

LINEA Project

LEARNING INITIATIVE ON NORMS, EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE

From Research to Social Change: Exploring Possibilities for Preventing Sexual Exploitation of Children Using a Social Norms Perspective



SECOND LINEA BIENNIAL MEETING REPORT

16TH - 18TH OCTOBER, 2017

DE VERE BEAUMONT ESTATE, WINDSOR, UK

Lottie Howard-Merrill, Jennifer Schulte, Ilan Cerna-Turoff, Ana Maria Buller

LONDON
SCHOOL of
HYGIENE
& TROPICAL
MEDICINE



CONTENTS

MEETING OVERVIEW	3
MEETING PARTICIPANTS	4
DAY ONE.....	5
INSIGHTS FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIAL NORMS FRAMEWORK.....	5
A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW ON SOCIAL NORMS AND PREVENTING SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS	7
PANEL: LINEA RESEARCH FINDINGS	8
PANEL: CHILD CENTRED RESEARCH, PREVENTION AND RESPONSE TO SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS	11
KEY REFLECTIONS: DAY ONE	14
DAY TWO.....	15
PANEL: OPERATIONALISING MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL NORMS CHANGE (1)	15
PANEL: OPERATIONALISING MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL NORMS CHANGE (2)	17
PRESENTATION: LEARNING ABOUT AND ADDRESSING SOCIAL NORMS AS THEY RELATE TO GENDER POWER DYNAMICS.....	20
PANEL: PROCESS INSIGHTS FROM APPLYING SOCIAL NORMS THEORY IN INTERVENTION DESIGN	21
KEY REFLECTIONS: DAY TWO	24
DAY THREE.....	25
PANEL: ADOLESCENT GIRLS DEVELOPMENT: PUTTING EVIDENCE INTO PRACTICE.....	25
FACILITATED DISCUSSION: REFLECTING ON SOCIAL NORMS INTERVENTIONS AND RESEARCH	28
GOING FORWARD.....	31

MEETING OVERVIEW

The Learning Initiative on Norms, Exploitation and Abuse (LINEA), was established in 2014 as part of the Gender Violence and Health Centre at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM). LINEA is a multi-pronged project, aiming to explore how social norms theory can be used to prevent child sexual exploitation and abuse. A key component of LINEA's work is the LINEA Network, made up of partners in research, programming, policy and advocacy, and funding.

The LINEA biennial meetings are an important contribution to the work of the LINEA Network. The first LINEA meeting was held in the UK in the spring of 2015. The meeting was instrumental in building momentum behind the network, and the enthusiasm of network members. The meeting was also a space for discussion to work towards conceptual clarity around primary prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse.

Following the success of the inaugural meeting, LINEA's Second Biennial Meeting was held in October 2017, and is detailed in this report. The objectives of the meeting were identified in response to feedback from network members, and built on the outcomes of the previous meeting. They were to:

- 1) share and discuss within a learning community of researchers, advocates, practitioners and funders, the state of the research and intervention evaluation regarding applying social norms theory for the prevention of sexual exploitation of children and adolescents (SEC);
and
- 2) co-create a safe collective space within which LINEA Network members could openly discuss advances as well as difficulties in applying social norms theory in intervention design and evaluation.

This highly successful LINEA meeting, enabled participants to make the leap from discussing social norms theory and conceptualisations of exploitation. The focus was on how to **operationalise the theory** to deliver high quality research, and intervention design and evaluation, to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse of children and adolescents using a social norms perspective.

MEETING PARTICIPANTS

Organisers

Dr. Ana Maria Buller, *LSHTM*

Jennifer Schulte, *LSHTM*

Lottie Howard-Merrill, *LSHTM*

Michael Naranjo, *LSHTM*

Participants

Amy Pennington, *Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation*

Anike Akridge, *DREAMS Tanzania*

Dr. Ben Cislaghi, *LSHTM*

Dr. Cari Jo Clark, *Hubert Department of Global Health, Rollins School of Public Health*

Caroline Enye, *Voices for Change*

Claire Hughes, *Itad*

Clara Sommarin, *UNICEF*

Eliana Riggio, *ECPAT*

Gemma Ferguson, *Equal Access*

Dr. Helena Duch, *Oak Foundation*

Dr. Giovanna Lauro, *Promundo*

Helen Veitch, *University of Bedfordshire*

Ilan Cerna-Turoff, *LSHTM*

John Riber, *Media for Development International, Tanzania*

Dr. Joyce Wamoyi, *National Institute for Medical Research, Tanzania*

Judit Nemeth-Almasi, *Terre des Hommes*

K.G. Santhya, *Population Council*

Dr. Kate Pincock, *Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford*

Leigh Stefanik, *CARE USA*

Dr. Lindsay Stark, *Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health*

Louise Knight, *LSHTM*

Robyn Yaker, *Consultant*

Revocatus Sono, *Amani Girls Home, Tanzania*

Susan Kelly, *LSHTM*

Dr. Tara Beattie, *LSHTM*

Victoria Marie Page, *Promundo*

DAY ONE

The LINEA Biennial Meeting commenced with an address from Dr. Ana Maria Buller, the Principle Investigator for LINEA and Deputy Director of the Gender Violence and Health Centre at LSHTM. Ana Maria updated participants on the progress of LINEA, including an expanded team, continued activities of LINEA Network members in over 40 countries, and the implementation of LINEA project interventions in Tanzania, Uganda and Brazil. She welcomed participants, reiterating the meeting objectives and setting the scene for proceeding vibrant and open discussions.



INSIGHTS FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIAL NORMS FRAMEWORK

Ben Cislighi (LSHTM) discussed key concepts and theoretical underpinnings of social norms theory. Ben presented a framework to map the factors (including social norms) that sustain a given gender-related harmful practice in a given context. His dynamic integrated framework, called by many simply "the flower" because of its appearance, draws from the socio-ecological framework. However, while the ecological framework presents factors influencing behaviour within concentric circles, the flower portrays four domains of influence as overlapping circles, similar to a four-circled Venn diagram. The four domains of influence in the flower are respectively named: 1) material, 2) individual, 3) social and 4) institutional. At their overlaps are situated factors that contribute to sustaining a given practice, but that cannot be considered in isolation. Achieving change requires an understanding of how those factors are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

In addition, Cislighi presented four reflections on social norms that can be helpful in designing interventions. First, although norms can be harmful, they can also be protective. That is:

harmful individual attitudes might not push an individual towards harm because of a protective norm. Second, exposing the gravity of a harmful norm might reinforce the harmful behaviour; practitioners should thus identify opportunities to increase visibility of positive practices and models. Third, norms can have varying strength. A norm can be very prevalent, but have little strength. A very private behaviour, for instance, might be under weak normative influence. One might anticipate strong sanctions for non-compliance, but this non-compliance is very difficult to detect. Fourth, norms operate in bundles, not in isolation. One behaviour might be under the influence of multiple norms. Cislighi stressed that both weak and strong norms should be taken into consideration, albeit not necessarily in the same way, as they can operate as roadblocks to effective interventions.

Discussion

Question: What is the opportune time to intervene on strong and weak norms?

- A norms diagnosis should be conducted at the beginning of an intervention design phase when all factors should be mapped out. Researchers, evaluators and intervention implementers should decide which norms can be intervened upon, and decisions can be made on the ideal collaboration structure for sparking and cultivating desired changes.
- Stronger norms require more intensive intervention and evaluation resources (i.e. human resources of staff/consultants, budget for holding events locally). If the relevant norms are weak, the intervention may be less resource intensive. Norms change interventions targeted at the reference group will have a different theory of change / intervention design compared to those targeting an entire community.

Question: What if the reference group already understands that the norm is harmful?

- Reflection and dialogue needs to happen within and across reference groups about relevant norms, motivations for given behaviours, and how the behaviours impact others within the community or society. The ways in which norms conflict and send mixed messages about expectations for acceptable behaviour should be considered. If relevant norms do not conflict, interventions can be designed precisely to introduce and model new behaviour via media, community theatre or other participatory art activities at the community level. Understanding the underlying rationale for a norm aids in identifying protective elements of the norm, which may be utilized in storylines.
- To effectively change norms, much of the decision-making and control needs to be delegated to the community. A good intervention supports people in making change, rather than centring outsiders in leading a pre-defined agenda.

Question: How do you influence social norms, given that people have multiple identities?

- Identity and norms are inter-related and socially co-constructed (i.e., in gendered power relations). The intervention inception phase should include formative research into dominant and competing narratives on gender identities, who can and cannot deviate

safely from or challenge gender ideologies, and how those who resist dominant gender ideologies form alliances with other resisters to create new identity narratives. Once a critical mass of people within and across reference groups behaves differently, others may begin to adopt changes, which, in turn, can influence future behaviour and norms.

A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW ON SOCIAL NORMS AND PREVENTING SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Jennifer Schulte (LSHTM) presented initial findings from an ongoing systematic literature review on the role of social norms in preventing SEC. The purpose of the review is to assess the state of existing evidence on the role of individual and social factors in sustaining SEC. The review, with inclusion criteria based on a 2016 United Kingdom Department of Education definition of SEC, covered bibliographic databases, an internal study database, grey literature, and consultations with 15 experts. The search yielded 43 papers, representing 36 studies, which were coded by the team in NVivo, according to factual beliefs and personal attitudes at an individual level, descriptive norms and injunctive norms at the societal level.

The initial findings are that most interventions to address SEC occur within secondary and tertiary prevention (i.e., child survivor near-term recovery support services and longer-term rehabilitation), with little investment in primary prevention. Furthermore, most studies measure change in norms or behaviours related to SEC cross-sectionally and do not explore or measure community level factors. A major focus in the existing literature is commercial transactional sex, with little attention to online exploitation or child pornography. Textual analyses found that: 1) many study respondents saw sex as a voluntary choice; 2) disapproval of selling sex was not universal; 3) few studies explicitly explored social norms and fewer still investigated social expectations for group or self-behaviour; and 4) wide acceptance and social rewards exist on the societal level for normative behaviours and social norms with a strong influence, which contributes to the persistence of SEC.

Discussion

Question: Some evidence illustrates that it is more impactful to intervene on social approval of behaviours rather than on individuals' perception of what others are doing. Is this true?

- Injunctive norms may be more influential and impactful than descriptive norms, whether or not those beliefs are factually accurate. Some evidence was found that intervening on individual behaviours, based on anticipation of other's disapproval, was more impactful than intervening based on perception of others' possible behaviours.

Question: Did the search strategy solely include the word "norms"?

- The research team used “norms” in the search strategy, and it did not yield many results. The team found it more useful to identify academic journal articles and grey literature that focused on SEC generally and to include articles that met the inclusion criteria after initial screening.
- Using the broad definition of SEC from the UKDE enabled the inclusion of the largest possible number of peer-reviewed articles published in English between 2006 and 2016. The results presented unique findings from empirical studies on SEC under the age of 19 and included data collection on norms, factual beliefs and personal attitudes

Question: What definition of intergenerational transactional sex was used?

- The definition of intergenerational transactional sex was left open, because it is highly context dependent. It may be defined by the legal age (anyone under 19), between two people of different developmental stages or between two people with at least a five-year age difference. LINEA emphasises power imbalances within the relationship based on disparate age, an adolescent’s gender identity and precarious position in society.
- Participants debated the definition of SEC. One participant stressed that adolescent girls may not see intergenerational relationships as exploitative, while another cited the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) as defining sex between an adult and anyone under the age of 19 as coercion.
- LINEA is currently consolidating the conceptual model on the differences between sexual exploitation and abuse from the first biennial LINEA Network members meeting in 2015, and plans to publish a forthcoming paper on this issue.

PANEL: LINEA RESEARCH FINDINGS

Social norms and motivations driving intergenerational transactional sex in Tanzania

Joyce Wamoyi, National Institute for Medical Research (NIMR), Tanzania

Joyce Wamoyi presented results from the LINEA formative qualitative research on intergenerational transactional sex in Mwanza, Tanzania. This research will inform the design of an intervention to prevent exploitation of adolescent girls in intergenerational transactional sex relationships as part of LINEA Phase II. This formative research grew out of findings that adolescent girls in Sub-Saharan Africa who participated in transactional sex were 50% more likely to be HIV positive than girls who did not. Joyce has gained an ‘emic’ perspective on exploitation, through interviews with adolescent girls and other community members.

In the Tanzanian context, Wamoyi showed, having sex without receiving gifts, money or other goods was considered exploitative. Intergenerational transactional sex relationships, perceived to help a girl to overcome economic barriers related to poverty, tend to be tacitly or explicitly accepted. Men expect sex in return for gifts, and girls report feeling that they could not refuse

sex after accepting a gift from a man. Men often justify emotional, physical and sexual violence against girls who refused sex and interpreted girls' refusal of sex as a sign of sexual infidelity. Her research highlights that girls, rather than considering themselves passive victims, felt agentic and at times like they were exploiting men. In the interviews, both adolescent girls and men demonstrated high awareness of HIV risks, but adolescent girls stressed that the motivations of peer pressure, social status and access to material resources outweighed the risks of contracting HIV, in their decision to engage in intergenerational transactional sex.



Tanzania formative research: LINEA team social norms meta-analysis

Lottie Howard-Merrill, LSHTM

Lottie Howard-Merrill presented initial results of a meta-analysis on social norms, from the formative research above, relating the findings to the social principle of reciprocity in relationships, reflected in the Tanzanian phrase 'eat and you will be eaten'. First, the social norm of men as providers in sexual relationships is central. Women accept gifts and money as part of the norm of reciprocity, which ascribes status to girls based on the size and perceived value of the gift. It is unacceptable for a girl to have sex without being given something in exchange. For men, gift-giving is key to the construction and performance of masculinity, and fuels competition among men.

Second, an injunctive norm exists that men should be hypersexual, and they are socially rewarded for having a young partner or multiple partners. Some of the respondents in the formative research said that felt a bodily compulsion to have sex. Hypersexuality was mutually

constructed among men in the process of competition, and therefore, the reference group for this norm is other men. Third, girls have multiple reference groups who proscribe their social and sexual behaviour, including other girls, adult men and women. The desire for gifts is often conflated with a desire for sex, which is believed to be immoral in a Tanzanian context. However, girls who engage in transactional sex to support their families are often seen as selfless and exceptional. Central to this perception is the taboo of women's and girls' sexual desires and ambiguity around women's acceptability as economic agents. Last, gender inequalities undercut all of the norms above and broader structures and institutions in the Tanzanian context. For example, in the formative research, adolescent girls could not articulate alternative ways of accessing resources apart from relying on men as providers.

Social norms and sexual exploitation of children and adolescents in Brazil, preliminary findings from a qualitative study

Victoria Page, Promundo, Brazil

Victoria Page presented results of a mixed methods study identifying social norms that support SEC, norms that are protective and demographic patterns. The qualitative component of the study was completed in three *favelas* (informal settlements) of Rio de Janeiro, which embodied different possible contextual factors for SEC. All sites have high amounts of drug trafficking. The initial study results found that men participated in sexual exploitation of younger girls, because it conferred status and deflected the possibility of receiving homophobic stigma. Male respondents additionally stated that they felt that younger girls were easily controlled, more willing to perform varied sexual acts, and helpful for older men in coping with the loss of wives and children from divorce.

Girls formed relationships with older men for financial stability; a lack of alternative opportunities; increased status when dating drug dealers; and self-affirmation in the form of attention and material resources. Men recognised the risk of being exploited by girls, and girls acknowledged risks of GBV, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), pregnancy and social stigma. Brazil is distinct from Tanzania however since men in their twenties who are drug traffickers are the main individuals who have relationships with adolescent girls.

Panel Discussion

Question: Can you share best practices in collecting data quantitatively on transactional sex, given low reporting rates in surveys?

- Together for Girls' surveys increased reporting by wording survey questions as if girls had ever been asked to engage in transactional sex, rather than ever engaged in the behaviour directly.
- Measurement of transactional sex is often problematically conflated with sex work.
- DHS will include a new suite of questions on SEC in its next release, based on feedback.

Question: What are the socially condoned markers in these contexts of an adolescent girl's readiness to engage in sex?

- In Tanzania, physical development of secondary sex characteristics denotes adult sexuality for girls. In Brazil, scantily clad dress or going to certain types of dance events connotes that girls are ready to engage in sex.
- Despite the lack of a fixed age at which girls are considered women, a common understanding of age-based developmental difference exists (i.e. a 10 year old would be considered a child, while a 15 year old could be considered an adult in these contexts).
- An underlying driver of transactional sex is unequal legal status for girls. In Tanzania, girls do not inherit land and lack employment opportunities, which places a financial burden on families. To rectify the costs, girls are married at a young age.
- In Brazil, racialized notions of sexuality cause Afro-Brazilian girls to be sexualised at a younger age than non-Black populations. An economic norm underpins transactional sex as well in that working-class men's sole economic opportunity is drug trafficking in favelas, and women enter relationships to secure resources.

Question: Would you speak more about the theme of agency?

- In Tanzania, girls believe that they are exploiting men because men pay for something 'that they can't walk away with'; in other words, women's bodies are not permanently owned in the transactions.
- Not all agency is transformative. Some manifestations of agency might preserve the status quo when social norms are not challenged.
- Initial research has found that younger women in Brazil and younger men in Tanzania have greater recognition than older women and men that intergenerational transactional sex is exploitative.

PANEL: CHILD CENTRED RESEARCH, PREVENTION AND RESPONSE TO SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Centring children in research to understand sexual exploitation

Helen Veitch, University of Bedfordshire, UK

Helen Veitch presented research from the International Centre at the University of Bedfordshire on standards for child participation in sexual violence research, entitled 'Being Heard'. Veitch stressed that true child participation involves a different research approach. Child survivors can serve as an empowering source of support for other children. The establishment of advisory councils of young people directly affected by sexual violence is one means of inclusion, which both protects young people from re-traumatisation and engages

them in ways that are not tokenistic. Young people do not always perceive themselves as “victims”, and research must validate their perspective. Forming agreements with young people on the regulations of the research is a useful practice.



Four key lessons of this research were:

1. participatory approaches are not always appropriate. Young people should not be involved in all aspects of research;
2. children may reproduce narratives which perpetuate sexual violence if researchers do not provide them with concrete tools to interpret the research from an alternative lens;
3. neutrality is a challenging element of youth participation. To maintain confidentiality, it may be unethical to have youth analyse their own data, and training is important;
4. researchers should build concrete, career development opportunities for young people in research as a means of supporting their future employment.

Multi-country evidence review of policies and programs to prevent and respond to online sexual exploitation of children

Clara Sommarin, UNICEF

Clara Sommarin presented results from a global review of evidence on online SEC. The use of mobile phones has increased children’s access to the internet—one in three internet users globally are children. The internet presents new opportunities but also new hazards in the form of exploitation. A wide variety of online sexually exploitative behaviour exists, from online grooming of girls to unwanted exposure to sexually graphic images. In an internet survey, UNICEF found that children often do not understand the risk of speaking with adults online, and often initial virtual contact leads to sexually exploitive interactions offline. A lack of consensus moreover exists on what constitutes harm, given global cultural differences, differences in adult

and child perceptions and a lack of evidence from lower and middle-income countries. Sommarin described an illustrative example from the Philippines in which one girl's parents did not understand that sharing nude videos of their child was a risk, because she did not have direct sexual contact with the adults involved. Girls, children with disabilities and LGBT children are particularly vulnerable, but the number of victims is not known. More research is needed on targeted interventions and policy that is effective in prevention.

The C.H.I.L.D. Protection Hub for South East Europe—a creative hub for interactive learning and development

Judit Németh-Almasi, Terre des Hommes, Hungary

Judit Németh-Almasi discussed a new initiative to create communities of practice and a child protection hub for south east Europe. The Child Protection Hub includes practitioners, state actors, civil society, academics, parents, children and others as well as an online sharing platform and e-learning space. This initiative is unique regionally and has led to an increased demand for online training among social workers. The Child Protection Hub translated materials in five regional languages, since English was not widely spoken, and tailored the format to accommodate the short-time that social workers have available. The Hub does not utilize a social norms approach but has an interest in developing interventions targeting Roma people who are heavily discriminated against and who have different social norms than the majority, some of which are abusive to children.

Panel Discussion

Question: Can a blanket approach for inclusion of children in research be proposed?

- For children who have experienced sexual violence, it may be most appropriate to include a group of children in advisory roles that differs from research participants. Inclusion should be based on the value that the specific group of children adds to study activities. Training of youth researchers and the consent process are key components of protecting youth from re-traumatization.
- Compensation for their time is essential. The provision of money directly to young people is not always ideal however, so books or other goods can alternatively be provided.

Question: How does one protect youth from re-traumatization after the completion of research?

- Triggering from trauma may occur at a later stage, which is why it is central to ensure that NGOs have established and quality referral processes. UNICEF provides referral sheets for a broad range of services in addition to violence, which is a best practice.

Question: Did the online exploitation study collect information on parents' internet usage?

- The evidence of online SEC from Northern Europe showed that parents were digitally literate but, as a counterbalance, their children also used the internet more than those in Southern Europe. In these contexts, the risk may be higher, but parents' internet knowledge is protective.

KEY REFLECTIONS: DAY ONE

- Norms do not work in isolation. They interact with various other systems and factors. Additionally, any one practice will be influenced by a number of norms, sometimes called a 'bundle' of norms. Some norms will have a stronger normative influence than others. Social norms interventions, therefore, require varied programmatic approaches.
- Rather than aiming to change community misperceptions, successful social norms change interventions will promote protective norms and support the emergence of new positive norms. Interventions should create community dialogue on the nature of harm and increase the anticipation of sanctions for harmful behavior.
- Research on transactional sex across continents, has shown notable similarities in the social norms driving the practice. These global mega norms present an interesting area for further study.
- Identifying and measuring reference groups is challenging, especially as individuals have multiple identities, adhere to multiple social norms, and are influenced by multiple corresponding reference groups.
- There is a tension between how we understand the influence of social norms, and efforts to acknowledge the agency of individuals. Agency can be constrained, and serve to reinforce a harmful status quo, or transformative.
- There is room to develop research methods in which children can participate more meaningfully. Participatory research should only be used when necessary and appropriate.
- Developments in technology are creating new challenges for child protection and the prevention of child exploitation and abuse.
- The internet presents a new avenue for social norms research. One example is the way in which social media has created new reference groups, and forms of sanctions, both positive and negative.

DAY 2

PANEL: OPERATIONALISING MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL NORMS CHANGE (1)

The Samata Intervention to reduce child marriage and school drop-out among adolescent girls in south India: analysis of social norms data

Tara Beattie, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine

Tara Beattie presented the initial results from analysing social norms within a dataset of the Samata intervention against child marriage and school drop out in south India. The project used principle component analysis (PCA) to create aggregated measurements for gender inequality and social norm domains. Questions contained a three point Likert Scale. The project faced a challenge of overlap between gender inequality and social norm domains, and Beattie asked for commentary from the group on how to best describe the information from each category. Beattie presented the option of making smaller sub-scales of related components within gender inequality and social norms. The findings at this stage show a clustering of responses around the upper or lower items in the Likert Scale, which presents a further challenge in creating gender inequality and social norms domains for analysis.



Measuring social norms underpinning intimate partner violence in Nepal

Cari Clark, Rollins School of Public Health, Emory University, USA

Cari discussed the midline results of a randomised control trial (RCT) to change social norms on intimate partner violence (IPV) in Nepal. The study employed Bicchieri's social norms theory in

building a measurement framework to understand reference groups and sanctions. The intervention focused on social norms change, with the acknowledgement that addressing structural and economic drivers of IPV were beyond the scope of the study. Clark discussed the diversity of ways that people respond to norms as a complication in this type of research (i.e. change behaviour at home, change temporarily but succumb to community pressure).

The study used the gender equitable men (GEM) scale as part of the survey questionnaire and PCA to analyse/reduce data. The research team strived to create one PCA construct and analysed by single and then double factors but finally decided to use single factors for construct creation. After examining the factor loadings, reliability and measures of fit, they created a seven-item measure, which included additional factors on norms, since they were highly predictive. For instance, one component that was highly predictive was men's attitude towards IPV but not women's attitudes. The research team conducted multilevel modelling and found that individual-level variables were much better predictors than community-level variables. Individual-level attitudes were aggregated to create community-level measures in this study.

Panel Discussion

Question: How could the social norms analysis of the Samata intervention been improved?

- Beattie mentioned that the survey used question wordings that were general concepts, such as gender equality in the home, instead of asking about specific behaviours, which weakened the study results.
- Participants suggested that the use of three instead of five items in survey questions makes it difficult to use PCA as an analysis method. A pseudo random forest approach may be useful as an alternative.
- Another participant suggested creating smaller constructs of a few similar items. The analysis issues could spring a high degree of similarity among questions in the original survey.
- Another issue raised was the possible mistranslation of the question wording, which may have caused confusion among respondents. Cognitive interviewing, checking of survey wording with enumerators and back translation before survey administering/pilot testing help to improve quality.

Question: Would you speak more about the measurement of social norms in the Nepal IPV intervention?

- The Nepal data showed that couples' communication, quarrelling behaviour and alcohol usage were highly predictive factors for IPV but not social norms. Because the intervention focused on social norms however it was kept in the analysis.
- In general, the scales to measure social norms are not sensitive to change over time and suffer from issues with correlation within group categories. Self-report is additionally flawed in measuring IPV because of stigma and social desirability bias.

- An assumption exists that norms change before behaviour, but this view is false. It is not a linear process, and behaviour can change before norms. If the norm fully motivates the behaviour however, then it needs to be a catalyst for change.
- Studies have found respondents reveal more reliable information when asked their opinion about vignettes than when they are asked about their own attitudinal norms.
- Useful lessons may be yielded from analysis that identifies deviant individuals across clusters, and differences in individuals in clusters that diverge from a norm.



PANEL: OPERATIONALISING MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL NORMS CHANGE (2)

COMPASS, preventing violence against conflict-affected girls: measuring norms in randomised control trials in DRC and Ethiopia

Lindsay Stark, Child Protection in Crisis Learning Network, Columbia University, USA

Stark presented results from a waitlist and cluster RCT in refugee camps in Ethiopia and community settings in DRC. The intervention involved life skills training for adolescent girls, led by female mentors, community engagement via a complementary curriculum for caregivers and evidence building for programming and health sector response on adolescent girls in emergencies. The control group of girls was trained on life skills, while the intervention arm of girls received life skills training as well as the supplementary training of their caregivers. The primary outcome of interest was sexual violence. Audio computer-assisted self-interview (ACASI) tablets were used for data collection, in girls' preferred language, and questions used colours and fruits to help respondents with low literacy select consistent responses.

The results indicated that more than half of the girls in the sample experienced at least one form of violence and half of those girls were polyvictimised, mainly by intimate partners or family members. Younger age and living with a partner were predictors of violence. The research was carried out with 10-year-olds, and the findings indicate that sexual violence was already prevalent in this age group. Due to the humanitarian context, follow up occurred a short time after the intervention, which is not ideal for measuring social norms change. Intent to treat analysis and beta coefficients found some changes in attitudes towards violence nonetheless. This study analysed injunctive norms about girls, using a PCA approach for data reduction and multilevel analysis by cluster to understand collective norms. The analysis found that injunctive collective norms predicted self-esteem and not individual perceptions, which indicates a kind of herd immunity effect in violence against girls.

Violence in adolescents' lives: Reflections on measuring norms and practices and interviewing with boys to prevent violence

KG Santhya, Population Council, India

KG Santhya discussed lessons learned in two large population-based studies in India—one a cross-sectional observational study and the other a cluster RCT. In the observational study, attempted and forced sex were both included as questions and framed as “before marriage” for married girls. The study used a sealed envelope method and face-to-face interviews to allow girls to respond to the forced sex questions. The research team found that approximately double the number of girls reported forced sex in the envelope method than in face-to-face interviews. Santhya stressed that young people live in a high-violence environment in general, where parental physical abuse abounds but also, where physical fighting between both boys and girls is commonplace.

Challenges in analysis included defining the appropriate cut-off of prevalent social norms, and in interpreting the meaning of questions that were highly skewed (i.e. only a few individuals stated that they received goods or money for sex from teachers). In factor analysis, the correlation between attitudes and social norms was similarly not strong, as found in other studies mentioned over the last two days. In the RCT, the researchers found that girls and boys perceived the opposite gender's motivation for violence in discordant ways. The intervention led to some increase in boys' bystander intervening to stop physical violence but no change was found in boys' own physically violent behaviours. The intervention delivery faced the challenge of having a standardised programme but low levels of attendance in all sessions. The analysis additionally found inconsistencies in reporting at baseline and end line. The results led the research team to question if interventions that target solely boys make a difference at the community level and on what is the ideal length of a social norms intervention.



Panel Discussion

Question: Did the COMPASS intervention engage men and boys?

- In humanitarian settings, engaging men and boys and increasing possibilities for women outside of the home are important intervention components to change social norms. A participant stressed that in her work men often retreated to traditional norms in humanitarian contexts, while another participant mentioned that women's agency is central since women are otherwise constricted by traditional norms in the home.

Question: Did the intervention arm using a caregivers' curriculum in DRC show any effect?

- The parent group in the RCT in DRC showed the most change over the short-term. Caregivers however are often perpetrators of violence, especially men, so the intervention may have worked well since mostly mothers were engaged.

Question: What were the lessons learned in conducting a RCT in each of these settings?

- In COMPASS, the researchers learned that girls in refugee camps felt more comfortable speaking about sensitive matters and sexuality in their local languages, rather than in Arabic. Roll-out was staggered, which was helpful for the implementing agency. The research team measured the first iteration of the intervention in two countries to then inputted the results into refining the intervention structure in the final country.
- In India, the Population Council had a one-year inception phase before the RCT in which the researchers conducted a qualitative study to understand local conceptualizations of violence and whom was the most important reference group for boys and girls. This period was crucial in producing high-quality research.

PRESENTATION: LEARNING ABOUT AND ADDRESSING SOCIAL NORMS AS THEY RELATE TO GENDER POWER DYNAMICS

Amy Pennington, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, USA

Amy Pennington presented the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's theoretical framework for their gender equality and social norms work. The recent shift to a gender focus at Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation evolved because of mounting evidence that gender should be a cross-cutting theme in programming. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation defines empowerment as a combination of a girl's desires, voice and power. Agency is at the core of empowerment, which emphasises the ability to make unconstrained choices. Intersectionality is central within this model, and although the model focuses on women and girls, the need to engage men and boys is also recognised.

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is currently convening various donors, researchers and implementers to define key social norms that sustain gender inequality, to generate more evidence and to translate the research to the global south. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation currently has nine projects, and two-thirds of them are RCTs or quasi experimental designs. The foundation evaluates what kind of evidence speaks to different audiences, rather than outlining a specific method for measuring social norms; for instance, RCTs are preferred by funders and policy makers.

Question: Is the foundation changing its grant cycle in response to the long-time frame for changing social norms?

- A recognition exists that social norms require a long period to change but the traditional grant funding cycle remains the same. Gender equality and social norms work will continue to grow in future years within the foundation's portfolio. Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation acknowledges the need for interventions that discuss agency and power and move beyond traditional behaviour change programmes.

Question: Where is transformative agency in this model?

- There are three resources – critical consciousness, bodily integrity and assets – which, taken together, are similar to transformative agency.
- One participant mentioned a risk exists for the pendulum of funding to swing away from engagement of women and girls and back towards men and boys. The foundation's model is centred on women and girls but also, implicitly includes men and boys.
- Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is currently developing guidance for measuring women's empowerment for its partners.

PANEL: PROCESS INSIGHTS FROM APPLYING SOCIAL NORMS THEORY IN INTERVENTION DESIGN

Strengthening the enabling environment for young women's empowerment in Nigeria: results and learning from Voices for Change

Claire Hughes (Itad), Caroline Enye (Voices for Change) and Elaine Denny (Remotely, University of California, San Diego)



The presenters shared a wide-scale intervention in Nigeria to create an enabling environment for young women's empowerment, including by addressing violence. The research strategy originally corresponded to a 20-year programme to change individual behaviour, social norms and laws, but funding was discontinued. Itad therefore implemented one component of its original vision for the project, which utilised a marketing approach. Itad created a brand called *Purple*, which was advertised on billboards, a radio show and an online space, to shift gender inequalities. *Purple* sought to influence peoples' behaviour by bombarding them with branding and messaging that presented alternative gender relationships. The project included work with religious leaders to influence young people and to avoid any potential backlash against the project, especially in the more conservative, northern region. The final analysis showed no positive effect of the intervention, but qualitatively, Itad found that the more exposure to *Purple*, the greater the change in gender inequitable thinking and power relationships. The reason for a lack of statistically significant effect was most likely due to the high level of approval for women's empowerment at baseline.

Highlights from CARE

Leigh Stefanik, CARE, USA

Leigh Stefanik presented four social norms interventions from Sri Lanka, India and Ethiopia. In Sri Lanka, CARE conducted an intervention on early child marriage. The research involved four stages—formative research, a baseline evaluation, ongoing monitoring and an end line evaluation. The use of formative research in identifying the most influential reference group was key in the interventions. In Sri Lanka and in general, CARE uses a social norms analysis plot (SNAP) for developing vignettes on social norms. SNAP assists programmes in identifying community and group sensitivity to sanctions, which can be used in changing behaviour. CARE has found that communities are less likely to change when no visible alternatives exist.

Recording possible shifts in perceptions by measuring change at two time points with vignettes was identified as a useful measurement approach. Participatory approaches were complementarily utilized in some interventions. Photovoice incorporates girls as data collectors in documenting their own perceptions of social norms. A second computer program called ‘Sensemaker’ allows respondents to analyse their own responses to questions about social norms by identifying key themes. Sensemaker then fits the information into triangles by concept area. CARE has created innovation briefs to share key points about the study of social norms into their projects.

How radio and outreach can change couples’ communication in Nepal

Gemma Ferguson, Equal Access, UK

Gemma Ferguson discussed the media component of the IPV couples’ intervention in Nepal. The radio intervention specifically did not use a teaching format to describe different types of violence but rather, used an edu-drama format. The show exposed listeners to positive alternatives to negative gender norms in a culturally relevant and entertaining way, by following different types of couples on the show. A group of couples then had regular gender segregated and mixed listening and discussion groups, with family members attending once per month. These groups were a tremendous success, with a 90% attendance rate. The intervention uses a life skills-building approach and included modules on empathy, critical thinking and supporting others and sharing experiences of violence.

The curriculum was written as the intervention was implemented, which presented opportunities to alter modules based on feedback in real time but also challenges in ongoing use of human resources. Feedback was solicited monthly via a phone in feedback system in which open ended questions were asked on a rolling basis to establish which norms and scenarios should be prioritized in the curriculum. Educational content was divided into three month increments and three stages: 1) challenging of beliefs and norms, 2) building intention to change and 3) supporting dispersal to the wider community. Family members and religious

leaders were identified as key reference groups for engagement, since they acted as gatekeepers in enabling or restricting norms change. The researchers found that a dispersal phase of three months was not sufficient in changing community social norms.

Panel Discussion

Question: Can you describe the measurement elements of the *Purple* intervention?

- *Purple* measured physical and emotional violent acts over the past month by adapting DHS questions and utilising a three-point scale of frequency. The research team found higher rates of reported physical violence than in the DHS in Nigeria, most likely because when asked behavioural question in a binary format, respondents tend to report in the negative for rare events.
- *Purple* evaluated the intervention annually, which was more intensive in terms of time and budget expenditure than other surveys that conduct only baseline, midline and end line evaluations.
- One participant stressed that all interventions should measure effect regularly to foster additional support from the government, influence the donor agenda and ensure continuity of the project.

Question: What were some key findings in the CARE interventions?

- In Sri Lanka, the researchers found that women did not pursue equal decision making power because they were concerned that their husbands would be sanctioned by other men.
- In general, quantitative analysis of the vignettes was challenging, and the quality of the data depended highly on the skill of the facilitator.

Question: Would you describe the administration process of the listening and discussion groups and couple selection in Nepal?

- The listening and discussion groups in Nepal were not incentivised. The facilitators recorded the sessions so that they could be played back at another time during the week for participants who were absent from the past session. Sustainability of projects increases if researchers can recruit within already existent groups, but in this case, no structures existed, so the research team worked with an implementing partner to identify eligible couples from a census. Couples were linked to other ongoing programmes in their communities at the end of the intervention if possible.

Question: To what extent can media generate behaviour and social norms change?

- Media without the inclusion of other interventions is not sufficient for changing behaviour and social norms. Media may generate dialogue but the dialogue must be facilitated to challenge social norms systematically.

- Multi-country research is needed to establish evidence base on how much diffusion is necessary to change social norms.

Question: Would you speak about the issue of bringing an intervention to scale?

- Radio programmes can easily be scaled up to reach a national audience, whereas convening listening and discussion groups is costlier. A debate exists within the field of social norms as to whether interventions need to go to scale since it may be sufficient to change a norm by engaging a small cohort of influential people. Costing analysis is essential and powerful in making a case for replication.

KEY REFLECTIONS: DAY TWO

- Understanding community level change in social norms requires better indicators and research methods so that we are no longer compiling and relying on individual level measures.
- Individuals may report the influence of and their adherence to social norms differently depending on a range of factors, which may affect them differently at any one time. This makes reliable measurement of change over time difficult.
- The diffusion of change within communities is little understood. Better measurement of diffusion is required to improve both intervention design and evaluation.
- Social norms change is not necessarily linear, and behaviours can change before associated social norms.
- Media campaigns allow messages to reach a large population, but in isolation they will not systematically change social norms. Media campaigns will create dialogue, but this dialogue should be facilitated to ensure that existing norms are not reinforced. Interventions incorporating such aspects may be more acceptable to donors.
- Social norms change in humanitarian settings is a little-explored area, in part because of the difficulties conducting research with such populations.

DAY 3

PANEL: ADOLESCENT GIRLS DEVELOPMENT: PUTTING EVIDENCE INTO PRACTICE

Theories of agency and empowerment and the construction of 'girlhood' through development narratives

Kate Pincock, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford University, UK

Kate Pincock shared her prior, ethnographic research into young peoples' agency in Tanzania. Pincock conducted fieldwork and participatory activities with school-going girls, such as narrative histories and drawing projects of dichotomies of "good" and "bad" girls and "Mr. Right" or "Mr. Wrong". In Pincock's research, girls expressed that they went to school to have increased opportunities to move abroad; to learn English, which was seen as a marker of modernity; to improve sexual relationships with partners; to hide their current clandestine sexual relationships; and to get away from abusive families, sexual abuse and poverty. Kate used these findings to question the narrative of school as a space of empowerment.

Pincock argued that 'education for empowerment' development approaches have an implicit goal of controlling girls' sexual agency; for instance, interventions to reduce school dropout have the underlying goal of protecting girls from HIV infection. Furthermore, her research has shown that school can be a site of humiliation and mistreatment (i.e. male teachers can select sexual partners from girl students, and school girls can be sexualised in impoverished communities because of their access to food and better standards of dress), rather than a protective space. Likewise, education in Tanzania does not guarantee success as within Western narratives of schooling. Pincock emphasised the need for researchers to listen to girls' perspectives, even when they do not fit hegemonic empowerment narratives, and to meaningfully change their agendas accordingly.

Insight from the implementation of DREAMS in Tanzania

Anike Akridge, USAID, Tanzania

Anike Akridge described findings from the DREAMS intervention in Tanzania, which is composed of behavioural, biomedical and structural HIV interventions for adolescents. Tanzania has high rates of teen pregnancy, and national policy bars pregnant girls from returning to public school, which exacerbates inequities. Girls feel that they are not valued or encouraged to go to school. Tanzania similarly has a legal disconnect in that it ratified the CRC but has a national Marriage Act that allows children to marry at the age of 15. The interventions' target populations are orphans/vulnerable children, out-of-school children and

sexually active children, including those engaged in transactional sex. The number of girls who test positive for HIV at healthcare facilities was taken as a proxy for incidence.



The Population Council's Girl Roster was used in enumeration and in identifying pockets of vulnerability for constructing interventions. Some intervention components are: 1) girls' safe spaces which serve as referral sites for HIV testing and GBV, 2) legal and financial literacy training, 3) tailored text messages for boys and girls and 4) structural interventions at the community level. Partner agencies used a revised SASA! curriculum to engage local activists, advocacy groups and media on understanding social norms. Akridge stressed the need for more evidence, coordination, costing of interventions, engaging men and boys and amplification of positive norms.

Amani Girls Home adaptations of SASA! and Power to Girls in Mwanza, Tanzania *Revocatus Sono, Amani Girls Home, Tanzania*

Sono described the work of Amani Girls Home and its current adaptation of SASA! and Power to Girls intervention packages for monitoring change. Amani Girls Home provides shelter for six to thirteen-year-old street girls and additionally runs programmes on economic empowerment; integrated early childhood development; adolescent girls' empowerment; financial literacy training; street girls' family reunification; and child right advocacy. Amani Girls Home has not yet evaluated the success of the girls' groups but monitor implementation by measuring knowledge, attitudes and practices indicators. After recognising that a gap existed in Tanzania, Amani Girls Home began to engage the central and local government in countering negative social norms, on changing educational curricula and on engaging boys/men. They adapted SASA! in 2015 to engage a wider segment of adolescent girls but found that social norms

change and adolescent specific programming was missing from the intervention and so, are now incorporating modules from the Power to Girls tool from Haiti.

Panel Discussion

Question: What aspirations were mentioned by the girls in Tanzania?

- Pincock found that girls often said that their reason for attending school was to pursue a career, such as ‘becoming a doctor’, since it was socially desirable in the eyes of the development community. However in reality there is a conspicuous lack of professional role models for girls in Tanzania. Existing models tend to be girls who gain money from boyfriends, or girls who become enmeshed in religion and have very little materialistically.

Question: What practices did Pincock use to inspire sharing among girls?

- Pincock stressed the importance of trust building over time and in illustrating to the girls that the researcher was not simply extracting information and leaving. A mixture of methods was utilized to help in information sharing, including drawing pictures and taking walks outside of traditional venues. Pincock purposefully did not work with local researchers to avoid an air of “official-ness”. Instead, she trained two girls as co-researchers. This decision presented unique challenges because of the social politics among teenage girls and the difficulty in maintaining neutrality.

Question: How can interventions better use girls’ definitions of agency in research?

- Participants discussed how many interventions have used measures of agency, as defined by girls. Pincock stressed that by taking a measure of agency, it should not abdicate researchers’ responsibility to understand structural drivers and injustices. Agency is not depoliticised but itself is constructed within a neoliberal agenda and certain type of feminism that tries to make girls into “productive” members of society.

Question: Will DREAMS measure violence in its outcome evaluation?

- DREAMS is currently conducting an outcome evaluation of the effectiveness of the interventions in reducing HIV. More funding is needed to conduct other forms of evaluation. Akridge mentioned that the SASA! intervention package was likely implemented in a slightly different way by each of the partner agencies. One participant stressed the importance of conducting process evaluations on each stage of adaptation since interventions may cause different effects if altered.

Question: How was the Power to Girls tool received by partner agencies in Tanzania?

- Revocatus stated that partners are interested in the Power to Girls tools to extend their work in the community and other institutions. All partner agencies have experience with

SASA! or have worked with UNICEF and other child protection agencies, so they can easily use the Power to Girls tools.

FACILITATED DISCUSSION: REFLECTING ON SOCIAL NORMS INTERVENTIONS AND RESEARCH

Ana Maria Buller (LSHTM) concluded the LINEA meeting by facilitating discussion to reflect on key questions that arose from the meeting, and that should inform further work of LINEA and its Network members. The questions posed and discussion that ensued are below.



Should social norms interventions be scaled up? Which elements should be considered in doing so?

- Two groups agreed that an intervention should not be expedited in bringing to scale until the evidence is proven. For an intervention to be transformative, it needs to be innovative in approach and that requires time and consideration. Proof of diffusion is key in showing direct and indirect effects and in making a case for increased investment.
- Two groups similarly emphasised the need to maintain the intervention integrity in scale up. One must understand the core elements of an intervention so that integrity can be maintained. A challenge persists between “breadth and depth”; small scale interventions may work, but they can be resource and time intensive. Process evaluations are critical.

- Social norms interventions may not need scale up, because one reference group could work within its community and lead national efforts for change as advocates. A participant proposed an intermediary approach in terms of implementing the intervention in strategic points of the country so that it can be diffused to a wider audience. This model would be more cost effective than implementing nationally. It does not provide a solution to the challenge of continued diffusion and the question of what elements are essential in the intervention package.
- The interventions must be easily replicable, whilst ensuring that they are locally specific. The intervention must be piloted in different geographic regions and with a variety of age groups to understand diffusion. This will require appropriate time and budgeting in the research process.
- Cost effective interventions are more likely to be brought to scale. Costing likewise requires investment of time, resources and funding upfront to run cost effectiveness studies. Researchers will face barriers in scale up if the government does not understand the intervention components or the cost implications.
- Partnerships with local feminist and social movements are equally important as partnerships with NGOs. Social norm change is supported by activism that addresses injustices and structural inequalities.
- Targeted advocacy must work in parallel to social norms interventions to gain momentum and ensure that future funding is earmarked in government spending plans, as in the case of the National Action Plans for the Violence Against Children surveys.
- In working with funders, researchers must set the agenda and narrative on how development aid helps to create social change.

What must we consider when conducting communications work in social norms interventions?

- Media interventions are attractive, as they reach a greater number of people than small group work. However, this causes challenges, as if the messaging is imperfect, the implications can be notable and negative. Similarly, unlike group sessions, which can revise and build upon past sessions, transmitted media cannot be retracted easily.
- Media interventions have a high profile, and therefore can cause backlash from political actors if it conflicts with their messaging. MFDI establishes committees within the Ministry to approve of the messaging beforehand.
- The group discussed the risk of disclosure of violence on live radio. Delay of the programme by a minute to filter questions is an option, but it ultimately does not prevent disclosure. Having trained personnel on-hand to speak to individuals who call in and a set referral pathway will be important support and risk mitigation structures. One participant suggested that referrals should be local. Clear written guidance should be provided to protect girls from “victim blaming” in counselling and to ensure that negative social norms are not reinforced. The radio announcer could ask callers to stay

on the line and link them to services afterwards. Another possibility to maintain confidentiality is to use pseudonyms with all callers for the radio show.

- Community feedback should be structured into the intervention. Responsible broadcasting is defined by co-creating materials with communities, ensuring political buy in and identifying, engaging and mitigating critics.
- Social media should be constantly monitored to ensure that it is on message and in-line with guidelines.
- Individuals should give informed consent ahead of time if their picture is used or name is shared in any way during the intervention.

How is monitoring, evaluation and costing different for social norms interventions?

- The creation of strong M&E systems is key to receiving future donor support.
- Social norms cannot use traditional input matrices of how many people were reached to measure impact.
- Indicators could include a combination of knowledge, attitudes and practices on the individual level and community level measures that are not aggregate. Some methodology for measuring community change could include ethnographies or reviews of media production/consumption within communities.
- Qualitative monitoring is an important measure over time in addition to quantitative approaches.
- Implementation science is needed on how to translate theory into practice in social norms interventions.
- Social norms interventions should have comparable costing metrics linked to scale up. Without measurement of effects of social norms interventions, researchers cannot measure costs.



GOING FORWARD...

This report has documented the rich and open discussions, integral to this LINEA Biennial Meeting. The meeting has paved the way for increased cohesion between various actors working on social norms and sexual exploitation of children and adolescents. Frank discussions around the successes and challenges of operationalizing social norms theory has set the scene for exciting developments in researching social norms and social norms change.

“The meeting was intellectually stimulating and spurred additional opportunities. I am grateful for the opportunity to interact with such an esteemed and committed group of scholars, advocates, practitioners and even a bureaucrat or two!” – Dr Cari Jo Clark

Key points for consideration going forwards are as follows:

- Social norms do not operate in isolation, as shown by the ‘social norms flower’, but interventions will reach road blocks to change if they do not address social norms.
- Social norms, can be contradictory, and operate in bundles to regulate the behaviour of individuals.
- Mega norms across contexts present interesting points of cohesion, which may allow improved depth of understanding and exciting opportunities for cooperation in intervention design and evaluation.
- Interesting developments are being made to improve the measurement of social norms (for example how to measure community level change, how to determine reference groups for a norm, and how to track diffusion through communities), which will greatly improve intervention design and evaluation.
- Focussing on social norms need not override an understanding of individual agency. However, assumptions that agency can be protective or transformative, need to be reconsidered. Individuals can act with agency to reinforce harmful social norms.
- Research on sexual exploitation of children and adolescents is rapidly expanding, but ‘holes’ remain, for example in terms of sexual exploitation and abuse on the internet, and sexual exploitation and abuse of boys.