VIOLENCE AFFECTING CHILDREN

Toolkit

Why Do People Do What They Do?

A Social Norms Manual for Viet Nam, Indonesia and the Philippines

The Multi-Country Study on the Drivers of Violence Affecting Children

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

3 SECTION 1: THEORY BASICS

4 Why Do People Do What They Do?

6 The Basic Idea of the Course

7 Exercise 1: Interdependent vs. Independent Behaviour

8 Two Basic Kinds of Belief

9 Exercise 2

9 Two Kinds of Social Expectation

9 Exercise 3

11 Exercise 4: Test Your Knowledge of Beliefs!

13 Review

14 Study Questions

15 Taking a Socio-Ecological Approach

17 Diagnosing a Collective Behavior

18 Practice 1: Customs

19 Practice 2: Moral Norms

20 Practice 3: Descriptive Norms

21 Practice 4: Social Norms

22 Exercise 5: Diagnosing a Collective Behaviour (Part A)

23 Exercise 6: Diagnosing a Collective Behaviour (Part B)

24 SECTION 2: SOCIAL CATEGORIES

25 How We Interpret Our World

26 What is a Category?

27 Natural vs. Social Categories

28 Schemas

29 Scripts

30 An Example to Run Through

31 Exercise 7: 'Good Boy' and 'Good Girl' Scripts Over Time

33 How Beliefs About Gender Roles Become Normative

34 Three Models of Schema Change

35 Exercise 8

37 Exercise 9: Schema Maintenance

38 SECTION 3: SOCIAL NETWORKS

39 Why Social Networks?

41 Exercise 10

42 Sample Social Network

43 Paths Between Nodes

44 Exercise 11

46 High Degree Nodes

47 Bridges

48 Exercise 12: Nodes in an Information Network

49 Full Network Approach

49 Snowball Approach

51 Egocentric Approach

52 Exercise 13: Which Approach is Best?

53 SECTION 4: SOCIAL CHANGE

55 Fundamental Principles for Changing Social Norms

57 Case Study: Domestic Violence Reduction in Barrancabermeja, Colombia

62 Exercise 14: Design Your Own Intervention!

63 SECTION 5: MEASUREMENT

64 The Importance of Measurement

65 Behaviour

65 Exercise 15

66 Empirical Expectations

67 Personal Normative Beliefs

67 Normative Expectations

69 Pitfalls of Measurement: Cultural Context

70 Exercise 16

70 Pitfalls of Measurement: Hypothetical Questions

71 Vignettes

74 GLOSSARY

SECTION 1

THEORY BASICS

WHY DO PEOPLE DO WHAT THEY DO?

The basic question: "Why do people do what they do?" We want participants to begin thinking about answers to this question prior to engaging them with the theory of social norms. The idea is that people already have ideas about why people do what they do. What the theory of social norms allows us to do is organize our pre-existing knowledge into a conceptual framework that we can use for successful interventions against behaviors related to violence against children.

The first question to ask is "Why do *other people* do what they do?" Allow participants to answer freely. Collect the answers and display them so that all participants can see the answers.

Next, ask, "Why do *you* do what you do?" Again, allow participants to answer freely. Collect and display the answers.

Finally, ask the participants to critically evaluate the answers to the above two questions. That is, ask participants to identify similarities and differences between answers. Often times, we attribute selfish or self-interested motives to others and moral motives for ourselves. But participants should come to understand through this exercise that we need a theory of motivation that accounts for why people – both others and ourselves – do what they do.

Bonus! You could now ask participants the same question, but with regard to a specific issue that you will cover. For example, we asked participants to think about corporal punishment in schools and asked, "Why do people corporally punish children in schools?" We collected the answers on a piece of flipchart people so that we could revisit them later.

WHY DO PEOPLE DO WHAT THEY DO?

1. Because society expects them to
2. In order to make progress, learn, solve problems, achieve goals to become better people (increasing the value in oneself)
3. Self fulfillment; fun; peace (but everyone isn't the same in where they find these)
4. To defy and challenge social norms
5. To fulfill their responsibilities
6. As a spontaneous act
7. Because everyone does what they see with their own eyes
8. Because it interests them; or they have an interest
9. Because they believe in what they're doing
10. Because they were raised that way
11. To survive!
12. Because they're scared of the police

Let's begin by reviewing the course's basic idea: a big part of the reason people do much of what they do is because what others do, and what others think of us, matter to us very much. Many of our behaviours are, that is, interdependent: they depend on what we believe others will do (our empirical expectations), and on what we think others think we should do (our normative expectations).

THE BASIC IDEA OF THE COURSE

When people are deciding how to act...
what other people think and do matters!

So WHY do we do what we do?
Often it depends on:

What we believe others will do – **Empirical Expectations**
What we believe others expect us to do – **Normative Expectations**

As we'll see, even many violent behaviours, like corporal punishment and bullying, are often interdependent actions: they're motivated by expectations about what others do and think.

To better understand interdependent action, we need command over some basic ideas. We need to understand the different kinds of belief that motivate our actions (what we will call *factual beliefs, personal normative beliefs, empirical expectations, and normative expectations*), and the preferences (*conditional* and *unconditional*) that guide our choices. Finally, we need to think about which people's actions and beliefs we care about when we act (*our reference networks*).

An INTERDEPENDENT choice is one in which what I choose depends, in part, on what others choose.

- What to wear
- What movie to see
- What language to speak

An INDEPENDENT choice is one in which what I choose **does not** depend on what others choose.

- What to wear when you have the house all to yourself
- Whether to use an umbrella

This distinction is **fundamental**: interventions must be radically different depending on whether the behavior is independent or interdependent.

EXERCISE 1 INTERDEPENDENT vs. INDEPENDENT BEHAVIOUR

Think of some examples of interdependent and independent behaviour. It can be hard to think of truly independent behaviours — behaviours someone would do no matter what other people do or think. Fill in the chart below with your examples:

INTERDEPENDENT	INDEPENDENT

Great job!

Now, let's review the two basic kinds of belief that often influence our actions...

We base our actions, in large part, on what we believe. In the theory of social norms, we distinguish between two basic kinds of belief: **factual beliefs** about how the world is, and **personal normative beliefs** about how the world should be, or what is right and wrong.

Factual beliefs will matter to every behavior related to violence against children. But personal normative beliefs will not always matter. When personal normative beliefs do matter, then personal normative beliefs are **causing**, at least in part, the behavior.

We also distinguish between two kinds of social expectations: beliefs about what other people will do, called **empirical expectations**; and beliefs about what other people think we should do, called **normative expectations**.

TWO BASIC KINDS OF BELIEF

Factual Beliefs are beliefs about how the world is.

"The earth orbits the sun."
"There are two chairs in the kitchen."
"Punishing a child will eventually give him his own sense of discipline."
"Up to 25% of Vietnamese children were victims of child sexual abuse."

Personal Normative Beliefs are beliefs about what's good or bad, or how things ought to be.

"Children ought to obey their parents."
"Corporal punishment is wrong."
"Bride kidnapping should not happen."

We can distinguish between the four basic types of collective practices mentioned above on the basis of the way these different kinds of belief do (or do not) influence behaviour. But before we go on to discuss how to make those distinctions, let's test our knowledge of the basic kinds of belief!

EXCERCISE 2

- With your group, pick one behaviour related to violence against children.
- Think about the individual who is committing the violence against children.
- What sorts of factual beliefs and personal normative beliefs might **matter** for this behaviour?
- Write your answers down on a big sheet of paper.
- Present your answers to the group.

TWO KINDS OF SOCIAL EXPECTATION

Social Expectations are beliefs about what other people do, or expect us to do.

Empirical Expectations are beliefs about what others do.

"Other people my age are sexually active."
"Girls will get their boyfriends to fight for them when they are having conflict with a friend."
"Teachers will hit students for talking back in class."

Normative Expectations are beliefs about what others expect of us. In other words, they are beliefs about what personal normative beliefs we expect others to have.

"The other parents in my community expect me to discipline my child physically."
"Local police believe that families should work out their issues instead of pursuing charges of domestic violence."
"UNICEF believes that officials should take seriously the sexual exploitation of boys."

EXCERCISE 3

- With your group, pick one behaviour related to violence against children.
- Think about the individual who is committing the violence against children.
- What sorts of factual beliefs and personal normative beliefs might **matter** for this behaviour?
- Write your answers down on a big sheet of paper.
- Present your answers to the group.

It is important to always remember that personal normative beliefs are not normative expectations! Rather, normative expectations are beliefs about other people's personal normative beliefs. I may have the personal normative belief that corporal punishment is wrong, but I may have the normative expectation that people in my community believe that corporal punishment is right. Review these pages if you need a refresher on the distinction.

Consider the story of Thuy and her son Bao below. You'll find on the next page a list of things Thuy believes. For each belief, identify it as (a) a factual belief, (b) a personal normative belief, (c) an empirical expectation, or (d) a normative expectation.

Thuy lived with her husband Hieu in a small village two hours outside Hanoi. Thuy and Hieu have two children: a 10 year-old son named Bao, and an eight year-old daughter named Linh. Bao and Linh are both typical children of their age – they love to play with friends and each other, as well as to learn from their parents and family members.

Recently, however, Bao became more rebellious. He started to hang out with boys in the village that are older than he is, and Thuy is worried that these older boys will be a bad influence on Bao. He talked back to Thuy after she tried to discipline him for pulling Linh's hair.

Hieu works long hours, so Thuy often has to manage the children without his assistance. However, when he came home from work, Hieu learned about Bao's behavior from Thuy. Mad at Bao's disrespectful behavior, Hieu hit Bao repeatedly in the face and on his back and legs.

While Thuy agrees that Bao should not act disrespectfully to his mother and sister, she does not approve of corporal punishment. She thinks that parents should raise children to be respectful but also that parents should never hit kids. She believes that being violent toward kids when they are violent is likely to make them more violent in the future. She also believes that this is just a phase that Bao is going through and that most boys his age act that way toward siblings but grow out of it. She is afraid to say this to Hieu, who believes that if you do not hit children for such behavior, then they will grow up to be disrespectful and bad adults. Hieu believes that his behavior toward Bao was punishment, not violence. Hieu's family corporally punishes children when they are disrespectful, and he sees nothing wrong with the behavior.

Thuy is considering talking to an authority or to an outside person about both Bao and Hieu's behavior. She has learned from other young mothers that they believe that violence in the home is not acceptable and should be reported. At the same time, Thuy was raised by her family to believe that any violence in the home is a personal matter and not to be shared with authorities or those outside the family. She also believes that most families in the village punish their disrespectful children in the same way Hieu did. She is worried about what will happen to Bao, Hieu and Linh if she were to report the behavior. And she is having a very difficult time to decide what to do . . .

EXERCISE 4 TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF BELIEFS!

THUY'S BELIEFS	BELIEF TYPE
1 Thuy believes that parents should never hit kids.	
2 Thuy believes that if Bao hangs out with older boys, then he will become more rebellious.	
3 Thuy believes that other young mothers in the village believe that she should report Hieu's behavior.	
4 Thuy believes most families in the village corporally punish children for acts of disrespect.	
5 Thuy believes that her family believes that she should not report Hieu's violent behavior to authorities.	
6 Thuy believes that corporally punishing children makes them more likely to be violent in the future.	
7 Thuy believes that Hieu's family corporally punishes children when they are disrespectful.	
8 Thuy believes that children should act respectfully toward parents and family members.	

The **Answer Key** *is at the bottom of the page – but try to fill in all the blanks before looking!*

ANSWERS 1 Personal Normative Belief 2 Factual Belief 3 Normative Expectation 4 Empirical Expectation 5 Normative Expectation 6 Factual Belief 7 Empirical Expectation 8 Personal Normative Belief

Now that we've mastered the different kinds of belief, we're only a couple of steps away from understanding how to diagnose any collective behaviour as one of four basic types: a custom, a moral norm, a descriptive norm, or a social norm. All that's left is to recall the concepts of preferences and reference networks!

Our preferences determine our choices. If I prefer grapes to carrots, and I'm offered one or the other, I'll choose the grapes. The same is true of our actions: I act according to my preferences. But don't forget! Preferring and liking aren't the same thing! Under difficult circumstances, I may prefer to do something that I don't like or approve of, just as a ship's captain will throw valuable cargo overboard if she believes it will save her ship from sinking; or, under social pressure, a teenager will sometimes join a crowd that's teasing or even bullying his good friend.

With some behaviours, our preferences are unconditional: we prefer to engage in them regardless of what we think others are doing or expecting of us. (We have already called these behaviours independent.) In other cases, we only prefer to engage in certain behaviours if we believe others are behaving that way as well, and (perhaps) expect us to do the same. In these cases our preferences are conditional: we only prefer to conform if …. Behaviours that we prefer to engage in only on the condition that others are behaving likewise (and, in some cases, on the condition that we think others are expecting us to conform) we have called interdependent.

Even when our preferences are conditional, it isn't just anybody whose actions and expectations influence us. Instead, we have a reference network: a network of the people whose actions and opinions matter to me when I make interdependent decisions. For instance, when a parent decides how to discipline his children, he may care very much about how the other parents in his community practise discipline; he may even care about how those other parents think that he should discipline his own child. In contrast, he may not care very much how children themselves believe they should be disciplined—nor is he likely to much care how parents halfway across the world, whom he has never met, believe discipline should be handled. In this case, the other parents in his community are in his reference network. Children and foreigners are not.

Importantly, the reference network for any action is not just those individuals who happen to be geographically close to the individual. Rather, the reference network picks out the relation of 'whose behaviors and beliefs by preferences are conditional upon.' This may be in the village, if I am a recent transplant to the city. Or, with social media, it may be individuals across the globe.

PREFERENCES

A **Preference** is a disposition to act in a certain way in a certain situation.

If I choose A over B, I must prefer A, all things considered.

Is it possible to prefer to do something that you don't particularly like?

Preferences can be **conditional** or **unconditional**.

Preference is **conditional** when it depends on what I believe others do (empirical expectations) or what I believe others think I should do (normative expectations).

Preference is **unconditional** when it does not matter what I believe others do (empirical expectations) or what I believe others think I should do (normative expectations).

REFERENCE NETWORKS

The **Reference Network** is composed of the people who matter to one's choices. The actions and opinions of people inside my *reference network* matter to me; the actions and opinions of those **outside** my *reference network* matter very little or not at all.

For example: If I'm attending a special event, I may want to coordinate what I wear with others attending the same event. But my *reference network* may only be other people of my gender.

LET'S REVIEW WHAT WE HAVE COVERED SO FAR

Interdependent vs. Independent Choice
What others do and think matters in an *Interdependent* choice, but not in an *Independent* choice

Factual Beliefs
Beliefs about how the world is (but can be untrue)

Personal Normative Beliefs
Beliefs about good and bad and how the world should be

Empirical Expectations
Beliefs about what others do

Normative Expectations
Beliefs about what others expect us to do

Preference
A disposition to choose A over B in a certain circumstance

Reference Network
The people whose actions and expectations matter when making an interdependent choice

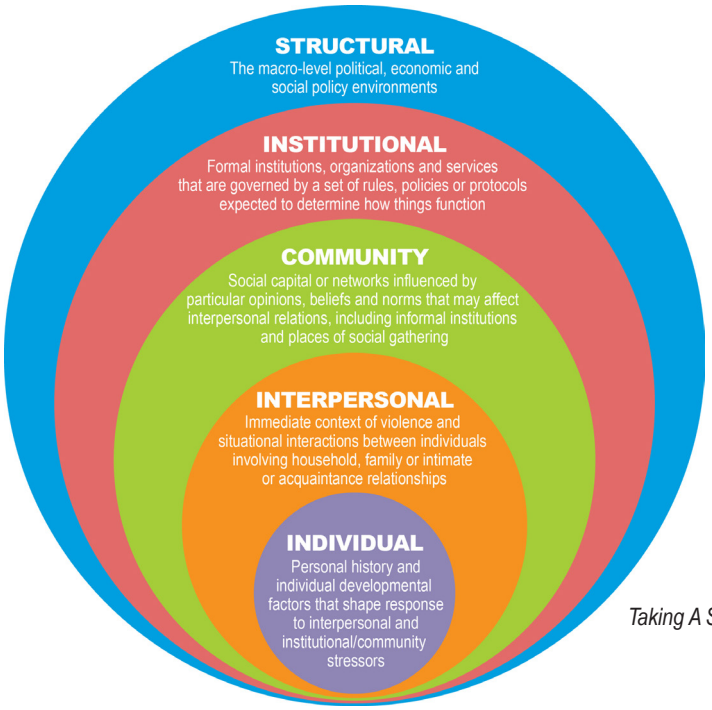
STUDY QUESTIONS

1 If, under certain circumstances, I prefer to engage in a certain practice, does that mean I necessarily like the practice? Justify your answer using an example.

2 Is our reference network the same, no matter what sort of interdependent behaviour we engage in, or can our reference networks change, depending on what kind of decision we're making? Explain your answer using examples.

3 Remember that 'factual beliefs' are just beliefs about how the world is: they aren't always true! Give an example of a false factual belief that you think might be involved in perpetuating one kind of violence against children (VAC).

4 What's the difference between a person's personal normative beliefs and her normative expectations? Explain the difference using examples.



Taking A Socio-Ecological Approach

So where are we now? We started with our fundamental question: "Why do people do what they do?" And we began to answer this question by referring to people's reasons for acting in a certain way. We provided some basic components of the theory of social norms in the expectations that those basic concepts will allow us to better understand people's reasons for engaging in behaviors related to violence against children.

If we think in terms of the socio-ecological model, there are many different reasons that we could ascribe to people that would explain why they do what they do. But how do we make sense of how those layers – structural, institutional, interpersonal and personal – interact with each other.

The theory of social norms provides an answer to that question. We model people's reasons for engaging in some behavior by talking about their preferences for engaging in that behavior. We draw everything down – at least at first – to the personal level.

But it is important to note that, in an important sense, **society is in the head of most individuals**. That is, people have social expectations that cause them to act in certain ways.

What we will do now is start from these basic personal and psychological building blocks and expand out to individuals, groups, and nations interacting with one another.

To continue the last thought, we are now moving up from the personal level to the interpersonal level. We now have some idea of why individual people may do what they do. But we need to understand have that individual or personal level analysis links up to collective patterns of behavior. That is because we are interested in behaviors related to violence against children, and these behaviors are collective patterns of behavior – that is, they are behaviors that many people engage in. Violence against children is a **social problem**.

DIAGNOSING A COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR

We're now ready to work on diagnosing a collective pattern of behaviour: determining whether it is a custom, a moral norm, a descriptive norm, or a social norm. In the pages that follow, you'll find precise definitions of each of these kinds of collective practice, in terms of the concepts we learned above. But before you move on, choose a collective pattern of behaviour related to violence against children that you're interested in addressing. It could be corporal punishment, confinement of disabled children, early marriage, bullying, sexual abuse, or something else. (You can choose positive behaviours as well!) As you review the four kinds of behaviour below, keep the practice you've chosen in mind. At the end of the section, you'll be asked to diagnose which of the four kinds of collective behaviour best captures the practice you've chosen.

PRACTICE 1 CUSTOMS

"I do it because it meets my needs."

- Unconditionally Preferred (Independent)
- Social Expectations (Empirical and Normative) Don't Matter
- It Meets A Need

Customs are practices we engage in primarily because we think that they will meet our needs, or satisfy our desires. We call a practice a 'custom,' then, when we do it independently of our social expectations: I am not motivated to engage in a custom by my belief that others are doing it, or by my belief that others expect me to do it. Instead, I do it because it suits me: I believe it serves my purposes. (Notice that this theory uses 'custom' in a way that's very different from our usual use of the word: a 'custom' in our sense isn't necessarily a cherished tradition, or something we do self-consciously because we think it's "part of our culture." It's just something we believe is useful.)

Consider the practice you've chosen to investigate. Do people do it simply because they think it meets their needs, or will satisfy a desire? If so, it may be a custom. Or, are people motivated to engage in the practice in part because they think others do it also, or because they think it's expected of them? If those sorts of social expectations matter, your practice probably isn't a custom.

PRACTICE 2 MORAL NORMS

"I do it because it's right."

- Unconditionally Preferred (Independent)
- Social Expectations (Empirical and Normative) Don't Matter
- Believe It's Right (Personal Normative Belief)

Moral norms are practices we engage in primarily because we believe that they are the right thing to do; they are what morality demands of us. Like customs, we follow genuinely moral norms independently of our social expectations: if we strongly believe something is morally right, we should often do it no matter what other people do or think. Similarly, if we believe something is morally wrong, we shouldn't do it just because others do, or because others think we should. Moral norms differ from customs because we follow them out of a sense of moral duty, rather than a sense of self-interest.

From a first person perspective, it can sometimes be easy to think we are following a moral norm, when, in reality, our practice is interdependent. We may tell ourselves that we would never steal or accept a bribe, for instance, but then, if we notice that everyone around us is doing those things, we do them too. In this case, refusing bribes or resisting the temptation to steal might not really have been moral norms for us. Do people engage in the behaviour you've chosen to diagnose only out of a strong sense of moral duty? If so, you've chosen a moral norm!

PRACTICE 3 DESCRIPTIVE NORMS

"I do it because other people do."

- Conditionally Preferred (Interdependent)
- Empirical Expectations Matter... But Normative Expectations Don't
- Coordinate Actions With What Other People Do

Descriptive norms are practices we engage in because, at least in part, we want to coordinate what we do with what other people in our reference network are doing: "I do it because I believe others do the same." Hence, descriptive norms, unlike customs or moral norms, are interdependent: we prefer to engage in them only on the condition that we believe others are doing the same. They depend, that is, on our empirical expectations.

Think of how you decide what language to speak. I may be a fluent, poetic speaker of Chinese, but if I'm in Germany I'll nonetheless choose to speak German—even if I'm not a very skilled German speaker—because I believe that's what the others I hope to communicate with speak. Notice that for a descriptive norm, only my empirical expectations matter; I don't need any additional normative expectations to motivate my action. If I believe that others behave a certain way, I prefer to conform. Even if I have beliefs about what they expect me to do (that is, even if I have normative expectations), these don't factor into my decision to conform. Even if my company has no idea that I speak some German (and, hence, don't expect me to speak German), I'll do that if I want to communicate. Descriptive norms often rely on imitation – you see that others who are like you are doing some behavior and getting some benefit, and you want to be like them.

PRACTICE 4 SOCIAL NORMS

"I do it because other people expect me to."

- Conditionally Preferred (Interdependent)
- Empirical *and* Normative Expectations Matter
- It Meets Expectations of People In My Reference Network
- Sometimes to Avoid Sanctions (Informal Punishments)

Social norms are rules for behaviour we follow because we believe others follow them, and because we believe those other people think we should follow them, too. Social norms, therefore, depend on both empirical and normative expectations. Like descriptive norms, social norms govern interdependent behaviour. But unlike descriptive norms, empirical expectations alone are not enough. To prefer to follow a social norm, I must not only believe that others are doing the same; I must also believe that they expect me to follow, too. When following a social norm, in part, "I do it because other people expect me to."

There are many situations in which my immediate selfish interests do not seem best served by acting in accordance with everyone else. Consider waiting in line. Even if I see everyone else doing it, I might be very happy to skip the line and get on with my business. Let the others wait! What keeps us in line (literally) in these cases is often the presence of a social norm: I don't cut the line because I know all the others think I should not, and would therefore be angry if I did. This kind of social pressure can be extremely powerful, in both beneficial and harmful ways. Social norms often rely upon sanctions, and sanctions can be an indicator that a social norm exists. These sanctions are social, not legal, and include things like praise or gossip or social isolation.

EXERCISE 5 DIAGNOSING A COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR (PART A)

Consider the collective practice or behaviour you chose at the beginning of this exercise. Is it a custom, a moral norm, a descriptive norm, or a social norm? Begin by answering the questions below. Then, using your answers and the flow chart on the following page, diagnose the practice you've chosen.

1 Which, if any, factual beliefs influence the practice you've chosen?

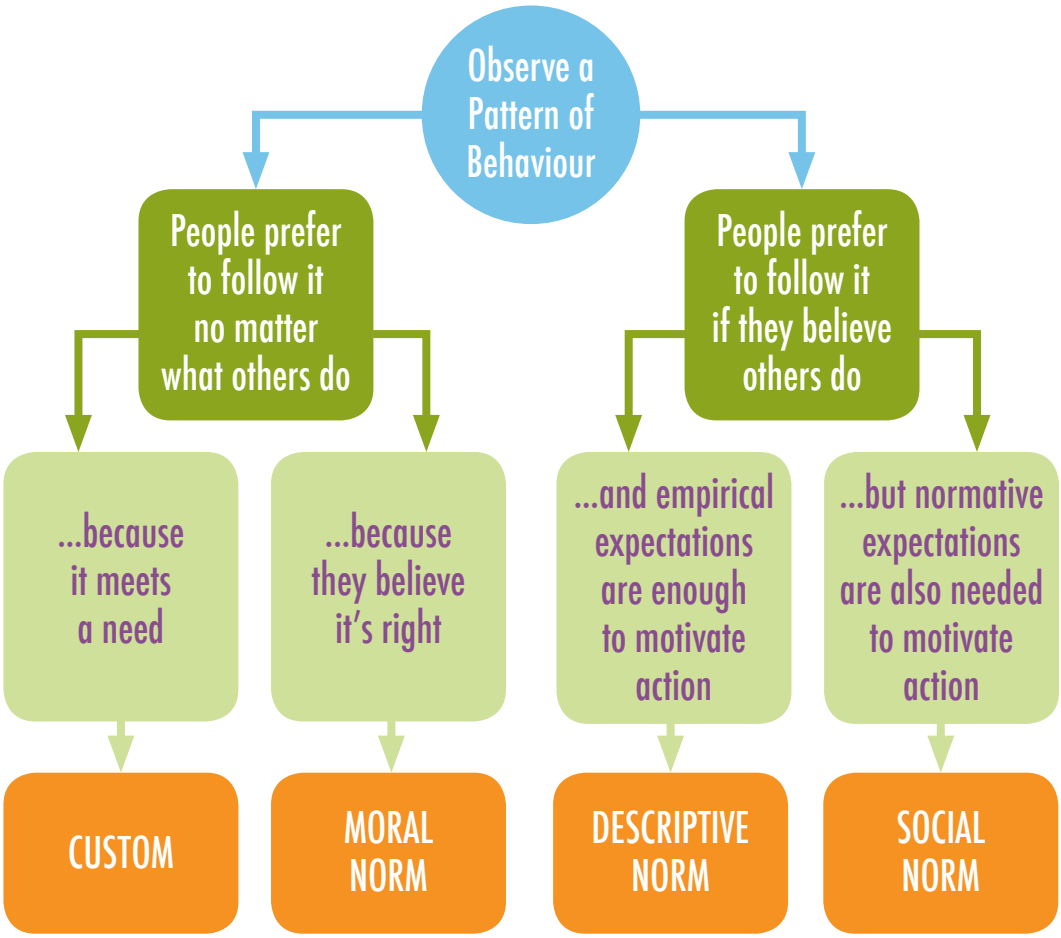
2 Do actors have personal normative beliefs about the practice?
If so, what are they?
When engaging in your practice, do actors always follow their personal normative beliefs, or do they sometimes act against them?

3 Do actors have empirical expectations about your practice?
If so, do these expectations matter?
That is, if their empirical expectations changed, would these actors change their behaviour, as well?

4 Do actors have normative expectations about your practice?
If so, do these expectations matter?
That is, if their normative expectations changed, would these actors change their behaviour, as well?

EXERCISE 6 DIAGNOSING A COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR (PART B)

Consider the collective practice or behaviour you chose at the beginning of this exercise. Is it a custom, a moral norm, a descriptive norm, or a social norm? Using your answers from the previous page, follow the flow chart below to diagnose the practice you've chosen.



The practice I've chosen is _____

NOTE! Each collective pattern of behavior is identified by the kind of preference an individual has to engage in the behavior. This implies that the same behavior – for example, corporal punishment of children in schools – can be caused by different motives, depending upon which network of individuals that we are talking about. There is no one motive that causes all violence against children! We must figure out why people prefer to engage in behaviors that are harmful to children.

SECTION 2

SOCIAL CATEGORIES

How We Interpret Our World

What is this a picture of? And why?

Whenever we encounter some aspect of our world, we must interpret what we experience.

In the exercise above, participants are presented with the image and asked, "What is this a picture of? And why?" Allow participants to answer freely without making comment on what they are saying. Participants can see for themselves that they are naturally able to interpret what they experience. Some participants may see graveyards or a demonic scene. Others may see an inspirational scene of people overcoming adversity. Some may see food such as peppers. Importantly, people will be able to point to different features of the painting as indicating peppers or demons or triumph.

Even though the painting is supposed to represent a "blooming, buzzing confusion," people have a natural tendency to categorize aspects of their experience, and categorization is an important part of successfully navigating our world. Importantly, people differ in how they categorize objects and events in the world.

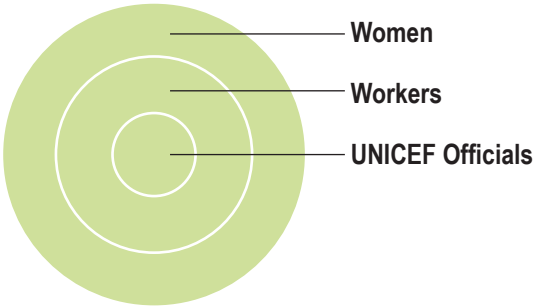
WHAT IS A CATEGORY?

A *category* is a collection of things that resemble each other. In the image above, all those things resemble each other, and they all belong to the category "food." They also belong to the category "Vietnamese food." They do not belong to the category "rock," nor do they belong to the category "social norm." When we categorize some object, event or behavior, we first observe the object. Next, we check that object against different categories that we possess. If the object has enough relevant similarity to objects in some particular category, then we say that the first object belongs to the category.

There are many categories that we use to navigate the world. Examples include birds, rocks, grasses, rivers, mountains, teachers, women, men, and so on. If we are interested in understanding behaviours constituting or enabling violence against children, certain categories will be more relevant than others.

Here are some categories we may find useful in the context of violence against children: male, female, adult, child, adolescent, infant, toddler, man, woman, boy, girl, teacher, headmaster, partner, husband, wife, uncle, police officer, parliamentarian. This list is not exhaustive! You will need to do the necessary work of figuring out which categories are important for your projects.

GOALS AND CONTEXTS DETERMINE WHICH CATAGORIES WE USE



NATURAL VS SOCIAL CATEGORIES

SEX
- Biology
- Outer Physical Characteristics
- Genetic and Hormonal Characteristics
- Reproductive Activities

GENDER
- Cultural Meanings
- 'Man' / 'Woman' Roles
- Psychological Traits
- Skills
- Behaviours
- Values

One very basic distinction among different kinds of categories is the distinction between natural and social categories.

Natural categories are categories that deal with natural facts. Natural facts correspond to facts that do not depend on human thought and social behaviour for their existence. In the example above, we have classified 'sex' as a natural category. 'Sex' refers to the category of biological facts about physical bodies. The existence of genetic and hormonal characteristics does not depend upon human thought and behaviour.

Social categories are categories that deal with social facts. Social facts correspond to facts that do depend on human thought and social behaviour for their existence. In the example above, we have classified 'gender' as a social category. 'Gender' refers to the category of social facts about persons or agents. The existence of the gender roles of 'man' and 'woman' does depend upon human thought and behaviour. Facts about 'men' can vary as a result of cultural variation or variation in the thoughts and behaviours of social groups.

A striking feature about the example above is that sex and gender are often thought to be one-and-the-same, or, at the very least, to 'go together.' Facts about biology are thought to imply facts about psychological traits — for example, someone may make a (poor) judgment that someone is likely to be 'emotional' on the fact that the person has female biological markers (such as breasts). **But natural facts are not social facts, natural categories are not social categories, and there is no necessary connection for most behaviours between the two. Be on guard not to confuse them!**

SCHEMAS: FILLING IN THE CATEGORIES

- Schemas are socially shared beliefs that apply to people and situations on the basis of their belonging to a category.
- Schemas involve beliefs (factual and personal normative), social expectations (empirical and normative), and behavioural rules.

We can think of categories as being like buckets. When we need to interpret the world, we need to put objects into buckets to make the world manageable for our actions. So we may classify some object as a 'hammer,' and that means that if we need to nail some other thing down, we can use that thing (the hammer) to get the job done. We may classify some person as a 'teacher,' and that means that we can interact with that person to get information on some topic.

But the categories are also full of other information.

A schema is a socially shared belief that applies to some object or situation on the basis of that thing belonging to a category. We are not just interested in categories. We are also interested in the schemas that fill out categories.

For us, we are interested in schemas that are relevant to tackling violence against children, so we will be interested in schemas for people. So, from now on in this document, whenever we use the word 'schema,' we will use it to refer to socially shared beliefs that apply to people on the basis of their belonging to a social category. Relevant examples may include mother, father, child, family member, police office and so on. Again, this list is not exhaustive!

The important point to remember here is that there exist schemas — in particular related to **age, gender and power** — that we must pay attention to if we would like to successfully tackle the problem of violence against children. These schemas will involve factual beliefs, personal normative beliefs, empirical expectations, normative expectations and behavioural rules.

SCRIPTS: SITUATION SCHEMA

When there is some schema for an event or a behaviour, we will call that a script. Feel free to interpret 'script' in a very literal way. Imagine a movie script or a play script. There will be particular roles. Those actors who occupy those roles have to perform certain behaviours. The script will tell them where to stand, what to say, what sort of emotion to convey, whom to interact with, in which way, and so on.

Take the example of the movie *The Avengers*. There are different actors fulfilling different roles. They each have their own lines. They interact with each other in certain ways. And, importantly, they do all that because that is what the script requires that they do.

We may not notice it very often, but we live our lives according to scripts. Consider the right image above: a woman is buying some good from a street vendor in Harare. There is a "buying a good from a street vendor in Harare" script! The buyer should speak to the vendor in a certain language, the buyer should exchange some money for the good, the buyer should not steal the good, the buyer should not sit on the goods while singing a song, and so on.

Scripts are such a pervasive part of our life that we often do not notice that we are acting according to scripts. But scripted behavior becomes very apparent when someone violates the script. Violation of scripts often involve violations of social expectations, and violations of social expectations can cause a range of reactions – from laughter (for violating 'light' scripts) to anger and violence.

SCRIPTS TELL US HOW TO ACT

- They describe socially expected sequences of events in well-known situations
- They contain roles and rules

AN EXAMPLE TO RUN THROUGH

Let us now take what we have said about schema and script and look at a concrete example that is relevant to the violence against children behaviour that we would like to address.

There is a schema that exists for 'good mother.' The schema for 'good mother'will differ from the schema for 'mother.' Presumably, a 'good mother' is a mother who has the qualities and characteristics and who performs the behaviors that are socially approved in some context. So, for example, a 'good mother' is likely to be compassionate, kind, and cares about her children, but she also has to perform certain behaviours. When talking about which behaviours a good mother should perform, we are talking about the 'good mother' script.

THE 'GOOD MOTHER' SCRIPT

- When a child misbehaves, a good mother will...
- When the husband comes home from work, a good wife will...
- In dealing with the in-laws, a good husband will...

Notice that in our example above, we have an event description ('when a child misbehaves') followed by a role ('good mother') and an action ('will do'). All three are important components: what a good mother will do will vary as a result of the circumstances. Maybe a good mother uses corporal punishment on her children when they misbehave, but they have to misbehave in a very particular way. We need to have that information.

The other two examples are meant to show that there are social expectations about many different kinds of social roles (husband, wife).

EXERCISE 7 'GOOD BOY' AND 'GOOD GIRL' SCRIPTS OVER TIME

Here is an exercise to refresh your understanding about schemas and scripts. This exercise builds on work from the first day. On the first day, participants are split into groups. We have large stick-figure drawings of boys and girls across age ranges. There are two sets of boys across age ranges and two sets of girls. There is one group who goes to each set. On the first day, participants had access to stickers that represented resources and factual beliefs. Participants fixed those stickers to boys or girls at a particular age range dependent upon whether participants thought that boys or girls at that age range had access to those resources or possessed those factual beliefs.

In this exercise, we again assign a group to one of the four sets. Here, though, participants must attach stickers that say that a 'good' boy or girl of that age will have: this or that factual belief, personal normative belief, empirical expectation about their parents, and normative expectations about their parents. The context of this exercise is that understanding the development of schemas over time can allow participants to understand how different interpretations of 'good boy' or 'good girl' can create feedback loops that could drive violence against children.

After participants complete stage one of the exercise, have participants look at the work of other groups and answer the reflection questions. Participants should come to realize that there will be both agreement and disagreement about the beliefs and expectations a good boy and girl should have.

This underscores the idea that 'boy' is a social category filled in with social information about beliefs and expectations.

This insight is important. We must remember that we do not always share schemas and scripts with one another. Further, this exercise demonstrates that consulting your own social expectations is not a reliable method for discovering the social expectations of any group.

GROUP DISCUSSION AND REFLECTION

Look at what other groups have written down, placing special attention on people who worked on the same gender category as you.

- What's the same?
- What's different?
- What's surprising?
- What's right?
- What's wrong?
- Why?

Remember that gender is a role! There are factual beliefs about the genders, personal normative beliefs, empirical expectations and normative expectations. Gender is the bundle of those beliefs and expectations held by members of a particular reference network.

Still, we want to know how beliefs about gender roles are formed so that we can see if gender roles are helping to cause behaviours related to violence against children.

One prominent theory about gender roles says that people observe a gendered division of labour, infer attributes that explain that division of labour, and then form beliefs about gender roles on the basis of those behaviour and attributes.

On the left is an image of men in northern Zimbabwe mining for gold. The right is an image of women separating tobacco in central Zimbabwe. Applying the theory above, people observe that men do activities like mining while women do activities like sorting crops.

What attributes could people come up with that would potentially explain the behaviour? For example, men may mine because they are "physically strong." But women may sort because they are "better able to pay attention to small details." People may think that these attributions hold for men and women as a type. Even though there exist women physically strong enough to mine and men attentive enough to sort, physical strength gets assigned to 'man' while attentiveness gets assigned to 'woman.'

The same holds true for behaviours that are even more obviously social. So, because men are in the armed services, they will be seen as having certain attributes that are thought necessary to perform the role of soldier. Those attributes will be different from the attributes assigned to women on the basis of caring for the young in their family. We may not even notice that we are making these attributions until we see a woman performing a soldier function or a father performing a childcare function — that is, until we observe a script violation.

We have seen now how one theory explains the formation of gender roles and gender schema and scripts. But it is important that we go a little deeper and understand how it is that beliefs about gender roles can become normative.

Remember that when we are talking about 'normative' stuff, we are talking about 'should.' Our theory has two main normative components: (1) personal normative belief and (2) normative expectation. Again, a personal normative belief is a belief held by a person about what action someone should do. A normative expectation is an expectation held by a person about other people's personal normative beliefs.

HOW BELIEFS ABOUT GENDER ROLES BECOME NORMATIVE

- Shared beliefs about gender roles seem valid.
  "Everyone thinks that!"
- Shared beliefs about gender roles that seem valid are then seen to describe natural characteristics.
  "Everyone thinks that because that is how the world is!"
- Because beliefs seem to be about natural characteristics, gender roles become normative.
  "The way the world is is the way the world should be!"

What the box above discusses is one way in which gender schemas (that is, socially shared beliefs about genders) can become internalized into personal normative beliefs. The first step comes when people form gender beliefs on the basis of making attributions to genders that potentially explain gendered divisions of labour. At this second stage, individuals notice that their beliefs about gender roles are shared. If beliefs about gender roles are in fact widely shared, people may quickly come to think that they are valid ("everyone thinks that"). The beliefs may be seen as valid because people will interpret consensus of belief about gender roles as evidence that the world is set up a certain way ("everyone believes that because that's the way the world is"). Notice that this involves confusing social and natural categories — in particular, people are taking consensus about a social category as evidence that the category is really a natural category. This is a fallacy and mistake. Finally, people often think that what is natural is what is good or what is natural is how things should be ("the way the world is is the way the world should be!") This too is a fallacy and mistake. Simply because the world is a certain way does not imply or mean that the world should be that way. For example, that people commit violence against children does not mean that people should!

We will now examine three ways that schemas can change over time. Each of these models of change relies upon people observing script-violating behaviour. Another way to think about the information on the above box, then, is to think about how people may update their schema in response to their empirical expectations about others' behaviour changing.

THREE MODELS OF SCHEMA CHANGE

- **Bookkeeping Model**: Revision is gradual process of tuning in with new discrepant information
- **Conversion Model**: Sufficient disconfirming evidence leads to sudden change
- **Subtyping Model**: Subcatagories develop in response to isolated disconfirmation

There are two main types of model above: one that requires very little evidence about observed behaviour to cause schema change, and two that require substantial evidence about observed behaviour to cause schema change.

The **conversion** model presupposes that there can be sufficient disconfirming evidence that leads to sudden schema change. For example, consider the belief that 'honest people do not lie.' If I observe someone who I think is honest lying, then I will likely quickly update my belief. Either the schema no longer applies to that person, or I update the schema to reflect that honest people may lie sometimes. The conversion model is very rare. For most of the behaviours that we are interested in, a different model is likely necessary.

The **bookkeeping** and **subtyping** models presuppose many observations about behaviour gradually leading to schema update. In the bookkeeping model, the revision of the schema is a gradual process of aligning the schema with the new information about discrepant (script-violating) behaviour. Increased observation of script-violating behaviour causes revision to the entire schema. In the subtyping model, the original schema is broken apart as a result of observations of script-violating behaviour. For example, consider the belief that 'women are unreliable.' I may observe behaviour of women being reliable when it comes to performing some job. As a result, my entire schema for women may update so that it no longer includes the original belief about the reliability of women. That would be bookkeeping. Alternatively, my schema for women may break apart. I may now have schema for 'women who do that job' and 'women who do not do that job,' which replace (for the purpose of thinking about reliability) the old 'woman schema.' My original schema 'woman' is now broken up into subtypes along which I classify individuals.

EXERCISE 8

- With your group, pick a particular schema that reinforces violence against children
- Man, woman, boy and girl
- Which model seems to fit best for bringing about shcema change?
- What behaviors could be done to disrupt the script for man, woman, boy and girl?

For this exercise, we ask participants to apply what they know about schemas and about schema change to particular behaviours related to violence against children.

A central feature of this exercise is that it is open-ended and requires participant interpretation. Notice that we put participants back into their pre-assigned groups. From there, we assign participants to one of four roles along gender and age dimensions (man, woman, boy and girl). Here, participants are supposed to think about how gender schema can support or enable many different types of violence against children. Participants must think about particular aspects of the schema — in particular, participants should think of the social expectations (empirical and normative) that attach to different aged gender roles. For some social expectations, participants should think about which model would seem to best fit how that social expectation could be altered. For most social expectations, that will be either the bookkeeping or subtyping model. That is, in order to update many social expectations, people will have to observe many script-violating behaviours in order for empirical expectations to begin to update.

The final part of this exercise asks participants to think about which sort of script-violating behaviours would be effective for disrupting the scripts for their assigned role. The point of this part of the exercise is to get students thinking about aspects of social change before we get to the unit on social change. Participants should already be making preliminary connections between essential course concepts and their application. By thinking about disruptive behaviours now, participants can be better positioned to understand, at a theoretical level, why some interventions succeed while others fail.

WHAT STANDS IN THE WAY OF MAINTAINING POSITIVE SCHEMA CHANGE?

- Belief perseverance: ignore exceptions; interpret exceptions as confirmatory
- Consistency of evaluations of evidence and beliefs
- Secondhand judgements (judgements relying on secondhand information)

Now that we have examined in more depth how schemas and scripts can be changed, let us now turn to some mechanisms that prevent maintaining or creating positive schema change.

Each of these mechanisms is different. It is important to underline this, for the difference in mechanism requires a difference in intervention.

The first mechanism is belief perseverance. This is a form of confirmation bias. People ignore evidence of script-violating behaviour; alternatively, people interpret the script-violating behaviour as evidence for the normativity of the script. This is 'the exception that proves the rule' thinking, and it often stands in the way of social change.

The second mechanism is the perception of consistency of evaluations of evidence and beliefs. There could be some evidence of script-violating behaviour, but the overwhelming majority of evidence consists of observations of script-following behaviour. Empirical expectations do not update.

The third mechanism is the formation of judgements based upon testimony. You may observe some script-violating behaviour, but most everyone you trust tells you that they do not observe new behaviour. Your judgement then tracks their testimony instead of your observational evidence.

EXCERCISE 9

SCHEMA MAINTENANCE

- In your group, think of which forms of schema maintenance are most relevant in your communities.
- What can you do in your communities to disrupt those forms of maintenance?
- Does it differ in different communities?
- Why or why not?

In this exercise, students apply what they have learned about schema maintenance and the mechanisms that stand in the way of updating schema.

First, students should identify the forms of schema maintenance in their community for the aged gender role that they worked on in previous exercises (in this way, the exercises build on each other through the workshop). So, for example, a group will think about schema maintenance for man, woman, boy, and girl. Participants should think concretely and creatively about what can be done in different communities to disrupt those mechanisms, and they should examine whether a one-size-fits-all approach to social change is likely to work. The ideal outcome is that students can recognize on their own the need to tailor the intervention to the particular form of maintenance that matters in a community.

SECTION 3

SOCIAL NETWORKS

WHY SOCIAL NETWORKS?

Think back to our guiding question: why do people do what they do? So far, we have seen that sometimes people do what they do because they make an independent choice. Other times people do what they do because they make an interdependent choice. We might be tempted to think that we can continue to think about communities as we have in the past — just thinking about individuals and about groups. We should resist that temptation, for the way that we typically think about communities is not good enough if we wish to diagnose and intervene on different collective patterns of behaviour.

IS THINKING ABOUT INDIVIDUALS GOOD ENOUGH? NO!

- As we have seen, just thinking about individuals is not good enough.
  - — Social norms can affect people's choices.
  - — Social norms are driven by communities.

We have already seen that thinking about individuals is often not good enough. If individuals are making interdependent choices, then those people have preferences conditional on empirical and normative expectations.

SO IS THINKING ABOUT GROUPS ENOUGH? NO.

- Groups are often quite complicated.
  - — Individuals have particular relationships.
  - — Individuals interact with particular people in different ways.
  - — Some individuals are more influential than others (power dynamics).
- Just thinking about 'groups' obscures these differences.

Importantly, thinking about groups is not good enough either. A group is just a collection of people. But groups have internal structures or relations, and those relations are often important to identify if we wish to change harmful behaviour. In a group, some individuals are more influential than others, some individuals talk to only certain other individuals in the group, and so on. There are many ways that some individuals may have access to more or less power (which we can break down even further to think about different types of power, such as power *within*, power *over*, power *with* and power *to*). If we only think about a 'group,' we could miss those important differences.

ALTERNATIVE: LET'S THINK ABOUT RELATIONSHIPS

Instead of thinking about just individuals and groups, we can enrich our understanding by thinking about relationships.

- Who trusts whom? (and for what?)
- Who gossips with each other?
- Who is in the same family?
- Who intermarries?
- Who are neighbours?

A network is a set of relations that exist between individuals in a group. This way of thinking allows us to think not just about individuals and groups. Now we can think about how those groups are structured by thinking about relationships between individuals.

The questions above are examples of questions you might ask if you were interested in the trust relation or the gossips-with relation.

The box below offers more examples of relations that might exist in a group. Notice that 'attacks' and 'bullies' are relations. They are relations that we are trying to break down through effective interventions.

THERE ARE MANY MORE!

- **Social Roles:** friend of, teacher of, etc.
- **Affect:** likes, loves, hates, etc.
- **Money transfers:** pays, buys from, sells to, etc.
- **Acts:** eats with, attacks, bullies, etc.
- **Co-occurance:** uses same water as, goes to same hospital as, uses same toilet as, etc.
- **Trust/Respect:** Whose advice is taken most seriously? Who can help to convince people to change behavior? Is it different for different people? Whose esteem does someone want?
- **Information:** Who talks to whom? Does everyone have access to media?
- **Contact:** How many people does each person see each day? Who might be a disease vector?

For each of these, remember to ask yourself:
Is it different for different people?
And think about age, gender, vocation, etc.

EXCERCISE 10

With your group, consider the case study you are working on (i.e. parental violence, teacher violence, peer violence). We have already thought about whether it is a *norm*. Now, we want to think about the *networks*. What kinds of relationships are most important for sustaining violence? Trust? Gossip? Friendship? What questions can help you understand these relationships better?

For example, a group using the case study of 'corporal punishment at school' decided to look at relationships of trust. They discussed:

- Think about the child's perspective: Who does the child trust and why?
- Think about the parents' perspective: Who do the parents trust and why?

The point of this exercise is to get participants to engage with the idea of networks before presenting more theory to them. This exercise occurred at the end of a day of training for social categories, schemas and scripts. Participants return to their groups, and each group must answer the questions above. Collect the answers from the groups. The facilitator should collect all answers and use some method to display the answers for the next lecture. PowerPoint was convenient for the Penn facilitator, but the same technique is open to those with markers and large sheets of paper.

At the start of the next lecture, display the groups' answers. Each group then must present their answers to all participants of the workshop. Allow enough time that each group can receive adequate feedback from other participants. This exercise is largely predicated on peer learning.

Participants should begin to focus more closely on who trusts whom and on the differences between children and their parents or primary caregivers. Understanding the perspective of each is crucial to bringing about positive social change.

An example of group work for this exercise:

SEXUAL VIOLENCE OF CHILDREN BY CLOSE RELATIVES

Child's Perspective

- Blames self; feels heartbroken, vulnerable, confused, sad; believes trust has been broken; believes she could have provoked the rape; if boy, can have feeling of being feminized; may think it's because "I am beautiful"

Parents' Perspective

- The case may be hidden or solved within family.
- If breadwinner, also hidden (financial dependence)
- Some can report to police

Child's Trust and Why

- Depends on who is the perpetrator, whether the child knows that sexual abuse is a crime, and the age of the child
- Can't trust a friend, mother, teacher or neighbour; may not tell anyone (e.g., a victim being raped by police when she tried to report)
- May go to church organization

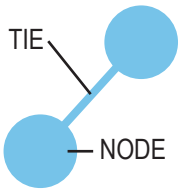
Parents' Trust and Why

- Traditional community leaders; extended family; police

Networks are sets of relations. We can see that individuals are not independent, they are interdependent. We show this by connecting individuals (nodes) with relationships (edges) in the next section. **REMEMBER!** The same group of people might have multiple networks, each describing some kind of relationship.

SAMPLE SOCIAL NETWORK

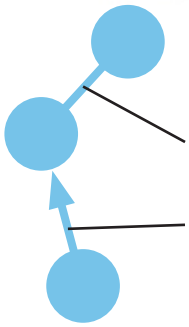
Here is a sample illustration of a social network. This illustration does not depict all possible relations that exist in the group. Nor is it representative of all social networks. Rather, the illustration serves as a first attempt at visualizing a social network.



Networks are built out of:

Nodes – Representing individuals or families or villages, depending on your level of analysis

Ties – Also called Edges, represent a particular relationship



Ties can be thought of in two ways:

Undirected Tie – Represents a two-way relationship (Friend of, Spouse of, Uses same toilet as)

Directed Tie – Represents a one-way relationship (Lent money to, Son of)

The two most basic concepts of network theory are nodes and ties (or edges).

Nodes represent your unit of analysis. You may want to examine how individual people interact, or you may want to examine how families or communities or institutions interact.

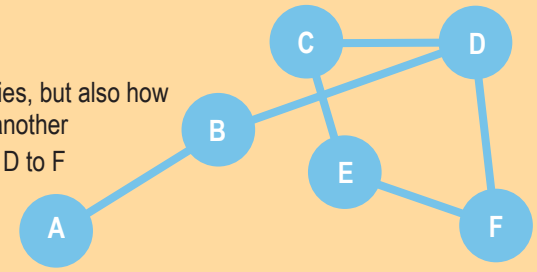
Ties represent the relations between your units of analysis. The relations you will be interested in will vary, but, for behaviours related to violence against children, certain relations will be important. These include, but are not limited to, the violence, trust and information-sharing relations.

Just as relations can go one-way or two-way, ties can go one-way or two-way. If you think about a relation like 'bullies,' you are often thinking of a one-way relation. Person A bullies Person B, but Person B does not bully Person A. The bully relation goes 'one-way' from Person A to Person B. But relations related to violence against children can go two-way. Think about 'fights with.' If Person A fights with Person B, then it is also the case that Person B fights with Person A (most of the time).

Trust and information-sharing relations can go one-way or two-way, depending upon the individuals involved and how they relate to one another.

PATHS BETWEEN NODES

- We care not just about direct ties, but also how we can get from one node to another
- A path from A to F is: A to B to D to F
- Distance is the shortest path (so 4 here)



Use the box above to introduce an impromptu and unannounced exercise. Assign different participants to the nodes A, B, C, D, E and F. Have participants discuss who they would need to go through in order to get a message to different nodes from different starting points. Allow enough time for people to become comfortable enough with the idea of distance and information paths in a network.

Participants should come to realize that A is fairly isolated from the rest of the network and that B and D are bridges between A and the rest of the network.

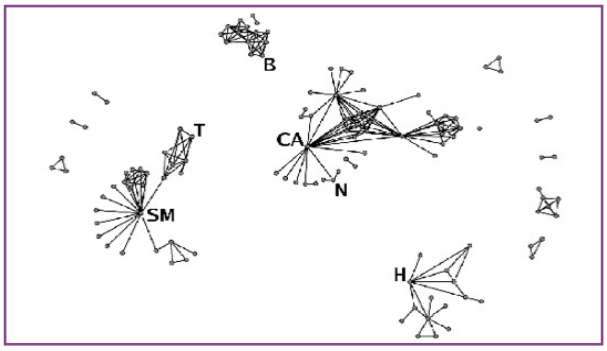
An important point to underline is that the quality of any information decreases as you increase the distance of the path.

WHY CARE ABOUT DISTANCE?

- Messages can get distorted as they are repeatedly communicated in a chain
  'Telephone' game
- Greater distances represent weaker overall connections
  People listen to friends/family more than to strangers
- Distance is a rough guide to how long norms take to diffuse through a network

FEATURES OF NETWORKS

- Networks may or may not be connected
- Networks are connected when there is some path that takes any node to any other node
- When networks are not connected, they are made up of **components**



It is important to realize that not all networks are connected. A network is connected when there is some path between any node in the network to any other node in the network. A network is disconnected if there is not some path between any node and any other node. In the above image, SM and T are examples of a connected network. The fragments scattered to the far right of the image shows a disconnected network made up of different components.

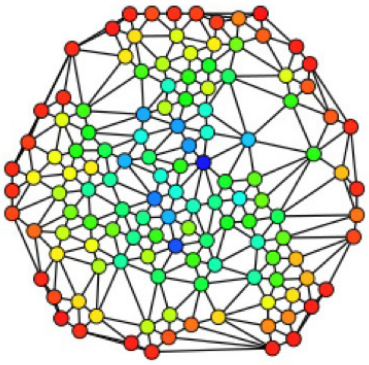
This distinction is important because certain interventions will be successful only if the network is connected. A disconnected network may imply that multiple interventions are necessary.

EXERCISE 11

In your group, think about your VAC case study. Try and draw one of the reference networks you think is most relevant to it.

- What kind of relationship is it?
- Is this network connected or not?
- Who are the opinion leaders, if any?

This exercise asks participants to individually think about a behaviour related to violence against children, while asking whether that network is connected. For example, consider the relation 'assaults.' The 'assaults' network is likely not connected. But the 'shares information with' behaviour or relation does likely have a connected network. Understanding the different enabling behaviours that allow for violence against children is important if you want to have effective and sustainable interventions and social change.

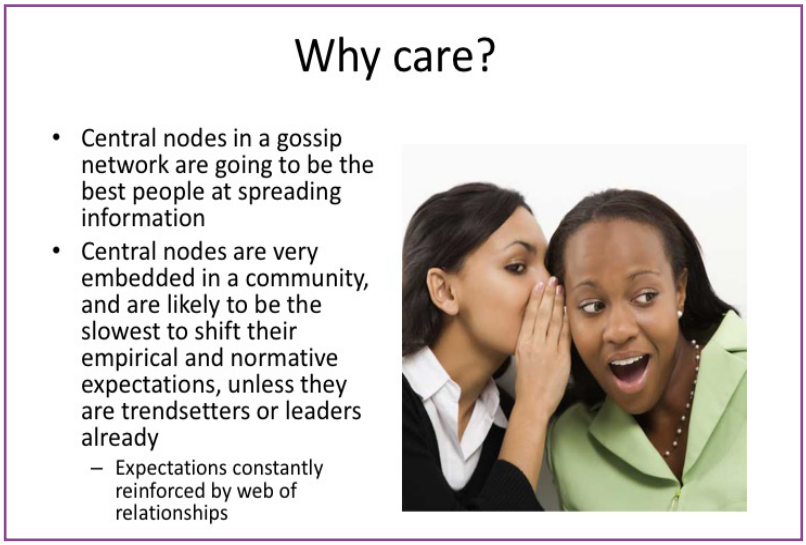


At left is an image of a sample social network. Cooler colours indicate more central nodes, while warmer colours represent more peripheral nodes. Use this illustration to again reinforce the ideas of distance and path. If need be, again assign individuals to nodes and have participants count the distance of the path.

Central nodes are nodes that, on average, are closer to all other nodes compared to other nodes.

If you think about a gossip network, individuals will be central just in case they hear more and share more gossip on average than other people in the gossip network.

Central nodes can be used for social change, but they can also stand in the way. In networks for information, central nodes can be very effective at spreading information. But those central nodes also receive lots of information from others, including information about other people's beliefs and expectations. Another way of making the point is to say that central nodes may be likely to be the slowest to shift their social expectations. However, if the central nodes have unconditional preferences, then central nodes may be likely to change before the larger social group does.



HIGH DEGREE NODES

Degree is a fancy way of saying how many connections a node has. Usually only a few nodes have very high degree – these are often called **hubs**.

A node will have a certain number of connections, and we say that **degree** designates how many connections a node has. In certain networks, there will be nodes that have connections to many other nodes. These very high degree nodes are called **hubs**.

It is extremely useful to identify high degree nodes. For trust or respect networks, high degree nodes represent *opinion leaders*. If I trust someone, it is likely that I may have preferences conditional on my social expectations about that person. In changing expectations, then, we want to find the individuals who matter to people's decisions.

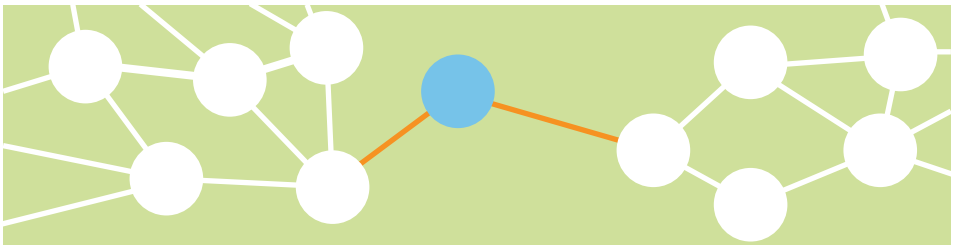
Do not assume the opinion leaders are the same as traditional leaders, formal leaders or legal authorities. Sometimes opinion leaders have formal roles in communities, but that is not always the case. Opinion leaders may not have any formal role at all, but people in the community trust that individual.

Opinion leaders are important to identify because they can become part of a 'core group' of change agents and because their behaviours and beliefs matter to other people.

Opinion Leaders

- Often have formal roles in community
  - Religious leaders
  - Village chiefs
- Not always though
  - Biggest gossip
  - Most admired person
- Frequently can be the start of a 'core group' of change agents

BRIDGES



Bridges connect communities together and they can help spread social norm change.

- They provide a connection from one village to another and can spread information
- They help communities take in new information
- If between communities, they can be less wedded to a given community's practices

This is our final node concept. Bridges are nodes that connect one network to another or that connect one component of a network to another component.

Bridges often exist between different communities. Because bridges are between communities, they may be less wedded to a given community's social norms. Part of the reason for that is that the bridge would not have constant reinforcement of social expectations.

Bridges can be useful for spreading information from one village to another or between subpopulations.

Sometimes bridges may not exist, and you will want to create them. There are individuals who could serve as bridges but who currently do not act in such a way. Identifying those potential bridges could also be very useful when trying to bring about social change.

EXCERCISE 12

NODES IN AN INFORMATION NETWORK

With your group, consider again your group work on the last exercise. Consider the information network for parents.

- Who are the central and high-degree nodes?
- Are there bridges? Who are they?

This exercise is meant to allow participants to exercise the basic social network concepts that they have just learned.

Here, give participants a network to examine. Participants must focus on a particular relation, and a good one to choose is the information-sharing network. When you ask participants to think about the information network for parents, you are asking them to think about the information-sharing network that exists and of which the parents are members. Participants should think, therefore, about the particular location that parents as a type may be in a network. After having thought about the network, participants should work to identify who, if anyone, would be a central and/or high-degree node and who, if anyone, would be a bridge or potential bridge node.

HOW DO WE UNCOVER NETWORKS?

1 Full Network Approach **2 Snowball Approach** **3 Ego-Centric Approach**

We will now examine three different ways to uncover, identify and measure networks. These three approaches are in descending order in term of cost but also reliability.

The most costly method (but also the most reliable method) is the full network approach. The least costly but also least reliable method is the egocentric approach. The snowball approach strikes a nice balance between reliability and cost, so it is in the middle.

As partially indicated above, each method has its strengths and weaknesses. You will have to use your practical wisdom and best judgement in deciding which method is appropriate for the particular community and the particular behaviour that you would like to address.

1 Full Network Approach

- Collect suveys or observations for everyone in a population
  - "Who do the girls marry here?"
  - "Where do you go to the bathroom?"
  - "Whose opinion do you respect?"
  - "Who might be disappointed if you do X?"
  - "Who punishes children?"
  - "Who do you talk to daily?"
- This is the costliest but most complete approach
- You ask everyone in the population the same questions at once
- You then take their answers to generate the network
- From there you can look for nodes with high-degree, or centrality, or bridges
- This can only work for smaller communities – not for a city.

2 Snowball Approach

Ask one or a small number of people whatever questions you have.

Then, as they list other people, go to those people and survey them as well.

Once you stop getting new people, or you decide you have enough data, stop.

- This method is useful for tracking down sub-populations mixed in with a larger population
  - *Special communities within a city*
- Works best for connected networks
  - *If network is not connected, then data can be skewed by who it starts with*
  - *Therefore, careful choice of starting points is essential*

The snowball approach will tend to be the method that may be best for your purposes.

First, you ask questions of a small number of people. For example, you may ask people who they trust or who their friends are. After you have asked the questions you want to ask, you then go to the people that your original sample mentioned. You survey these new people, and you continue the process as they list off other people. Once you stop getting new people or once you have decided that you have enough data, then you stop the process.

This method has the benefit that it is not as costly and resource-intensive as the full network approach. Remember that in the full network approach you must ask the questions to everyone in the network. That will be costly in terms of both money and time.

The snowball approach is less reliable than the full network approach because you are not capturing the information of everyone. So you may have to make some inferences from your survey group to the general population.

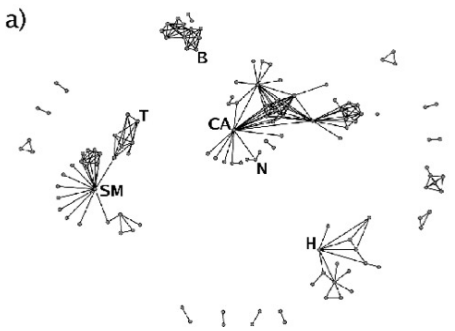
The snowball approach can be useful for tracking down sub-populations within larger populations.

But there is another potential drawback to the snowball method. If the network is not connected, you run the potential risk of missing out on components of the disconnected network. Look again to the image below. If your initial sample includes only SM, T, CA, and N, then you will miss the components involving B and H.

Therefore, careful choice of starting points in your initial survey is crucial.

REMEMBER!

Not all networks are connected



3 Ego-Centric Approach

As with Snowball, ask one or a few people your questions

"Who is your friend?"

Then ask them who the people they identify would themselves identify

"Who is your friend friends with?"

- This is the least reliable method of the three
- But, it is also the cheapest
- And potentially most useful in a large city
- It provides a sample of what the actual network may look like
- Also can (if repeated) help identify hubs

The egocentric approach is the final approach for discovering and measuring social networks. As in the snowball approach, you survey a group of individuals. You ask those people your question: for example, "Who are you friends with?" or "Who do you trust?" You then ask them the same questions but about their friends. For example, "Who is your friend friends with?" or "Who does the person you trust trust?" Unlike the snowball approach, you do not then go to those individuals listed.

This approach is the least reliable of the three. People are much more likely to be mistaken about who their friends are friends with than those friends. But the method is also cheap since you are not asking the questions of many individuals in the network. In a large city, the egocentric approach may be useful. If you repeat the method, you may identify hubs.

EXERCISE 13

WHICH APPROACH IS BEST?

- With your group, pick a behavior related to VAC and pick a particular community.
- Which method – full network, snowball or ego-centric – is the best method for that community?
- Why is that method the best method for that community?
- Which method is the worst for that community?
- Why is that method the worst?

The point of this exercise is to get participants to think about the different approaches for identifying social networks.

Participants again go to their pre-assigned groups. Each group picks any behaviour related to violence against children, but they must pick a particular community in which the behaviour is happening. This is important because we are trying to stress the idea that a network is the set of relations that exists between individuals in a community.

The network of interest in this exercise is the trust network. We want to find out who trusts whom in a given community when thinking about a behaviour related to violence against children.

Groups must pick an approach for identifying the trust network and explain why that approach would be the best. Then groups must pick what they think is the worst approach and explain why that approach would be the worst.

Participants should not just be able to identify different approaches to uncovering social networks. They should also understand the strengths and weaknesses of the various approaches. Some approaches work well in certain contexts or for certain purposes but are less well-adapted to other contexts or purposes. This reinforces the idea that context and purpose are important in measurement and intervention.

SECTION 4

SOCIAL CHANGE

Now that we've learned how to **diagnose** social practices, let's spend some time thinking about how we can **change** them. *When we create programs designed to effect social change, what works, what doesn't, and why?*

The s**ocial norms approach** emphasizes to us the ways that so many behaviors are **interdependent**: they depend on our beliefs about what others do and think. Even when we confront a harmful **independent** behavior, like a custom, our best solution may be to create a new social norm against the practice. For example, open defecation may be a custom (its practitioners do it mostly because it meets their needs, rather than in response to social expectations), but UNICEF has, in many cases, successfully effected a change in this practice by *creating a social norm* **against** open defecation. Community members stop engaging in the practice because they come to believe that others don't do it, *and* because they believe others think they shouldn't do it. Because social change is so often **interdependent** in this way, the social norms approach emphasizes the importance of programs that **engage the entire relevant community**, together, rather than ones that target people on an individual level.

In this section, you will **design your own intervention** to address a harmful collective practice related to violence against children. But first, we'll look at some of the **fundamental principles for changing social norms**, and then look at an example of a successful program that helped to reduce domestic violence in Barrancabermeja (a city in Colombia), so that you have some ideas to work with!

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES FOR CHANGING SOCIAL NORMS

- **Be deliberative, not didactic or manipulative**
  Favour deliberative processes that mobilize core values already shared, rather than top-down strategies that employ overly negative messaging. People need shared reasons to change.
- **Be participatory**
  Involve the whole community in a participatory process that decides the nature and direction of change.
- **Make knowledge public, not private**
  Everyone must see that others want to change. Everyone must see that everyone else is changing.
- **Be creative!**
  Resort to art

By being deliberative and participatory, we enlist the interests, beliefs, and values of the community in which we work. Negative, top-down messaging can create hostility and mistrust rather than cooperation. More importantly, a process that allows people to deliberate involves their social expectations in ways that lectures, billboards, or pamphlets may not. By encouraging people to participate and discuss, they learn more about one another's beliefs and practices! This is one way of making knowledge public, rather than private. Creativity and art is a related powerful way to engage the attention and interests of your community. We can see all of these principles embodied in a successful programme with which we have worked in Zimbabwe: African Community Publishing & Development Trust!

AFRICAN COMMUNITY PUBLISHING & DEVELOPMENT TRUST

Principles

- Build on what is there, promote local creativity and wisdom.
- Work with whole communities in an integrated way.
- The process is as important as the product; method should re-inforce content.
- Freedom of expression and access to information.
- Decentralisation and coordination of local initiatives.

Traditional approaches to violence reduction have treated it primarily as an *individual choice*. This leads to interventions that aim at changing individual minds. But successful interventions against social norms require *social interventions* that recognize the *interdependence* of our behaviors.

Simple information campaigns run the risk of accidentally *reinforcing* violent behaviors, if they reveal to people that they are very common. Poorly designed information campaigns can tell people that a norm for violence is present! We want to avoid this in our intervention design.

We need to pay attention to social messages, but they also need to be directed at something concrete. What are people supposed to stop? What is violence? What are others doing to end violence?

A COMPLETE CASE STUDY

With these basic principles in hand, let's look at an example of a program that succeeded in reducing violence against women and children: a campaign run by the NGO *Corpovisionarios* in Barrancabermeja, Colombia. *Corpovisionarios* followed a plan with three major steps:

STEP 1 DIAGNOSIS

To **diagnose** the problems that the people of Barrancabermeja faced, the researchers at *Corpovisionarios* used a multi-method, interdisciplinary approach, including a **large scale survey, interviews and focus groups**, and **analysis of already existing data**, including information about other programs already in place. You can read more about **measurement** later in this manual, but one very interesting feature to note is the way that *Corpovisionarios* **engaged children** in the diagnosis process. They gave children a simple, engaging task: *what is your community like*? **Draw it!** They received 902 such drawings. This was a characteristic one:

The man is saying: "I'm going to kill you for being unfaithful!" The woman says: "Why do you want to kill me? I didn't do it!" Underneath, the child has written this caption: "*Why do they take other people's lives? Only God has the right to take life away. Only for being unfaithful.*" Based on these studies, the researchers at *Corpovisionarios* concluded that intimate **partner violence** was a major problem in Barrancabermeja.

STUDY QUESTION

Look back at the **fundamental principles for changing social norms** (p. 18). Which, if any, of those fundamental principles does the *Corpovisionarios* diagnostic technique apply?

STEP 2 PRORITIZATION

Corpovisionarios didn't just **decide** what problem they would address, though. Instead, they *engaged the community* in that decision-making process. Based on their research, they identified *five* potential problems that seemed to be of concern to the community.

The results:
five critical problems

1. **Motorcycles and traffic-related deaths**
2. **High homicide rates: lives lost**
3. **Domestic violence**
4. **Misuse of public spaces**
5. **Cultural approval of illegal behaviour**

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They then held a series of community meetings and discussions, culminating in a *community decision* about which problem to work on. The community chose to prioritize **domestic violence**. This process gave the community a sense of *ownership* of the task of bringing about social change. However, *Corpovisionarios* saw other important benefits of this strategy, as well…

STUDY QUESTION

The third of the fundamental principles for changing social norms was: **Make Knowledge Public, Not Private**. How might *Corpovisionarios*' strategy for prioritization have contributed to that goal?

STEP 3 ENGAGEMENT

Finally, after doing the research necessary for a diagnosis, and working with the community to prioritize the problem they would focus on, *Corpovisionarios* implemented programmes to address the problem of **domestic violence**. They used several creative strategies:

Whistles against abuse

- **20 000 whistles were distributed**, along with a pedagogical card that included usage instructions and tools for "communicating better".
- **Distribution process highly visible** in local media (radio, TV, press)

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Theater-forum: partner violence

- A local theater group performed 75 open (public space) **scenes of partner violence**. When someone intervened, **discussion among casual spectators was encouraged and led by the actors, who had been previously trained on the topic.**

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Vaccine against violence

- Strategy was highly visible in **local, community-trusted media**.
- Actually taken very seriously!
- Led by professional psychologists.

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Zero Hour: a collective decision to enact change

- **'Hora cero' (zero hour: new starting point)** against abuse
- Massive event in city's central plaza
- Creation of **new normative and empirical expectations**

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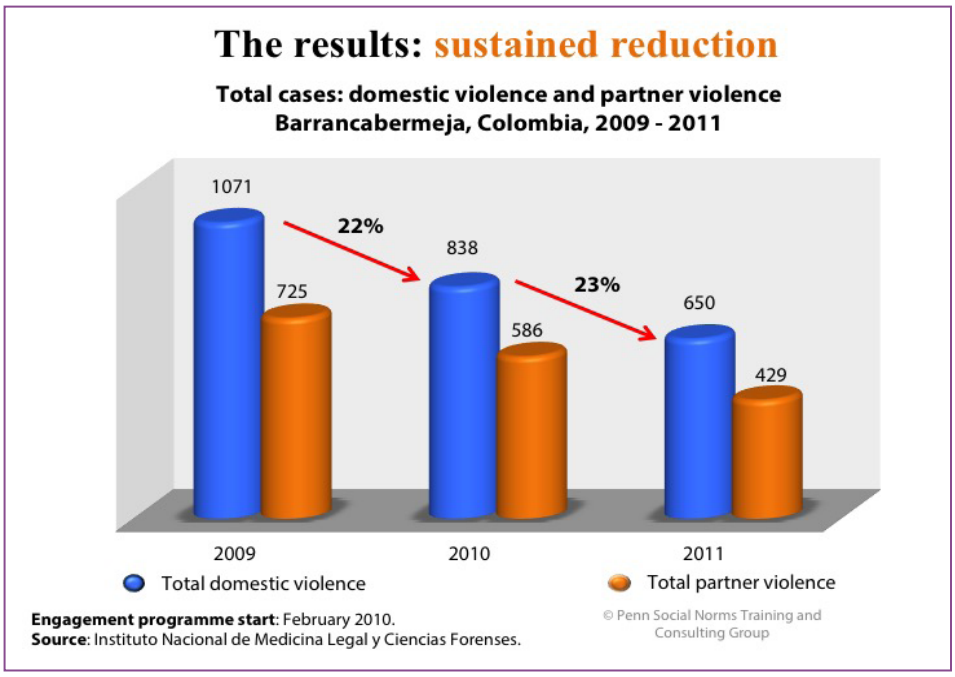
STUDY QUESTION

Why do you think *Corpovisionarios* thought that a public, collective declaration of the decision to change was an important step in the engagement process? Use social norms concepts in your answer!

RESULTS

Corpovisionarios carefully measured the effectiveness of their programme, and were happy to find it was (largely) successful.

Remember, changes in violence are notoriously difficult to interpret because a reduction may also signal, at least partially, other factors that keep incidents from being reported or recorded, even though they continue at the same rate or even increase. For example, changes to the law may cause some people to hide what is happening in order to protect family members or because they do not want to speak with police or the go through a judicial process. Reduced numbers of cases may also signal a change in people's access to services, or a reduction in service quality, leading people to refrain from seeking help because they do not see the benefit of doing so. Finding ways to also measure variables such as these (legal change and its effects on reporting, the quality and accessibility of relevant services) can increase your ability to link a visible reduction in the total number of cases being recorded with the likely reality behind those figures.



But remember! This example is only meant to give an illustration of the way social norms principles have been successfully put into practice. This exact model may not work in all contexts! That's why you need to use these basic ideas to create your own programmes and interventions.

EXERCISE 14

DESIGN YOUR OWN INTERVENTION!

Return to the case you diagnosed in the previous section. (Or, if you'd like to choose a new case to work on, you can do that as well.) Using the basic principles of social change above, combined with your theoretical knowledge of social norms, design your own social change programme to address the problem. Feel free to borrow some of the techniques of programmes you've already learned about, or participated in; feel free also to invent some techniques of your own! Be creative!

BONUS! TEAM ACTIVITY: COMMUNITY THEATER!

If you're using this manual in a larger group, it can be very entertaining (and very educational) to design and perform your own pieces of community theater, in groups. Design a piece of community theater whose purpose would be to prompt deliberation and discussion of the issues you are working on as a starting point to changing public empirical and normative expectations. Perform your piece for the group and lead a deliberative discussion afterwards!

Vicious bullies accost a younger classmate in this all-too realistic piece of community theatre from our training in Zimbabwe.

SECTION 5

MEASUREMENT

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF MEASUREMENT

Measurement is *extremely important*. What are we measuring? We are measuring the prevalence of behavior, factual beliefs, personal normative beliefs, empirical expectation and normative expectations. Remember a fundamental point of this program: **people do what they do because of their reasons**. We cannot always tell why someone is doing what he or she is doing merely because they are doing it.

Measurement solves this problem. If we measure beliefs and expectations, we can find out whether they matter for behavior. We can find out if they have causal influence on behavior. And if we know what is causing behavior, then and only then are we in a good position for intervention that is effective and sustainable.

SPECIFIC BEHAVIOUR BY A SPECIFIC GROUP

- Take a collective pattern of behaviour - sexual abuse of girls (women under age 18).
- Sexual abuse of girls occurs across situations - in the home, in the school, in the community.
- The people who sexually abuse girls in the home may not be the same as those who abuse girls at school.
- And their reasons for doing so may be very different.

CHOOSE SPECIFIC NORMS THAT MAY IMPACT BEHAVIOUR

- First, you must diagnose whether the behaviour you are interested in is a norm.
- Important: the behaviour itself may not be a social norm, but may be supported by surrounding norms! E.g. Gender norms could support the collective behaviour of physical abuse of boys.
- Remember: norms have **causal power**. If people engage in a normative behaviour, then they do so *because* they have the relevant social expectations.

MEASUREMENT: BEHAVIOUR

You want to ask very specific questions about very specific behaviours. You also want to ask questions that reveal who the specific actors or agents are. Acceptable forms of violence against children may also vary as a result of where the behaviour is taking place. You want to make sure that you have a sufficient number of questions that allow you to identify where, and exactly what kinds of violence against children are taking place.

Note: some of these questions are sensitive. You will want to work with local experts to come up with questions that will reveal behaviours.

BEHAVIOUR

Physical Violence:

- Do parents hit boys/girls with closed fists?
- Do parents slap boys/girls?
- Do parents physically discipline in public boys more than girls?
- Do parents physically discipline in public or only in the home?

You will need specific questions about behaviour across domains of abuse.

EXCERCISE 15

- Think of specific behaviours that you think are harmful and likely to be supported by social norms.
- Think of the specific people who engage in those behaviours.
- Consider the behaviour of non-reporting of abuse. What behavioural questions need to be asked?

MEASUREMENT: EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS

We need to be able to answer two questions: first, do empirical expectations exist? And second, do empirical expectations matter?

We are trying to find out whether people are making independent or interdependent choices. That is, we are trying to find out if people have unconditional or conditional preferences for engaging in behaviours of violence against children.

If people do not have empirical expectations (that is, if people do not have beliefs about others engaging in the behaviour), then it is impossible that people are making an interdependent choice. Necessarily their choice is independent, and we would only need to figure out if the behaviour were a custom or moral norm.

However, even if we know that empirical expectations exist, that is not enough. We must know whether empirical expectations matter. That is, we need to know that people have a belief that others are doing some behaviour and that that belief is causing those people to also do the behaviour.

That is why we need answers to the questions concerning what people would do if other people stopped the behaviour. If people would stop the behaviour because others have done so, then empirical expectations matter for the behaviour. We know that people are making an interdependent choice and that they have a conditional preference to engage in the behaviour.

- Ask actors about their beliefs concerning relevant behaviours:
  - Do most people do ..... ?
  - How many other parents do you think do ..... ?
  - What do you think the majority of responders said about doing ..... ?
- Hypothetical question:
  - What would happen if most other people stopped doing ..... ?
- Vary question for different members of reference network (parents, children, friends, relatives, imam, etc.)
  - If ..... gave you different advice, would you stop doing ..... ?
  - What would you do if ..... ?

MEASUREMENT: PERSONAL NORMATIVE BELIEFS

We also must ask about personal normative beliefs. Below are some examples of forms of questions that you could use to try to elicit personal normative beliefs.

Again, note that sometimes asking people directly about their personal normative beliefs may be problematic. We will cover how to address that problem later in the manual.

For now, remember that personal normative beliefs are different from normative expectations. You should not confuse them in crafting questions! Again, normative expectations are beliefs about other people's personal normative beliefs. Personal normative beliefs are beliefs about which actions the person thinks should happen. These can come apart, and we want to tell in measurement when they come apart. Doing so is crucial for designing successful interventions.

PERSONAL NORMATIVE BELIEFS

- Do you think it's right to do ..... ?
- Do you feel obligated to do .....?
- Do you approve of doing .....?

PERSONAL NORMATIVE BELIEFS vs. NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS

Personal normative beliefs **are not the same** as normative expectations.

Do not confuse them!

- *"I disapprove of hitting my wife, but the other men in my village approve of me hitting my wife."*
- *"I think it's right to call my son names for behaviour B, but others don't think it's right."*

MEASUREMENT: NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS

Just as with measuring empirical expectations, measuring normative expectations is a two-step process.

First, you must establish that normative expectations even exist. Say that you know that empirical expectations exist and that they matter. From that, you also know that preferences for the behaviour are conditional and that the choice is interdependent. But you do not know whether you are dealing with a descriptive norm or a social norm. If normative expectations do not exist, then it is impossible that you are dealing with a social norm.

DO NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS EXIST?

- What do you think the majority of responders believe mothers should do? If you answer correctly, then you get ..... ? (incentive)
- Do you believe that most other (members of the relevant reference network) think you should do ..... ? (incentivized)
- **NOTE**: You should already have the information on people's personal normative beliefs to check answers.

Second, you must establish that normative expectations matter. You are dealing with a social norm only when both empirical and normative expectations matter. The existence of social expectations is not sufficient. When asking whether normative expectations matter, you will again want to ask hypothetical or counterfactual questions about what people would do if their normative expectations changed. Because social norms often involve informal sanctions, you can ask about sanctions in order to ask about normative expectations.

DO NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS MATTER?

Reliable method:

- Ask about likely sanctions for going against the behaviour
- Ask counterfactuals about what people would do if the sanctions didn't exist

Asking about sanctions is an indicator of normative expectations because people punish those who violate what they perceive as the norm. In the questions below, you ask about what the individual would do and what the individual thinks that others would do. This gives us an idea about which sanctions currently exist.

NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS AND SANCTIONS

- If you were to not do (behavior), what would happen to you?
- If someone were to not do (behavior), what would you do to them?
- How do you think the majority of respondents would react to someone not doing (behavior)? (incentivize)

The next step is to ask counterfactual questions about what people would do if those sanctions did not exist. If a person responds that they would change their behaviour, this is evidence that the person has preferences that are conditional upon social expectations. If a person responds to the question about what others would do, the person reveals his or her beliefs about whether other people are also acting on a social norm.

COUNTERFACTUALS AND SANCTIONS

- If people did not (sanction) in response to (behaviour), would you not do .....?
- If you did not (sanction) in response to (behaviour), would (person) not do ..... ?
- How do you think the majority of respondents would act if (sanction) for (behaviour) did not exist? (incentivize)

PITFALLS OF MEASUREMENT: CULTURAL CONTEXT

We will now discuss potential problems with measurement.

The first problem is the general problem of cultural context. Some of the questions that you may generate may have certain meanings in some contexts but not in others. Some questions may be difficult to translate into local language or vernacular. Some questions will not make sense to some audiences. Some questions will be extremely sensitive because of their content. But we have to get answers to whether beliefs and expectations matter for behaviour.

CULTURAL CONTEXT

- Some phrasings have certain meanings in some contexts that they don't have in others.
- Make sure that you are using questions that are culturally appropriate by working with local individuals who can provide the relevant information to you. Do not assume that your questions as written are appropriate across all contexts.

This next short exercise asks participants to reflect on particular cultural factors that we should keep in mind when developing questions in a Zimbabwean or Swazi context. Even a change of context within the country (from urban to rural, for example) could affect how the questions are interpreted.

EXERCISE 16

- What are some of the cultural factors in Viet Nam, Indonesia, and/or the Philippines that we should take into account when developing a measurement scheme?
- This short exercise asks participants to reflect on particular cultural factors that we should keep in mind when developing questions in your country's context. Even a change of context within the country (from urban to rural, for example) could affect how the questions are interpreted.

The best available solution is to work with local experts to make sure that the questions that you are asking are going to be culturally appropriate and relevant. Do not assume that your questions as written are appropriate across all contexts! Rather, keep in mind that there is a difference between the questions we need answers to and the questions that we will actually ask in order to get those answers. When crafting the questions that will actually get asked, work with local experts. But remember that we need those questions to stand in for the questions that we need answered (about beliefs and expectations).

PITFALLS OF MEASUREMENT: HYPOTHETICAL QUESTIONS

It can be difficult for many people to entertain hypothetical questions. This difficulty can be amplified when people are asked to answer hypothetical questions involving people and themselves acting and believing in a way counter to known facts. When people have difficulty conceptualizing or answering a question, they are much more likely to give an answer that does not indicate their true view of the matter.

HYPOTHETICALS AND COUNTERFACTUALS

- What would happen if the majority of people no longer did .....?
  Possible Response: They wouldn't do that.
- What if people thought that doing (behaviour) were wrong?
  Possible Response: They wouldn't think that.
- People often have a resistance to entertaining counterfactuals about what they believe and expect.
- They will not entertain the possibility when asked directly about them and members of their reference network.

These are possible responses that you may encounter when asking counterfactual questions about social expectations. People have access to their current knowledge about empirical and normative expectations. So if you ask the hypothetical question, people may respond that others will not believe or act that way.

One way to get around this problem is to incentivize answers. The incentive should be just large enough to get people to focus on what they really believe. Incentivize correct answers. If people believe that they can get some small reward for answering correctly, people are able to overcome some psychological blocks that would prevent them from answering correctly in the non-incentivized case.

INCENTIVIZE QUESTIONS ABOUT OTHERS

- How many respondents think that (behaviour) is appropriate?
- Incentivize correct answers.
- If you get this question correct, then you get .....?
- Make sure that the incentive is just large enough to focus people into giving what they perceive as the correct answer.

What is important here is not that people get the 'correct' answer. What is important is that we are able to measure people's perceptions about the beliefs and behaviours of those in their network. That is, we want the information on people's social expectations.

VIGNETTES: ONE WAY TO AVOID POTENTIAL PITFALLS

Vignettes can be useful for dealing with cultural context and difficulty with counterfactual questions. By answering questions about fictional characters, people can express their beliefs and expectations. Moreover, people are in a better position to answer hypothetical questions because the questions are not directly about them and the members of their reference network.

TRY VIGNETTES

- Short stories or depictions of behaviour involving fictional characters with enough relevant similarity to those you are questioning.
- Alternate or vary small details of the vignette to try to figure out when, for example, normative expectations matter.

VIGNETTES THAT MANIPULATE SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS

Mr. Badji has been visited by a very respectable family who want their son to marry Mr. Badji's daughter. It is a very good opportunity, but Mr. Badji's daughter is 15 years old and still going to school.

	EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS	NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS
MARRY EARLY	Most girls in the village marry before they are 16 years old.	People in the village say a good father arranges a good marriage as soon as a good opportunity arises.
MARRY LATE	Most girls in the village marry after finishing high school, at 18 years old or later.	People in the village say a good father arranges a good deucation first, and only after that he arranges a good marriage.

Questions to be asked about these vignettes:

- In your opinion, will Mr. Badji ultimately agree to the marriage of his daughter (behaviour)?
- Why (preferences)?
- What, if anything, might drive Mr. Badji to agree to the marriage (preferences)?
- What, if anything, might drive Mr. Badji to say no to the marriage (preferences)?
- Do you think Mr. Badji should agree to the marriage (personal normative belief)?

PRECAUTION WITH RESPECT TO VIGNETTES

- "Despite the many benefits that the use of vignettes offers, it is worth acknowledging they do have some potential pitfalls. Any vignette designer must be careful that the vignette is not so complex or alien that the respondent has trouble understanding or relating to it (Finch, 1987). Moreover, it is possible that respondents will 'fill in' the missing information of a particular vignette in different ways; for example, some respondents might imagine that Mr. Badji is Muslim, and others might imagine that he is Hindu (or Christian, or agnostic). Thus, it is worth making any critical details explicitly stated so that respondents do not imagine the scenarios in different lights (thereby adding undesirable noise to the data)."

  Bicchieri, Lindemans, Jiang (2014)

There are potential pitfalls for using vignettes. First, the characters must be relevantly similar to the people you are surveying or else you will not get information about those people's social expectations. Second, the vignette must have enough relevant information so that people are not silently 'filling in' the vignette with other beliefs that they have, distorting the data. Crafting vignettes is both an art and a science. Work with experts to make sure that your vignette is contextually appropriate and getting at the right information.

GLOSSARY

Bookkeeping Model: A model for schema change that says that revision of the schema is a gradual process of aligning the schema with new information about script-violating behavior

Bridges: Nodes that connect one network to another or that connect one component of a network to another component

Category: A collection of things that resemble each other

Central Nodes: Nodes that have, on average, the shortest path to all other nodes in a given network, in comparison to other nodes

Conditional Preference: A preference to act in a certain way in a certain situation given that you believe that others do the behavior (empirical expectation) or that others think you should do the behavior (normative expectation)

Connected Network: A network in which there is a path from one node to any other node in the network

Conversion Model: A model for schema change that says that revision of the schema is a sudden schema change in response to sufficient disconfirming evidence

Custom: A collective pattern of behavior that people unconditionally prefer to conform to given that they believe that it meets their needs

Disconnected Network: A network in which it is not the case that there is a path from one node to any other node in the network; when a network is disconnected, it is made up of components

Descriptive Norm: A collective pattern of behavior that people prefer to conform to on the condition that they expect others in their reference network to act that way; preference conditional on empirical expectations

Edges: A representation of the relations between nodes in an application of social network theory; relations may go one-way or both-ways; also known as Ties

Ego-Centric Approach: A method of sampling social networks where you (1) survey an initial individual (or individuals if you wish to do multiple samples in parallel) (2) ask them to name other people they have a relationship with (for whichever relationship you are interested in), and then (3) ask about the relationships of the people the respondent named. In this way, we get a view of the network from a single individual's point of view. In a concrete case, you might ask Adam to list his friends, and then ask him to list his friends' friends. If you start with multiple people, you can examine how much these ego-centric networks overlap. Ego-centric network samples are inexpensive to conduct, but are often the lowest-quality data about a social network.

Empirical Expectation: A belief about which behaviors we expect others to do

Factual Belief: A belief about the way that the world is or the way the world could be

Full Network Approach: A method of sampling a network where you attempt to interview the full membership of the network to ask for their connections to others. This works best in smaller, closed networks, like a single village or school or firm. While it may be initially difficult to determine whether you are in fact interviewing everyone, this is easy to determine by whether respondents list relationships to people that you have not yet interviewed.

Gender: The bundle of factual beliefs, personal normative beliefs, empirical expectations and normative expectations that applies to some individual on the basis of their belonging to some gendered social category

High Degree Nodes: Nodes that have many edges or ties to other nodes; degree is determined by counting the number of edges that any given node has.

Interdependent Behavior: The choice or behavior depends, at least in part, on what I believe that others do (empirical expectations) or that others think I should do (normative expectations)

Independent Behavior: The choice or behavior does not depend on what I believe that others do (empirical expectations) or that other others think I should do (normative expectations)

Moral Norm: A collective pattern of behavior that people unconditionally prefer to conform to given that they believe that it is the right thing to do

Natural Category: Category that deals with natural facts

Network: A set of relations that exist between individuals in a group

Nodes: A representation of your unit of analysis in an application of social network theory; may be individuals, cities, organizations, etc.

Normative Expectation: A belief about which personal normative beliefs we expect others to have

Path: The shortest distance between any given nodes in a social network; counted by the number of nodes you must go through to travel from one given node to another given node

Personal Normative Belief: A belief about what some person or persons should do or which behaviors should happen

Preference: A disposition to act in a certain way in a certain situation; preference can be conditional or unconditional on empirical and normative expectations

Reference Network: The people who matter (if any) to your choice to engage in a behavior; the people whose behaviors and beliefs you refer to in conditionally preferring to engage in some behavior

Schema: A socially shared belief that applies to people on the basis of their belonging to a social category

Script: A socially shared belief that applies to situations or events on the basis of their belonging to a social category

Snowball Approach: A method for sampling social networks where you (1) survey an initial group of individuals of interest that you have reason to believe are members of the relevant network (2) ask them to name other individuals in the network, (3) go to the individuals they name and survey those individuals directly (this is the main difference to the Ego-centric Approach), and (4) stop when you have surveyed enough people for an adequate sample of the network. This will depend on your goals and available time and budget. One stopping condition is when the rate of new network information declines when interviewing new individuals – that is, you are no longer adding much detail to the network sample.

Social Category: A category that deals with social facts

Social Norm: A rule of behavior that people prefer to conform to on the condition that they expect others in their reference network to act that way and that they expect that members of their reference network believe that they should act that way; conditional on empirical expectations and normative expectations

Subtyping Model: A model of schema change that says that revision of the schema is a process of the schema breaking down into sub-schema in the presence of new information about behavior that violates existing scripts

Unconditional Preference: A preference to act in a certain way in a certain situation regardless of what you believe that others do (empirical expectation) or think you should do (normative expectation)