-

formal education programme (Stepping Stones in South Africa) and one through youth-focused media (Straight Talk). It is notable that only one programme (Stepping Stones in South Africa) targeted men, although radio and TV programmes aimed at the general public and community-focused discussions would have also included men.

Figure 58: Frequency distribution of target groups – programmes addressing transactional or intergenerational sex
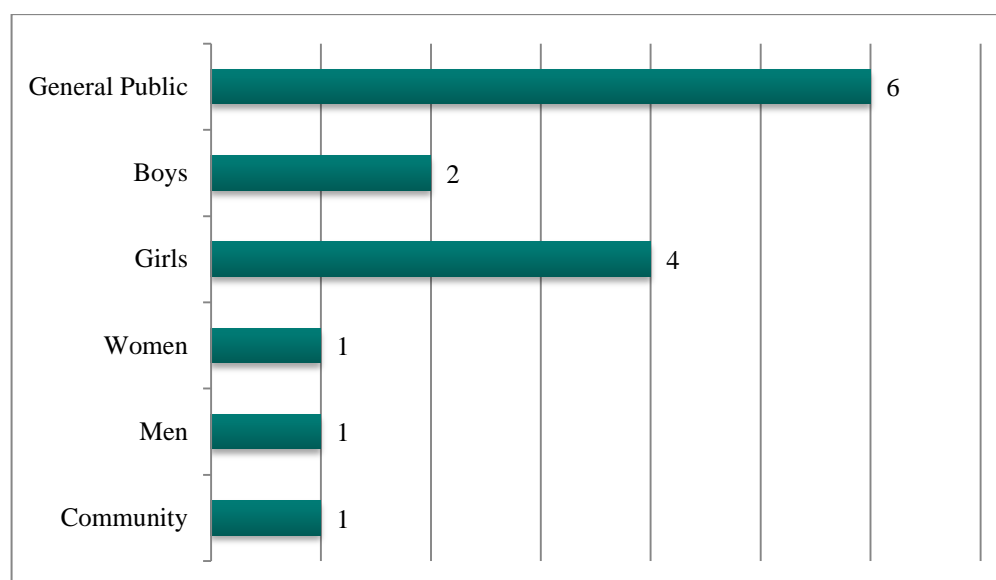
Note: Programmes may target more than one group.

11.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

Five studies recorded changes in attitudes and practices; three recorded changes in practices alone; and two recorded changes in attitudes alone. Half the programmes that led to positive changes did so in both attitudes and practices, indicating that the overall proportion of positive outcomes was lower for this theme than for others. Successful programmes contributed to change in both attitudes and practices to a greater extent than in other thematic areas.

Table 25 summarises the main findings.

Table 25: Change in attitudes to intergenerational or transactional sex

Programme and study name	Main communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Community Media Trust, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	Media (TV, radio)	Practices: Women exposed to any episodes were less likely to have given gifts in exchange for sex than unexposed women.[42]		
Fataki Campaign, Tanzania (Kaufman et al., 2013)	Media (radio) IEC (posters and banners)	Practices: Girls and women with higher exposure to campaign had lower likelihood of being currently engaged in a cross-generational sexual relationship, although there was no association among men.		
HIV/AIDS Education Programme, Ghana (Fiscian et al., 2009)	School-based non-formal education for girls		Attitudes: No statistically significant impact on girls' attitudes on six indicators on sugar daddies.	
IPA, Zambia (McGinn et al., 2012)	Non-formal education of girls in a school setting	Self-efficacy: Qualitative evidence of girls in both programme groups stating they felt more able to rebuff sugar daddies' advances.		
OneLove, Lesotho (Hutchinson et al., 2012b)	Media (radio, TV) IEC	Practices: Women 15-24 years old exposed to phone-in programme or drama considerably less likely than unexposed women to have partner 10 or more years older (6% vs. 13%).		Practices: 15-24-year-old women exposed to any of the TV programmes more likely to have given gifts (7% vs. 29%) for sex to a recent partner.[43]

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[42] The four Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication studies report on gift giving in sexual relationships by women as well as men.
[43] These studies recorded gift giving in sexual relationships by women and girls as well as men and boys.

Programme and study name	Main communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
OneLove, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	Media (TV, radio) IEC	Attitudes: Among women 15-24 more respondents exposed to one media channel disagreed that men had a right to get sex for gifts compared with unexposed respondents (86% vs. 65%). Practices: Print materials had a significant positive impact on giving gifts for sex among men – reduction among exposed men from 39% for unexposed to 26% for exposed. Any TV exposure also led to a significant reduction in men giving or receiving gifts in exchange for sex.	Practices: Exposure to OneLove print or TV materials had no impact on women's giving or receiving gifts in exchange for sex.	Practices: Men exposed to TV significantly more likely to both give and receive gifts for sex (37% and 48% of exposed vs. 26% & 32% of non-exposed). Practices: 40% of 15-24-year-old women and girls exposed to radio had received gifts for sex from any of three most recent partners compared with 21% of unexposed. 36% of 15-24-year-old women exposed to TV had received gifts for sex from any of three most recent partners compared with 21% of unexposed women and girls.
OneLove, Namibia (Hutchinson et al., 2012a)	Media (TV, radio) IEC	Attitudes: Only 18% of women exposed to TV intervention agreed men had right to sex for gifts, vs. 41% of all young women. Practices: Males exposed to radio less likely to give gifts or money in exchange for sex (6% vs. 16%); males exposed to TV or radio less likely to report a 10-year or more age difference between themselves and next-to-last partner.	Practices: Exposure to TV had no effect on males' likelihood of engaging in transactional sex or on females' engagement in transactional sex. Exposure to booklets had no effect on the age gap with the respondents' last or next-to-last partner.	
OneLove, Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012c)	Media (TV, radio) IEC materials		Attitudes: No statistically significant impact on women's attitudes towards transactional sex.	Practices: Women with low exposure to booklets more likely to have received gifts or money in exchange for sex with past partner (50% vs. 34%).

Programme and study name	Main communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
				Women with high exposure to booklets more likely than unexposed women to report age gap of at least 10 years with last sexual partner (22% vs. 15%). Women exposed to one OneLove media channel more likely to have received gifts/money for sex than those exposed to none (41% vs. 29%).
Lusweti/OneLove, Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012c)	Media (TV, radio) IEC	Practices: Respondents exposed to one OneLove radio show less likely than unexposed respondents to report a 10+-year age difference with most recent partner (11% vs. 17%). Attitudes: Respondents exposed to TV programmes more likely to disagree men had the right to sex in exchange for gifts (85% vs. 78%); difference statistically significant for men (80% vs. 69%) but not women. Attitudes and practices: Young women 15-24 exposed to any TV less likely than unexposed peers to report a 10-year or more age difference between themselves and last sexual partner (5% vs. 16%) and more likely to disagree that men have right to sex in exchange for gifts (94% vs. 85%).		

Programme and study name	Main communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
		Attitudes: 87% of respondents in border areas exposed to one radio show disagreed that men had right to sex from girls in exchange for gifts, as compared with 81% of the unexposed. This effect also observed with exposure to two radio shows (88% vs. 81%) and people watching TV shows (90% disagreement among exposed respondents compared with 80% disagreement among unexposed). Attitudes: Exposed men more likely to disagree men have right to sex in exchange for gifts (74% vs. 60%; 78% of those exposed to two or more media products. Those exposed to TV are slightly more likely to disagree than those exposed to booklets.		
SafAIDS, Lesotho (Hutchinson et al., 2012b)	Media (radio, TV) IEC Community dialogue			Practices: Exposed males more likely to have a 10-year age difference with sexual partner, and exposed females more likely to have received gifts for sex. Practices: Young women exposed to SAfAIDS more likely to report they had received gifts for sex (35% vs. 17%). Furthermore, 16% of exposed respondents reported giving gifts for sex, approximately 10 percentage points higher than those who were unexposed (7%).

Programme and study name	Main communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
SafAIDS, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	Media (TV, radio) IEC materials		Attitudes: No statistically significant impact of exposure on extent of agreeing/disagreeing whether men have the right to sex in exchange for gifts.	
SafAIDS, Namibia (Hutchinson et al., 2012a)	Media (TV, radio) IEC materials Community dialogue	Practices: Women exposed to SafAIDS less likely than unexposed women to have a partner with a large age gap (10 or more years).		Attitudes: Men exposed to SAfAIDS more likely than non-exposed men to agree a man has a right to sex in exchange for gifts (34% vs. 19%). Practices: Significantly more exposed women reported obtaining gifts for sex with last partner (56% vs. 31%).
SafAIDS, Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013)	Media (radio, TV) IEC Community dialogue	Practices: Exposed respondents in border areas 13 percentage points less likely to engage in transactional sex than those unexposed to SafAIDS.		
SafAIDS, Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012c)	Media (TV, radio) IEC materials Community dialogue	Practices: Positive effect of SAfAIDS exposure on percentage of respondents who reported hearing community leaders discourage men from having younger sexual partners (e.g. 65% for exposed men as compared with 54% of unexposed men).	Practices: No statistically significant impact on likelihood of women or men engaging in transactional sex.	Attitudes: 72% of those exposed to SAfAIDS disagreed with statement, 'Most of my friends feel men have the right to have sex with a female if they buy them gifts' compared with 82% of non-exposed respondents.[44]

[44] This could also indicate a higher level of awareness of social norms among their friends, in which case it would not be considered a negative outcome.

Programme and study name	Main communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
				Practices: 53% of women exposed to SAfAIDS reported receiving gifts or money in exchange for sex with last sexual partner as compared with 38% of unexposed women. Practices: Among 18-24 year olds, unexposed women much less likely than exposed women to have a partner with a 10+-year age difference (10% for unexposed women vs. 35%).
Stepping Stones, South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2007, 2008)	Non-formal education for young adults in community setting		Practices: No statistically significant difference between intervention and control group engagement in transactional sex – for either men or women – at 24-month follow-up. At 12 months, male intervention group engagement in transactional sex lower than in control group and female intervention group's higher.	
Straight Talk, Uganda (Adamchak et al., 2007)	Media (radio) IEC	Practices: Boys exposed to Straight Talk less likely to engage in transactional sex. The greater the degree of exposure, the greater the impact. Insufficient data to draw conclusions concerning girls.		

Figure 59 shows the distribution of changes recorded.

Figure 59: Distribution of type of outcomes
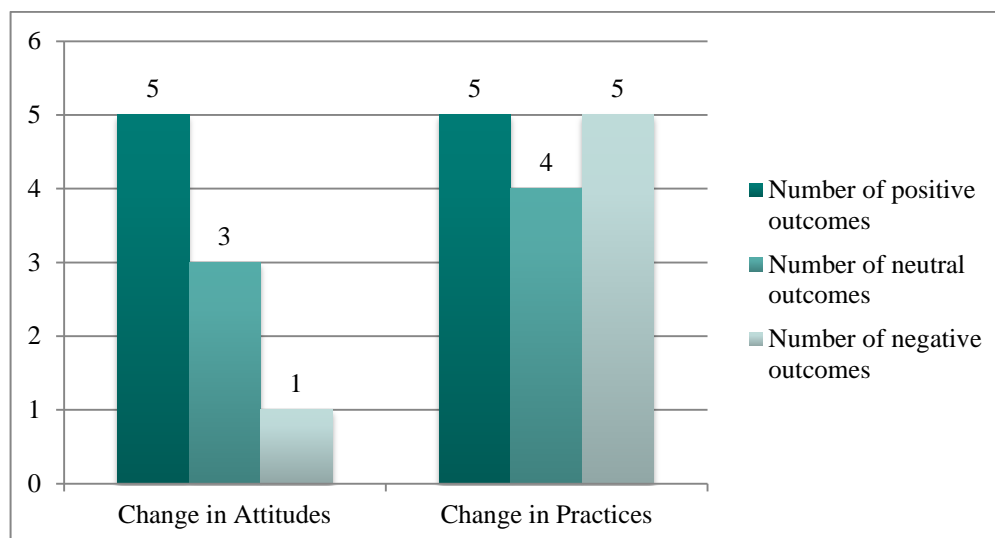
11.3 Explaining findings

11.3.1 Explaining positive findings

In contrast to most of the other thematic areas examined, among programmes concerned with intergenerational or transactional sex there are some clear commonalities among the types of activities associated with positive changes. All of the programmes associated with positive changes in practice involved mass media-based messaging, and all but one of the positive changes in attitudes was also associated with a media-based programme. Almost all of these media programmes were backed up with IEC materials such as booklets and posters. However, it is worth recalling that the SafAIDS and OneLove programmes had a mixed record, and led to both negative and neutral as well as positive findings.

Relative effectiveness of different approaches. Three studies compare the impacts of different types of communication and/or the added value of multiple communications activities. In Swaziland, Hutchinson et al (2012c) found less than 1% of respondents exposed to both Lusweti/OneLove (media) and SafAIDS (IEC and community dialogue) reported giving gifts or money in exchange for sex with their last partner as compared with 12% of unexposed people and 17% of people exposed to Lusweti (media) only. Hutchinson et al. (2012b) found in Lesotho that people exposed to mass media and community dialogue were significantly more likely than unexposed people or people exposed to media or only community dialogue to perceive that leaders discouraged men from seeking considerably younger partners. In Tanzania, Kaufman et al (2013) found that, compared with participants exposed only to posters and banners, those exposed only to radio or TV messages were more likely to discuss cross-generational sex, and those exposed to a combination of radio or TV and posters or banners were most likely to discuss cross-generational sex. By contrast, people exposed only to radio or TV were more likely to intervene to discourage cross-generational relationships as compared with people exposed only to posters and banners, and exposure to both had no additional impact. These findings are inconclusive but suggest exposure to more than one medium is often associated with greater change in both attitudes towards and practices of transactional sex. We explore the relative effectiveness of single and combined interventions further in Section 13.

Intensity of exposure. Five studies examine the intensity of exposure, with three finding that longer exposure or exposure to more media products was associated with less engagement in or less positive attitudes towards intergenerational or transactional sex.[45] Thus, Adamchak et al. (2007) found in Uganda that, among boys and young men, and across the sample of respondents as a whole, a higher percentage of those not living in low media-intensity districts or exposed to fewer Straight Talk products were likely to report either giving or

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[45] Hutchinson et al. (2013) do not disaggregate results by intensity of exposure on this variable.

receiving something in a sexual exchange. In Tanzania, among women, higher exposure to the Fataki campaign was related to lower likelihood of being currently engaged in a cross-generational relationship, although there was no association among men (Kaufman et al., 2013). Kaufman et al. also found that, among those not exposed to the campaign in the previous three months, 23% had intervened to discourage a cross-generational relationship, while 44% of those in the high campaign exposure group reported intervening – a statistically significant difference.

Hutchinson et al. (2012b) found in Lesotho that people continuously exposed to OneLove media[46] over three years or more were more likely than either people exposed recently or unexposed people to believe men had the right to sex in exchange for gifts. However, in Namibia, they found an inverse relationship with the intensity of exposure and engaging in transactional or intergenerational sex: across the sample as a whole, people with exposure to two or more OneLove booklets were less likely to have a partner with a 10-year or greater age difference than people exposed to one or no booklets (Hutchinson et al., 2012a). People exposed to OneLove the longest time ago had the greatest incidence of receiving gifts for sex; those exposed both recently and more than three years ago were more likely than non-exposed or only recently exposed people to agree men had the right to have sex with a woman or girl if they bought them gifts (ibid.). In Swaziland, there was also an inverse relationship between length of TV exposure and attitudes and practices concerning transactional sex: those exposed for longest were most likely to engage in transactional sex and to believe men had the right to give gifts in exchange for sex (Hutchinson et al., 2012a). Neither study offers an explanation for this counter-intuitive finding.

11.3.2 Explaining negative findings

As with programmes addressing sexual and physical violence, relatively more neutral and negative outcomes were recorded than in other thematic areas (Figure 59. It is possible increased exposure to communications programmes, including issues of intergenerational or transactional sex, may have increased awareness of the phenomenon and led to greater reporting of it. However, this seems less plausible than with respect to different forms of violence, given that, as far as it is possible to tell from programme descriptions, messaging concerning transactional sex is relatively negative, emphasises the dangers and models girls and young women withstanding pressures towards engaging in it. (The evaluations of SafAIDS and OneLove, the programmes for which these negative outcomes were found, have no detail on message content, thus it is not possible to draw any conclusions about the content or framing of messages.)

By contrast, messaging on sexual and physical violence is more likely to emphasise that it is not a private matter that help is available if victims report it, and reporting it may therefore have more positive connotations. The evaluations reporting increased transactional or intergenerational sex among those exposed to media messaging were all entirely quantitative and thus offer limited insights that might explain these findings. Four of these studies (those by Hutchinson et al.) matched participants and controls and aimed to control for systematic differences between participants/exposed groups and non-participants/non-exposed groups in this manner. The design of these studies (making use of a single set of cross-sectional data) does not allow for analysis of change over time and thus analysis of whether attitudes or practices among exposed groups diverged from those of the unexposed group over time.

As Figure 59 shows, seven instances of neutral impacts were also recorded – four in relation to attitudes and three in relation to practices. Five of these neutral impacts were recorded for SafAIDS and OneLove, reflecting the general pattern of mixed findings from these programmes. It may be that messaging on transactional sex was 'lost' among a wider set of messages related to HIV/AIDS and sexual behaviour; it is difficult to tell without access to the detailed messaging in this set of programmes. One other programme recording a neutral effect – Stepping Stones – was initially associated with a statistically significant reduction in men's engagement in transactional sex at 12 months after the intervention, but this difference had disappeared by 24 months after the end of the intervention. By contrast, among women and girls Stepping Stones participants, engagement in transactional sex increased at 12 months, although there was no significant difference between participants and the control group at 24 months. Jewkes et al. (2008) suggest the initial rise in transactional sex among women and girls may be a consequence of Stepping Stones messaging, which could inadvertently have given the impression that engaging in transactional sex was common and thus an acceptable norm. This reflects a

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[46] Defined as exposed over three years ago and within the past three years.

challenge common to social norms marketing interventions, which often have the difficult task of both raising awareness of the widespread nature of a social issue and stressing its unacceptability simultaneously (Paluck et al., 2010).

Socioeconomic issues. None of this set of studies examines the role socioeconomic inequalities may have played in the findings. This may be because this set of studies is strongly quantitative and studies control for socioeconomic differences when examining other variables.

Hutchinson et al.'s (2012c) Swaziland study was one of the few studies across all the studies to partially disaggregate findings geographically by exploring the specific impact of the SafAIDS and OneLove programmes in border areas, where rates of HIV/AIDS are often particularly high. The study does not systematically compare the effectiveness of OneLove and SafAIDS in border areas and it is thus not possible to draw conclusions about the relative effectiveness of these programmes on intergenerational and transactional sex issues in different areas.

12 Attitudes to gender equality

Box 13: Summary – attitudes to gender equality

The problem: Holding negative attitudes to gender equality in general is often associated with discriminatory attitudes and practices on issues affecting adolescent girls. Thus, shifting general attitudes to gender equality can be an important way of promoting a more enabling environment for adolescent girls' capability development.

Main findings: Overall, 17 of the 19 programmes discussed here were effective in helping people exposed to their messages to develop more gender-equitable attitudes. The primary target groups were girls and boys, but there is also evidence of attitude change among adult women and men. There is some evidence suggesting combined interventions (typically non-formal education plus IEC) were more effective than only one or the other in leading to change, but the sample of evaluations that examined this relationship is small. There is also some evidence that more intensive exposure to communications interventions led to a greater degree of change. Successful programmes used a variety of approaches (non-formal education, community dialogue, dissemination of IEC materials and holding public awareness events were most common), as did programmes recording negative and neutral impacts, suggesting no clear association between programme type and kind/degree of change.

12.1 Overview of studies and programmes

12.1.1 Quality and relevance of studies

This section discusses evidence on how communication programmes have affected broader attitudes to gender equality, rather than the more girl-specific attitudes discussed in Section 7 and in thematic sections. A total of 19 studies reported changing attitudes to gender equality, usually by means of an index based on answers to several questions on attitudes. While the specific issues covered by these indices are similar to those discussed in earlier sections, some studies report change in composite indices and examine the effect of different communications initiatives on these, rather than components of these indices.

Table 26: Distribution of studies by study appraisal score

High study appraisal score
- BRAC ELA Programme, Uganda (Bandiera et al., 2012)
- BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011)
- First Time Parents Project, India (Santhya et al., 2008)
- GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011)
- Ishraq, Egypt (Brady et al., 2007; Elbadawy, 2013)
- Male Norms Initiative, Ethiopia (Pulerwitz et al., 2010)
- Parivartan, India (Miller et al., 2013)
- Program H, Brazil (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2006)
- Puntos de Encuentro, Nicaragua (Solorzano et al., 2008)

Moderate study appraisal score
- CARE Reproductive Health Programme, Ethiopia and Kenya (Chege et al., 2004)
- Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2011)
- BRAC ADP, Bangladesh (Kabir et al., 2007)
- Humaqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012)

- Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage Programme, Kenya (Chege et al., 2001)
- ReproSalud, Peru (Ferrando et al., 2002)
- Straight Talk, Uganda (Adamchak et al., 2007)
- Taru, India (Singhal et al., 2004)
- Youth to Youth, Ethiopia and Kenya (Tautz, 2011)

All the studies that recorded changes in attitudes to gender relations did so in addition to other foci, sometimes as part of the explanation for changes observed in other variables. For this reason, studies are classified only by appraisal score, rather than additionally by the extent of their focus on attitudes to gender equality (Table 26).

As with other themes, quantitative and mixed methods studies predominate, comprising 18 out of the 19 studies recording outcomes in this thematic area. Ten studies made use of strong quasi-experimental designs or RCTs.

12.1.2 Regional distribution

Eight programmes took place in South Asia, (Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan), six in Sub-Saharan Africa (all in East Africa – Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda) and two in Egypt (Figure 60). Compared with other issues examined in this study, Latin America is better represented, with three studies taking place in this region (Brazil, Nicaragua and Peru).

Figure 60: Regional distribution of programmes addressing attitudes to gender equality
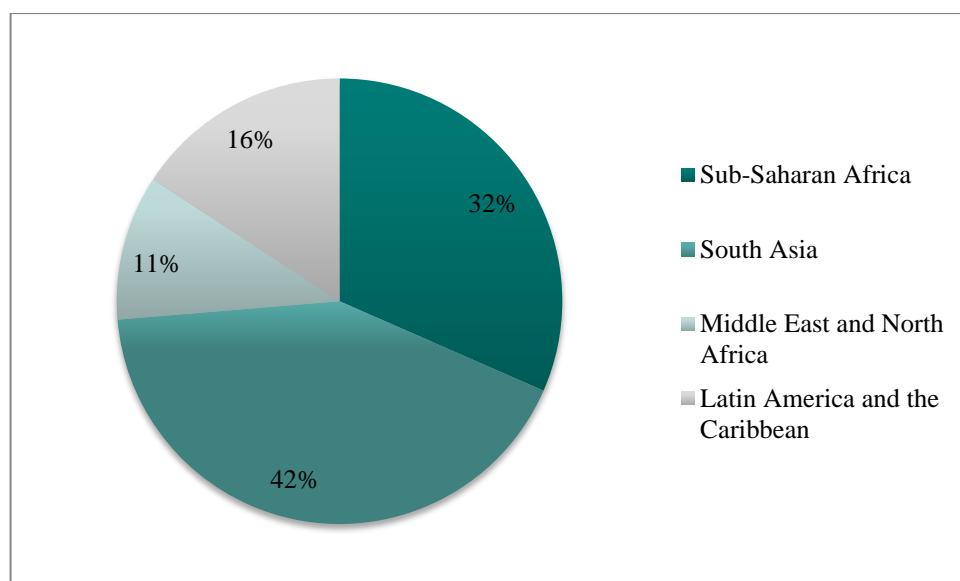
12.1.3 Programme design

As Figure 61 shows, slightly more of the programmes that recorded changes in attitudes to gender equality involved only communication activities rather than a package of activities. Non-formal education was the most common activity in this set of programmes, followed by IEC and community dialogue-based activities. The majority of programmes (14/19) had two or more communications components. Non-formal education with IEC, non-formal education with community dialogue and IEC with community dialogue were the most common combinations. The most common non-communications activities involved developing livelihoods through microfinance, vocational skills and other support for income generation, and providing a safe space for girls to meet and socialise with other girls (Figure 62).

Figure 61: Broad programme design – programmes addressing attitudes to gender equality

Communications Only 58%
Part of a Package 42%
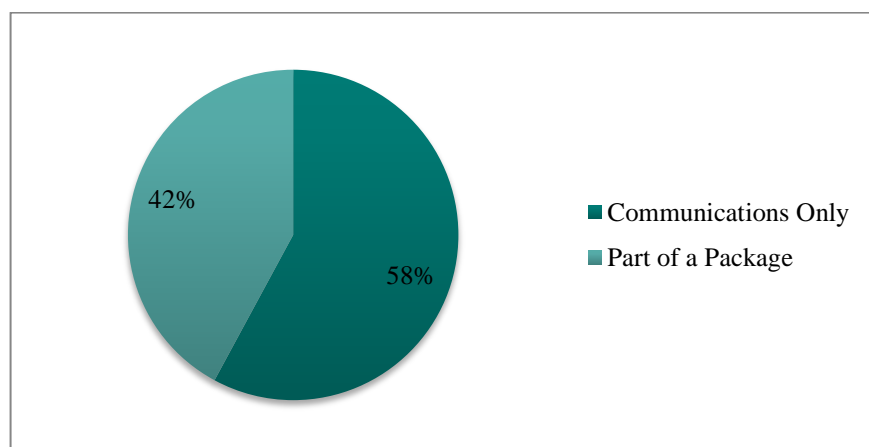
Figure 62: Programmes with each communication component – programmes addressing attitudes to gender equality

Component	Percentage
Public Ceremony	5%
Training and Capacity Building	11%
One to One Communication Mentoring	21%
Non-Formal Education	68%
IEC Materials and Large Scale…	47%
Community Dialogue	42%
Media	21%
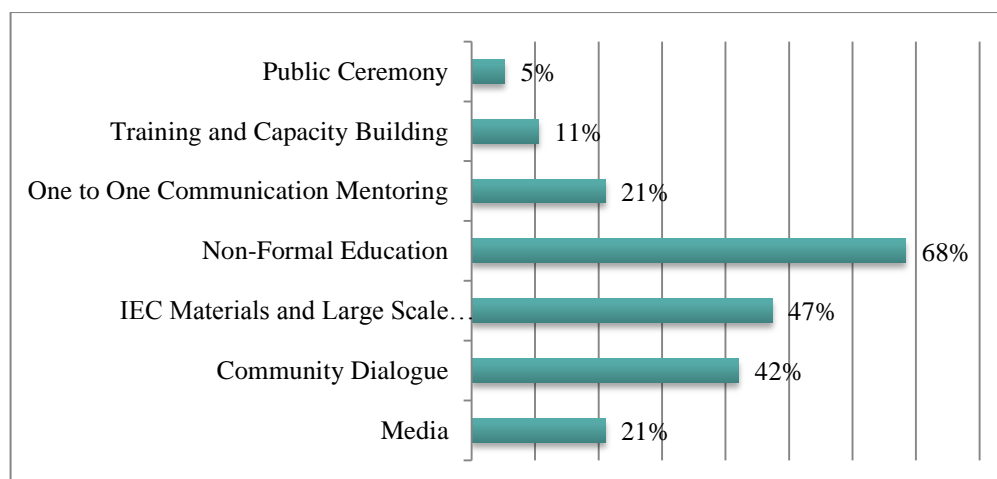
Note: Programmes may include more than one communications component.

Figure 63: Frequency distribution of non-communications components – programmes addressing attitudes to gender equality

Component	Frequency
Other	2
Health Services	2
Cash and In-kind Incentives	1
Sports/games/drama	2
Income Generation, Credit and Savings	4
Bridge to Formal Education	2
Safe Space	4

Note: Programmes may include more than one non-communications component.

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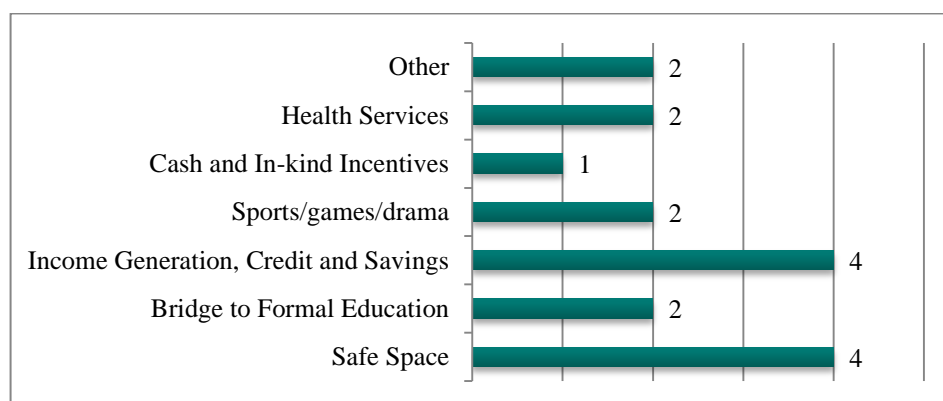
12.1.4 Target groups

Adolescent girls and boys were the most common target group among this set of programmes (Figure 64). This reflects the predominance of non-formal education activities aimed at young people.

Figure 64: Frequency distribution of target groups – programmes addressing attitudes to gender equality
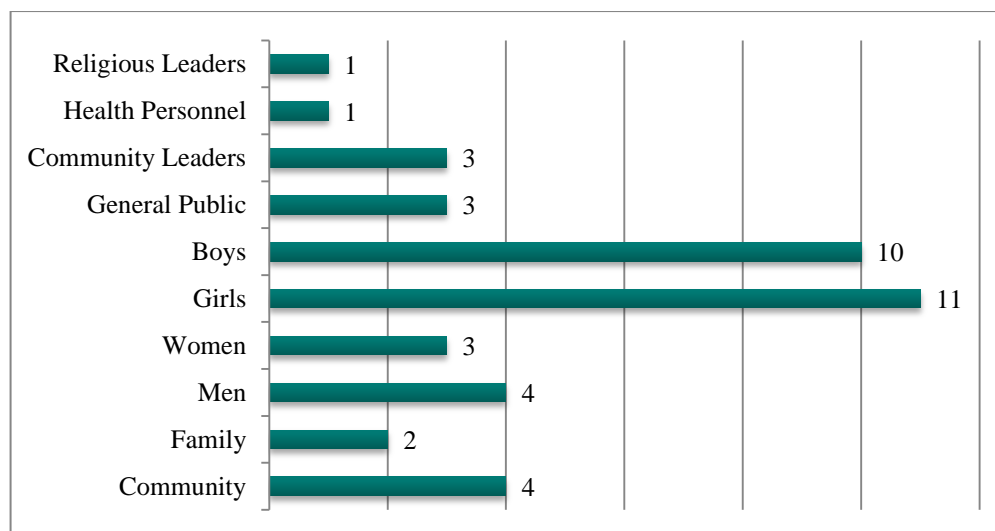
Note: Programmes may target more than one group.

12.2 Effectiveness of programmes in achieving change

As Figure 65 shows, considerably more positive outcomes than negative or neutral outcomes were recorded in this set of studies. Table 27 summarises the main findings from these studies concerning attitudes to gender equality.

Figure 65: Distribution of type of outcomes, changes in attitudes
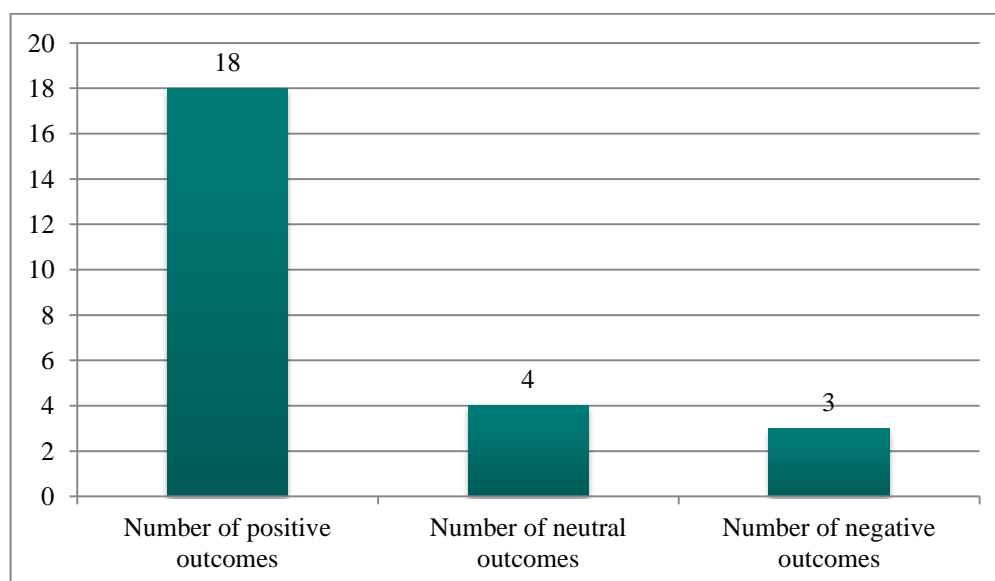
Table 27: Attitudes to gender equality

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
BRAC ADP (Kabir et al., 2007)	Non-formal education for adolescent boys and girls in community setting		No statistically significant difference between participant and control boys on whether women's or men's work is more important.	Proportion of girls believing men's and women's work is equally important significantly lower for ADP participant girls than control girls.
BRAC ELA, Uganda (Bandiera et al., 2010)	Non-formal education	Statistically significant positive difference between treatment and control groups on Gender Empowerment Index, which measures changes in attitudes on variety of gender issues.		
BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh (Alim, 2011)	Community dialogue IEC	72 percentage point increase between baseline and endline in percentage of intervention group agreeing males and females had same nutritional needs. Agreement there should be equality in medical treatment: 46 percentage point greater increase for treatment group than for control group. Agreement concerning equal need for rest: 63 percentage point greater increase for treatment group vs. control group. In all cases, difference-in-difference analysis statistically significant.		
CARE Reproductive Health Programme, Ethiopia and Kenya (Chege et al., 2004)	Community dialogue IEC	In Kenya, comparison site respondents had significantly higher mean scores in positive gender equality attitudes than intervention group at both baseline and endline. The change in mean positive gender scores increased significantly in the intervention group, and decreased significantly in the comparison group.		In Kenya, changes in responses to gender equity questions indicate the intervention may have increased gender disparities. While the mean score of positive gender equality responses increased in men, it reduced significantly in women.

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Choices, Nepal (Institute for Reproductive Health (2011)	Non-formal education in the community for young adolescent girls and boys	Statistically significant differences observed in participants' attitudes to gender equality (measured on five scales) before and after participating while only slight changes or no changes were observed in the control group.		
First Time Parents Project, India (Santhya et al., 2008)	Non-formal education for young married women Mentoring/outreach to husbands	Statistically significant increase in gender equality attitude index in one site (West Bengal).	No statistically significant change in gender equality attitude index in one site (Vadodara).	
GEMS, India (Achyut et al., 2011)	Non-formal education for boys and girls in school School-based IEC campaign	Greater increase in gender-equitable attitude scores for children exposed to both activities, but still significant increases for 'campaign only' group. Changes among control group not significant. Impacts on self-reported behaviour change stronger for girls.		
Humqadam, Pakistan (Rozan, 2012)	Non-formal education Community dialogue IEC One-to-one peer communication	A positive shift post-intervention was recorded on 7 attitudinal questions out of a total of 13. Qualitative data also showed a shift towards more men considering their wives as people they could trust and with whom they could discuss matters of concern.	No significant change was recorded post-intervention on 5 out of 13 gender equality attitude measures.	Post-intervention participants more likely to agree with the statement, 'You don't talk about sex, you just do it' and thus appeared to have developed less gender-equitable attitudes on this issue.
Ishraq (Brady et al, 2007; Elbadawy, 2013)	Non-formal education for adolescent girls and their brothers Community dialogue	Girls who had participated in Ishraq for 13 months or more had a statistically significant increase in gender-egalitarian attitudes compared with non-participants and controls. Ishraq participant girls have more positive attitudes towards gender equality (0.7 standard deviation higher mean scores on attitudes to gender equality index) than non-Ishraq participants.		

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Program H, Brazil (Pulerwitz and Barker., 2006)	Non-formal education with young men IEC Media	Both intervention groups had greater change towards more gender-equitable attitudes as measured on Gender-Equitable Men Scale[47] compared with control group. At baseline, about half of young men were categorised as 'highly' equitable, and the other half was distributed across the 'moderate' and 'low' categories. At six-month follow-up, the proportion of young men from the intervention groups deemed highly equitable significantly increased, and that of young men deemed low or not equitable decreased. There was no significant change in the control group's score on the Gender-Equitable Men Scale index.		
Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage, Kenya (Chege et al., 2001)	Non-formal education Public ceremony	Participant girls were significantly more likely to hold gender-egalitarian attitudes than non-participants on issues such as equal rights and opportunities for men and women.		
Male Norms Initiative, Ethiopia (Pulerwitz et al., 2010)	Non-formal education with young men IEC	Participants in non-formal education + IEC group had higher change on Gender Equitable Men Scale scores than those in the IEC-only group. Both had higher scores than the control group.		
Parivartan, India (Miller et al., 2013)	Non-formal education Mentoring	Statistically significant increases in gender-equitable attitudes (measured using Gender Equitable Men Scale) among 10-16-year-old boy athletes participating in Parivartan compared with athletes from comparison schools.		

[47] The study does not measure difference change in gender attitudes between the two intervention groups.

Programme name and study	Communication activities	Positive impacts	Neutral impacts	Negative impacts
Puntos de Encuentro, Nicaragua (Solorzano et al., 2008)	Media (TV, radio)	Participants with greater exposure to Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales had significantly higher scores on a gender equity index (i.e. more gender-equitable attitudes) throughout the intervention period than participants with less exposure, although gender equity index scores increased for both groups		
Reporosalud, Peru (Ferrando et al., 2000)	IEC		Percentage of women who believed men's and women's work of equal value increased by almost equal amount in participant and control communities (6.4% vs. 6.8%) – a statistically significant gain in both types of community.	
Straight Talk, Uganda (Adamchak et al., 2007)	Media (radio, newspaper)	Multivariate analysis showed exposure to products is associated with more equitable gender attitudes among females.		
Taru, India (Singhal et al., 2004)	Radio soap opera (Taru) IEC Listener groups, health services	Group with most intense Taru exposure agreed most strongly with statement, 'Males and females should have equal rights.'[48]		
Youth to Youth Initiative (Tautz, 2011)	Non-formal education with adolescent girls and boys Community dialogue Mentoring IEC materials	Qualitative evidence of more gender-equal behaviour and changing attitudes within youth clubs. Study does not discuss how far these changes are maintained in other settings		

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[48] There was some variability in attitudes to specific issues between the different intervention groups, i.e. the highest intensity IEC group did not always hold the most gender-egalitarian attitudes.

12.3 Explaining findings

The much greater number of positive impacts compared with negative or neutral impacts (18, 3 and 4, respectively) suggests that, on the whole, these programmes were effective in encouraging the adoption of more gender-egalitarian attitudes. Three evaluations followed participants more than a year after the end of the intervention (Achyut et al.'s 2011 study of GEMS in India; Miller et al.'s 2013study of Parivartan in India; and Pulerwitz and Barker's 2006 study of Program H in Brazil), and more gender-egalitarian attitudes developed through the communications programmes appear to have been sustained, suggesting these programmes achieved more than an immediate effect.

There is no clear pattern of the types of approaches used by the programmes that were effective in encouraging gender-egalitarian attitudes or by those that were not. Two programmes recorded both negative and neutral impacts (CARE in Ethiopia and Kenya and Humqadam in Pakistan), and it may be that this reflects particular design or implementation issues with those programmes (e.g. contextual factors appear important for the CARE programme – Chege et al., 2004), rather than the effectiveness of the particular type of programme. In programmes with multiple objectives, and particularly in those focused on reproductive health, it is possible that gender equality messages were less clear than other messages, but it is difficult to draw conclusions about this given the lack of detail on messages in this set of evaluations.

Comparison of different approaches. Three of the four studies that compared the effectiveness of different communication activities on attitudes to gender equality provide some support for the proposition that combined activities are likely to achieve greater impacts than single activities. In their evaluation of GEMS in India, Achyut et al. (2011) found that, for girls, the combination of IEC and non-formal education was more effective than IEC alone – 57% of girls participating in IEC and non-formal education had high gender equality scores compared with 38% of girls who received IEC only and 32% of control girls at endline. Among boys, the respective figures were 28%, 20% and 12%. Although gender equality scores rose slightly among the control group, the increase was not statistically significant, unlike for both the intervention groups. Achyut et al. further note that attitudes to violence (one of the issues covered by the gender equality index) changed less than those on other components, such as equal rights and opportunities. Singhal et al.'s (2004) evaluation of Taru in India found that the group that was exposed to most intense IEC activity had the most positive attitudes towards equal rights for males and females, providing some support for the view that the most intense exposure to communications promoting gender equality leads to greatest change. However, gender equity scores were higher among people exposed to Taru (radio broadcast) only than among those exposed to radio plus low-intensity IEC activities, suggesting this relationship is not always linear. All had significantly more gender-egalitarian attitudes than the control group, indicating the value of all the different interventions.

Pulerwitz and Barker's (2006) study of Program H in Brazil found statistically significant increases in gender-egalitarian attitudes among young men exposed to non-formal education only, and non-formal education plus IEC compared with a control group. They do not report on the statistical significance of differences between these two groups, but the percentage point changes appear comparable, suggesting IEC activities did not have a significant additional impact. Comparing similar approaches in Ethiopia, Pulerwitz et al. (2010) found that only the group exposed to both participatory group education and IEC activities reported a statistically significant change in attitudes, although they also note that the majority of non-formal education participants attended three or fewer of eight possible sessions, indicating exposure to participatory dialogue may not need to be particularly intensive.

Ferrando et al.'s (2002) evaluation of ReproSalud in Peru did not compare communications interventions, but instead compared the impact of receiving IEC only or IEC plus a community bank. They found that people in communities that received a community bank as well as IEC generally had more negative attitudes to gender equality than those that received only IEC, although this may be an artefact of small numbers.

Intensity of exposure. Five studies examine the relationship between intensity of exposure and extent of changes in attitudes towards gender equality. Two of these studies (Brady et al., 2007; Solorzano et al., 2008) found that longer or more intense exposure was associated with a greater degree of change, sometimes over a critical threshold. In Ishraq, for example, participation for less than a year made no significant impact on gender equality scores. However, participation for over a year led to significantly more gender-egalitarian attitudes than

among the control group, and a greater change among girls who had participated for two and a half years than among those who had participated for between one and two and a half years (Brady et al., 2007).

Two studies found less clear evidence of the additional impact of extended exposure. Achyut et al. (2011) found no significant increase in students' support for gender equality after the first year of participation in GEMS, India. Students who participated for two years, did, however, sustain their support for gender equality. Pulerwitz and Barker (2006) found no significant difference in the change in attitudes between the young men who attended more than 50% of the sessions compared with those who attended less than 50% of them; both subgroups reported substantially more gender-equitable attitudes. Adamchak et al.'s (2007) study of Straight Talk in Uganda also found mixed evidence concerning intensity of exposure – for girls, additional exposure to Straight Talk materials was significantly associated with more gender-equitable attitudes, but for boys exposure to only one Straight Talk output was significantly associated with more equitable gender attitudes.

There is insufficient evidence to draw any conclusions as to whether length of intervention made a difference, as length of intervention is not reported clearly in many studies.

There is also no evidence from these studies that socioeconomic inequalities had an effect on the degree of attitude change – none of them explores this relationship.

13 Consolidated findings and conclusions

This section brings together evidence from across the whole set of papers. It compares across thematic areas and draws conclusions from the evidence presented. It also identifies significant knowledge gaps.

Box 14: Key findings

Overall, this review finds communications programmes are an effective way of promoting change gender norms, and have reached a variety of stakeholders with both broad pro-gender equality messages and messages on specific discriminatory norms.

On most issues, the evaluations recorded a greater number of changes in attitudes than in practices. This may reflect a commonly experienced time lag between changing one's views on an issue and changing one's practices, or the persistence of social norm-based, economic or other barriers to action. However, there were some examples of very significant changes in practice (e.g. large increases in school enrolment, large reductions in early marriage and large reductions in reported perpetration of violence). The proportion of positive outcomes for changes in attitudes and changes in practice were very similar (72% and 69% respectively).

Longer or more intense exposure to a communications programme usually leads to greater change in gender norms. More programme experimentation, disaggregated measurement and analysis are needed to identify the minimum exposure likely to be effective in particular settings and thresholds beyond which additional exposure leads to diminishing returns.

The highest proportion of positive outcomes was recorded for early marriage, education, FGM/C and gender relations in girls' natal households. The high success rate in these thematic areas may reflect intensive community-based dialogue processes and non-formal education that led to a greater sense of self-efficacy on the part of adolescent girls to speak out and challenge discriminatory norms. With respect to FGM/C, it also reflects attention to targeting adult decision makers as well as adolescent girls. The lowest proportions of positive outcomes were recorded for sexual violence and intergenerational and transactional sex, which may reflect the entrenchedness of norms concerning sexual conduct. It may also reflect increased reporting as a result of increased awareness (and, in the case of transactional sex, some poorly framed messages that inadvertently presented transactional sex as normal).

An increase in the number of programme components appears to be associated with a greater proportion of positive outcomes. There is likely to be a threshold beyond which additional activities contribute only marginally to norm change, but the studies in this review did not provide evidence on this issue. Our analysis suggests IEC activities played a helpful role in supporting and extending changes set in motion by other, more intensive, approaches, such as non-formal education.

Dialogue-based approaches appear important in changing norms. Our results provide some tentative evidence that dialogue-based approaches that allow for reflection and discussion among peers (e.g. participatory non-formal education, community conversations) are associated with greater attitude and behaviour change than approaches that incorporate fewer such opportunities. This could be further explored through both programme development and quasi-experimental evaluation. It should not be taken as evidence that mass media approaches are ineffective, as this is clearly not the case. There is no quantitative evidence from the studies examined here that certain types of communication activities on their own are more effective than others, as so much depends on issues such as targeting and the extent to which messages are crafted to appeal and encourage people to think and act differently, rather than on the type of programme.

Non-communications components: Only 30% of programmes involved non-communications activities. Within these, economic-strengthening activities, primarily vocational training, and in a few programmes cash or in-kind incentives or small loans, were the most common, followed by safe spaces for girls to meet. Although the numbers are too small for statistical analysis, it seems programmes with non-communications components were slightly more likely to record positive outcomes and slightly less likely to record negative outcomes, suggesting non-communications components may help increase programme effectiveness. This effect probably reflects the additional attractiveness of programmes with vocational training or incentives to girls and their families, rather than indicating that families were more able to act on messages because economic constraints were reduced.

13.1 Main findings

13.1.1 How effective are communications programmes in changing gender norms that affect adolescent girls?

Overall, this set of 66 studies provides insights into a diverse set of programmes, some of which have, in different ways and in highly varied contexts, made significant impacts on gender norms among the populations exposed to them. Looking across the studies as a whole, 71% of recorded outcomes indicate a change in attitudes or practices in a more gender-egalitarian direction (Figure 66). There was little variation between attitudes and practices in terms of the distribution of positive, negative and neutral outcomes, although slightly more negative outcomes were recorded for changes in practice than for changes in attitudes, and many fewer changes in practice than attitude. (Attitude change comprised 54% of recorded changes and practice changes 46%). There was no systematic evidence that certain social groups were more likely to change than others.

Figure 66: Distribution of positive, neutral and negative outcomes
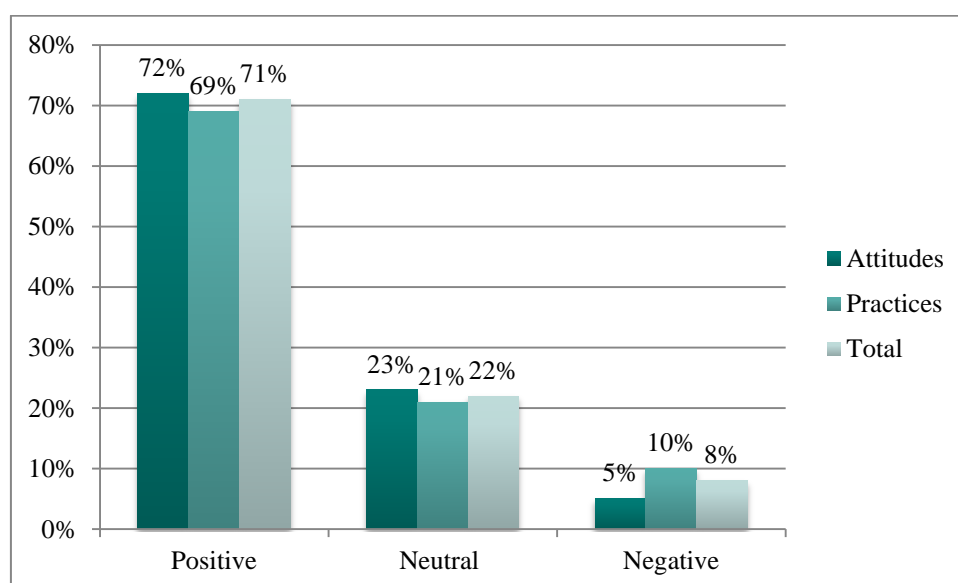
There were examples of very substantial change in attitudes as a result of communication programmes. For example, among families with a girl participating in Maendeleo ya Wanawake's Alternative Rite of Passage programme in Kenya, the proportion of girls who did not intend to circumcise a future daughter rose by 57%; among boys, the percentage rose by 68%. Similarly, only 1% of Ishraq graduates in Egypt thought FGM/C was necessary, compared with 76% of non-participant girls. There were many other smaller but still statistically significant changes, such as a 19 percentage point increase in the proportion of girls participating in Better life Options in India who wanted to marry after age 18, and the 7% increase in adults exposed to DISHA in India, who felt girls should marry at age 18 or over.

For almost all themes, these evaluations recorded a smaller number of changes in practice than in attitudes. In evaluations that recorded changes in attitudes and practices quantitatively on the same issue, the size of practice

changes was generally lower. This may well reflect a lag between the adoption of new attitudes and changes in practice, or barriers to adopting new practices. However, there were examples of programmes that led to significant changes in practice (e.g. rates of early marriage for 10-14s declined substantially as a result of Berhane Hewan in Ethiopia, and rates of school attendance for this group rose dramatically; in the Male Norms Initiative in Ethiopia, reported perpetration of physical violence by young men against their partner declined by between 55% and 65%).

Most mobility outcomes reflected changes in practices rather than attitudes, and some substantial changes were also reported – for example, the proportion of girls and young women allowed to travel unaccompanied to obtain medical treatment doubled among DISHA participants in India. The evaluations of changes in gender relations within girls' natal households recorded equal numbers of practice and attitude changes. In part, this was driven by a significant number of programmes that led to girls feeling a greater sense of self-efficacy and ability to speak out to challenge gender discrimination and voicelessness.

It is important to have realistic expectations about what relatively small and short-term programmes, often working with a relatively small number of people, can achieve. The diversity in human behaviour and attitudes, even in relatively homogeneous communities, means that, however effective a programme is, it is unrealistic to expect it to lead to a complete eradication of gender-discriminatory attitudes and practices, even among its direct target groups. As a participant in Humqadam's programme with boys and young men in Pakistan put it,

'There are some changes and in some other areas they are not many changes [...] there are things that we still do [...] it's not that we have completely left those, but yes before the sessions we used to tease (harass) girls and now it has decreased [....] And I don't behave violently with my young brother and sister at home now' (Rozan, 2012: 36).

With relatively short and small-scale programmes such as these, perhaps the most realistic hope is that they can set in train processes that, over time, contribute to wider change.

Overall, 22% of recorded outcomes were neutral. There is some evidence to suggest neutral outcomes typically arose in relatively short programmes that did not lead to sufficient exposure to change attitudes or practices. However, reporting of length of exposure was so patchy that it is not possible to draw stronger conclusions about this relationship. Neutral outcomes also occurred in areas where gender attitudes were already relatively egalitarian on certain issues, and thus there was little difference between participants and control group respondents, and where inegalitarian views were confined to a relatively small group. While the specific issues where this was the case varied considerably between locations, some examples from the studies examined include girls' education in the areas of Kenya where the Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage programme was operating (Chege et al., 2001), FGM/C (e.g. Ouoba et al.'s 2004 study of Tostan in Burkina Faso) and physical violence against women and girls (Usdin et al.'s 2005 study of Soul City in South Africa). The challenge in these contexts was shifting views among the remaining 'hard core' of people who supported discriminatory norms. Some evaluations also recorded neutral outcomes on issues that were not the main focus of communications. For example, the evaluation of Apwe Plezi, a radio soap opera in St Lucia that focused principally on sexual behaviour and broad gender equality issues, found no statistically significant change on attitudes to women working without their husbands' permission (Vaughan et al., 2000). This may well be because this issue was addressed only indirectly in the soap opera story lines.

Neutral coding also signifies programmes that led to small, but not statistically significant, changes in attitudes or practices. Furthermore, questions asked in different ways can elicit different perspectives on the same issue, as with Taru (Singhal et al., 2004) and the Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication programmes (the four studies lead-authored by Hutchinson). Thus, mixed results on the same issue (e.g. attitudes to early marriage, dowry, son preference or physical violence) within the same evaluation were not uncommon.

A total of 7% of recorded outcomes were negative. Some negative outcomes – particularly on physical and sexual violence – may actually indicate increased reporting rather than increased incidence. In a few cases, there is evidence of more negative attitudes on various gender issues post-intervention (e.g. three studies found a hardening of support for FGM/C post-intervention). In one case, the study authors suggest the framing of messages on transactional sex may have inadvertently created the impression that it was a 'normal' and

acceptable practice rather than a problematic one, and this may account for the rise in reported transactional sex (Jewkes et al., 2008). Other than Jewkes et al. (2008), studies rarely give explanations for negative findings, so it is impossible to tell whether this reflects problems with programme design or implementation, or contextual factors, such as the politicisation of gender issues by conservative interest groups.

As explained in Section 1, in this study we have used evidence of changes in attitudes and practices as evidence of changes in norms, as very few programmes examine norms in the sense of widely shared beliefs, rather than individuals' attitudes and practices, which are easier to measure. Three qualitative studies (Diop et al., 2004; Leerlooijer et al., 2013; Pathfinder International, 2011) indicate that changes in norms related to early marriage and education may have arisen partially as a result of programme activities (non-formal education, community dialogue and one-to-one communication) as well as reflecting broader processes of change. The evaluation of the Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication programme in Mozambique (Hutchinson et al., 2013) and Usdin's (2005) evaluation of Soul City Series 4 in South Africa sought to quantify changes in perceptions of what others in the community or one's family believe concerning the acceptability of physical violence against women and girls in particular circumstances, and suggest the changes observed may be partially attributable to the package of SafAIDS, OneLove and Community Media Trust TV and radio activity in Mozambique, and Soul City TV, radio and print materials in South Africa.

Many analyses of systematic reviews have noted a bias towards publishing studies that show positive outcomes (Petticrew and Roberts, 2006). Even if there is a publication bias towards more effective programmes within the set of programmes examined, overall there is still significant evidence that communications activities are usually effective and that they can make a notable impact on gender attitudes and practices that affect adolescent girls.

13.1.2 How do communications activities lead to change in gender norms?
Many of these programmes drew explicitly on theories of and consolidated learning about best practices in effective communication for social change. Among the elements they incorporated were:

- **Creation of sympathetic and memorable characters in radio and TV dramas**, with whom audiences could identify as role models (Meena Communication Initiative, India; Soul City, South Africa; Taru, India; Vrai Djo, DRC). Edutainment that features strong characters and 'P characteristics' developed by the Johns Hopkins Center for Communications Programs us recognised to be particularly motivating of change (McKee, 2000). These eight 'P characteristics' are 'popular, pervasive, personal, passionate, persuasive, practical, profitable and proven' (Johns Hopkins, 1994). These quotes from the evaluation of the Meena Communication Initiative in India illustrate many of these characteristics:

'When I asked the girls why they had volunteered for training as hand pump mechanics, they said, "we saw the episode of Meena repairing the tractor and we thought we could do it too" […] "Meena is a simple next door girl that is why she is so well accepted. Every girl sees Meena in herself"' (CMS, 2004: 57).

Characters challenging gender norms may well be more socially acceptable – and thus a more effective vehicle for change messages – if they conform to other social norms, such as politeness, as highlighted in the following quote:

'Meena is the story of an ordinary girl – but a lot of attention has been paid to the details. She is helpful, polite and supported by Mithu – her alter ego. She is highly popular and quickly acceptable due to this simple storyline and also identifiable settings. Researcher, Meena Production Tean' (CMS, 2004: 109).

Likewise, characters whose 'villainous' behaviour meant they were easily recognisable as a negative role model (e.g. Twende Na Wakati and Fataki, both in Tanzania) were memorable and served as warnings of how not to behave. Indeed, Kaufman et al. (2013) found that Fataki (the name of a radio soap opera character who attempts to engage in transactional sex with girls and young women) had entered the lexicon – with 'don't be a Fataki' meaning 'don't be a sugar daddy'.

These programmes may well have been successful partly because they engaged audiences' emotions, making them more memorable and effective than those that simply present information (Lee and Davie, 1997).

- **Ending episodes of radio or TV dramas with epilogues summing up the major messages** and learning points (Twende Na Wakati, Tanzania; Taru, India).

- **Reinforcement of messages through repetition in different media and over time,** which aids recall and promotes greater impact (Hovland et al., 1953) (e.g. Vrai Djo, DRC; We Can, India; Straight Talk, Uganda).

- **Providing sufficient new factual information so audiences contemplate change. This was particularly common in programmes addressing HIV/AIDS, FGM/C or physical violence** (Maendeleo ya Wanawake, Kenya; Ishraq and New Horizons, Egypt; Male Norms Initiative, Ethiopia; the Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication Programmes in Lesotho, Namibia, Mozambique and Swaziland).

- **Reframing an issue so people can see it in a new way.** This was common to most programmes and particularly evident among the programmes working with boys and young men, which challenged them to see taken-for-granted privileges and ways of acting as unequal and discriminatory practices that disadvantage girls and young women (e.g. Humqadam, Pakistan; Program H, Brazil; Male Norms Initiative, Ethiopia). Programmes that sought to reframe 'traditional practices' such as FGM/C were also particularly likely to use this approach (e.g. Tostan, Senegal and Burkina Faso; CARE Reproductive Health Programme, Ethiopia and Kenya). As one young man who participated in Stepping Stones in South Africa put it,

  'I saw that thing that it is not a right thing. I mean when I beat a girl now you see at my age that means I will beat my wife, if I continue beating girls this time, so I decided that I must stop it' (Jewkes et al., 2007: 3).

- **Ensuring messages and curricula address issues of concern directly.** There is no evidence in the studies in this review of programmes changing gender norms by 'stealth'. Indeed, where programmes addressed an issue in passing, change was less likely than where it was the focus of the programme. Examples include the lack of impact on norms concerning work in Apwe Plezi in St Lucia and the relatively limited impact of Tostan in Senegal on early marriage rates. This is consistent with Barker et al.'s (2007) review of 58 programmes engaging men and boys in SRH, which found programmes with deliberate discussions of gender and masculinity and clear efforts to transform such gender norms seemed to be more effective than programmes that merely acknowledged or mentioned gender norms and roles.

- **Creating opportunities for reflection** (e.g. Stepping Stones, South Africa; Program H, Brazil; Humqadam, Pakistan) and encouraging people to act on these insights (e.g. Choices, Nepal; We Can, India). These programmes often involved discussing and challenging prevailing norms.

- **Creating a socially supportive environment with a critical mass of people** who are willing to or have made changes (e.g. We Can, India; Tostan, Senegal and Burkina Faso; Maendeleo ya Wanawake, Kenya). See Box 15 for a discussion of this approach in the We Can project in India.

Box 15: Building a critical mass of people supporting gender equality – We Can, India

The We Can End All Violence Against Women campaign in India was part of a six-year campaign to change norms on violence against women that ran between 2004 and 2010 in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. We Can drew on tipping point theory as articulated by Gladwell (2004) and aimed to generate a critical mass of people who opposed all forms of violence against women and girls, defined broadly to include discrimination, early marriage and unequal treatment of sons and daughters. The campaign was built around inspiring people – young, old, male and female – to sign up as change makers. Change makers took an oath to practise gender equality in their lives and to reach out to at least 10 other people and encourage them to do so. A key principle of the campaign was that, once change makers had taken their first step in challenging gender discriminatory practices, this would open up avenues for dialogue and further change.

The first phase of the campaign focused on recruiting change makers and explaining violence against women and girls so people would engage with it as an issue that affected their lives. Change makers were provided with IEC materials, such as pamphlets and posters, that would help them reach out to others, and events such as street theatre were organised by the IEC campaign secretariat. These materials mirrored real-life situations and posed questions to make their audiences think and engage in debate. Change makers particularly made use of posters and comics, and to a lesser extent the workbooks, with which they were supplied. Effective synergies between communications components contributed to success: the IEC activities played an important role in backing up the one-to-one communication and sustaining engagement, and changes were often greater in areas with more sustained IEC.

Over the first three years – 2004 to 2007 – 1.8 million individuals signed up for the campaign, across 13 states of India. From 2007, the campaign started to emphasise the depth of change and focused on deepening the degree of change that change makers had made in their own lives and helping others change more profoundly. This phase involved re-engaging existing change makers and keeping them supplied with communications materials and messages, and developing networks of change makers to help sustain change and strengthen an enabling environment. Change makers were encouraged to identify fresh situations in which gender discrimination was occurring and to consider new actions to improve women's status, and to reinforce shifts in attitudes among people in their circle of influence. In Phase 2, the campaign also sought to mobilise change makers in schools and local government who would initiate changes to promote the equal status of girls and women.

The key campaign messages that most change makers recalled and thus promoted were:

- Violence against women is not acceptable.
- We should not tolerate violence against women.
- Girls and boys are equal.
- Girls should be educated.

The evaluation of We Can in India found the change maker approach had successfully encouraged change makers and their wider circles of influence to make various pro-gender equality changes in their lives. For example, 25% of people in change makers' circles of influence in Rajasthan had resolved not to marry off their daughters or sisters before age 18; and 21% in West Bengal had pledged not to commit any violence against women or girls. Rajan et al. (2010) also found that, while women exposed to the campaign in Rajasthan had changed their attitudes more than men, they were more constrained in being able to enact these changes in their lives. Overall, 59% of change makers deepened the degree of change they made in their lives through further actions in Phase 2, while another 25% had changed attitudes but had not yet put these changes into practice.

- **Making pledges or declarations to act in a certain way** or to give up a gender-discriminatory practice so that participants feel honour-bound to uphold their commitments (e.g. Tostan, Senegal and Burkina Faso; Maendeleo ya Wanawake, Kenya; We Can, India). See Box 15 on We Can and Box 8 on Tostan.

- **Addressing barriers to turning new knowledge into action.** Discriminatory practices are maintained not only by prevailing beliefs but also because codes of age- and gender-appropriate behaviour often prohibit young people from speaking up in the presence of elders or from appearing to criticise their elders. Such codes are often gendered, with particularly strong expectations on girls and women to be

submissive to elders' decisions and to male authority more broadly. Recognising that girls are often socialised to accept authority, it is striking how many of the non-formal education and community dialogue-based programmes involved training for girls in negotiation skills (e.g. PRACHAR, India; IPA, Zambia; HIV/AIDS and transactional sex awareness programme, Ghana: Fiscian et al., 2009).

Many also identified girls' economic disempowerment as a factor contributing to the persistence of discriminatory gender norms. This may help explain why livelihood-oriented components, such as vocational skills training or small grants or loans to support small businesses, were the most common type of non-communication activity in the programmes examined. (Examples include BRAC ELA programmes, Bangladesh and Uganda; the Teenage Mothers Project, Uganda; DISHA, India).

- **Helping people identify solutions.** While there is not enough information in most of the evaluations of non-formal education and community dialogue programmes to understand how programmes helped people identify solutions, it is clear that many programmes were oriented towards doing so. Box 16 shows how the Vrai Djo films in DRC provided 'alternative scripts' of different ways men could respond in particular situations. Other examples included Equal Access in Nepal (Equal Access, 2010), which used real dilemmas raised by the audience (by phone, letter or email) as a springboard for discussing particular issues and finding solutions and (Box 10).

Box 16: Modelling gender egalitarian ways of responding to different situations

Vrai Djo, a media campaign in DRC organised by the NGO Search for Common Ground ran during 2011. Vrai Djo means 'Real Man' and involved screening a series of short films in two cities of western DRC – Kinshasa and Dongo. These films star Celeo Scram, a pop music star with a reputation for good moral character, in a series of roles where he models gender-egalitarian behaviour. The films were screened on four TV stations, and reinforced by short radio spots that aimed both to reinforce the messages in the films and to reach a wider audience. The five scenarios shown in the Vrai Djo films were as follows:

1. Exemplary soldier, instead of sexually abusing a woman, saves her.

2. Male job recruiter refuses the sexual advances of a female candidate during her interview.

3. Parents are concerned about their daughter's poor performance in school. Instead of marrying her off, they decide to sign her up for remedial courses.

4. A review of the challenges of a healthy relationship between a man and a woman. The scenario follows the courtship and progression of a relationship, which is characterised by mutual respect, and in particular respect for the dignity of women.

5. This scenario recounts the story of a man who finds out that his wife cannot carry out her household responsibilities, such as cooking or cleaning. Instead of beating her, the man decides to help her.

Analysis of viewers' attitudes before and after watching the films shows they led to more gender-egalitarian attitudes to child marriage and GBV.

In addition to TV and radio spots, clips from these films were put on the internet and used to stimulate discussion on Congolese websites, thus enabling them to reach a wider audience over a longer time.

Source: Koch and N'kolo (2011)

13.1.3 Are gender norms harder to shift in some areas than others?
Figure 67 shows how the distribution of positive, neutral and negative outcomes varied by theme. In all themes except intergenerational and transactional sex, sexual violence and physical violence, at least two-thirds of recorded outcomes were positive. The highest proportion of negative outcomes was recorded in programmes addressing sexual violence and intergenerational and transactional sex. As discussed in Sections 10 and 11, this may reflect greater awareness and thus greater reporting of negative outcomes rather than necessarily indicating that the programmes examined were counterproductive. Nonetheless, the lower proportion of positive outcomes and higher proportion of negative outcomes in these themes may point to greater challenges in effecting changes on issues related to sexuality and to violence.

The highest proportion of positive outcomes was recorded for relationships within natal households, early marriage and education, where over three-quarters of recorded impacts were positive. The particularly high proportion of positive outcomes in the 'natal households' theme may reflect the strongly positive outcomes associated with programmes that helped girls develop greater negotiation skills and confidence in speaking out. One other area where dramatic increases in pro-gender equality attitudes within households were recorded was in relation to boys doing housework (as in Choices, Egypt and Nepal). Although there was a mixture of types of communication activity in all thematic areas, programmes in these areas were typically broad adolescent development programmes with non-formal education and community-based dialogue and a moderately high proportion of non-communication activities.

The highest proportion of neutral impacts was recorded in relation to sexual violence, intergenerational and transactional sex, physical violence and mobility, where they comprised over a quarter of recorded outcomes. There are several possible explanations for this. It may be that norms in the areas are more entrenched and harder to shift, and the fact that the two thematic areas with the smallest proportion of positive outcomes recorded were transactional and intergenerational sex may bear this out. It may also be that messages in some of these areas were more easily misconstrued (Jewkes et al., 2008), rather than there being any intrinsic difficulty of achieving change on this issue. This said, qualitative insights do suggest that, in some areas, support for violence against women and girls in certain circumstances was entrenched and hard to shift, and restriction on girls' and women's mobility persisted.

Figure 67: Distribution of positive, neutral and negative outcomes
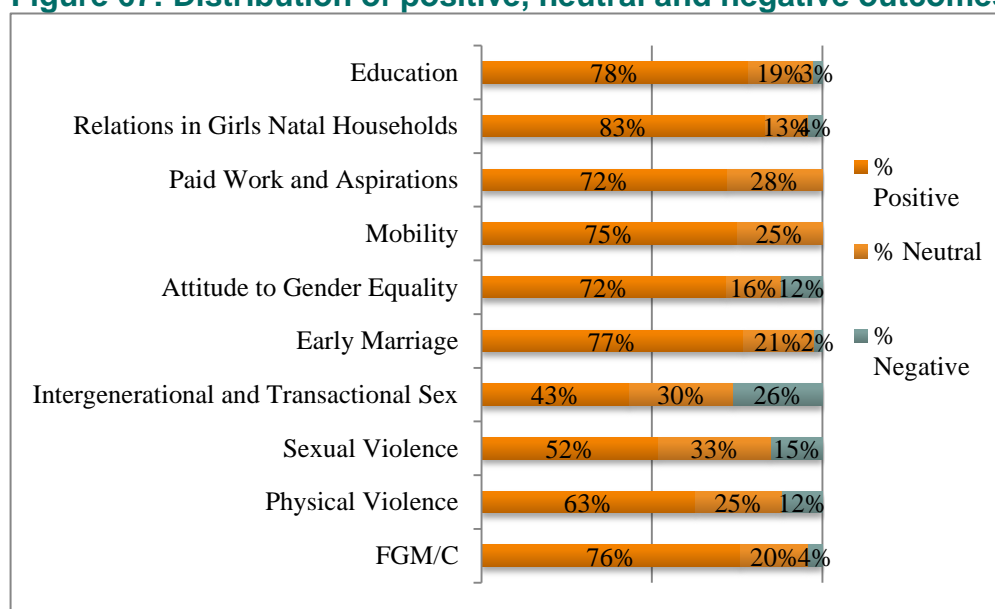
Table 28 summarises insights from all the thematic sections on the kinds of norm changes to which programmes have contributed, and those where changes have been more challenging.

Table 28: Overview of main changes recorded

Theme	% positive outcomes	Main changes recorded
Early marriage	77%	Communications programmes in general and dialogue-based programmes in particular have led to substantial change in girls' views, those of their parents and in some places broader community perceptions of the desirable age of marriage for girls (DISHA, Better Life Options, India; Ishraq, Egypt). Some TV and radio programmes associated with similar change (e.g. Vrai Djo, DRC; Twende Na Wakati, Tanzania).

| Theme	% positive outcomes	Main changes recorded
		Communications programmes have led to much greater acceptance of the idea that a girl should have a say in decisions about her marriage (New Horizons, Egypt; Better Life Options, India; BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh; Tostan, Senegal). There is some evidence of reduction in dowry giving and more negative attitudes towards dowry as a result of community dialogue and media (radio and TV) (GQAL and Kishori Abhijan, Bangladesh; Meena, Taru, India). The timeframe of most evaluations is too short to measure changes in early marriage rates/mean age of marriage, but there is some evidence of delayed marriage (Berhane Hewane, Ethiopia; Better Life Options, DISHA, PRACHAR, India).
Education	78%	Changes in attitudes were more common than changes in practice. Some programmes led to dramatic shifts in attitudes (GEMS, India; BRAC ADP, BRAC GQAL, Bangladesh), while in others changes were smaller (Filles Eveillées, Burkina Faso; ReproSalud, Peru). There is no clear relationship between the type of communications used and the size of change; the extent of change is likely to reflect context and existing attitudes and practices, rather than programme design or implementation issues. Some programmes led to large increases in the proportion of girls attending school (e.g. Berhane Hewan, Ethiopia), or to girls who had dropped out re-enrolling in school (Ishraq, New Horizons, Egypt; Teenage Mothers Project, Uganda). Two programmes led to greater girls' school enrolment only in one location (Kishori Abhijan, Bangladesh; Behaviour Change Programme, Nigeria). Where evaluations found no strong evidence of change, this was often because support for girls' education was already high.
Mobility	75%	The fewest evaluations (12) recorded outcomes on mobility. Many more changes in practices than attitudes were recorded (10 and 2, respectively). Some large quantitative increases in mobility were recorded (e.g. Better Life Options, India; DISHA, India; GQAL, Bangladesh), with girls who had formerly been restricted now able to visit doctors and markets, and to travel to village fairs and to nearby towns in groups. Qualitative evidence that girls' increased mobility reflected increased trust in girls' competence, an effect of programme attendance. One study (GQAL, Bangladesh) found a gap between girls' perceived mobility and the actual places they visited.
Work and aspirations	72%	Major changes in adolescents' attitudes to young women working (e.g. GQAL, Bangladesh; BRAC, Uganda) and in parents' aspirations for their daughters (PRACHAR, India). Increase in girls aspiring to work outside the home (BRAC ELA, Bangladesh; Ishraq, New Horizons, Egypt). Two studies showed mixed outcomes, illustrating that change is not linear – one was Humqadam in Pakistan, where attitudes confirming men as breadwinners were common as well as a slow change towards greater acceptance of young women working. The other was PRACHAR in India, where qualitative analysis showed changing norms but also continued prohibitions on young women moving alone to a new location for work.
Gender relations in girls' natal	83%	Notable change in attitudes towards son preference, equal treatment of boys and girls, more respectful and harmonious intra-household relationships, increased self-confidence among girls to express themselves within the family and

Theme	% positive outcomes	Main changes recorded
households		community and increased respect for girls' views. All programmes leading to increased self-confidence and ability to speak out involved non-formal education. Changes in attitudes towards boys and girls sharing housework were mixed – with positive shifts in some studies but not others. One evaluation (Taru, India) also recorded a negative shift on son preference among some listeners.
FGM/C	76%	More changes in attitudes than practice were reported – this reflects the difficulty of monitoring changes in practices, although some studies (Ishraq, Egypt; Tostan, Senegal and Burkina Faso) outlined self-reported changes in prevalence. Evidence of attitude change among girls (Ishraq, New Horizons, Egypt; Maendeleo ya Wanawake, Kenya), mothers and fathers (Ndukaku, Nigeria; Tostan, Senegal and Burkina Faso), young men (CARE, Ethiopia and Kenya; Tostan, Senegal), older community members (Tostan, Senegal) and health workers (training programme, Mali). Tostan in Senegal successfully helped spread the view that FGM/C is not a religious duty.
Physical violence	64%	Communications programmes had a greater impact on changes in attitudes to physical violence than on practices. Key attitude changes included a shift towards viewing violence as always wrong rather than acceptable in some circumstances (e.g. We Can, India), although in several programmes participants maintained support for violence in particular situations (e.g. Ishraq, New Horizons, Egypt). Three evaluations also found reduced support for the view that a woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together. Programmes leading to positive change were varied (non-formal education, one-to-one communication, IEC, media). The majority of programmes that led to negative change or no change in attitudes were media programmes without IEC or other activities, although some media programmes (Samajdhari radio in Nepal and Soul City TV in South Africa) did have a positive effect on attitudes to physical violence. Studies reported three types of practice changes (reduced experience or perpetration of violence), increased reporting of violence and increased action to protest against violence. There were two cases where programmes were associated with increased experience, but this may reflect increased awareness rather than an actual increase. There was no clear difference between type of approach – all approaches (media, non-formal education, IEC, one-to-one communication) were associated with improvements on these indicators.
Sexual violence	54%	Communications programmes (seven of which involved non-formal education) led to an increase in the proportion of respondents considering sexual harassment, rape or other forms of sexual violence unacceptable, and a reduction in proportion of respondents believing that women and girls provoke or deserve sexual violence. Changes in practice appear harder to effect than changes in attitudes – these evaluations report more neutral or negative changes than in other areas. The negative changes may, however, be masking increased awareness and reporting so should not been seen as evidence that these programmes were counterproductive. All programmes with higher reporting of sexual violence were primarily media and IEC-based.

Theme	% positive outcomes	Main changes recorded
Intergenerational and transactional sex	43%	Overall, this set of programmes was associated with change towards less acceptance of intergenerational or transactional sex, although some evaluations found increased acceptance of intergenerational or transactional sex. More evaluations found positive changes in attitudes than changes in practice. Indeed, several primarily media-based programmes (SafAIDS and OneLove in Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Namibia) recorded both positive and negative findings on different indicators of practice. This may indicate insufficiently strong messaging or significant barriers to changing behaviour on this issue – perhaps related to entrenched norms concerning sexual conduct, or to economic pressures that encourage continued transactional sex.
Attitudes to gender equality	72%	Most evaluations used index based on various attitudinal questions to measure changes, and in all but two cases found a positive shift in mean scores. (In one of these communities there was no change and in another women's scores declined, while men's increased.) Two evaluations that did not use gender equality indices also found mixed or negative results on certain indicators (women working and attitudes to discussing sex). There is no clear relationship between the type of intervention and the type or extent of change.

Which communication activities are most effective in promoting change in gender norms?

Figure 68 presents shows the proportion of positive, neutral and negative outcomes for each type of communication activity. It is evident that around 60% of outcomes were positive in all types of programmes, with the lowest percentage for media and IEC and the highest for public ceremonies, non-formal education and one-to-one mentoring. It is also evident that public ceremonies, non-formal education and one-to-one communication had the lowest proportion of negative outcomes.

Figure 68: Distribution of outcomes across communication components
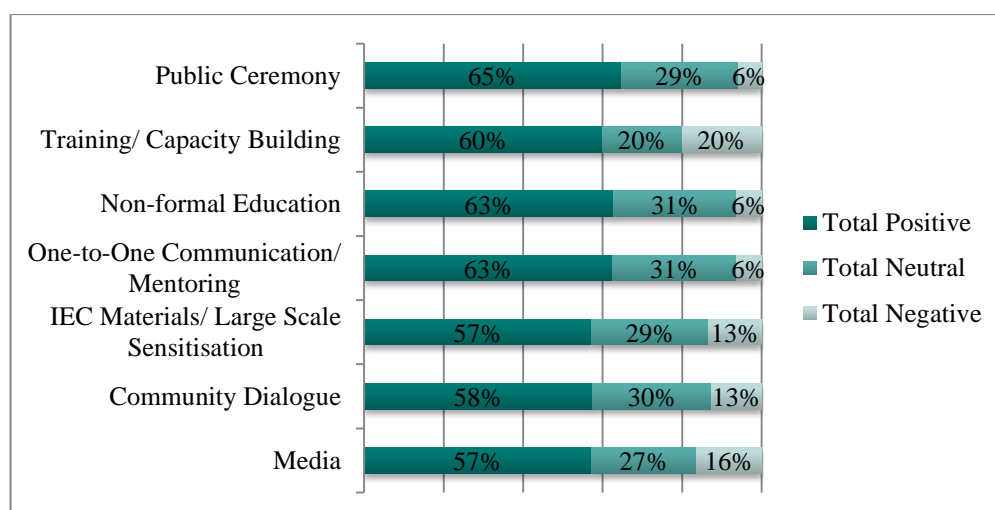
Disaggregating between attitudes and practices, Figure 68 shows that positive changes in attitudes were more common with all types of communication activity than changes in practice, and that the gap was largest for media programmes. This may indicate that exposure to radio or TV alone (particularly edutainment or factual programmes, rather than more participatory programmes, such as phone-ins) does not stimulate people to make changes in practice on gender issues to as great an extent as approaches based on dialogue.

However, Figures 68 and 69 should not be interpreted as indicating that the communication approaches with the highest proportion of recorded positive outcomes are necessarily the most effective. Just over three-fifths of programmes (62%) involve at least two communication components, and the two approaches with the highest proportion of positive outcomes (community dialogue and IEC) were commonly used in conjunction with other approaches. The appearance of greater effectiveness may therefore be masking an effect achieved by interaction of different approaches rather than one approach on its own.

Indeed, Table 29 suggests programmes with more than one communications component achieved a higher proportion of positive outcomes for both change in practice and change in attitudes than those with only one component. Furthermore, the greater the number of components, the greater the likelihood of positive outcomes. The numbers involved are too small to test the statistical significance of this pattern.

Figure 69: Proportion of programmes with positive, negative and neutral outcomes by type of communication activity

Legend:
- Practices - Positive
- Attitudes – Positive Outcomes
- Practices - Neutral Outcomes
- Attitudes – Neutral Outcome
- Practice - Negative Outcome
- Attitudes – Negative Outcome
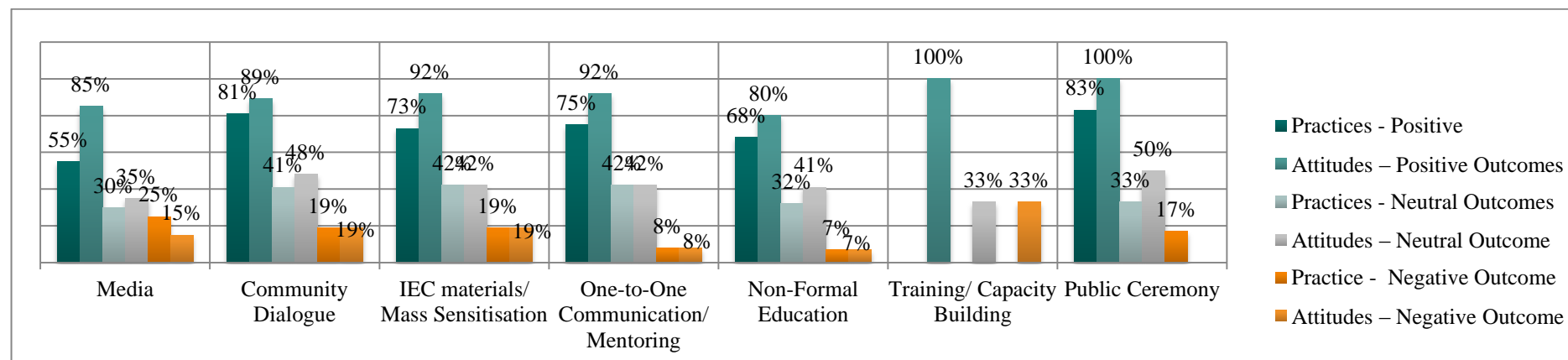
Table 29: Relationship between number of components and positive outcomes

No. of communications components	1 (n=23)		2 (n=19)		3 (n=14)		4 or more components (n=8)		All programmes with >1 component	
	Frequency	As % of programmes with 1 component	Frequency	As % of programmes with 2 components	Frequency	As a % of programmes with 3 components	Frequency	As % of programmes with 4 or 5 components	Frequency	As a % of programmes with >1 component
No of positive attitudes	17	74	17	89	14	100	4	100	37	94
No of positive practices	11	48	11	58	10	61	4	100	25	68

13.1.4 Which combinations of communication activities led to the greatest changes in outcomes?
Table 30 shows that combined interventions had an added value in 13 out of 20 instances, and that combined interventions seemed to particularly add to effectiveness in programmes addressing transactional sex and physical violence. They also contributed to effectiveness on early marriage issues, although one evaluation, that of Taru in India (Singhal et al., 2004) found more mixed evidence in relation to early marriage. Although people exposed to combined interventions (radio plus IEC) broadly showed greater change in a gender-egalitarian direction, this differed for different indicators (e.g. dowry and age of marriage) and was not linear, so exposure to more components did not always lead to greater change (ibid.).

Rajan et al. (2010) and Diop et al (2004) considered the effectiveness of one-to-one communications. Rajan et al. found IEC activities strengthened the impact of one-to one-communication. Unlike the other studies. Diop et al. simply compared non-formal education activities (rather than examining the added value of additional components) and mentoring and found non-formal education more effective because of its greater intensity. In a similar programme (Tostan in Burkina Faso), Ouoba et al. (2004) found that expecting participants to share the information learned with other individuals in the community was not as effective as it had been in Senegal and led to a more limited dissemination of information through the community. Although this is a limited sample, these studies suggest one-to-one communication may be more effective as a complementary method rather than a main method of norm change.

Table 30: Summary of evidence concerning added value of combined interventions

Thematic area	Added value of combined intervention: frequency of outcomes		
	Yes	Mixed evidence	No
Marriage	3	1	0
Education	1	1	2
Intra-household relationships	1	1	1
FGM/C	1	0	0
Physical violence	3	0	0
Transactional/intergenerational sex	3	0	0
Attitudes to gender equality	1	0	0
Total	13	3	4

Table 31 shows the specific combinations of activities where there is quantitative evidence examining the effectiveness of combined interventions over and above single interventions. In all cases, programmes compared exposure to IEC only, with IEC plus non-formal education or media exposure. Overall IEC components strengthened effectiveness in 12 programmes and did not do so in seven programmes. The mixed evidence on the impact of media and IEC combinations all comes from the evaluation of Taru, in India, a radio soap opera plus IEC activities (Singhal et al, 2008). This was a very extensive evaluation which probed issues from a number of angles, sometimes obtaining contradictory results concerning the impact of additional components. For example, exposure to intensive as opposed to less intensive IEC activities was associated with greater change in whether people considered early marriage a social evil, whereas for attitudes to dowry-giving, there was no such clear pattern.

Table 31: Added value of specific combinations

Combination	Added value	Mixed	No added value
Non-formal education +IEC	6	0	2
Media +IEC	6	3	2

13.1.5 Do dialogue-based approaches increase programme effectiveness?
One hypothesis that emerged from some of the thematic analysis, particularly on early marriage, was that dialogue-based approaches, where participants have a chance to reflect on messages with others and discuss how they might apply these to their own lives, might lead to greater change than those where respondents were simply presented with messages. This is consistent with a widely accepted Freirean concept of active learning.[49]

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[49] Thanks to Mary Myers for this insight.

Drawing on the set of studies that compared the impacts of different communication approaches, we examine how far dialogue-based components appear to play an important role in increasing impact. Only seven of the fifteen evaluations compared programmes with and without a dialogue-based component, and in six cases the dialogue component added to the programme's effectiveness. Table 32 summarises data on their findings. Although the numbers concerned are very small, they do suggest opportunities for reflection and discussion play an important role in changing norms on gender issues.

This finding is consistent with evidence from broader communication for development literature. Rogers (1995, 1986) shows that, when individuals discuss a behaviour with others, they are often more likely to adopt that behaviour. Similarly, Abroms and Maibach's meta-analysis of communication and public health found, 'Some evidence [to] suggest that campaigns that can stimulate interpersonal communication about the campaign topic generate larger behaviour change effects than do campaigns lacking this effect' (2008: 224). In a similar vein, Kim et al. (1999) found that interpersonal discussion about politics is positively associated with civic participation and engagement with the democratic process.

Table 32: Added value of dialogue-based component

Thematic area	Frequency of outcome	
	Added value from dialogue-based approach	No added value from dialogue-based approach
Marriage	2	0
Physical violence	3	0
Attitudes to gender equality	1	0
Intra-household relationships	0	1
Total	6	1

Two evaluations reflected on ways of organising dialogue to maximise exposure to other groups' points of view, while recognising that entrenched social differences, such as age and gender, may have a strong influence on how comfortable different groups feel speaking up in community dialogues or non-formal education classes. An evaluation of Tostan in Senegal found that holding separate discussions among older men and younger men and older women and younger women, but periodically bringing them together to exchange findings, worked best in terms of maximising participation and ensuring different groups were aware of others' points of view (Diop et al., 2004). Rozan (2012), likewise, while working primarily with boys and young men, arranged sessions where participating boys and young men could hear from and dialogue with girls and young women on gender equality issues, and become more aware of girls' and young women's perspectives. Overall, however, this attention to the best ways of organising dialogue is relatively uncommon.

13.1.6 How important is more frequent, longer or more intense exposure to communications in leading to norm change?

Looking across the sample as a whole, the programmes examined fell into two main groups – short, focused interventions of less than six months and long-term interventions that had been running for at least two years at the time of evaluation. The short duration programmes were primarily focused non-formal education programmes (e.g. Better Life Options, India; Program H, Brazil; Choices, Nepal), with one short-term campaign (the screening of a set of films and associated radio and internet activity in Vrai Djo in DRC). The long duration programmes were more diverse and included community and adolescent development programmes with non-formal education and community dialogue elements (Ishraq, Egypt; Tostan, Senegal), long-running TV and radio programmes (Soul City, South Africa; OneLove and SafAIDS, Southern Africa; Meena Communication Initiative, India) and longer-term peer education programmes such as We Can in India. As Figure 70 shows, a significant proportion of the evaluations (29%) did not specify the length of the programme.

Figure 70: Distribution of programmes by length
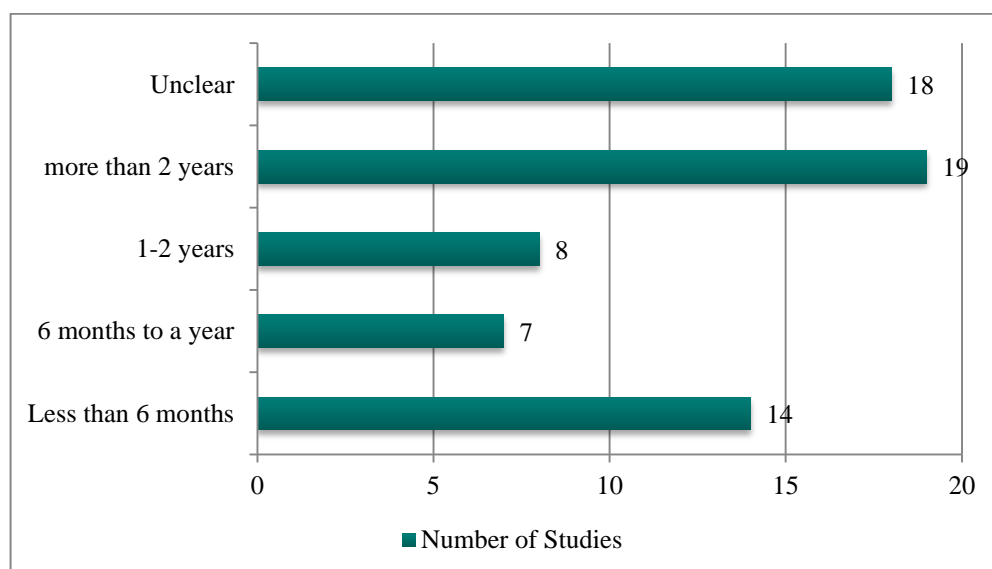
The small numbers in each category make it difficult to draw conclusions about relationships between length and effectiveness. However, classifying programmes by strong and weaker positive impact, or only negative or neutral impacts,[50] it seems that the long-duration group had the highest proportion of programmes with stronger impact, with 58% of programmes classified as having a strong impact and only one long-duration programme achieving no or negative effects on the indicators of interest.[51] A total of 43% of the short-duration group achieved strong positive change, although three programmes in this group led to negative or neutral changes. Analysis of this sample thus provides some support to the view that encountering new norms over a sustained period is important for norm change. This said, the strong positive impact of focused, often quite intensive, brief interventions, which typically involve meeting more than once a week, should not be discounted.

Turning to analysis of the importance of intensity of exposure reported in the studies themselves, 15 studies (23% of the sample) examined the relationship between the extent of exposure to a programme or message, measured by either the length of exposure or the number of materials/components that respondents had experienced, and the extent of positive change. We have discussed the detailed findings of these studies in thematic sections; Table 33 summarises insights from them numerically. With 24 instances of a positive relationship between increased exposure to communication programmes and four instances each of negative or neutral relationships, this would suggest that, on the whole, longer or more intense exposure to a communications programme leads to greater change in gender norms.

Table 33: Summary – relationship between intensity of exposure and change

Theme	Frequency of relationships between increased exposure and outcome		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Physical violence	5	0	0
Sexual violence	4	1	2
Attitudes to gender equality	3	2	0
Early marriage	2	0	0
Mobility	2	0	0
Work and aspirations	1	1	0
Intra-household relationships	2	0	0

[50] We classified programmes as follows: those that led to quantitatively large changes or where qualitative evidence indicated a widespread and significant change, and that had no or few neutral or negative outcomes, were classified as having strong positive impact. Those that led to quantitatively smaller changes, where qualitative evidence was more mixed, and that recorded more negative or neutral outcomes as well as positive outcomes, were classified as having weaker positive impact.

[51] This programme was Apwe Plezi in St Lucia. The probable reason for its likely limited impact on the specific area of gender norms of interest to this study (acceptability of women working without their husband's permission) was that this was not an important area of messaging for the programme, which focused on SRH issues.

| Intergenerational or transactional sex | 3 | 0 | 2 |
FGM/C	1	0	0
Education	1	0	0
Total	**24**	**4**	**4**

Some of the evaluations found that thresholds were important. For example, participation of over a year in Ishraq led to significantly greater change on six indicators than did participation of less than a year (Brady et al., 2007). Most studies did not disaggregate length of exposure sufficiently to be able to identify thresholds, while some indicate that further analysis of minimum exposure is needed. For example, in Ethiopia, participation in just three out of eight non-formal education sessions for young men led to significant changes in attitudes to gender equality (Pulerwitz et al., 2010) – it is unclear whether similar effects could have been achieved with even fewer sessions.

13.1.7 How important are combined communications and non-communications activities in promoting norm change?

Only 30% of the programmes (18/61) had non-communications components. As Section 2 discussed, the highest proportion of programmes with non-communications components was in those that addressed mobility, attitudes to gender equality, work and aspirations and FGM/C. With the exception of programmes addressing FGM/C, these were themes with a significant representation of adolescent development programmes, which were more likely to attempt to promote adolescent girls' wellbeing holistically via communications activities, vocational training and support for livelihoods development, safe spaces for girls to meet and socialise and, in some cases, programmes enabling out-of-school adolescents to access the formal education system. The boundaries between some activities classified as 'communications activities' and others classified as 'non-communications activities' components are somewhat fuzzy. For example, safe spaces are contexts where girls can meet and form friendships outside the family, but they are often motivated to attend by the existence of a non-formal education programme, frequently facilitated by a young woman animator, who acts as a role model. Similarly, broad community development programmes, such as those of Tostan, that are framed as non-formal community education programmes are classified as communications-only programmes, although in some communities other activities, such as infrastructural improvements, have spun off over time.

Figure 71 indicates that 73% of outcomes recorded in programmes with non-communications components were positive. This is a slightly higher proportion of positive outcomes than for programmes without non-communications activities (where 70% of recorded outcomes were positive). Together with the slightly lower proportion of negative outcomes among programmes with non-communications components (5% compared with 8% for programmes without non-communications activities), this may indicate that non-communications components increase the likelihood of positive outcomes. However, the numbers concerned are small (only 18 programmes had non-communications components), so this finding remains tentative.

Figure 71: Comparison of outcomes for studies with and without non-communications components

Legend:
- % of recorded outcomes in programmes with non-communications components
- % of recorded outcomes in programmes with communications only components
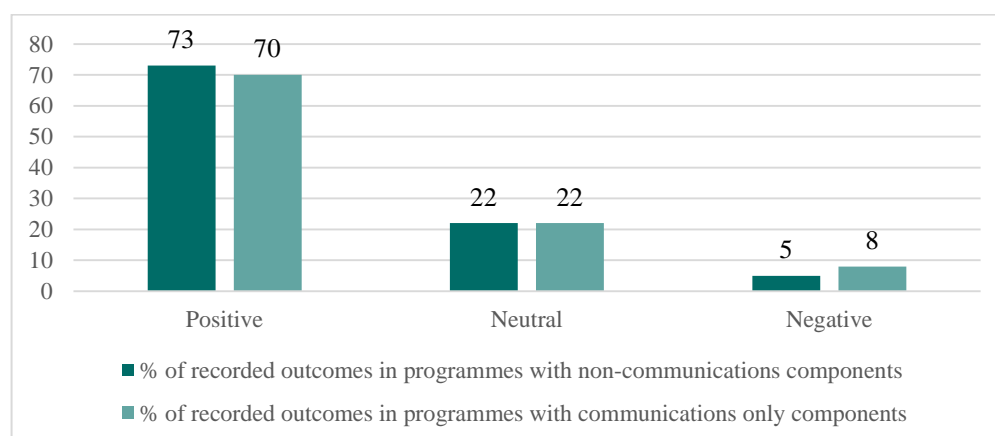
There is qualitative evidence of the two main approaches – safe spaces and economic strengthening – playing a particularly important role in strengthening programmes. Economic-strengthening programmes may have contributed to change because parents were attracted by the promise of vocational skills and thus allowed girls to attend broader programmes (as in the Cases of BRAC's ELA Programme in Bangladesh and the Better Life Options and DISHA programmes in India). Gaining formal education qualifications (as in Ishraq, Egypt) and learning new skills and knowledge (New Horizons, Egypt) or starting a business (BRAC ELA Programme, Bangladesh) also increased parents' and brothers' sense of particular girls' competence and thus contributed to a shift in thinking about adolescent girls in general.

There was very little analysis of the added value of non-communications components. One study found more gender-inegalitarian attitudes in communities with an additional component (community bank) than those with just communications activities, although the authors indicate that this may be a consequence of measurement error (Ferrando et al., 2002). Bandiera et al. (2012) suggest it was primarily non-formal education on legal rights and rape, rather than other aspects of the ELA Programme in Uganda, that led to a substantial fall in girls reporting having recently had sex unwillingly (from 21% at the start of the project to 4% at the time of the evaluation). As discussed in the early marriage section, Mekbib and Molla (2010) also found non-communications activities (economic incentives) to have a limited effect on rates of early marriage in Ethiopia, but a much more noticeable effect on educational enrolment. More studies of this kind are essential for a clearer evidence base on the relative importance of communications and non-communications activities.

13.1.8 Do the most effective programmes target particular groups?

There is surprisingly little analysis of the way in which choice of target groups may have affected outcomes. As Figure 12, Section 3, shows, adolescent girls and boys were the most common target groups, followed by adult men, women, communities as a whole and the general public. Analysis of the relationship between the frequency with which particular groups were targeted and the frequency of positive outcomes shows a broad positive relationship. In other words, the more frequently a particular group was targeted, the more frequently positive outcomes occurred. There is no quantitative evidence that targeting certain groups is instrumental in achieving a greater degree of change.

In programmes that targeted both adolescent girls and gatekeepers – parent and brothers, parents-in-laws and husbands of married girls and, in some FGM/C programmes, also grandmothers – and that recorded positive outcomes, it is likely that both groups' exposure to messages contributed to positive changes in attitudes and practices. Leerlooijer et al. (2013) suggest an important factor in the Teenage Mothers Project's success in changing norms concerning teenage mothers' right to return to education was the 'intensive, laborious process of participation and persuasion of influential community leaders' (p.12). Qualitative studies also shed some light on the processes by which 'gatekeepers'' views change and point out that it is not necessarily only by being the intended target of a message that people encounter new ideas. Several studies indicate the importance of intra-family pressure and observe adolescent girls' brothers no longer opposing education or mobility for their sisters or even advocating for gender equality with their parents:

'The attitude of the boys has changed. My brother used to think that girls should remain home and not goes outside. Initially he disagreed to the idea of the girls' going to centres. (Girl, participant in Employment and Livelihoods for Adolescents Programme, Bangladesh). She further added that her brother said to her, *"Why mother should work home while you go outside" [sic] but now his behavior has changed'* (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008: 32).

'Boys are given the freedom, but girls did not have this exposure. Now boys are changing the thinking of the parents to let the sister go [to school] […] Young married male participant' (Pathfinder International, 2011: 24).

These studies do not provide grounds to suggest targeting either girls or gatekeepers is more important to effective change. Both are important and lead to changes via different routes – programmes targeting gatekeepers may enable key decision makers to contemplate ideas they previously would not have done, and to recognises when their reference group's views are also shifting. Programmes targeting girls also introduce new ideas and can help construct peer groups with similar views. Importantly, they may also contribute to building girls' self-efficacy and capacity to negotiate and thus have important empowerment effects (see Sections 7 and

13.1.10). As such, there is a strong case for targeting girls as well as gatekeepers. See Box 17 for a detailed example: Ishraq in Egypt.

Box 17: Spotlight programme – Ishraq, Egypt, development programme for adolescent girls, engaging brothers and parents

Ishraq grew out of recognition of the lack of opportunities and of the discriminatory social norms constraining the lives of girls in Upper Egypt. Four NGOs worked with two key government agencies – the Ministry of Youth and the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood – to develop a multidimensional programme for 13-15-year-old girls. Ishraq aims to transform girls' lives by changing gender norms and community perceptions about girls' roles in society, and facilitate girls' entry into the public sphere. Subsequently the minimum age for participation has been lowered and the programme now serves 12-15 year olds. As of 2012, Ishraq had reached 3,321 girls and 1,775 boys in 54 villages, and over 5,000 girls' parents, boys and community leaders across five of the most disadvantaged governorates in Upper Egypt (Selim et al., 2013).

Ishraq established girl-friendly spaces in target villages, with the aim of developing skills, increasing self-confidence, building citizenship and leadership abilities and raising girls' expectations for the future through a combination of literacy classes, life skills education, education in financial literacy and sports. Ishraq also provides take-home rations (uncooked food) to participants, with amounts linked to attendance as an incentive. Girls meet four times a week for up to two years (shortened from two-and-a-half years in the pilot programmes) in youth centre or schools, in groups of around 25 girls each. Classes are provided by local female secondary school graduates who were trained as promoters and intended to serve as role models as well as teachers. Until the start of the Ishraq programme, youth centres had been used only by boys and young men – thus the programme visibly and symbolically expanded the range of public spaces girls could enter.

Recognising that participants would benefit far less if the attitudes and practices of girls' gatekeepers remain unchanged, Ishraq developed additional components aimed at educating and influencing boys, parents, community leaders and promoters. The boys' component provides training on gender equity; civil and human rights; and responsibility to self, family and community to groups of 13-17-year-old boys, four times a week for six months. This uses the New Visions curriculum for young men developed by CEDPA (one of the NGOs involved in setting up Ishraq). Ishraq village committees were also created to provide a supportive and enabling environment for girls' empowerment.

Overall, Ishraq had had a significant progressive effect on girls' attitudes to the appropriate age of marriage, the necessity of giving birth to a son, girls' aspirations and girls' intention to circumcise any future daughter. While Brady et al. (2007) found reduced acceptance of physical violence among Ishraq participants, a later study (Elbadawy, 2013) found no difference between Ishraq participants and controls on this issue. Girls who had participated in Ishraq for a year or more typically had much more progressive gender attitudes than those who had participated for less than a year, indicating that the length of exposure to the programme had an important impact on the degree of change. Although gatekeepers' and brothers' views on several issues changed (e.g. girls' participation in decision making and girls' mobility), Ishraq did not have a statistically significant impact on brothers' views concerning the appropriate age of marriage for girls, on attitudes to women working or on parents' attitudes to girls' education and appropriate age of marriage.

Source: Brady et al. (2007); Elbdadawy (2013); Selim et al. (2013); and www.popcouncil.org/research/ishraq-bringing-marginalized-rural-girls-into-safe-learning-spaces-in-rural

13.1.9 How important is enhancing girls' and young women's voice in challenging gender norms?

Non-formal education components were the single largest group of programmes and adolescent girls were the target audience of 81% of these programmes. For girls participating in these programmes, it is clear that norm change was strongly associated with individual empowerment: as girls became aware of new possibilities or ways of thinking or doing things, their views often changed, increasing their sense of self-efficacy and agency to make changes in their lives or their children's lives. There is some evidence (e.g. from BRAC in Bangladesh and New Horizons in Egypt) that participation in these programmes led to something of a virtuous circle, with parents and brothers appreciating girls' new knowledge and competence, trusting them more as a result and re-evaluating some of their received ideas about appropriate activities and behaviour for adolescent girls.

Adolescent girls can play an important role in challenging discriminatory norms that affect them in two main ways: by speaking out within the household or community or taking action against expressions of these norms, and by word-of-mouth communication with peers or, indeed, other stakeholders. Where girls felt more confident to speak out as a result of participation in adolescent development programmes, there was some qualitative evidence of girls discussing community issues with others in a public setting (Singhal et al., 2004), participating in youth action to stop proposed child or adolescent marriages (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008), circumcisions (Tautz, 2011) or reporting cases of abuse of girls to village authorities (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008).

13.1.10 How important are high-quality products?

Issues of quality of outputs are little discussed in these studies. This is probably because they are principally impact studies; analysis of audience perception of messages and product quality is more likely to be discussed in reports of formative research. Among the studies that do consider this issue, technical quality and attention to detail on characters and setting of materials emerge as important in engaging audiences. For example, CMS' (2004) evaluation of the Meena Communication Initiative in India, which interviewed development professionals and officials as well as children and their parents, cites the following response:

'*I think the attractive animation with bright colours and music is one of the good features of this production. We really do not have many other such good quality Indian productions which children would enjoy watching* (Government Official from National Television Chanel)' (CMS, 2004: 108).

Koch and N'kolo (2011) also mention the importance of technical quality – in this case in relation to the Vrai Djo films. Although the majority of viewers appreciated the technical quality of the films, two viewers felt the sound quality was not stable, which is likely to have affected the extent to which they we able to engage with the films and their messages.

### 13.1.11 How far are changes in gender norms sustained?

Ideally, to understand how far changes in norms were sustained, impact studies would examine norms, attitudes or practices at multiple points after an intervention. Presumably for reasons of cost, the majority of studies examined changes either at baseline and one point post-intervention examined, or post-intervention only, comparing participants with non-participants.[52]

As Figure 72 shows, the timing of impact studies was unclear for a significant number of studies (almost a third). Approximately equal numbers of studies took place during the intervention, within a year of the intervention and up to five years afterwards. In practice, almost all the studies in the latter group were conducted within two years. The two studies that took place more than five years after the end of programme activities were both retrospective studies of Tostan in Senegal. The studies taking place during the intervention were generally midline studies, often of long-running TV or radio programmes, and in some cases of non-formal education or community dialogue-based programmes.

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[52] One exception was Stepping Stones in South Africa, which followed up on participants twice, once a year after the end of the intervention and once two years later.

Figure 72: Timing of impact studies
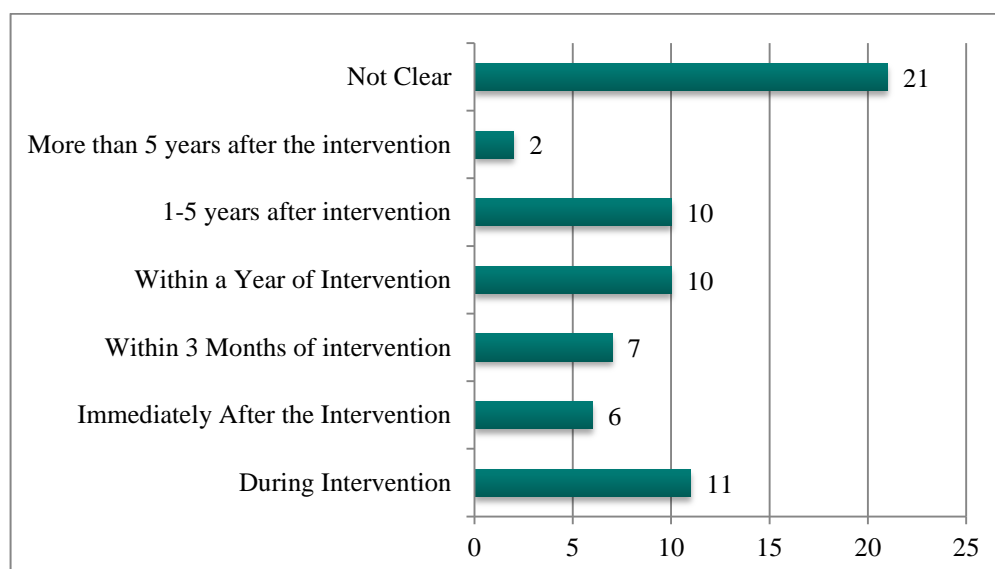
The studies in this review provide mixed evidence on how far individuals sustained changes. For example, Jewkes et al. (2008), who followed up on participants one and two years after the end of the Stepping Stones programme in South Africa, found that, after two years, some negative phenomena observed at one year had disappeared (e.g. increased transactional sex among women participants compared with the control group). However, some positive phenomena had also disappeared (e.g. by 24 months there was no difference in engagement in rape or attempted rate between participants compared with the control group, whereas after one year the participants had been significantly less engaged in sexual violence than the control group). The four Southern Africa Regional Behaviour Change Communication studies also provide mixed evidence on how far individuals exposed to OneLove and SafAIDS media and IEC activities over the three previous years held more gender-egalitarian views than people exposed more recently, or than control groups.

By contrast, there was clearer evidence of positive medium-term change in Pulerwitz and Barker's (2006) study of Program H in Brazil, which found that the more egalitarian gender norms espoused by participants six months after the intervention were maintained a year after its end. Likewise, there was also evidence of positive change from studies that took place over a year after the end of the intervention, both of short, focused interventions (e.g. Better Life Options in India, Acharya et al., 2009) and long-term programmes such as Tostan and PRACHAR (Daniel and Nanda, 2012; Pathfinder, 2011).

One study in Tanzania that was not ultimately included in the review because of its low Maryland Scale of Scientific Methods score found that, seven to nine years after the end of an adolescent reproductive health intervention, very few of the former participants were able to recall messages, and many said they found the messages difficult to apply in their adult lives (Wamoyi et al., 2012). This may, however, reflect that the programme in question was of relatively short duration, and the specific tailoring of messages. The small sample makes it difficult to draw stronger conclusions, but it appears that programmes with either intensive short-term engagement or sustained long-term engagement have led to gains that are maintained in the medium term.

13.1.12 How do socioeconomic and other differences affect outcomes?

Socio-economic differences. Only six evaluations examined how socioeconomic differences affected access to communications programmes, and seven disaggregated differences in outcomes by socioeconomic group. Overall, this constitutes a limited sample from which to draw conclusions. That so few studies discussed this issue may be explained partly by the fact that many quantitative and mixed methods studies control for income, wealth or a proxy, such as type of housing or years of education, and thus report the strength of relationships between participation and attitude or behaviour change with this already taken into account. Of the six studies that examined how socioeconomic inequalities may affect access to non-formal education programmes, four – those of Better Life Options in India (Acharya et al., 2009), Maendeleo ya Wanawake Alternative Rite of Passage in Kenya (Chege et al., 2001), Tostan in Burkina Faso (Ouoba et al., 2004) and BRAC's ELA

Programme in Bangladesh (Shahnaz and Karim, 2008) found people from poorer households were less likely to participate in the programme. By contrast, Elbadawy (2013) found household wealth was not a significant predictor of participation in Ishraq (Egypt), and Pronyk et al. (2006) found no significant socioeconomic differences at baseline between participant and non-participants in IMAGE (South Africa). Three studies – those of the Meena Communication Initiative in India (CMS, 2004), Fataki in Tanzania (Kaufman et al., 2013) and Twende Na Wakati in Tanzania (Rogers et al., 1999) – found significant differences in media access between different socioeconomic groups, measured either using household wealth or a proxy, such as education; it is, however, surprising that not more studies probed this issue.

Seven studies examined differences in outcomes disaggregating by socioeconomic group. Alim (2013) found that the MEJNINMejnin programme in Bangladesh led to significant changes in attitudes towards sexual harassment only in girls whose families 'broke even' (i.e. considered themselves neither rich nor poor); Cheung (2013) found that listening to Women's Station FM 102 in Cambodia led to changes among both the richest and poorest quintiles (except on son preference, where there was only a significant change in the fourth quintile – the second richest). Pathfinder International's (2011) qualitative analysis of PRACHAR in India suggests change in attitudes on age of marriage and decision making has been slower among more deprived socioeconomic groups. Studies using education as a proxy socioeconomic indicator in relation to outcomes found mixed results: in the Ndukaku programme in Nigeria, Babalola et al. (2006) found education not to have a significant impact on intention to have one's daughter cut, but Chege et al. (2004), examining CARE's Reproductive Health programme, found greater levels of education were associated with lower levels of intention to have daughters cut, in both Kenya and Ethiopia. Pakachere Institute of Health and Development Communication (2007) in Malawi found its programme led to significant difference in attitudes to physical violence among less educated men only, and not among other groups.

Age. The only thematic area where several studies disaggregated impacts on adolescent girls by age was early marriage, where Amin and Suran (2005), Diop et al. (2004), Diop and Askew (2009) and Erulkar and Muthengi (2007). The only other studies that disaggregated outcomes by age were the Southern African Regional Behaviour Change Communication evaluations for Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia and Swaziland (Hutchinson et al., 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2013), which all provided some specific analysis of the impacts on 15-24-year-old girls and young women as a specific group.

Geographical location. Surprisingly few evaluations distinguished impacts between rural and urban areas. (A few, such as Rogers et al.'s (1999) analysis of Twende Na Wakati in Tanzania, controlled for location in their analysis.) This limited geographical disaggregation may reflect the fact that many programmes were small and took place in only a few locations, although it is more surprising for national or province/state-wide programmes. Many more evaluations compare between research sites. These were often matched (i.e. rural with rural, urban with urban) to facilitate identification of programme impacts.

13.1.13 Were there unanticipated consequences of communications programmes?
Although relatively few evaluations reflected on the way community norms have changed in programme locations, those that did provide important insights into the complexity of changing norms, and potentially the importance of long-term engagement, particularly as the unintended consequences of change may move in a gender-inegalitarian direction. Diop et al.'s (2004) reflection on Tostan programmes in Senegal suggests that, partially as a result of Tostan's strong efforts to change norms on FGM/C, people in participant communities were exerting increased control over girls' sexuality through new norms strongly stigmatising pregnancy outside of marriage, which were creating new pressures towards early marriage. There was also some evidence from both Senegal and Burkina Faso that families committed to circumcising their daughters were doing so at an earlier age (in infancy) in order to get the operation out of the way, in case they encountered opposition later. Qualitative evidence indicated some suspicions that the practice was moving underground to avoid detection. This may be in part to avoid the condemnation of others in the community who have given up FGM/C, but is likely also to be motivated by legal sanction (Diop et al., 2004), as other studies have found elsewhere (e.g. Boyden, 2012).

Alim's (2011) study of GQAL in Bangladesh found that, where anti-dowry messaging had been strong, this had led to a reduction in cash-based dowries. However, instead of paying cash, brides' families were paying much more extensive dowries in kind – involving white goods and furniture – instead. Thus, dowry practices were

morphing, but not dying out. Both examples point to the importance of working to address underlying inegalitarian norms, as well as their specific expression.

13.2 Knowledge gaps

13.2.1 Generic knowledge gaps

Limited attention to social dynamics and context. There was relatively little qualitative research in this set of studies, and several mixed methods studies had short qualitative sections that did not always help explain the quantitative patterns observed. As a result, analysis of what may have led to the outcomes observed in these papers is limited. This is particularly the case with the studies on sexual violence and intergenerational and transactional sex, many of which form part of medical/ public health studies on changing risk factors for HIV/AIDS and are strongly quantitative in nature. Where studies include such analysis, it provides important insights into the dynamics of changing norms and social relations (e.g. Diop et al., 2004; Leerlooijer et al., 2013; Yoder, 2008).

There was also very limited contextual analysis, except in the studies of FGM/C programmes, which had more discussion about other factors driving change, such as the deterrent effect of legal prohibition of FGM/C (Diop et al., 2004; Ouoba et al., 2004). One study from South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2010) also indicates that awareness of the law has also helped drive changes in practice concerning physical violence. However, these studies are the exceptions. There was also very little acknowledgement of the politicised nature of gender issues in many of the contexts in which programmes took place.[53]

Limited analysis of how respondents had interpreted messages. A minority of studies asked respondents what they had learnt from a programme. Many quantitative studies and mixed methods studies sought to measure changes between baseline and endline in specific attitudes and practices, rather than asking respondents what they had learnt.[54] Where high-quality quantitative studies included analysis of how respondents had interpreted messages, this is revealing. Jewkes et al. (2008) suggest that the way messages were framed may have inadvertently suggested that transactional sex is a normal, and thus relatively unproblematic, practice. Singhal et al.'s (2004) qualitative study of perceptions of Taru in India found adolescent girls and young women identified with Taru, a confident young woman, and saw her as a role model, and that this had encouraged them to act in ways that had previously been considered unacceptable, such as speaking out in the community or talking with boys and young men in public spaces as part of community problem solving. Analysis of this kind is very valuable in understanding why particular programmes have (or have not) been effective programmes, and evaluations and programme development would benefit from further analysis of this nature.

Limited analysis of how socioeconomic and other inequalities may affect both access to communications programmes and capacity to act on messages. As a result, we do not know whether communications programmes have been less effective at reaching or effecting change in highly disadvantaged socioeconomic groups. This is in part because many quantitative studies control for wealth or education in order to isolate the effect of the communications programme. Only six evaluations examined how socioeconomic differences affected access to communications programmes, and seven disaggregated differences in outcomes by socioeconomic group. While there was some evidence that non-formal education programmes were drawing disproportionately from better-off groups in poor contexts, this was not universal; others were reaching poorer and relatively better-off participants equally. Outcomes by socioeconomic group were mixed, with some programmes achieving greater change among better-off or more educated groups and others among poorer or less educated groups. There is also very limited analysis of differential outcomes by age of girls or geographical location.

There was no analysis of whether programmes were reaching other particularly disadvantaged groups (e.g. ethnic or religious minorities, disadvantaged castes in India).[55] This lack of analysis may reflect that small-scale programmes may not have been working in particularly diverse areas, but is less easily explained for national or

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[53] One exception was Adamchak et al. (2007), who discuss the politicisation of issues related to youth sexuality and gender issues and how this affects the messages the Straight Talk programme was able to disseminate on adolescent SRH.

[54] Exceptions include the CMS' (2004) analysis of the Meena Communication Initiative in India; Pulerwitz et al.'s (2010) analysis of the Male Norms Initiative in Ethiopia; and Usdin et al.'s (2005) analysis of Soul City in South Africa.

[55] Only one study – Chege's analysis of Maendeleo ya Wanawake's Alternative Rite of Passage programme in Kenya – disaggregates analysis by ethnicity. This is because the practice of FGM/C varies substantially by ethnic group, that is, it is not part of a social exclusion-based analysis.

large-scale programmes such as radio- or TV-based initiatives. The lack of attention to these issues may reflect a lack of data or lack of awareness of their importance.

These studies do not discuss whether particularly disadvantaged groups face additional barriers that make it harder to act on programme messages, and how this differs between thematic areas. Understanding how people interpret messages, the reasons for resistance or agreement and the barriers they may face in acting on pro-gender equality messages could usefully be probed as part of further programme development, perhaps through participatory research that examines how people interpret particular message and these barriers in more depth, and identifies ways of addressing them.

Sustainability of change. Half the studies examined took place within a year of the end of the intervention or while the intervention was still ongoing, and only 14 of the 66 studies took place a year or more after the end. Although these give some insights into whether gains were sustained after the end of individuals' contact with the intervention, none of them examines whether participants sustained changes over a longer period than two years. There is therefore insufficient evidence to draw conclusions as to how successful communication programmes have been in driving sustained norm change. There is a clear knowledge gap as to how far interventions that lead to short-term gender norm change have contributed to more sustained change, and how far, as Wamoyi et al. (2012) suggest, learning and changes dissipate over time. Although there are logistical difficulties related to following up on former participants long after the end of an intervention, studies of this nature would provide an important complement to evaluations that focus on more immediate impacts.

13.2.2 Knowledge gaps related to programme design and content

The review found limited evidence in the following areas:

Actual content of messages or curricula. With the shift towards social norms marketing, we had expected both more presentation and more analysis of the actual messages these programmes communicated, for example whether direct injunctions not to engage in certain behaviour were as effective as messages emphasising what others in the community do or think, as in social norms marketing. It may be that analysis of the effectiveness of particular messages took place in formative research and experimental phases that these evaluations did not discuss. We had also expected more showcasing of examples of IEC material but, as none of the evaluations examined provided such examples, we have not been able to excerpt any such material for this review. Likewise, many of the evaluations of radio and TV dramas provided very little detail on storylines (e.g. Equal Access, 2010; Rogers et al., 1999; Singhal et al., 2004), perhaps in part because this information is written up in other publications, but these were not always accessible.

With non-formal education programmes, evaluations typically listed the subject areas covered but not the actual content of particular sessions or the slant on that content. Sometimes this was because full curricula were available in other documents, although these were not necessarily easy to locate. Exceptions include Chege et al. (2004), who give a detailed overview of the contents of the SRH curriculum, including gender equality and anti-FGM/C aspects, used in CARE's programme in Ethiopia and Kenya; Rozan (2012), which outlines in detail the issues covered in group sessions with boys and young men in Pakistan; and Elbadawy (2013), who lists actual areas of girls' rights covered in the Ishraq programme in Egypt. Some evaluations examined participants' perceptions of particular sessions or blocks of sessions (e.g. Rozan, 2012), but, overall, further detail on actual messages would help readers better understand these programmes' strengths and limitations in challenging gender norms.

Relative effectiveness of different communications approaches, and incremental benefits of different components. The review found some evidence that IEC activities strengthened the impact of mass media-based approaches, and some evidence that non-formal education or other participatory/dialogue-based activities in combination with IEC was more effective than IEC alone. Frequently, however, the practices or attitudes of groups exposed to different activities were compared with those of control groups, rather than against each other, meaning opportunities to test the relative impact of different approaches were missed. More systematic analysis, and analysis of other combinations of communication activities, is vital to underpin a more informed choice of communication activities for changing gender-discriminatory norms.

Relative impacts of communications and non-communications approaches in mixed programmes. Only two studies included in this review (Bandiera et al.'s 2012 study of BRAC ELA in Uganda and Ferrando et al.'s 2002 study of ReproSalud in Peru) attempt to analyse the impacts of non-communications components, and to compare them with the impacts of communications activities. All other studies consider the overall impact of the whole package.[56] Thus, this review cannot answer the question of whether integrated communications and non-communications programmes are more effective than stand-alone communications programmes.

Importance of intensity of exposure. Less than a quarter of the studies (15 out of 66) examined the impact of the intensity of exposure (measured in relation to length of exposure to an intervention or messages, frequency of exposure or number of fora through which individuals encountered particular messages). The vast majority of these find that greater exposure is associated with greater positive change in gender norms. This is unsurprising. None of the studies identifies thresholds at which additional exposure leads to limited incremental gain; this is an important issue for further programme development and research, as it is critical for ensuring programmes aiming to change gender norms are cost-effective.

Target groups. Surprisingly, none of the studies in this review tests the relative impact of focusing communications on particular target groups using a quasi-experimental design, although several studies comment on the value of targeting particular groups. Further effort to disaggregate the impacts of targeting particular groups, and particularly to examine the relative benefits of focusing on adolescent girls and young women, adolescent boys and young men and mothers, fathers, community gatekeepers or decision makers, would be particularly revealing.

Framing of messages. There is very little discussion in the review studies of the way messages were framed and how this may have influenced their uptake. On the basis of this review, we cannot, for example, conclude that certain framing of issues is more likely to appeal to adolescent girls, or to resonate with mothers. This said, there is some discussion in studies concerning edutainment of how far target audiences identified with particular characters (as role models or anti-role models), and how this may have influenced uptake of messages (examples include Meena – CMS, 2004; Taru – Singhal et al., 2004 and Fataki – Kaufman et al., 2013).

Cost-effectiveness. Only two of the studies examined included any discussion of cost-effectiveness. Communication activities, particular radio broadcasts, are sometimes perceived as relatively cheap (in comparison, for example, to livelihoods or scholarship programmes), since they have the potential to reach a large number of people relative to the level of investment (e.g. Cheung, 2013). The evidence from this review is too limited to provide any insight into this issue.[57]

'New' communication methods. Although there are programmes that use SMS, YouTube videos, social media and video games to communicate messages on gender issues, we found no evaluations of such programmes. This probably reflects their relative newness, but is a clear gap.

13.2.3 Thematic gaps
Adolescent girls as change makers. We found only three evaluations that examined changes in girls' civic or political participation, even defining this broadly to include any community-based civic activity or leadership roles in school or youth organisations. This probably reflects the fact that we found few communications programmes supporting such activities during the search phase, and of these, only a very small number of studies were considered sufficiently rigorous to be included in the review. These three studies were all qualitative and indicated that girls mobilising and speaking out had been able to challenge proposed early marriages and domestic abuse and report this to local authorities.

The power of young women as role models. Surprisingly, although many girl-focused adolescent development programmes were facilitated by older girls and young women from the areas where the programmes took place,

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[56] One study not included in this review but of relevance here is and Mekbib and Molla's (2010) study of Berhane Hewan, which found that participants attributed most of the changes that had occurred in their communities on early marriage issues to community dialogue and non-formal education classes, and very little to economic incentives.

[57] Pulerwitz and Barker (2006) estimated average costs per young man reached in Program H in Brazil at $84.24 for participants in non-formal education only and $138.98 in communities where IEC activities also took place. They suggest this overestimates costs per person reached, as many more people than participated in the Program H classes were reached by the IEC activities. Bandiera et al. (2012) estimate the cost per girl participant in BRAC Uganda's ELA programme at $17.9.

there was very little analysis of these promoters and peer educators as role models demonstrating non-discriminatory norms – as opposed to fictional character role models in TV dramas etc., of which there was greater analysis.

Girls as peer communicators. Mirroring findings in the broader literature (e.g. Rogers, 1995; Wejnert, 2002), fieldwork carried out under the auspices of ODI's programme on gender justice in Nepal (Ghimire et al., 2013) indicates the crucial importance of girls' social networks in changing norms. However, the literature reviewed is silent on the ways girls' informal communications to their peers or their families of messages they acquired through communications programmes may have led to changes in norms, attitudes or practices. Further analysis of the role informal communications of this nature play would be instructive in understanding how norms and expectations change among adolescent girls, and how programmes might incorporate more effective one-to-one communication components.

Areas of intra-household relationships. Although 21 studies discussed aspects of intra-households relationships, we found surprisingly few studies examining particular issues within this broad area. Thus, for example, only five studies examined changes in preference for a child of a particular gender, four discussed changes in the relative treatment of boys and girls (with respect to food, medical treatment etc.) and only one examined gender norms concerning inheritance). Six studies examined changing norms with respect to allocation of household work – only 9% of total studies.

The two other areas on which we found relatively few studies were on *norms concerning adolescent girls' mobility and intergenerational or transactional sex* (10 studies each).

Review studies

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Adamchak, S., Kiragu, K., Watson, C., Muhwezi, M., Nelson, T., Akia-Fiedler, A., Kibombo, R. and Juma, M. (2007) 'The Straight Talk Campaign in Uganda: The Impact of Mass Media Initiatives'. Washington, DC: Population Council.

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