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Conceptualization, influences and outcomes

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GENDER SOCIALIZATION DURING ADOLESCENCE IN LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME COUNTRIES: CONCEPTUALIZATION, INFLUENCES AND OUTCOMES

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ABSTRACT

Adolescence is a critical period in the development of gender attitudes and behaviours, which have potentially life-long effects. The rapid changes that take place during adolescence provide opportunities for the development and implementation of policies and programmes, which can influence the gender socialization process, in order to maximize positive outcomes. This paper set out to provide a conceptual understanding of the gender socialization process during adolescence, its influences and outcomes, and practical suggestions on how to use this knowledge in the design of policies and programmes to improve gender equality. First, theoretical contributions from psychology, sociology and biology were reviewed to situate the gender socialization process during adolescence in a broader context of multi-level influences. Second, a socio-ecological framework was introduced to bring together the main factors that influence the gender socialization process and its outcomes. Third, knowledge on how to influence the gender socialization process and its outcomes was summarized in order to provide practical recommendations for policies and programmes. This included: a) reviewing changes in demographics, the global media and gendered economic opportunities, to understand how the gender socialization process, gender norms and identities have been transformed at the macro level; and b) conducting a literature review of small-scale programmes designed to impact the gender socialization process. The literature review identified 31 programmes grouped around three broad strategies: 1) empowering young people (mainly girls) with information, skills, and social support to challenge norms; 2) fostering an enabling environment in which to challenge gender norms; and 3) working with men and boys, including directly with young individuals and with influential males to change attitudes and beliefs The paper concludes with recommendations for more holistic policy and programming efforts around gender socialization in adolescence.

KEYWORDS

Adolescence, gender, gender socialization, gender equality, media, identity, literature review, programming

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

GLOSSARY

Adolescents	Persons between the ages of 10-19 in the phase known as adolescence, which is a marked transition period between childhood and adulthood. Adolescents undergo significant changes in brain and physical maturation, gender and social relations, and familial responsibilities (UNICEF, 2012).
Adrenal puberty	Also known as adrenarche, adrenal puberty is the pre-pubertal secretion of adrenal androgens, which usually starts between 6-8 years of age with little difference for girls and boys (Del Giudice, Angeleri & Manera, 2009). Adrenal androgens influence sex-differentiated behavioural changes.
Empowerment	The expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them (Kabeer, 2001).
Ethnomethodology	A subset of interactionism, ethnomethodology is the study of methods by which members (socially functioning human beings) make sense out of their world. Specifically, it examines how members build accounts of social action, while doing that action (Attewell, 1974).
Gender	The structure of social relations centred on the reproductive arena and practices that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes (Connell, 2002). Gender is a multilevel system of difference and inequality which involves cultural beliefs, distributions of resources, patterns of behaviour, organizational practices, and selves and identities. (Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). NB: The definition and concept of gender is widely debated across disciplines.
Gender beliefs	Universal stereotypes about gender that serve to exacerbate the differences between men and women (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). For example, 'Women are more emotional than men', is a gender belief.
Gender identity	Refers to 'One's sense of oneself as male, female or transgender' (American Psychological Association, 2011).
Gender norms	Sets of rules for what is appropriately masculine and feminine behaviour in a given culture (Ryle, 2011). Individuals expect others to conform to these behaviours, and therefore prefer to conform to them as well.
Gender performance	From West & Zimmerman's (1987) seminal piece 'doing gender' is the idea that gender is constituted through everyday performance of the roles assigned to sex categories, reproduced by methodical and routine practice. Butler (1988) built on this idea by describing gender as a performance, as a "stylized repetition of acts" rather than a stable category.
Gender roles	Expected roles that are associated with each sex group (Stockard, 1999). Through gender socialization, children and adolescents learn to associate activities and behaviours with specific genders and to adopt appropriate gender roles.
Gender schema	A gender schema is a cognitive structure that helps classify characteristics and behaviours as masculine or feminine categories and ultimately shapes how individuals perceive the world around them (Bem, 1993).

Gender socialization   A process by which individuals develop, refine and learn to 'do' gender through internalizing gender norms and roles as they interact with key agents of socialization, such as their family, social networks and other social institutions.

Gender transformative   Approaches that actively strive to examine, question, and change rigid gender norms and imbalance of power as a means of reaching health as well as gender-equity objectives; encourage critical awareness among men and women of gender roles and norms; promote the position of women; challenge the distribution of resources and allocation of duties between men and women; and/or address the power relationships between women and others in the community, such as service providers or traditional leaders (Rottach, Schuler & Hardee, 2009).

Multiple masculinities   The 'multiple masculinities model' theorizes that rather than there being one singular model of masculinity, there are several socially structured masculinities (Connell, 1987). Hegemonic masculinity embodies the honoured or dominant form of masculinity, and requires all other men to position themselves in relation to it. Complicit masculinity describes men who do not enact hegemonic masculinity, but still benefit from it. Subordinated masculinity refers to men who are oppressed by hegemonic masculinity (e.g. gay men), but still benefit from being men, rather than women.

Young people   Persons between the ages of 10 and 24 years, as defined by UNICEF.

Youth   Persons between the ages of 15 and 24 years, as defined by UNICEF.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper comes amidst growing recognition of the importance of gender equality for the achievement of broader development goals, but also of the enormity of this challenge. It also comes at a time when the world is home to the largest cohort of adolescents in history; 1.2 billion adolescents make up16 per cent of the global population, and 90 per cent live in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) (UNICEF, 2016). Adolescence is not only a period of rapid physical, sexual and brain development, but also one when the shaping of gender beliefs and attitudes intensifies, with potentially life-long effects (Kågesten et al. 2016). In 2013, some of the leading causes of adolescent deaths globally included HIV/AIDS, road injuries and maternal disorders, while key risk factors for health and well-being included unsafe sex and alcohol misuse (Mokhad et al., 2016). In many settings, outcomes and risk factors like these are influenced by gendered attitudes and behaviour learned through the process of gender socialization. The effects are particularly salient for girls. By their 19th birthday, 11 per cent of girls around the world are already mothers (WHO, 2016), while 27 per cent are married by age 18 (UNICEF, 2014). Adolescent girls and young women are one of the groups most severely affected by HIV (UNAIDS, 2014) and although gender gaps in access to primary education are closing, girls continue to be disadvantaged (UNESCO, 2015). These outcomes call for a strong focus on adolescent well-being in policies and programmes and are supported by a growing body of literature that recognizes adolescence as a critical phase for achieving human potential (Patton et al., 2016). Adolescents are able to critically address the gender roles and expectations they are exposed to and can benefit from learning new roles and expectations as they transition into adulthood. Adolescence is seen as a 'second window of opportunity' to build on earlier investments or to change behaviour and provides new opportunities for those who have not fared well in childhood.

Programmes and policies designed to reduce the burden of negative outcomes for adolescents need to draw on their common roots. Numerous efforts are being made to transform gender norms, or rules that socially regulate gender roles and expectations, and these can work alongside policies and programmes that enable women and girls to gain the necessary knowledge and skills to improve their health, economic or social status. While research and programmes on gender has increasingly focused on the formation of gender identity and the role that social norms play in this process, there is a paucity of evidence about how this takes place, particularly in low- and middle-income countries (Kågesten et al., 2016). By drawing attention to the gender socialization process among adolescents, it is possible to re-direct intervention efforts, taking into consideration how young people imagine their transitions to adulthood – and how they achieve them. Rather than reproducing gender inequality, girls and boys can work to transform gender systems, roles and identities.

This paper sets out to understand the gender socialization process during adolescence, its influences and outcomes, and to provide practical suggestions on how to use this knowledge in the design of policies and programmes that aim to improve gender equality. The paper has three objectives. In Part I, the objective is to conceptualize and

define the gender socialization process. We review contributions to the concept across three disciplines, and apply them critically to the adolescent period.

In Part II, the objective is to situate the gender socialization process during adolescence in a broader context of multi-level influences. We introduce a conceptual framework (see Figure 2, page 19) that brings together the gender socialization process with the main factors that influence it, as well as the gendered indicators and outcomes of that process.

In Part III, the final objective is to apply the conceptual framework to develop practical suggestions for designing effective programmes and policies that ultimately serve to improve outcomes for adolescents in low- and middle-income countries. We review changes in population structures, the global media and gendered economic opportunities, to understand how the gender socialization process, gender norms and identities have been transformed at the macro level. We then move on to present the results of a literature review, which identified 31 small-scale programmes designed to impact the gender socialization process, and combine our findings to offer recommendations for more holistic gender programming and policy.

Definitions of key concepts

In this paper, we argue for the importance of addressing **gender socialization** as a means to reduce gender inequalities. We define gender socialization as a *process whereby individuals develop, refine and learn to 'do' gender through internalizing gender norms and roles as they interact with key agents of socialization, such as their family, social networks and other social institutions.* We return to this definition in Part II once we have reviewed relevant theoretical contributions from three disciplines. We argue that the process of gender socialization is particularly important in the period of adolescence. **Adolescents** are defined as *young people between the ages of 10-19 years in the phase known as adolescence, which is a transition period between childhood and adulthood* (UNICEF, 2012). In examining how gender socialization takes place during adolescence we highlight the key 'agents' or people and institutions that play crucial roles in shaping gender identities.

We are cognisant that the concept and definition of **gender** is by no means agreed across or even within disciplines. To guide the framework presented in this paper, we use Ridgeway and Corell's (2004) definition of gender, "[a] multilevel system of difference and inequality…[that] involves cultural beliefs and distributions of resources at the macro-level, patterns of behaviour and organizational practices at the interactional level, and selves and identities at the individual level" (pp. 510-511). Like all social systems of difference, gender is relational, and constitutes "the structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena, and the set of practices that bring reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes" (Connell, 2002, p. 10). In drawing attention to the multi-level meaning of gender and the production of gender inequality, we emphasize that gender socialization is situated in different contexts, and therefore is contextually dependent, as well as dynamic.

PART I: TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER SOCIALIZATION

1.1. Origins of the term 'gender socialization'

Socialization is the lifelong process by which individuals learn the customs and social behaviours expected of them in their societies. *Gender socialization*, according to Ryle (2011), is a relatively new term that describes social learning pertaining specifically to gender, and incorporates an understanding of two related and more commonly used constructs: *gender norms* and *gender identity.* In simplistic terms, *gender norms* are the sets of rules for what is appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour in a given culture (Ryle, 2011), and *gender identity* is the way individuals think of themselves as being male or female (American Psychological Association, 2011). Gender socialization can be seen as a multi-dimensional process that occurs over time and through which individuals learn the gender norms and rules of their society, subsequently developing an internal gender identity.

The ways in which gender socialization is understood in the literature have resulted from various theoretical contributions from feminist studies, queer and intersectionality movements, and theoretical and empirical advancements in understanding social and biological phenomena. In this section we review literature from psychology, sociology and biology to understand the origins and meaning of gender socialization.

1.2. Contributions from psychology to understanding gender socialization

The earliest contributions to contemporary understanding of 'gender socialization' came from the discipline of psychology. Early traditions in psychology understood the origins of gender differences as variation in biological factors in the early experiences in the upbringing of girls and boys. Hence gender differences were conceptualized as personal or innate characteristics, and constructs such as 'abilities', 'traits' and 'emotions' were used to explain them (Ryle, 2011; Leaper & Friedman, 2006). 'Socialization' was viewed as habit building or a process of instilling a desired set of behavioural habits among children. Inspired by theoretical contributions from behavioural psychologists, Skinner (1938) and Hull (1935), proponents of this viewpoint, saw 'reinforcement' as the central process in habit formation. According to these theorists, parents 'shape' their children's development by judiciously reinforcing desired behaviour and punishing or withholding rewards for undesired behaviours (Ryle, 2011; Leaper & Friedman, 2006).

Bandura and Walters (1963) drew on these assertions to develop their initial theory of social learning, which also applies to gender socialization. A key construct in their theory was 'sex-typed' behaviours. A behaviour was described as sex-typed when it was viewed as more appropriate and expected to be performed by one sex as opposed to the other. Hence, gender socialization occurs through a process of rewarding children for engaging in sex-typed behaviour that is consistent with their assigned sex category. Based on these premises, Bandura (1977) developed the influential Social Learning Theory which posits that individuals learn from each other by observing, imitating and modelling. However, this theoretical approach came under attack for

viewing children as largely passive recipients of socio-cultural ideas about gender and sex-typing, with little room to see them as active agents of socialization (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974).

Theories of cognitive development draw on theories of social learning, while providing important advances in the theoretical thinking on socialization. During this period, the work of child cognitive development theorist Jean Piaget was becoming increasingly popular (Ryle, 2011; Leaper & Friedman, 2006). As opposed to social learning theorists who concentrated on the social sources of information on gender, cognitive theorists focused their attention on the gender knowledge structure and how information was processed and internalized (Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002). Piaget (1954) highlighted the active role children play in their own socialization. He also drew attention to the different stages in children's cognitive development – an aspect of biological maturation – and to the importance of taking these stages into account to understand socialization. In Piaget's conceptualization, cognitive development was an evolving mental process following biological maturation and environmental experiences. Kohlberg (1966) drew on Piaget's stages to further develop the cognitive-developmental approach to explain the process of gender socialization. According to this approach, children acquire a gender identity and learn to gender-type themselves as they go through a series of discrete developmental stages (Ryle, 2011; Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002). Children acquire a sense of their gender identity, that is, a growing realization that they are either a boy or a girl, by age 3. By age 5, they reach 'gender stability', which is a recognition that this identity does not change over time. The final stage 'gender constancy' occurs at age 7, which marks the stage at which the child can recognize that a person's gender identity is not affected by gender-typed appearances, traits or activities (Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002). According to Kohlberg (1966), 'gender constancy' is a critical stage in gender socialization; after reaching this stage, children actively try to model their behaviour to what is considered feminine or masculine in their social context.

The next theoretical contribution to the understanding of gender socialization in psychology was Gender Schema Theory, introduced by Sandra Bem (1981, 1993), which resulted from an increasing influence of feminism in the field of psychology. This theory also tried to address some of the limitations identified in theories of cognitive development (Ryle, 2011; Leaper & Friedman, 2006). In particular, theories of cognitive development were criticized for their limited acknowledgment of social and cultural influences on gender socialization and for failing to explain why sex became an important category of social organization in the first place. Hence, Gender Schema Theory sought to address the question: Why do young children prioritize identifying and distinguishing their sex? According to Bem, a schema is a cognitive structure or network that helps organize and process information from the outside world. A gender schema, therefore, is a cognitive structure that helps us classify characteristics and behaviours as masculine and feminine categories and ultimately shapes how we perceive the world around us. Gender socialization occurs as children begin to relate to gender schemas. Gender schematic processing is an important step in children's gender socialization. According to Bem, gender schematic processing involves "[a] generalized readiness on the part of the child to encode and to organize information, including information about

the self – according to culture's definition of maleness and femaleness" (1993, p. 603). Moreover, Bem also discusses how gender schemas exist because societies are structured in such a way that they appear critical to societies' functioning and become primary ways of organizing individual interactions with the world.

The review above shows that while early social-learning theoretical traditions focused on environmental determinants, such as rewards and models of gender, to explain gender socialization, the cognition-based approaches emphasized children's growing understanding of gender categories and their eventual permanent placement in one of them – suggesting that cognition preceded behaviour. In contrast, more recent theories (Bem, 1993) have moved towards integrating knowledge from multiple theoretical orientations (Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002). In fact, Huston (1985) called for the development of a more integrated and comprehensive approach for the understanding of gender development by incorporating understanding of how facets of gender – such as identity, concepts, preferences, and behaviours – as well as the factors that influence these developments – such as biology, cognition, and socio-cultural factors – have shaped thinking among theorists. Cognitive theorists are now taking an interest in environmental factors that influence the construction and content of gender cognition, while social learning theorists are considering more seriously how cognitive and internal factors influence gender development (Martin, Ruble & Szkrybalo, 2002). In response to these shifts in the understanding of the field, Bussey and Bandura (1999) developed an integrated and comprehensive theory that applies to gender development called the Social Cognitive Theory, which incorporates knowledge about cognitive constructs, biological and socio-cultural factors in addition to the Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977) to provide an explanation of how gender-related behaviour is acquired and maintained.

Bronfrenbrenner (2005) builds further on this approach through the development of a comprehensive multi-level theory in his Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) framework, which explicitly views human development as a process that occurs over the life course and explains the relationship between an aspect of the context (e.g. social class) and the person (e.g. gender) and some outcome of interest. The model thus focuses on 'processes', which highlight the interaction between the individual and their environment over time. A key focus is on proximal processes, which refer to the reciprocal interaction between individuals and their environment, including other persons, objects and symbols, over time. These interactions are posited as the primary mechanisms for human development. However, the power of such processes to influence development is thought to vary substantially, depending on the characteristics of the developing person, their proximal and remote environmental contexts, and the time periods in which these processes take place.

All told, there have been numerous contributions to the notion of gender socialization from the field of psychology. Some of the more important are summarized below.

1. Gender socialization occurs through social learning – we get clues from the environment and adapt behaviour accordingly.

2. Children are not passive agents of socialization but have cognitive capabilities that allow them to process and internalize pertinent information.

3. There are different stages of socialization that emerge from maturing cognitive capacity and social experiences.

4. There is value in integrating understandings of cognitive-motivational and socio-structural factors for a more comprehensive understanding of socialization.

1.3. Contributions from sociology to understanding gender socialization

Within the discipline of sociology, the classical traditions of structuralism and interactionism have guided more recent sociological contributions to the understanding of gender socialization (Risman, 2004). Structuralism directs attention to the importance of social structures in defining the contours of a society and its organization. In its origins, structuralism imposed a clear dualism between structural constraints and individual action, pitting individual action against existing social structures. Interactionism, by contrast, ignores large-scale social systems, and instead conceptualizes society to be a product of everyday interactions (Risman, 2004). These traditions, together with contributions from feminist and queer theories and research on intersectionalities, have served as important bases for theoretical advancements around a socially contextualized understanding of gender that can be extended to gender socialization.

West and Zimmerman (1987) drew on interactionism, especially ethnomethodology, to provide in their words, "a distinctly sociological understanding of gender as a routine, methodical, and recurring accomplishment" (p. 126). They presented their theory as a response to a number of developments such as increasing evidence from anthropological, psychological and sociological literature about the ambiguous nature of both categories of sex and gender. It was also a reaction to existing theories in the field of psychology that suggested that gender identities crystalized by about age 5 and were static and fixed moving forward (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Moreover, there was emerging understanding through the works of Chodorow (1978) and others that biological and cultural processes were far more complex and interacted to maintain and reproduce gender-based inequalities. West and Zimmerman, drawing on Goffman, spoke of how 'doing gender' means creating socially constructed differences between men and women that are then used to argue or promote their innate or essential nature. Another important feature of their theory was its focus on how gender is enacted and reproduced in everyday interactions and within institutions. Under their formulation, gender has to do with people's everyday performance of the roles assigned to their sex categories, reproduced by methodical and routine practice, which then provide it legitimacy.

Other important contributions that have broadened understanding of gender socialization include the growing influence of intersectionality research in sociology, which emphasizes the importance of place, as well as location and time on the process of socialization (Crenshaw, 1991). Theoretical work on intersectionality directs attention to each individual's multiple, layered identities as derived from social relations, history, place and location. Intersectional analysis, therefore, addresses the manner in which context, racism, patriarchy, class oppression and other systems of discrimination, each structure inequalities thereby shaping the relative positions of women, based not

just on gender, but also class, race, place, and sexual identity (Hancock, 2007). Thus, intersectionality research draws from both the structural and interactional traditions, emphasizing power structures and dynamics as well as the unique individual experiences at the intersection of multiple identities (Risman, 2004).

Another stream of influence on the theory of gender socialization comes from queer theory, which explores issues of sexuality, power and marginalized populations (Butler, 1990). Queer theory was greatly influenced by the post-structural theoretical works of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), Jacques Derrida (1930-2014), and Michel Foucault (1926-1984), as well as by psychoanalysis. Power and difference were also core concepts within the gay liberation movement. These theorists developed a sophisticated analysis of oppression by men as well as the oppression of men by other men. Another major focus was to question gender stereotypes and the breaking down of simplistic binary categories. Queer theorists moved beyond traditional categories such as male/female, masculine/feminine, straight/gay, to focus instead on the instability of such categories. They looked to see how such gender categories are constructed, sustained, and undone, and contribute to the discussion on socialization by 'uncoupl[ing]' the body from definitions of masculinity and femininity. Building on earlier work, they further reiterated how gender is less about bodies and more about practices, discourses and rituals.

Influenced by these multiple streams of discourse and analysis, the field is moving towards multi-dimensional theoretical frameworks that view gender as embedded at the individual, interactional, and institutional levels of society. Connell (1987) is perhaps the best example of this genre of theory. She proposed a model of multiple masculinities and power relationships that were integrated into a systematic theory of gender. She drew heavily on feminist theories of patriarchy and the related role of men in transforming patriarchy. Other critical forces that shaped her thinking and lay the groundwork for the questioning of any universalizing claims about the category of men included the working class movement, intersectionality research and ethnographic studies. During this period, while the working class movement was pushing for attention to class difference in expressions of masculinity, women of colour were highlighting the race bias that occurs when power is solely conceptualized in terms of sex differences. Moreover, ethnographic studies were drawing attention to the reality of local gender hierarchies and multiple masculinities. Drawing on all these influences, a key focus of her theoretical framework was on the notion of hegemonic masculinity, which was distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinate masculinities. For Connell, hegemonic masculinity embodied the currently honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men. Moreover, the notion of hegemonic masculinity is specific to a context, time and location and subject to change as the circumstances or conditions creating it change.

Overall, the important learnings captured from sociology's contributions to understanding gender socialization include:

1. Gender socialization processes are dynamic and need to be considered within specific space, place and time.

2. The interaction between social structural forces and individual agency is an important aspect of gender socialization.

3. Through everyday practice individuals 'do' gender; and in turn produce and reproduce gender.

4. How gender is performed and what is learned through gender socialization differs by class, race, cultural expectations and beliefs, sexual identity and other factors.

1.4. Contributions from biology to understanding gender socialization

The biological sciences provide an understanding of the linkages between the nature and timing of pubertal maturation and maturing neurocognitive structures and function, which can help us understand the process of socialization during adolescence, including gender socialization (Steinberg, 2005).

Biologically, adolescence is defined by the onset of puberty that is accompanied by physical growth and sexual maturation resulting in both physical maturity and reproductive capacity (Sawyer et al., 2012). The earliest biological understandings of socialization were framed around the hormonal differences that differentiated the sexes (Leaper & Farkas, 2014). Adolescence was viewed as a period dominated by 'raging hormones', and the higher levels of sex hormones that accompany normal pubertal maturation in early adolescence were thought to be the cause of many 'high-risk' behaviours including sexual ones (Steinberg & Morris, 2001).

Since the industrial revolution, there has been a significant downward trend in the age of onset of puberty in industrialized countries, a process thought largely to reflect improvements in nutrition, hygiene and health (Patton & Viner, 2007). In high-income countries, these changes in the onset of puberty over the centuries have largely stabilized with menarche (first menstruation) occurring around 12-13 years. The same trends are also now being experienced in low- and middle-income countries. Framed by societal expectations and social norms, the physical changes of puberty are typically associated with more gendered behaviours and influence the gender socialization process. Early romantic and sexual experiences are believed to be reflections of pubertal (biological) maturation (Ernst et al., 2005), framed by social norms.

While there is evidence that puberty commences earlier than in previous centuries (Patton & Viner, 2007), an even greater change is the upward age at which marriage/cohabitation now occurs (Sawyer et al., 2012). Rather than childbearing typically occurring within a few years of puberty in girls, increasing participation in education and employment for both girls and boys has resulted in a gap of 10-15 years between reproductive maturity and childbearing in many high-income countries. The same pattern is also experienced in many middle- and low-income countries, where it is most pronounced in those of higher socioeconomic background. As in previous centuries, the majority of young people commence sexual activity within a few years of pubertal maturity; the difference is that this is less likely to be within the context of marriage.

Pubertal development and brain maturation are now understood to be closely linked. Advances in neuroscience have resulted in adolescent development being better appreciated as a process reflecting numerous physiological and socio-behavioural transitions when complex interaction of emotional, intellectual and behavioural capabilities become critical for handling the changes brought about by puberty that

ultimately support individuals to develop the competencies required to function as an adult in society (Steinberg, 2005; Steinberg & Morris, 2001; Spear, 2000).

Within this framework, the knowledge that certain 'pleasure responsive' parts of the brain are activated in relatively early puberty was consistent with earlier notions of adolescence as a period of heightened vulnerability and risk (Crone & Dahl, 2012; Steinberg, 2005; Spear, 2000). However, ongoing advances in the field of neuroscience provide a more nuanced understanding of the interaction between cognitive, affective and social processing systems and the broader social context of the adolescent. These advances are allowing a re-framing of adolescence as a window of opportunity (as opposed to a period of risk) when the brain is biologically most prepared for learning, including social learning. It is now well established that although cognitive control abilities emerge in early childhood and continue to mature through childhood into adulthood, adolescence marks a period of tremendous expansion in the ability to adapt to a variety of social contextual and cultural influences (Zelazo, Craik & Booth, 2004) that are arguably inherent in the process of gender socialization.

Development research suggests that during adolescence, the most salient types of rewards and threats reside in the social domain, such as the desire to be admired and accepted or the threat of being rejected by peers. There is also increased activity in 'valuing' systems (determining levels of worth/goodness), which might reflect a sensitive period for learning about sources of reward and threat, again mostly within social domains. Research also shows that adolescents have a stronger motivation for peer acceptance compared to children and adults (Crone & Dahl, 2012). The importance of peer acceptance is relevant for how social norms about gender can be seen to influence more acutely the playing out of gendered behaviours during adolescence.

Based on these new developments, Crone and Dahl (2012) have proposed a comprehensive model of adolescent brain development. In their model, brain development begins with changes in the social-affective processing systems, which are triggered by the onset of puberty. Hormonal changes in puberty contribute to increases in novelty-seeking, sensation-seeking and social influence-seeking behaviours. While these social and affective changes start at the onset of puberty, they reach their peak by middle adolescence and continue to influence behaviour and learning for several more years. Furthermore, these affective and social influences interact with changes in cognitive structures and abilities that occur throughout adolescence. Crone and Dahl propose that this increase in social-affective engagement not only influences incentives and behaviour in the moment but can be harnessed for motivational learning and behaviour in the long term. They explain that over time these tendencies can be quickly shifted according to social incentives, which in turn can contribute to healthy exploration and risk-taking behaviours that ultimately promote social and emotional learning and the development of skills and knowledge that are required to function as competent adults.

Del Giudice (2009) draws on evolutionary biology and psychology to shed light on the linkages between early parent-child attachment, the onset of puberty and subsequent reproductive and mating strategies. He theorizes juvenility, a stage between childhood and adolescence, through an integrative evolutionary framework. The juvenile transition is a pre-reproductive life stage in which the young person is independent from parents

for survival, but is still sexually immature. It is also a period in which the cues provided by the early environment combine with new biological factors to affect the trajectory of the individual's reproductive strategy, regulated and coordinated by sex hormones through the onset of adrenarche (activation of the adrenal gland that occurs before any of the physical signs of puberty). In this framework, environmental cues are provided through establishment of attachment systems, which are shaped by experiences. In infancy and childhood, parents are the key source of attachment security. Parental response to children's solicitation is their key indicator of safety and predictability of the environment – or threat. These early cues of safety or threat can affect the timing of the child's transition to juvenility, and can result in attachment styles that have a propensity for risky or protective behaviours and reproductive strategies.

According to Del Giudice (2009), in middle childhood, attachment systems go through tremendous changes as children face their social environment independently for the first time, and sex differences in attachment styles emerge. Life experiences at this stage can have long-term effects, especially with regard to selected reproductive strategies. A key pressure is the intra-sexual competition between peers and a tendency towards competitive status-seeking that emerges at this stage with relevance for how dominant gender norms are played out. Del Giudice argues that if the environmental conditions are safe and predictable, and if there is a preference for monogamy and high parental investment, then low-risk cooperative strategies will be adopted and viewed as most useful to maximize future benefits as opposed to high-risk competitive strategies. Parental investments are especially critical at this stage as parents can provide useful information such as the local degree of male-male competition or mate selection patterns. Moreover, parental relationships can directly affect specific aspects of children's attachment behaviours. With the coming of adolescence, the attachment system and the resultant reproductive and coupling strategies are already well formed. At this stage, adolescents who feel secure adopt reproductive strategies based on late maturation, commitment in long-term relationships, and higher investments in parenting. On the other hand, adolescents with insecure attachment adopt strategies based on early reproduction, short-term mating orientation, and lower parental investment (Del Giudice, 2009).

Biology contributes to understanding gender socialization in the following key ways:

1. Suggesting that puberty is a critical period within the life course, not only for physical and sexual maturation but especially for socialization that creates particular sensitivities to social norms including gender.

2. Viewing socialization within the context of pubertal and brain maturation, conceptualized as a process that increases in complexity over the course of adolescence, and continues into young adulthood.

3. Acknowledging the critical role of the social context as the provider of stimuli that triggers cognitive and social-emotional development.

4. Introducing the notion of critical periods in stages of adolescent development that offer opportunities to shape adolescent thinking by providing the right environmental stimuli or motivation.

PART II: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSING GENDER SOCIALIZATION IN ADOLESCENCE

Drawing on the multi-disciplinary literature review, this section examines the process of gender socialization and how it unfolds over the life course, and presents a framework of key factors that influence the process at the macro, meso and micro levels during the period of adolescence. The framework also enables discussion on the gendered outcomes that may result from the gender socialization process, which we draw on to begin thinking about the design of effective policies and programmes to reduce gender-based inequalities for adolescents in low- and middle-income countries, in the next section.

To recap, in this paper gender socialization is defined as a *process by which individuals develop, refine and learn to 'do' gender through internalizing gender norms and roles as they interact with key agents of socialization, such as their family, social networks and other social institutions*. The process occurs over time and is influenced by inter-related context specific social, economic, and cultural factors operating at the structural, social-interactional and individual levels.

2.1. Gender socialization over the life course

Research on gender socialization has highlighted the importance of understanding how and in what ways this process changes over the life course. In contrast to earlier research that viewed socialization processes to be effectively completed before adolescence, more recent research within psychology and biological sciences view pre-adolescent and adolescent years as critical periods for socialization, where there is acute sensitivity to social norms and peer influences, including those around gender. Furthermore, research from sociology has highlighted the notion that gender beliefs and schemas are dynamic thus are shaped and re-constituted over time.
Most importantly, the gender socialization process is tied to children's and adolescents' developing cognitive abilities and sexual maturation, which in turn is influenced by different socialization agents and contextual factors. Hence, an understanding of these mechanisms and their interaction with the agents and institutions of socialization over the life-course is important. Understanding how the gender socialization process unfolds over the life course is a necessary precursor to any efforts that aim to influence its trajectory.

Figure 1 (next page) portrays an intentionally simplistic representation of gender socialization across the life course to emphasize important figures and institutions that are most influential at distinct points of development. It highlights the influence of some of the more commonly described agents of gender socialization from early childhood, extending through adolescence and into early adulthood and points to the critical periods when any given agent might be more important than another.
It is important to note that these figures and institutions, their relative importance and in some cases their presence or absence, are dependent on the specific socio-cultural context in which an individual is situated over time. For example, in many cultures the adolescent period is truncated as children are expected to take on adult roles early.

The figure is meant to serve as a conceptual tool, and aims to visualize the shifts in influences on gender socialization over the life course. In addition to family, it indicates that during adolescence, peers and schools are two important sources of influence for gender socialization, especially given the time young people spend in these settings and the relevance they attribute to them. The potential for the media to be a source of gendered influence is also highlighted.

FIGURE 1 - Conceptual Model of Main influences on Gender Socialization Over the Life-course
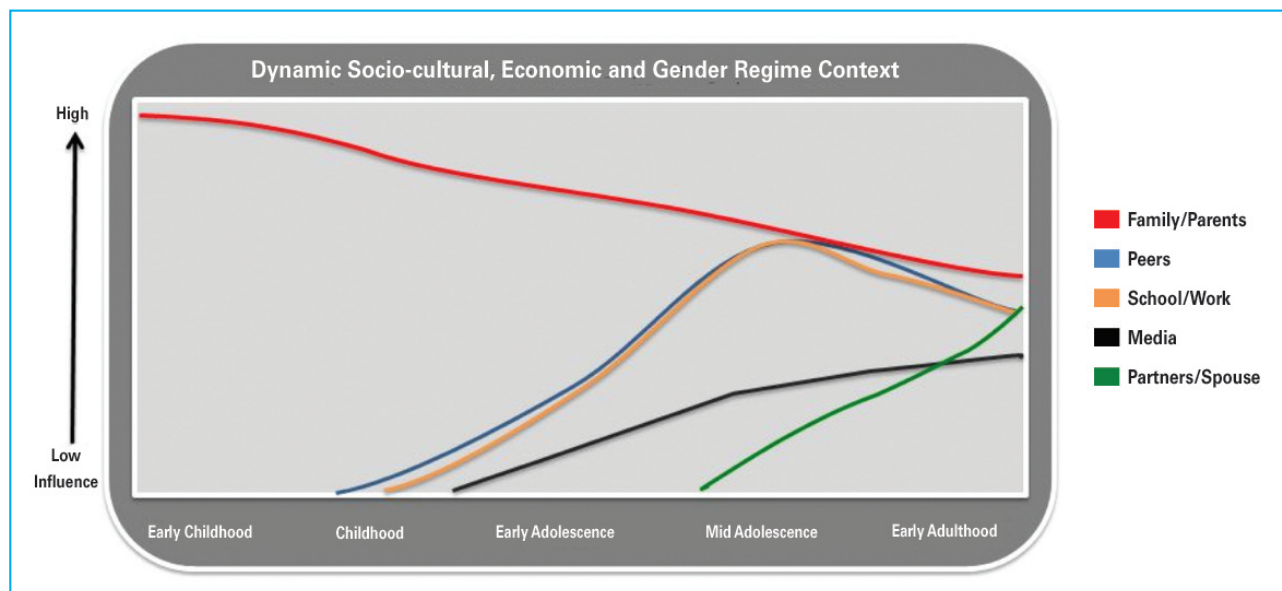
Note: It should be noted that contextual and individual differences will make specific categories irrelevant to some adolescents.

During early childhood, the primary socialization agents are located within the family. Theories of attachment and life history posit the parent-child bond as the most critical relationship, one that sets the stage for the development of personality traits, social adjustment and emotional regulation, which further influence the nature of future peer and romantic relationships and the transition to adulthood (Cassidy & Shaver 1999). Within Western-based research, there is emphasis on the role of parents (Leaper & Friedman, 2006; Fagot, Rodgers & Leinbach, 2000); in other contexts, additional family members, especially extended family members who serve as close caregivers, are also critical for these early socialization processes (Liang & George, 2012).

Young children are influenced by how they are treated and expected to behave, as well as by observing the roles of their female and male family members. Studies have traced the influence of parents and family on the process of gender socialization at multiple levels in early childhood, ranging from children's play and participation in sports, family division of labour, type of media exposure, and knowledge/exposure to social norms, gender stereotypes and other social-structural factors (for a review, see Leaper & Farkas, 2014). The nature of the parent-child bond shifts during adolescence in response to brain maturation processes. These processes, which are associated with the physical and sexual maturation of puberty over time, support the individuation of children from their parents and allow young people to become more independent and autonomous about their opinions and beliefs and increase their capacity for independent decision-making. Individuation can also result in greater parent-child

conflict, reduced closeness and time spent together (Larson & Richards, 1991). However, parents and family remain highly relevant for adolescent socialization, remaining critical and reliable sources of information about the broader social environment (Ellis, Jackson & Boyce, 2006).

Beyond parents and family, as young children's worlds and socio-cognitive and emotional abilities expand with age, they are drawn towards friendships outside the immediacy of the family. The relative importance of peer relationships, school and other educational settings increases during adolescence (Crone & Dahl, 2012) and positive evaluation from peers becomes increasingly salient. This coincides with young people's growing capacity for intimacy and for engaging with romantic and sexual partners. Peers become an important source of gendered interaction and learning and engagement in specific activities, such as sports, serve to shape gendered selves (Leaper & Friedman, 2006). Peer dynamics act as a major site for the production and reproduction of gender and other social inequalities (Crosnoe, 2011), with the influence of peers being strongest in middle adolescence, as opposed to early and late adolescence (Steinberg & Morris, 2001; Brown, 1990). While earlier research based on the amount of time adolescents spent with their peers suggested that peers were the predominant influence at this stage, current research highlights that despite reduced time spent with parents, adolescents carry many qualities into their peer and romantic relationships that were developed earlier in life as part of the socialization they experienced within their families (Del Giudice, 2009; Steinberg & Morris, 2011). The influence of peers might vary by context and be different for boys and girls. For example, in some contexts, biological changes experienced during puberty lead to heightened social enforcement of gender-based segregation of boys and girls, with boys being given more independence and allowed to spend time outside the house, while girls are encouraged to stay at home with family members (Ricardo, Barker, Pulerwitz & Rocha, 2006). In these situations, boys are able to free themselves from parental supervision and spend a large share of their time with peer groups, making peer groups more critical for their gender socialization, whereas for girls, the family continues to be the main agent of socialization.

Figure 1 also captures additional authority figures, institutions and socializing agents that impact how children understand their gendered selves. These include schools, sports clubs and other recreationally oriented establishments, and where relevant, houses of worship and other religious bodies. Figures of authority in schools impact children's understanding of expected gendered roles and behaviours (Philpot et al., 1997). In schools, gender socialization occurs through the school curriculum and teacher-student interactions, which can either perpetuate or challenge existing gender norms. In fact, research suggests that while schools have positively shifted male notions of masculinity, they can also perpetuate traditional gender roles by neglecting girls and discouraging them from considering roles beyond the care-giving roles traditionally ascribed to them (Kabeer, 2001; Fagot, Rodgers & Leinbach, 2000). There is also evidence of gender stereotyping in the school curriculum, whereby women are portrayed as passive and modest, while men are portrayed as assertive and ambitious (Kabeer, 2001). In addition to their role as academic institutions, schools also provide a social context in which children and adolescents interact with their peers and form

social networks. This non-institutional role of the school is especially pertinent for adolescents as they look to expand their networks beyond the family. School then becomes an important site for social relationships, and learning and enactment of gender and other social norms and behaviours (Crosnoe, 2011). It is critical to note that besides the direct ways in which school influences the process of gender socialization, the very act of going to school and receiving education in many ways challenges and pushes the boundaries of traditional gender norms, roles and ultimately identities – thereby transforming the gender socialization process.

Finally, exposure to the media brings greater exposure to gendered programming, as well as wider opportunities to experience alternative gendered identities and roles – all of which shape how young people understand and form gender roles and expectations. It is important to note that the role of the media is subject to people's access to multi-media sources, which may differ over the life course and from one context to the next. Local and national media are often found to perpetuate gender stereotypes and provide additional legitimacy to current gender norms, while global media may be more challenging to local values and beliefs around gender norms. Young adolescents' notions of sexuality and body image are especially impacted by the sexualized and idealized bodies portrayed in the media. Studies have indicated that older adolescent girls are more likely to be influenced by these images, which are most likely to negatively impact their self-esteem and sense of satisfaction with their bodies (Clay, Vignoles & Dittmar, 2005). Similarly, the media also affect male adolescents' body image and ideas of masculinity, commonly through sports and other images including pornography (Leaper & Farkas, 2014). However, beyond the role of popular media, public health and social programmes have successfully utilized mass media to increase knowledge and modify harmful social and health behaviours and practices, and these strategies can potentially be used to actively influence gender socialization processes as well (Le Ferrara, Chong & Duryea, 2012; Jensen, 2012). Mass media campaigns are especially powerful because of their ability to disseminate messages at the population level, repeatedly, over time, and at relatively low costs (Wakefield, Loken & Hornik 2010).

2.2 Multi-level factors that influence gender socialization during adolescence

While the interaction between the individual being 'socialized' and the agents of socialization is the key process for gender socialization, this does not occur in isolation. The broader structural forces such as prevailing socio-economic conditions, political institutions and levels of patriarchy play a critical role and shape the nature of interactions between the individual and the agents of socialization. To capture gender socialization then requires an understanding of the interaction between the individual and her or his micro, meso and macro environment. In this section, we will account for the multi-level and dynamic nature of the gender socialization process, with a focus on the individual, social-interactional and structural levels of influence during the adolescent period, and the gendered outcomes that may be associated with this process at each level. This multi-level framework is captured in Figure 2 (page 19) and describes the gender socialization process and how it produces and reproduces gender

norms, gender roles and gender identities. We also connect these multi-level factors influencing gender socialization to the gendered outcomes that result from them to set the stage for the final part of this paper, which discusses how changes in outcomes occur, and how programmes, policies and advocacy strategies can be designed to yield more positive outcomes.

Figure 2 situates gender socialization during adolescence within a broader social, cultural, economic, and political context, where it is influenced by a multi-level and relational set of determinants (see the horizontal levels captured in Figure 2). Theoretical contributions to gender socialization and related processes demand recognition of this broader context and of how various socially structured identities intersect to generate multiple gendered realities at a given time and place. We borrow from social-ecological frameworks to draw attention to the flow of influence from the structural (macro) level to the social-interactional (meso) level and down to the embedded individual (micro level). The figure indicates that the flow of influence is from the structural to the individual, but that, in turn, individual action can influence change at community and ultimately societal levels. Each of the factors presented is influenced by others at the same level of aggregation, as well as by related factors at lower or higher levels of aggregation. The interrelated factors at each level shape the key gender socialization processes (column 3, Figure 2), which have a number of associated potential outcomes (final column, Figure 2). In turn, these outcomes reinforce or challenge existing gender socialization processes.

FIGURE 2 - Multi-Level Framework of Influence Impacting Gender Socialization Processes During Adolescence
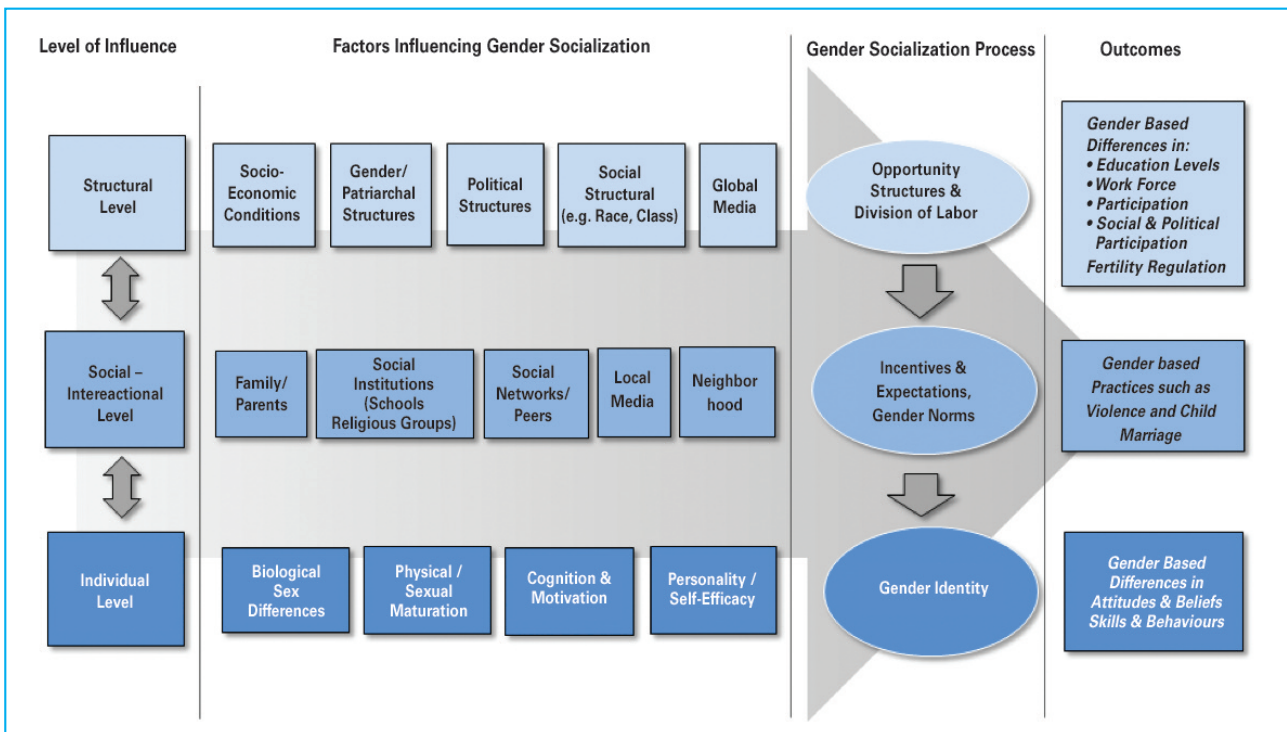
Next, we describe each socio-ecological level of Figure 2, focusing on how the specified factors influence the gender socialization process and its outcomes.

Structural level

The structural level refers to the broader societal values and practices, political structures, and socio-economic conditions, global media and information sources that exert influence at the broader, societal level. The structural level factors determine the gendered distribution of resources and how relative status and power will potentially impact an individual's personal circumstances and life chances as well as impose constraints on behaviour. While multiple factors interact and influence each other and the gender socialization process, entrenched gender and patriarchal structures and the prevailing social and economic conditions in a given society often most closely relate to and impact the nature of the gender socialization process. This connection at the macro-level is demonstrated by the generally positive correlation between human development and gender equality at the country level (Hausmann, 2014). For example, countries with the highest human development index also tend to be among the more gender equal (e.g. Norway, Sweden); while many of the countries with the lowest human development index are also among those with the lowest levels of gender equality (e.g. Niger, Yemen, Chad). The same is true for many middle-income countries, which fall into the 'middle' with respect to gender equality measures (e.g. South Africa, Brazil). However, these relationships are complex; socio-economic development and gender equality do not always shift or transform in parallel, underlying the significance of patriarchal institutions and belief systems in some contexts. There are places where human development is relatively high overall, but gender equality is very low, such as countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) (e.g. Egypt, Iran). Studies have demonstrated that entrenched 'classic' patriarchy (Kandiyoti, 1988) in these settings is responsible for lost potential economic growth. For example, Klasen and Lamanna suggest that women's exclusion from higher education and the labour force in MENA and South Asian countries as compared to East Asian countries explains a difference of up to 1.6 per cent in growth between these regions (Klasen & Lamanana, 2009).

Despite the complex relationships between entrenched patriarchy and socio-economic conditions at the structural level, shifts in these conditions, and the resultant changes in opportunity structures and gendered division of labour (column 3, Figure 2) have a strong influence on micro-level processes that affect the gender socialization process and its related outcomes for individuals and families (column 4, Figure 2). Arguably, women's increased presence in paid employment, particularly in traditionally 'male' jobs, is likely to have a very strong influence on the gender socialization process. As women increase their participation in such sectors, the basis for gendered stereotypes and assumptions about 'men's' versus 'women's' work begins to lose hold. The shift in women's roles outside the home can eventually begin to alter the gendered division of roles and responsibilities inside the domestic sphere and have powerful intergenerational influences on the gender socialization process. Ultimately, parents and caregivers adapt their child-rearing strategies to ensure success of their children in the local economy even if these strategies go against prevailing gender norms. Cross-cultural research from across the globe indicates a high correlation between gender-based division of labour at the macro level and child-rearing strategies adopted by parents and families at the micro level (e.g. Hewlett, 1992; Weisner, 1979).

Along with existing socio-economic conditions and entrenched patriarchy and gender systems, political and socio-cultural structures also influence the gender socialization

process. The political structure of a country can have a direct impact on the gender socialization process through mechanisms such as laws, policies, and the extent of social freedoms and maturity of civil society organizations. Government support for certain laws and policies can have a downstream impact on the gender socialization process. In particular, laws concerning legal majority, and legal age of marriage, inheritance and property rights, as well as parental leave and child care policies, have the potential to ultimately change gender norms and gender socialization practices as people adapt to new realities – although these changes are not always straightforward. For example in Bangladesh, while laws concerning the legal age of marriage have been on the books for nearly two decades, there has been very little change in the age of marriage within the country, with the majority of marriages still taking place before the legal age of 18 (Amin & Mahmoud, 2013). Similarly, while the literature on the importance of parental leave – particularly the impact of men being granted and actually taking leave – is sparse, and mostly from Scandinavian countries, where parental leave is particularly progressive, these policies may have an important impact on how girls and boys are socialized to understand the role of mothers and fathers, ultimately challenging existing gender socialization practises (e.g. Sundström & Duvander, 2002).

Social-interactional level

The social-interactional level (middle row, Figure 2) constitutes the micro-environments where individuals live their daily lives and learn the gender norms, practices and appropriate gender roles of their community through everyday interactions with the agents and institutions that shape gender socialization. The key environments and agents of socialization during adolescence include the family and parents, social institutions such as schools and religious bodies, social networks such as the peer group, local media, and the community/neighbourhood. Besides opportunities for practising behaviours and gaining knowledge on prevailing gender norms, these everyday interactions also familiarize individuals with the incentives and disincentives linked to specific behaviours in their social environment. As these interactions are repeated over and over again in everyday life, individuals learn the gender differences in expectations, values, preferences and skills, and adapt their own behaviour accordingly to ultimately form their gender identity in line with the prevailing gender norms in their social environment.

The earlier section on 'Gender socialization over the life course' (pp. 15-18) has already outlined the role of key agents/institutions for gender socialization during adolescence and thus this information will not be repeated here. Instead, we will use two examples to demonstrate how structural factors interact with those at the social-interactional and individual levels to influence the gender socialization process and its related outcomes.

Structural forces such as patriarchal institutions and belief systems, globalization of the economy and the expanse of the global media all influence the gender socialization process in adolescence. Patriarchal organization of society may be expressed through son preference and marital and kinship systems that differentially affect the outcomes for men and women, including: gendered inheritance, descent and residence patterns within marriage and family, women's age at marriage, and women's role in marriage decisions. It also influences culturally prescribed expectations attached to puberty such

as initiation rites or ceremonies, or in some contexts increased and gendered restrictions on mobility. Initiation rites in some contexts are exceptionally defining moments that mark the transition from childhood to adulthood or readiness for marriage. These gendered processes also convey cultural messages about constraint and opportunity for girls in comparison to boys. Similarly, gender norms are also shaped by other social categories such as race, ethnicity and social class, with individuals from different social categories likely to experience gender socialization differently, and to have different outcomes as a result. It is important to keep in mind that depending on the socio-cultural context, the notion of 'adolescence' itself may differ or not be salient (Honwana & De Boeck, 2005). In countries such as Niger, where marriage and childbearing for many women occurs before they are 18 years old, instead of experiencing a period of self-discovery while still being nurtured by caregivers, adolescent girls are required to transition into adult roles much faster than elsewhere. In contrast, in some contexts young men face difficulties with leaving the stage of 'youth' at a socially appropriate age. Despite getting older they may not be able to attain the necessary measures of adulthood, such as financial independence, employment or income, and starting a family; this impacts their own sense and social recognition of manhood (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

Other structural factors such as globalization of the economy and rapid advancements in information technology around the world have made different types of global media much more accessible, turning them into important transmitters of gender norms and behaviours. Evidence suggests that this increased flow of information leads to greater exposure to global media representations of gendered roles and scripts and may introduce new ideas about gender roles (Durham, 2004) or serve to reify gendered (and class) expectations (Miles, 2000) in interpersonal relationships. For example, Derné's work on urban, middle-class youth in India highlights how Western films and Western-influenced Bollywood movies have affected the relationship between clothing, class, and gendered expectations, often in contradictory ways. Derné (2002) argues that while Western actors are revered for their macho actions, Western actresses are critiqued for not fulfilling their domestic and familial duties. As a result, the clothing of Western actresses is rejected, denouncing the values it represents, while actor's Western clothing is deemed more acceptable (Derné, 2002). While middle-class Indian men reject foreign messages that challenge traditional gender arrangements, they welcome other messages that fit with and enrich local ideas about male power and privilege. Another case study suggests that both socio-economic change and exposure to Western media representations of more gender-equal relationships and different constructions of masculinity have served to generate more gender-equal understandings of romantic relationships among youth in Mexico (Ruse 2011).

Individual level

As the discussion above illustrates, the process of gender socialization is dynamic and complex. This is also the case at the individual level (bottom row, Figure 2) where in addition to contextual variation, individual differences affect the gender socialization experiences of each adolescent. Individuals' reception of information and cues from the environment about gendered behaviours, their internalization of gender norms and formation of their gender identity, vary based on their unique circumstances,

differences in cognitive and motivational processes, physical and sexual maturation, personality and other individual variables. Finally, biological sex differences also influence male/female gender role differentiation. These factors together determine how the individual will internalize prevailing gender norms and develop their gender identity. As discussed in earlier sections of this paper, psychological theories emphasise the role of individual cognitive-motivational structures in gender socialization. Through interactions and observations of others' behaviours, girls and boys go through a process of self-socialization and start making inferences about the meaning and consequences of gender-based behaviours. Through this process, and as they mature, adolescents internalize prevalent notions of masculinity and femininity, and start self-enforcing these gendered notions. They become more receptive to information they view as more relevant to their gender identity and start seeking gendered environments that further reinforce their gender identity, beliefs and behaviours. As their social identity becomes more crystalized, they become sensitive to how others view them. For example, research has found that girls and boys are more likely to act in gendered ways when their peers are present (Banerjee & Lintern 2000). Over time, through this process, boys' and girls' behaviours come to be regulated by internal standards, values and perceived consequences (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). However, while children typically internalize most group norms, due to personality differences they may find that some of their personal interests and beliefs conflict with prevailing gendered peer group norms. In such cases, how they 'perform' or 'do' gender will depend on, in addition to other factors, their level of self-efficacy to behave differently to what the prevailing norms dictate.

Outcomes

The outcomes of the gender socialization process are depicted in the final column of Figure 2. They include: gender-based differences at the structural level including education/workforce/socio-political participation and fertility regulation; gender-based practices such as violence and child marriage at the social-interactional level; and gender-based differences in individual attitudes, beliefs, skills, behaviours, etc. The interplay of complex processes at the social-interactional and individual level, strongly influenced by structural-level factors, produces and reproduces gender norms and gendered identities. Existing opportunity structures and the resultant gendered outcomes influence the incentives and motivation to practise certain behaviours, which in turn crystalize into societal expectations and norms and can manifest as negative or positive gendered outcomes. Child marriage and gender-based violence are examples of negative outcomes, while more positive outcomes include increased schooling and decision-making power for girls. Finally, these factors, subject to individual and contextual variation, develop into gendered identities at the individual level and lead to gender-based differences in attitudes, beliefs, skills and behaviours.

Adolescents are especially responsive to the normative influences prevalent in their social environment, triggered by biological changes and the expansion of social networks and importance placed on belonging and social acceptance. As a result, adolescents typically face very strong pressure to conform to prevailing masculine and feminine identities, which are often constructed in contrast to each other. For example, in many contexts, notions of manhood are tied to heterosexual behaviour where sex

is viewed as vital to demonstrating power, prestige and affirming male identity and status among peers (Ricardo, Barker, Pulerwitz & Rocha, 2006). Young men are encouraged to brag about their sexual exploits and as a consequence feel pressured to have heterosexual sexual experiences for peer acceptance. In contrast, femininity is linked to qualities such as being chaste and naïve about sexual matters, rendering talking about sex, contraceptive methods or acknowledging sexual experience 'unfeminine.' These processes and resulting identities reinforce existing gender norms and inequalities, potentially promoting the sexual objectification of girls and women, male dominance and inequitable heterosexual relationships and decision-making, sexual control, and dominance, and intimate partner violence.

However, as is clear from the description above, the efficient and complex interactions that influence gender socialization during adolescence can be steered to produce more equitable outcomes. Individual deviations from norms and expectations can impact community and society to produce new norms and identities, while new laws and policies can eventually impact practices and beliefs. In the next section, we review examples of how the gender socialization process and its related outcomes have been changed. We begin by examining several significant structural level forces that have changed gender norms and roles at the societal level, before moving on to review literature from programme interventions that mainly worked with communities, peers and individuals to influence the gender socialization process and ultimately shift adolescents' gender identities and roles.

PART III: HOW TO INFLUENCE GENDER NORMS AND GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Although the gender socialization process contains universal components, change is possible both in terms of the norms conveyed and reinforced through the gender socialization process, and in the process itself. Change inevitably involves each of the levels described in the conceptual framework developed in Part II and illustrated in Figure 2. Individual deviations from norms and expectations can impact the community and society in ways that produce new norms and identities. Laws and policies can impact practices and beliefs by incentivizing broader changes in behaviour and expectations via regulatory change. Changes at the structural level, such as changes in economic or social structures, may fundamentally shift the foundations of particular behaviours or norms, including the key actors in the socialization process. In other words, change may take place either within individuals, or within the broader opportunity structures in which the behaviour is contextualized, thereby influencing the gender socialization experienced by adolescents, and its related outcomes.

This section examines how these changes can take place, focusing both on the gender norms that are being imparted by the socialization process and the nature of that process, building on them to develop recommendations for programmes, policy and advocacy efforts. As in Part II, we first examine how change has happened at the structural level, focusing on broader socio-economic forces. Then we present the results of a literature review of programme interventions which have attempted to change gendered attitudes and behaviours at the individual and social-interactional levels.

3.1. Influencing gender norms and gender socialization at the structural level

Structural factors play a critical role in the gender socialization process, as described in Part II of this paper. This is because they influence core institutions and agents of socialization and shape opportunities available to groups within society, including girls and women. As a result, changes at this level have the potential to be prominent and lasting, shaping both the way the socialization process works and the types of norms reinforced through the process. For example, the increased interconnectedness of the global economy has driven rapid change worldwide. It has been a prominent force behind rapid urbanization and increased population mobility (both within countries and internationally) throughout low- and middle-income countries. The impact of these changes has disrupted traditional family systems and authority structures, but has also provided employment opportunities for women, and critical incentives for formal education, including for girls.

Changes at the structural level present both opportunities and challenges to policies and programmes aimed at changing outcomes related to gender equality. The ability of governments and societal leaders to control events and processes at the macro level is, in many cases, very limited. This is particularly true when driven by patterns of change such as those spread by the global media – often dominated by content produced in other cultural settings – or driven by integration into regional and global economic systems. Nonetheless, these macro-level changes also provide policy-makers and programme implementers with opportunities to promote more equitable gender norms in ways that take advantage of the disruptive effects such changes have on normative structures.

In Part III, we explore in greater detail three broad and interrelated areas of structural change that have been particularly influential in shifting gender norms, both historically and in contemporary settings. While these should not be seen as a comprehensive list of the types of structural shifts that may influence the gender socialization process, each has proven to be a powerful driver of change in gender norms directly and in the process of gender socialization itself. Furthermore, each has been demonstrated to be responsive to proactive, intentional policy and programme interventions by governments and other actors operating at the macro level, thereby making them a potentially powerful tool for social change.

Economic shifts that influence gender norms and gender socialization

Socio-economic development is linked to gender equality in a number of ways, as noted in the discussion of the conceptual framework presented in Figure 2. This relationship is complex, with weak empirical evidence linking economic growth to greater gender equality (Duflo, 2012; Kabeer 2015). While a number of factors confound this relationship, Kabeer (2015) argues that the impact of economic growth on gender equity is mediated by existing structures of 'patriarchal constraint' that limit or enhance its potential. The structure of economies, both local and national, may entrench normative expectations about gender roles and expectations, especially by limiting women's participation in the formal paid labour force. This, in turn, reduces incentives to invest in women's education and contributes to the persistence of expectations that equate womanhood with domestic or reproductive roles. Norms both modify and are modified by economic factors, including markets, and production and exchange relationships (Fafchamps, 2011). Bina Agarwal (1997) in her seminal work on intra-household bargaining and social norms highlights three key factors that lead individuals and groups to change behaviour and challenge established norms. The first is the role of economic factors in pushing people to challenge established norms. The second is the role of groups (as opposed to individuals) in enhancing people's ability to challenge norms. The third is the simultaneous and interactive nature of bargaining within and outside the household, to effectively challenge and iterate social norms.

The past two decades have seen an unprecedented increase in the interconnectedness of the global economy, with dramatic swells in global trade of goods and services, fundamental changes in the roles that low- and middle-income countries play in the production of goods, and the monetization of economic interactions across the globe (World Bank, 2016). These changes have significantly impacted local economies, shifting the work location from the home to external settings, and from unpaid to paid employment. Similarly, the new logic of global competition has created additional demand for female labour in certain sectors (e.g. garment, manufacturing and service sectors) and incentives for women's participation in the formal labour force. These shifts in the nature of work challenge gender norms in a number of ways. For example, studies indicate that women's paid employment and employment outside the home are more likely to challenge gender power differentials, compared to unpaid work or home-based work (Anderson & Eswaran, 2009). Jensen (2012) found similar patterns in rural India, where women recruited to work in the business process outsourcing industry were significantly less likely to marry or have children, instead choosing to enter the labour market or secure more schooling and/or professional

training. This study is consistent with other research in this area (Hewlett, 1992; Whiting, 1986) and highlights that even in rural settings, where patriarchal gender systems are often more entrenched, families and women are willing to overlook dominant gender norms in the face of lucrative opportunities – thereby catalysing a shift in such norms.

The increased industrialization in low- and middle-income countries that has accompanied the growth of the global economy has also contributed to the rapid urbanization of even the poorest countries. The resulting internal and international labour migration streams have exposed individuals to new and different norms of behaviour and have weakened the influence of extended community and family structures in their 'home' communities. Simultaneously, incentives to invest in human capital, particularly in terms of education and training, have increased in response to the requirements of new and expanded industries. In some cases, this has meant greater investment in women and girls.

Together, these changes influence the gender socialization process in a number of ways. Women's participation in the formal paid labour force provides vivid examples of non-traditional gender roles, while the economic gains of education encourage parents to ensure that young people, including girls, remain in school, rather than starting a family. More children are being raised in homes where their mothers make an important contribution to household income and, as a result, may have higher levels of empowerment, particularly in household decision-making (Gammage, Kabeer & van der Meulen Rodgers, 2016). The most immediate socialization environment is therefore more egalitarian than in past generations. In addition, adolescents are increasingly exposed to urban environments, as a consequence of labour-related migration, whereby norms around gender-relations are often different to those of rural settings and where the ability of parents and communities to closely monitor and constrain behaviour is limited.

As a result, both the content of the gender socialization process and the influence exerted by specific actors, such as parents or family members, can be altered in significant ways that present opportunities for policies and programmes seeking to alter gender norms at scale to be introduced. The momentum for change resulting from these economic transformations must be met with increased efforts to facilitate the retention of girls within the formal educational system, by ensuring schools are providing quality instruction that is directly relevant to the economic opportunities for all students, and by providing clear, tangible economic incentives for formal education, in the form of employment. However, it is important to note that these economic changes have often been accompanied by exploitative working conditions, segmentation of labour by gender, and lower pay for female workers. In many instances, these opportunities often place a dual burden on women, who must both work outside the home and act as the primary caregiver for their children, particularly where policies that support childcare and parental leave are lacking (Kabeer, 2001). The establishment of a minimum wage, family-friendly workplace policies and affordable childcare, are critical for reducing the gender wage gap and facilitating greater female participation in the labour force, ultimately paving the way for gender equality (OECD, 2012).

Global media and its influence on gender norms and gender socialization

In addition to greater interconnectedness in the economic sphere, rapid advancements in information technology around the world have made different types of media important transmitters of alternative gender norms and behaviours. This has created a truly global mass media that may operate alongside, or come to dominate, local media, and in which content developed for a particular audience, is transmitted to entirely different populations (for example Mexican and Brazilian telenovelas). Two forms of media have been particularly influential in this regard. The first is television and film, where mass media brand penetration has provided adolescents and their peers and families with examples of alternative gender attitudes and behaviours. These, although stylized and often inaccurate, do challenge existing norms in multiple ways. The second is the internet, which has become accessible to over 3 billion users, about 2 billion of them in low- and middle-income countries, partly as the result of developments in mobile connectivity (International Telecommunication Union, 2015). In Africa, for example, 20 per cent of youth regularly use the internet, compared to only 8 per cent of those aged 45 or older (World Bank, 2016). Youth increasingly turn to online sources or communities for information and advice on challenging social questions. By doing so they broaden the base of opinion on which to model their behaviour and reduce the influence of parents or community in shaping the information on gender that they receive.

A growing body of evidence suggests that interventions that take advantage of the reach of mass media, for example through telenovelas or social media campaigns, can influence attitudes and behaviour (Jensen and Oster, 2007; La Ferrera et al. 2008; La Ferrera et al. 2012). However, most of these have not focused exclusively on gender transformative messaging and evidence regarding the long-term impacts on norms is mixed. Nonetheless, some evidence suggests the potential for large effects. For example, La Ferrera et al. (2012) found that exposure to novelas in Brazil, which typically portray relatively small families and have many unmarried female protagonists, resulted in a fertility decline effect equivalent to a roughly 1.6 year increase in formal education. Recent cross-national research by La Ferrera (2015) suggests that television access may influence a range of other behaviours which are closely tied to gender norms, including spousal differences in fertility preferences, contraceptive use, and intimate partner violence.

It is clear that the increasingly pervasive presence of mass media in the lives of adolescents can expose them to different conceptualizations of gender, reflecting a change in transmitted gender norms, and an alternative avenue for the gender socialization process itself. However, as with economic changes, global media and increased access to technology present both challenges and opportunities to influence the gender socialization process leading to more equitable outcomes. The effects of introducing a dramatically different model of gender relations through the media are unpredictable and may lead to a retrenchment of 'traditional' norms and values. On the other hand, discussion around new models of behaviour introduced by mass media may provide an opportunity for more culturally appropriate interventions to address gender inequality. The health sector, for instance, has a long tradition of using the mass media or technology to implement interventions seeking to change

behavioural norms. These have included components designed to challenge conceptualizations of gender roles, attitudes and appropriate behaviour, but few have attempted to do so in a comprehensive, culturally appropriate, and generalizable fashion. Developing or taking advantage of media messaging to promote gender equity is an approach with considerable potential, particularly if it builds on other changes at the structural or social-interactional levels.

Population changes and their influence on gender norms and gender socialization

Migration, fertility, and mortality, are the pillars of population structure and change. Population changes are an important driver of behaviour and norms, including gender norms. In this section, we briefly review the migration and fertility processes, since these are more directly related to gender socialization and are arguably more responsive to policy or programmatic intervention.

As discussed above, migration may have a direct effect on attitudes and behaviour around gender, by exposing migrants to new social environments, in which gender norms are different from those in their home environments. The impact extends beyond the migrating individuals, significantly influencing the gender norms they enact and communicate in the socialization of their children. For example, in a study conducted among migrant tea plantation workers in southern India, Luke and Munshi (2011) found that weaker family ties to the ancestral community and increases in female income were associated with higher levels of education and a decrease in marriage amongst the migrants' children. Furthermore, the circular nature of the majority of internal migration movements suggests that migrants may 'import' norms and behaviours from urban areas to their rural homes, upon return. Chen et al. (2010) found that migrants returning from urban areas had less preference for sons and greater acceptance of using family planning methods than non-migrants, potentially modelling alternative behaviour for others in their community in ways that shift collective attitudes and norms.

While there is some debate about the extent to which migrants retain the values they encounter in destination locations, or how malleable these are to current contextual influences (Edmeades, 2008), migration may influence gendered behaviour in other ways. For example, high rates of migration have the potential to influence marital decisions, by changing the dynamics of the marriage 'market' in a particular location. This is especially true of migration flows that involve predominantly either men or women, as is often the case. Gendered migration flows where men constitute the majority of migrants may also influence gender norms in their home community, by making women de facto 'heads of households', giving them greater decision-making power in daily decisions and encouraging non-normative power structures within households, thereby providing children with different models of gendered behaviour (Desai and Banerji, 2008; Yabiku et al. 2010; Maharjan et al. 2012). Migration may also have a direct impact on the relative influence of specific actors in the gender socialization process, whereby the influence of peers and non-family actors on individuals increases, when individuals move physically outside the spheres of influence of family and community. Although little research has examined this relationship, in some contexts young people who migrate may be more likely to choose their own spouse – rather than relying on traditional family and community decision-making processes – further redefining gender roles and behaviours.

Building on examples from multiple settings, Kabeer (2001) argues that in some circumstances migration allows women to escape entrenched gender systems and redefine their role in the family and their social relationships, ultimately transforming gender systems and empowering women in low- and middle-income countries. For example, in Bangladesh, where marriage is highly valued for women, female export garment factory workers used their new-found earning power to renegotiate marital relationships, leave abusive marriages, delay marriage and challenge the practice of dowry. In Turkey, many women explicitly indicated a preference to work outside the home, in order to escape the control of their families and neighbourhoods. In the Philippines, women workers in export manufacturing were able to delay marriage and childbirth and enjoy greater personal independence and autonomy (Kabeer, 2001). Together, this evidence suggests migration is, in some cases, a significant driver of social change in gender norms and behaviours.

Changes in reproductive behaviour, particularly in terms of greater control over fertility, may also have far-reaching consequences that influence gender relations both directly, and through the socialization process. The relationship between reproductive behaviour and social norms is complex and its influence is bi-directional. While much of the literature examining the relationship between gender and fertility has focused on the role women's empowerment plays in family planning (Adamchak & Ntseane, 1992), a growing body of literature has begun to consider how fertility decline and greater control over reproduction may lead to changes in women's autonomy, social roles and gender relations as a whole (Stoebenau, Pande & Malhotra, 2013). Greater reproductive control allows girls' and women's lives to be less defined by their reproductive roles, and provides an opportunity to adopt other roles in their households and communities, by continuing their education or joining the labour force (Bloom et al., 2009; Caceres-Delpiano, 2012; Schultz, 2005; Schultz, 2009). Furthermore, there is some evidence that the greater nuclearization of family that accompanies fertility decline, may change the ways in which parents 'value' daughters and that this may lead to greater investment in their daughters' well-being (Allendorf, 2012; Amin and Mahmoud 2013; Fong 2002). Other research, however, has found this relationship to be contingent on the opportunity structure for women's employment and other roles outside the household (Erfani, 2012; Pande, Malhotra & Namy 2012).

As with the other structural factors discussed above, the ability of policies and programmes to shape the trajectory of population changes at the societal level is limited, though perhaps less so than for economic and mass media-related changes. At the global level, there is strong evidence that effective provision of reproductive health services lowers fertility, though the potential for this to fundamentally change gender norms relies on other factors, such as the availability of quality education and broader socio-economic opportunities, such as paid employment. Once they begin, fertility declines are rarely reversed, providing an opportunity for policy and programmes to utilize this momentum and encourage greater gender equality by facilitating women's participation in the paid workforce and creating an environment that incentivizes continued education for young people, particularly girls.

3.2. Programme interventions aiming to influence gender socialization at the individual and social-interactional levels

While a number of policy interventions have had a significant impact on both gender norms and the socialization process, relatively few had set this as their primary goal. In contrast, a range of smaller-scale interventions have aimed to address gender attitudes at the individual level, usually with the goal of shifting gender norms more broadly. Many of these interventions have targeted adolescents, with the rationale that attitudes may be more malleable at younger ages, and that changes during this period of development will continue to have long-term effects, as programme participants age. However, the lack of a comprehensive review of the different approaches taken in working with adolescents to transform gender attitudes and shape the gender socialization process in a way that promotes equitable gender views, has made understanding what has been done and the degree of success, a challenge.

In order to begin to address this gap and assess the current state of adolescent programming around gender norms, attitudes, and beliefs, we conducted a rapid literature review, searching for interventions that focused on changing how young people come to identify with and exhibit particular gender norms and behaviours.

The review focused on interventions aimed at changing adolescent gender attitudes at the individual level and used the following criteria to identify relevant programmes: 1) the intervention must have a stated intention of changing gender attitudes, beliefs, expectations, or roles; 2) the intervention must target young people aged 10-24; and 3) the evaluation of the intervention must measure change at the individual level (as opposed to more aggregate levels such as communities). Interventions that were directed at or through 'agents of socialization' or those that focused on the social-interactional level were also included if they measured changes in gendered attitudes and beliefs at the individual level.

Results of the literature review

The review identified 31 evaluated interventions, which focused on influencing gender socialization, to varying degrees. Annex A details each intervention in terms of the type of programme, target age group, evaluation methodology and outcomes.

The review identified three broad strategies used by these programmes:

1. empowering young people (mainly girls) with information, skills, and social support to challenge norms;

2. fostering an enabling environment in which to challenge gender norms;

3. working with men and boys, including directly with young individuals and with influential males to change attitudes and beliefs.

Each of the interventions in the review utilized at least one of these strategies, with most utilizing more than one (for example, working to empower girls through information, skills, and social support, while also working with their fathers and brothers). We describe these strategies in greater detail here, providing specific examples of how programmes have utilized them to change gender attitudes and behaviours.

■ **STRATEGY 1: Empowering young people with information, skills, and social support**

All of the reviewed programmes included at least some component that focused directly on changing the attitudes and beliefs of young people, focusing on empowering them to challenge established gender norms, through: training on gender as a concept and social construct; building skills; developing supportive social networks; and creating safe spaces within which to explore alternative gender behaviours. The rationale behind these programmes is to introduce young people to the ways in which gender is constructed in society, to present alternative gender roles to the norm (e.g. men in care-giving and women in non-reproductive roles), and to equip them with knowledge and skills that advocate for alternative 'pathways' in the short- and long-term. A related rationale is that young people who adopt these alternative normative frameworks around gender will influence others around them (e.g. peers, parents, romantic partners, and children) and will contribute to wider normative change.

Programmes adopting this strategy have typically include one or more of the following intervention types:

- **Group-based gender-education activities** taking place within 'safe spaces' where gender and the gender socialization process are questioned and alternatives to existing gender norms, explored.

  ○ Examples of programmes that incorporated this approach: Gender Equity Movement in Schools (GEMS), India; CHOICES, Nepal; Meseret Hiwot, Ethiopia; and Program H, Brazil.[1]

- **Life skills training** to provide young people with the means to effectively communicate new attitudes and approaches to gender, including negotiation and communication skills, legal awareness, financial skills, and improving self-confidence.

  ○ Examples of programmes that incorporated this approach: ISHRAQ, Egypt; and Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE), South Africa.

- **Sexual and Reproductive Health programming** that integrates norm change components, usually through a focus on decision-making, couple communication, and other relational interventions.

  ○ Examples of programmes that incorporated this approach: Biruh Tesfa, Ethiopia; and Sexto Sentido, and Entre Amigas, Nicaragua.

These programmes generally targeted young people aged 10-24, depending on the specific intervention component, and focused predominantly on adolescent girls. The majority of these programmes did not, however, focus solely on single groups of individuals, and typically utilized multiple strategies to achieve greater impact.

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[1] See Annex A for details of programmes mentioned.

■ **STRATEGY 2: Fostering an enabling environment**

Most of the reviewed programmes included components specifically designed to influence actors or factors at the social interaction level, either through working directly with communities or more narrowly with key actors, such as parents, relatives, or spouses, to create a supportive environment for the exploration of non-traditional gender roles, attitudes and behaviours. The rationale is that young people, particularly adolescent girls, have relatively low levels of power in their families and communities. This makes it more suitable and safer for other key actors in their lives – such as religious or cultural leaders, parents, and teachers – to challenge existing normative frameworks. Furthermore, families and communities are critical agents in the socialization process and a supportive social environment is central for providing young people with opportunities to explore and engage in non-normative behaviour.

Programmes that employ this strategy typically include one or more of the following intervention types:

- **Working with spouses, parents, community and religious leaders** to generate support for the development and expression of non-normative attitudes and behaviours.
  - ○ Examples of programmes that incorporated this approach: Addis Birhan, Ethiopia; Dil Mil, India; First-Time Parents, India.
- **Community or group-based education sessions**
  - ○ Examples of programmes that incorporated this approach: Gender Quality Action Learning Program, Bangladesh; Male Norms Initiative, Ethiopia.
- **Information, education, communication (IEC) campaigns** using various platforms (media, street theatre, advertising) to promote gender equitable norms and behaviour.
  - ○ Examples of programmes that incorporated this approach: Sexto Sentido, Nicaragua; Soul City, South Africa.

While the logic of engaging key social actors to facilitate individual change in gender socialization is compelling, the integrated nature of most programmes that aim to foster an enabling environment makes it difficult to isolate the effects of single strategies. However, this may partly be because of the inclusion criteria for research in this review, which focused primarily on change measured at the individual level.

■ **STRATEGY 3: Working with men and boys**

The majority of the reviewed programmes focused primarily on adolescent girls and young women, but several engaged men and boys as a core strategy. In some cases, the goal was to provide participants with support to challenge existing norms (as in Strategy 2), but in others, the focus was directly on the norms and attitudes of adolescent boys and young men. In many ways, the rationale of this strategy is similar to that of 'fostering an enabling environment' (Strategy 2), although these interventions typically view working with men and boys less through the lens of supporting girls and women (though this certainly remains a goal) and more through the broader benefits of changing masculine norms in ways that encourage equality for all members of society.

Programmes employing this strategy typically include one or more of the following intervention types:

- **Group-based interventions with adolescent boys** where they are introduced to the concepts of gender norms and gender inequality and the consequences of this for men and women, and are encouraged to explore alternative, gender-equitable 'definitions' of masculinity.
  - Examples of programmes that incorporated this approach: Parivartan, India; Young Men Initiative, Balkans; Program H, Brazil; Male Norms Initiative, Ethiopia; New Visions, Egypt.

- **Gender-synchronized interventions** that explicitly take into account the relational aspects of gender and work with both boys/men and girls/women.
  - Examples of programmes that incorporated this approach: Gender Equity Movement in Schools, India; First-Time Parents Project, India; Meseret Hiwot/Addis Birhan, Ethiopia.

- **Community engagement through communal events or male 'gatekeepers'**
  - Examples of programmes that incorporated this approach: Gender Quality Action Learning Program, Bangladesh; One Man Can, South Africa.

As with the first two strategies, Strategy 3 also utilized a number of different approaches to try to reach young men and adolescent boys. For example, the Young Men Initiative was embedded in schools, with young men forming a 'club' and conducting broader outreach to their peers, while Parivartan used sport as a way to engage and recruit participants. In all cases, careful thought was given to framing the intervention to make it attractive to men and boys, without further contributing to the perpetuation of harmful gender norms (such as the segregation of community spaces). This contrasts with some of the more general approaches taken to engaging men and boys in supporting gender norm change, including some of those used under Strategy 2, where men were engaged largely because of their position as 'gatekeepers' within families or communities, potentially further cementing their status relative to women and girls.

Summary of findings

Evidence for the impact of the reviewed programmes is mixed. Many used multiple strategies to achieve greater effect. For example, the GEMS programme worked with both boys and girls (Strategy 3) and created a supportive environment for change by building a supportive environment within schools (Strategy 2). Similarly, the CHOICES programme, which works with very young adolescents in Nepal, is supported by complementary programming with parents ('Voices') and community members ('Promises'), both of which fall under Strategy 2.

Most of the programmes saw significant changes in gender attitudes, but there were generally much smaller changes in behaviours, possibly because these are slower to bring about and would require longer-term studies to identify them. None of the programmes included a post-intervention follow-up of more than two years and this lack of evidence of the longitudinal effects makes it difficult to assess both the durability of attitudinal changes and the long-term effects on behaviour. Furthermore, with

the exception of programmes like CHOICES and GEMS, very few programmes focused on younger adolescents (ages 10-14).) In some cases, the evaluation design or quality was insufficient for drawing clear conclusions about the programme's impact.

Overall, evidence suggests that those programmes that sought to bolster support for change at the individual level, through activities at the social-interactional level (such as the CHOICES programme in Nepal, Parivartan in India, or Soul City in South Africa) may be more effective in the short-term and potentially prove more sustainable in the long-term. These findings strongly suggest that focusing on changing individual attitudes and beliefs and the immediate environment at the social-interactional level, while necessary for social change, is itself not sufficient to bring about fundamental changes in social norms around gender. To achieve greater impact, these efforts should be supported by, or take advantage of, shifts at the structural level.

CONCLUSION

This discussion paper set out to examine the main influences on the gender socialization process during adolescence in order to provide practical suggestions for policy and programmes on how to achieve more gender equitable outcomes. Theoretical contributions from psychology, sociology and biology were reviewed to develop a conceptual framework that explains the multi-layered and complex process of gender socialization and its outcomes with a focus on adolescents living in low- and middle-income countries. Understanding this process and how factors at the structural, social-interactional and individual level are inter-linked, is critical for developing better approaches to promoting gender equality. The reviewed literature confirms that adolescence is a critical period in which gendered attitudes and behaviours intensify and new gender roles and responsibilities appear. This period of rapid change within and around the individual is a key time for investment and intervention towards achieving more equitable outcomes for girls and boys, and later in life for women and men. Furthermore, today's adolescents will play a lead role in achieving key development targets, including the Sustainable Development Goals; the ways in which the gender socialization process is shaped by this cohort will influence future generations. The framework developed in this paper helps position efforts designed to promote greater gender equality. It also helps understand where their influence is most likely to be experienced and the outcomes to which they are likely to contribute. While evidence suggests that current policy and programming efforts can change gender attitudes and influence norms espoused by adolescents and the communities in which they live in the short term, for sustained change, factors at the individual, social-interactional and structural levels will have to be leveraged simultaneously. Approaches that target the adolescent in isolation and fail to adequately consider the agents of socialization, life course factors, changes in economic structures, and the increasingly globalized world, will be less effective than those taking a more holistic approach. In order to maximize and scale up their impact, policy and programming efforts will need to be carefully positioned within the bigger picture captured in our conceptual framework, and interventions will need to be more effectively coordinated to complement each other. In conclusion, we used the reviewed literature to suggest three overarching recommendations for policy and programming efforts which aim to influence the gender socialization process during adolescence and the outcomes of this process.

Recommendations for policy and programmes

The programme and policy examples presented in this paper provide strong support for the feasibility of deliberate action to change the gender socialization process in ways that encourage the expression of more equitable attitudes, norms, and beliefs. Careful consideration should be given to strategies that were successful at the individual and social-interactional levels, particularly those that adopted a more holistic approach where the burden of change was not solely on the shoulders of young people. However, it is clear that the structural environment in which interventions take place is a critical component in determining their effectiveness. While the legal and policy environment can shape structural changes, experience in many settings suggests that

in the absence of coercion, its ability to do so is limited, since the changes are often part of larger, global or regional processes. However, there are a number of areas where policy and programming efforts can take advantage of ongoing structural changes in ways that amplify their potential beneficial effects in terms of promoting more equitable gender norms and the efficacy of existing interventions. These include:

Establishing a legal and policy environment that complements and takes advantage of elements of structural change, which enable broader shifts towards gender equity and equality. For example, the growth of non-agricultural or care-based employment opportunities for women may generate social 'space' to institute minimum legal requirements for formal education, or prohibit child marriage through creating a tangible 'payoff' for building the human capital of girls. Similarly, laws and policies that better balance the demands of work and other commitments, such as parental leave, effective and affordable access to reproductive health services, or employment protection laws, may facilitate engagement in paid employment for all, while also encouraging a reconsideration of traditional gender roles within households. Finally, laws and policies must also acknowledge the inherently disruptive effects of social change and seek to mitigate them where possible. For example, increases in migration must be accompanied by more effective provision of social services in sending destinations, to cater for returning migrants whose needs and preferences have changed. Care also needs to be taken to mitigate the potential increases in intimate partner violence that may accompany changes in the economic roles of women within households.

Structuring and designing gender transformative interventions in ways that directly relate to structural changes. As with the legal and policy environment, changes in structural factors create an opportunity for programmes and other interventions to fill the gap created by such changes, in a way that challenges gender norms. For example, programmes like IMAGE or ISHRAQ, both of which include components focusing on livelihoods, are likely to be more successful if the skills developed are clearly related to the needs of the 'new' economic structure. Similarly, programmes such as the First-Time Parents Project in India are likely to find greater acceptance if they are seen as meeting a need, in this case more gender-egalitarian care of children, created by women's increased engagement in the formal workforce. In a similar vein, mass media interventions may have more of an impact if the narratives portrayed reflect a feasible reality and present solutions for 'real-life' challenges experienced by the target audience. For example, programmes such as Sexto Sentido and Entre Amigas – which deliver gender transformative messaging and information on sexual and reproductive health – are likely to be more effective in environments where sexual and reproductive health (including control over reproduction) is increasingly seen as an important factor in life success, due to economic and/or demographic shifts, and where other media messaging has made it possible for these issues to be safely explored.

Developing life course approaches that account for the biological and social changes that take place during the gender socialization process in adolescence. The key agents of influence in the gender socialization process vary over the life course, the stage of social and biological development, and with exposure to alternative messages. As a result, to be effective, programmes or policies must understand and cater for these changes in ways that clearly identify key points of intervention. For example,

as individuals transition between life course stages and are exposed to different influences through factors such as migration or mass media, the relative influence of family members will fluctuate, making interventions focused on the family more or less effective in producing social change.

There is value in positioning programmes and policies within the multi-level conceptual framework developed in Part II. In particular, interventions at any of the structural, social-interactional, or individual levels will be more successful if intentionally designed to take advantage of changes at other levels. For instance, interventions at the social-interactional and individual levels are more likely to be successful and relevant if recipients perceive them as helping to address the disruptive effects of changes at the structural level. It is important that policies and programmes that aim to influence the gender socialization process are framed in positive, solution-oriented ways that emphasize the benefits of gender equity to all members of society, while clearly preparing young people for the demands a changing society will place on them.

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ANNEX – RESULTS FROM A PRELIMINARY SEARCH OF GENDER SOCIALIZATION INTERVENTIONS

Type of programme /policy	Country	Name of Study	Authors	Age Range	Evaluation Design	Method	Outcomes	Summary
Gender socialization	Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, and Kosovo	Be a Man, Change the Rules! Findings and Lessons from Seven Years of CARE International Balkans' Young Men Initiative	Namy, S., Heilman, B., Stich, S. and Edmeades, J.	14-18	Pre-test/ post-test design; one site had comparison group	Pre-test and post-test surveys, IDIs, FGDs	Gender attitudes, peer violence	Adaptation of Promundo's Program H; 8-10 hour-long sessions in vocational high schools focused on gender attitudes, violence, sex, health, well-being, alcohol, and drug use. Includes optional residential retreat for additional sessions, as well as Be A Man, lifestyle campaign. There was limited evidence of behaviour change, but statistically significant change in attitudes towards gender roles/norms and violence. The intervention took place in a school, but school-wide measures were not studied in depth, except that one site reported less peer-peer violence.
Gender socialization	Nepal	Whose turn to do the dishes? Transforming gender attitudes and behaviours among very young adolescents in Nepal	Lundgren, R., Beckman, M., Chaurasiya, S., Subhedi, B. and Kerner, B.	10-14	Pre-test/ post-test design with comparison group	Mixed-methods evaluation (age-appropriate quantitative techniques, interviews, FGDs, and Photovoice)	Gender attitudes, gender-equitable behaviour in household	Gender transformative programme integrated into existing children's clubs; 2-hour group education sessions per week for 3 months to encourage more gender-equal behaviour. Children in experimental group had significantly more equitable attitudes about gender, were significantly more likely to consider domestic roles as neutral, and demonstrated a shift towards gender equitable behaviour on household duties as corroborated by siblings. FGDs among parents in the control and experimental area suggested that parents noticed the changes occurring in their household (if in experimental group).

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Type of programme /policy	Country	Name of Study	Authors	Age Range	Evaluation Design	Method	Outcomes	Summary
Gender socialization	India	Building support for gender equality among young adolescents in school: Findings from Mumbai, India	ICRW	12-14	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test surveys and a small number of IDIs	Attitudes towards gender roles and violence and knowledge of SRH, as measured by the Gender Equitable Measurement Scale (different from the Gender Equitable Men's Scale)	Gender-education activities (weekly 45 minute sessions over a 6-7 month period) and a school-wide campaign consisting of a weeklong series of events. Overall, those in the intervention schools had more gender-equitable attitudes than those in the control arm, but those in the campaign-only schools showed less positive changes than those with the more intensive educational lessons. Girls reported changes in behaviour, such as opposing gender discrimination, understanding boys better, and playing more with boys, that were statistically significant, but the same changes were not significant for boys in either intervention group. Boys and girls in the GEA+ intervention (weekly educational sessions) had statistically significant changes in GEMS scores after the first follow up, and both intervention arms showed statistically significant changes in 3 out of 4 indicators after the second follow up (high gender equality, higher education for girls, and oppose violence)
Gender socialization	Egypt	Promoting gender sensitivity among boys in Egypt	Green, C., Selim, M., Gamal, A. and Mandil, O.	12-20	Pre-test/post-test with comparison group	Surveys	12 scales on the subjects' reported knowledge, attitude and behaviours in: gender equity; gender role; gender-based violence; domestic violence; FGM/C; reproductive health knowledge; HIV knowledge; male roles and MCH/FP attitudes; substance-related behaviour; self-confidence; decision-making; environmental behaviours	The New Visions Program is a non-formal education program for boys and young men which aimed to increase RH knowledge and gender sensitivity of young men. Over 6 months, participants attended 64 education sessions taught in youth centres. The evaluation did not report all outcomes, but only those that were significant. There were significant changes on attitudes towards gender equity, domestic violence, smoking/drug related behaviour, reproductive health decision-making, and HIV knowledge.

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Type of programme /policy	Country	Name of Study	Authors	Age Range	Evaluation Design	Method	Outcomes	Summary
Gender socialization	India	Community mentors as coaches: Transforming gender norms through cricket among adolescent males in urban India	Das, M., Verma, R., Ghosh, S., Ciaravino, S., Jones, K., O'Connor, B. and Miller, E.	10-16	Quasi-experimental	Pre-, midterm, and post-test surveys and FGDs with participants	Gender attitudes measured through the Gender Equitable Measurement Scale	This educational programme was delivered before or after cricket games in a Mumbai slum, covering topics such as respect, ethics, gender norms, and gender-based violence. After the coaching sessions ended, a month-long social marketing campaign was rolled out in intervention and control communities, raising awareness regarding VAWG, reducing sexual harassment, and encouraging bystander intervention. Both adolescents and mentors exposed to the programme reported improvements in positive bystander intervention and a reduction in perpetration of any violence by the 24-month evaluation. There were also improvements in attitudes to women and gender equality, but they were not sustained to the 24-month mark.
Gender socialization	Ethiopia	Evaluation of a reproductive health programme to support married adolescent girls in rural Ethiopia	Erulkar, A. and Tamrat, T.	18+	Pre-test and post-test with comparison group	Surveys	Husbands' support and assistance with domestic duties, positive health behaviour including use of family planning and VCT, and domestic and sexual violence	Mesert Hiwott is a programme for married girls in Ethiopia in which girls are placed into groups to increase social support and learn about communication, self-esteem, reproductive health, and gender. Addis Birhan is the male partner programme to Meseret Hiwott. It is a mentor-led and participatory for husbands and community members of married girl children focusing on gender, relationships, child care, and sexual and reproductive health. Addis Birhan was not evaluated on its own, but was evaluated as part of Addis Birhan. When both husband and wife participated, wives reported more household help and support, higher rates of family planning use and voluntary counselling and testing, and lower rates of sexual and domestic violence.

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Type of programme /policy	Country	Name of Study	Authors	Age Range	Evaluation Design	Method	Outcomes	Summary
Gender socialization	India	Adolescent girls in India choose a better future: An impact assessment	CEDPA	15-26	Cross-sectional with comparison group	IDIs and survey	Education, engagement in income-generating activities, decision making, mobility, self-esteem/self-confidence, empowerment, fertility, age of marriage, child spacing, contraceptive use, health-seeking behaviour	The Better Life Options Program is flexible and is designed to be tailored by local NGOs who are implementing it in a particular area. The programme consists of individual capacity training through literacy training and linkage to formal education, family life education, vocational skills training, reproductive health services, and social mobilization. The goals are to build the self-esteem and self confidence of adolescent girls and expand their choices related to marriage, fertility, health, vocation, and civic participation. Girls have to leave their homes to participate in the programme. Girls who participated were more likely to hold gender equitable attitudes, have a say in whom they would marry, attend secondary schooling, learn a vocational skill, and could travel alone. BLP alumnae were also more likely to use contraceptives and had better pregnancy and early childhood outcomes than non-participants.
Gender socialization	India	Empowering married young women and improving their sexual and reproductive health: Effects of the First-Time Parents Project	Santhya, K.G., Haberland, N., Das, A., Lakhani, A., Ram, F., Sinha, R. … Mohanty, S.	Under 26	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test cross-sectional surveys	Women's decision-making, gender role attitudes, mobility, attitudes towards domestic violence, social support networks, use of contraceptives, maternal health care seeking during pregnancy, institutional delivery, post-partum care	This programme was implemented in two rural settings to serve newly married women, young women pregnant for the first time, first-time mothers, and their husbands and mothers-in-law through information provision, health care services and group formation to enhance the women's social support networks. In both sites, the intervention had a significant, positive net effect on most indicators reflecting married young women's autonomy, social support networks, partner communication and knowledge of sexual and reproductive health. In one of the sites there was a significant, positive net effect on gender role attitudes, but there was no change in attitudes towards domestic violence.

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Type of programme /policy	Country	Name of Study	Authors	Age Range	Evaluation Design	Method	Outcomes	Summary
Gender socialization	Bangladesh	Change in knowledge, perception and attitude of the villagers towards gender roles and gender relations: An evaluation of gender equality action learning programme	Alim, A.	Adults	Pre-test and post-test without comparison group	Pre-test and post-test surveys and IDIs	Appropriate activities for women (earning, cooking, etc.), gender discrimination of children, decision-making around family planning use, decision-making around household assets, women's mobility, violence against women, girls' decision-making in getting married, attitudes towards gender	This is a village training programme fostering gender equality and equity among the villagers. It also focused on decision-making power of women within the household, division of labour, and access to and control over resources. Educators conducted courtyard meetings, videos, and popular theatre to educate community members about gender roles and relations, joint ownership of family resources by both sexes, and increase of women's participation in decision-making in the family. There were some changes regarding gender discrimination of children, girls' role in choosing a husband and decision-making around family planning, but most of the gender norms around mobility, gender-based violence, and gender roles remained unchanged.
Gender socialization	South Africa	'One Man Can': Shifts in fatherhood beliefs and parenting practices following a gender-transformative programme in Eastern Cape, South Africa	Van den Berg, W., Hendricks, L., Hatcher, A., Peacock, D., Godana, P. and Dworkin, S.	18+	Descriptive study, no comparison group	Post-test qualitative evaluation	Attitudes and practices related to childbearing	The Fatherhood Project is one aspect of the larger One Man Can programme. It holds community-based workshops to increase fathers' involvement in their children's lives, increase knowledge and advocacy around children's preventive and medical care, and giving children a voice. Participants felt that the programme taught them how to be present, positive role models in their children's lives, use improved communication methods with children, use fewer corporal discipline strategies, and recognizing the role they could play in positively socializing the next generation of youth to be respectful, gender-equitable, and to share household responsibilities with parents and siblings.

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Type of programme /policy	Country	Name of Study	Authors	Age Range	Evaluation Design	Method	Outcomes	Summary
Gender socialization	Brazil & Mexico	How do we know if men have changed? Promoting and measuring attitude change with young men: Lessons from Program H in Latin America	Barker, G., Nascimento, M. and Segundo, M.	15-24	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test surveys	Gender-equitable attitudes via the Gender Equitable Men's Scale	Program H is a theoretically based programme designed to positively influence attitudes related to gender equality, including greater sensitivity to issues of gender-based violence, increased intention to use condoms, improved partner-negotiation skills, increased attention to health needs, and a greater desire to be more involved as fathers for those who already are. The curriculum is delivered in education and community settings, and there is also a lifestyle campaign to promote changes in the community related to what it means to be a man. Programme results were not reported.
Gender socialization	India	Challenging and changing gender attitudes among young men in Mumbai, India	Verma, R., Pulerwitz, J., Mahendra, V., Khandekar, S., Barker, G., Fulpagare, P., and Singh, S.K.	18-29	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test surveys and IDIs	Gender-equitable attitudes via the Gender Equitable Men's Scale	This intervention is a Program H curriculum adapted for India. It consisted of group education activities focused on gender norms, HIV/STIs, reproductive health, and violence. Urban areas had group education sessions and a social marketing campaign, and rural areas had group education sessions only. The majority of the men participating had a significant change in attitudes from baseline to endline, though tended to hold both equitable and inequitable attitudes simultaneously.
Gender socialization	Uganda	Evaluation of the Transformative Potential of Positive Gender Socialization in Education for Peacebuilding	Chinen, M., Coombes, A., de Hoop, T. and Elmeski, M.	Participants were teacher, but intervention targeted children 9-15.	Mixed-methods cluster Randomized Controlled trial	Self-completion questionnaires with teachers; observation/case studies of classrooms; interview and FGDs with key stakeholders, including children.	Gender related knowledge, attitudes, behaviour.	A pilot programme in Karamoja, Uganda (supported by UNICEF and the Ugandan government), which trained teachers with the aim to enhance the peacebuilding potential of positive gender socialization in schools. A mixed-methods cluster randomized controlled trial examined the short-term impact of the teacher training and complementary effects of SMS messages on teachers' knowledge, attitudes, and practices around gender equality and gender socialization. Findings showed changes in teachers' knowledge and attitudes around gender equality issues in the short term.

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Type of programme /policy	Country	Name of Study	Authors	Age Range	Evaluation Design	Method	Outcomes	Summary
Gender-based violence	China	Changing gender norms and reducing HIV and violence risk among workers and students in China	Pulerwitz, J., Hui, W., Arney, J., and Scott, L. M.	15-24	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test surveys	Gender-equitable attitudes via the Gender Equitable Men's Scale	This intervention incorporated aspects of Program H and was implemented in group education settings in factories and vocational schools to promote gender-equitable attitudes among young men. 18 out of 24 items on the scale had positive, significant changes, while 9 showed no change and 1 showed negative change. The most positive changes were seen around sexuality, but there were also positive changes in attitudes towards violence, reproductive health and disease prevention, and domestic life and child care.
Gender-based violence	India	An intergenerational women's empowerment intervention to mitigate domestic violence: Results of a pilot study in Bengaluru, India	Krishnan, S., Subbiah, K., Khanum, S., Chandra, P. and Padian, N.	Mean = 24	Descriptive	Post-test qualitative evaluation	Power dynamics within marriage, domestic conflict, sources of support, community norms	Dil Mil is a group education curriculum taught to women and their mothers-in-law to reduce violence against women. The sessions included lessons on gender roles, gender-based violence and relationship skills. It was delivered through antenatal care. The evaluation was more on the implementation of the programme than the results, so it is difficult to determine effectiveness.
Gender-based violence	Ethiopia	Changing gender norms and reducing intimate partner violence: Results from a quasi-experimental intervention study with young men in Ethiopia	Pulerwitz, J., Hughes, L., Mehta, M., Kidanu, A., Verani, F. and Tewolde, S.	15-24	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test surveys	Gender-equitable attitudes via the Gender Equitable Men's Scale	This intervention had two components: group education sessions and a community engagement campaign, both of which promoted critical reflection regarding common gender norms that might increase the risk of violence or HIV and other STIs. Community engagement (CE) activities ran for 6 months, and included newsletters and leaflets, music and drama skits, community workshops, and condom distribution. Group education (GE) activities took place over 4 months at youth centres during regularly scheduled youth group hours and included role plays, group discussions, and personal reflection. There were positive shifts in the GE + CE and CE-only groups, though there were more shifts in the GE+CE group. The comparison group had no positive shifts. In both intervention groups, young men showed significant declines in reporting violence towards a primary partner. In multivariate analysis of IPV, however, only the CE group results remained significant.

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Type of programme /policy	Country	Name of Study	Authors	Age Range	Evaluation Design	Method	Outcomes	Summary
Gender-based violence	South Africa	Achieving social change on gender-based violence: A report on the impact evaluation of Soul City's fourth series	Usdin, S., Scheepers, E., Goldstein, S. and Japhet, G.	All ages	Pre-test and post-test without comparison group	National survey and qualitative impact assessment	Knowledge and awareness of GBV, attitudes towards GBV, subjective norms, and behaviour towards stopping GBV	Soul City is a multi-media health promotion project designed to impact attitudes and behaviours around gender-based violence at multiple levels: individual, community, and the socio-political environment through radio and television dramas and print materials. Those with moderate and high exposure to Soul City were significantly more likely to change their personal attitudes towards violence and take some steps to change behaviour, such as making contact with a GBV organization, participating in a protest, or doing something personal to stop violence.
Child marriage	Bangladesh	Programme efforts to delay marriage through improved opportunities: Some evidence from rural Bangladesh	Amin, S. and Suran, L.	13-21	Intervention and comparison groups	Pre-test and post-test surveys and IDIs	Marriage, income-generating activities, school retention, access to vocational training	The objective of Kishori Abhijan was to promote a gender-equitable environment in which girls could widen their choices, participate in empowering social and economic processes and realize their potential as agents for social change. Adolescent girls' groups were mentored by NGO workers to develop their self-esteem and learn about gender, health, legal rights, etc., and were trained in livelihood activities and linked to savings and credit groups. There were too many biases to be able to link positive outcomes to the intervention.
Sexual and Reproductive Health	Kenya	Beacon of hope: Evaluation of the Kenya Girl Guides Association HIV/AIDS Program for School Children	Kiragu, K., Odingo, G., Juma, M., Mbugua, J., Waweru, M., Mahinda, W., Mwaniki, B., Muturi, C., Ochieng, S., Nelson, T. and McCauley, A.	10-14	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test/post-test FGDs and surveys	Self-confidence and social connectedness; gender equity scores; attitudes towards people living with HIV/AIDS; knowledge of HIV/AIDS	The aim of this programme was to reduce sexual risk among school-going adolescents by improving self-confidence and attitudes towards gender equality through peer-led educational sessions. Compared to comparison schools, girls in intervention schools were statistically more likely to have equitable gender attitudes. The gender component was only one part of the curriculum, with other sections on SRH and HIV/AIDS. It is important to note that the comparison school also had statistically significant changes in some areas, so while this programme was strong in the gender area; it did not have the same results in other areas.

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Sexual and reproductive health	Brazil	Promoting more gender-equitable norms and behaviours among young men as an HIV/AIDS prevention strategy	Pulerwitz, J., Barker, G., Segundo, M. and Nascimento, M.	15-24	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test surveys and IDIs	Gender-equitable attitudes via the Gender Equitable Men's Scale	This intervention is adapted from Program H and consisted of group education activities and behaviour change communications campaigns focused on gender-equitable messages and HIV risk in community-settings. One intervention group had only the group education component, and the other arm had both group education and lifestyle campaign components. Agreement with inequitable gender norm statements decreased significantly in both intervention sites. Decreased agreement with inequitable gender norms over one year was significantly associated with decreased reports of STI symptoms. Qualitative data is very supportive of changes in relationships and how the men view gender and sexuality norms. There were no significant changes in improvement between the group education only site and the combined site.
Sexual and reproductive health	Nicaragua	Catalyzing personal and social change around gender, sexuality, and HIV: Impact evaluation of Puntos de Encuentro's communication strategy in Nicaragua	Solorzano, I., Bank, A., Pena, R., Espinoza, H., Ellsberg, M. and Pulerwitz, J.	13-24	Longitudinal panel study	3 rounds of surveys	Gender norms, HIV-related stigma, social capital, self-efficacy, collective efficacy, and relationship power. Relevant items were selected from GEMS	Sexto Sentido was a mass media campaign to promote young people's rights and individual and collective empowerment in relation to sexual and reproductive health and rights issues; the intervention included a weekly TV "soap opera," a radio show, youth capacity-building, and support materials. "Machismo as a risk factor," was central to the programme. Those with greater exposure to the programme had significantly more gender equitable attitudes than those with less exposure. In qualitative studies, participants considered violence against women to be one of the most serious problems identified in relations between men and women. There is also evidence from qualitative study that mass communication activities, particularly Sexto Sentido on TV, made a significant contribution to critical thinking and broke into family, school, and work spheres, creating increased dialogue in these areas.

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Sexual and reproductive health	India	Evaluation of Stepping Stones as a tool for changing knowledge, attitudes and behaviours associated with gender, relationships and HIV risk in Karnataka, India	Bradley, J., Bhattacharjee, P., Ramesh, B., Girish, M. and Das, A.	Early to mid-twenties	Cross-sectional post-test	Polling booth surveys and IDIs	HIV knowledge, attitudes towards HIV, gender and sexuality, caring and sharing, and gender-based violence; and behaviors related to openness to new ideas, alcohol and forced sex, and risky behaviours	Stepping Stones is a participatory programme designed to address the prevention and spread of HIV by promoting communication and relationship skills within households and communities. Men and women, both married and unmarried, were trained to learn about HIV and take the information to their villages. Polling booth results showed that those who participated in the programme had significantly more gender equitable attitudes than the general population. However, the general population of Stepping Stones villages had slightly more progressive views than the general population in non-Stepping Stones Villages in some areas in relation to gender attitudes, but in many areas they were equally regressive.
Sexual and reproductive health	South Africa	Impact of Stepping Stones on incidence of HIV and HSV-2 and sexual behaviour in South Africa: Cluster randomised controlled trial	Jewkes, R., Nduna, M., Levin, J., Jama, N., Dunkle, K., Puren, A. and Duvvury, N.	15-26	Cluster randomized controlled trial	Baseline, midterm, and endline surveys and blood tests for HIV and HSV-2	Incidence of HIV, incidence of HSV-2, unwanted pregnancy, reported sexual practices, depression, and substance misuse	Stepping Stones is a participatory learning programme with 13 3-hour long sessions delivered in single-sex groups that are complemented by three meetings of male and female peer groups and a final community meeting. The lessons cover conception and contraception, unwanted pregnancy, STIs and HIV, condoms and safer sex, gender-based violence, and communication skills, etc. Though not the primary aim of Stepping Stones, a significantly lower proportion of men perpetrated physical or sexual intimate partner violence in the Stepping Stones arm at 24 months.
Sexual and reproductive health	Ethiopia	Evaluation of "Biruh Tesfa" (Bright Future) program for vulnerable girls in Ethiopia	Erulkar, A., Ferede, A., Girma, W. and Ambelu, W.	10-19	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test surveys	HIV knowledge, social support	Biruh Tesfa aims to build social support among poor, marginalized girls in Ethiopia to reduce HIV risk through group education. The curriculum focuses on gender dynamics and power to reduce their vulnerability to HIV. Girls in the intervention sites were twice as likely to report social support and higher knowledge of HIV. There were no items measuring gender issues.

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Sexual and reproductive health	Georgia	Addressing social factors of adolescent reproductive health in the Republic of Georgia	Tavadze, M., Bartel, D. and Rubardt, M.	14-19	Pre-test/post-test without comparison group	Surveys	Reproductive health knowledge and use; attitudes towards gender norms and gender-based violence	The Guria Adolescent Health Project was implemented over 3 years to improve adolescent reproductive health in 10 rural villages. Another goal was to decrease public tolerance among adults and adolescents for the traditional practice of forcibly abducting adolescent girls for marriage. Qualitative data shows some shifts in gender norms in the community, including the acceptability for young couples to delay marriage or childbirth and an understanding of the local custom of kidnapping brides as gender-based violence. There was no quantitative data reported to support these results.
Sexual and reproductive health	Mozam-bique	Tchova Tchova Model Community Dialogue on Gender and HIV/AIDS Prevention Qualitative Evaluation Study	Quincot, R.A. and Figueroa, M.E.	Mean = 36	Post-intervention evaluation	FGDs	Attitudes towards gender roles in household chores, gender roles in sex, faithfulness, educating children about social norms, and violence against women	Tchova Tchova is a group education programme that used videos and facilitated discussions to talk about power dynamics within relationships. The qualitative evaluation shows that both men and women had changed views on relationships, gender roles, and power dynamics within sex.
Sexual and reproductive health	Senegal	The TOSTAN Program Evaluation of a Community Based Education Program in Senegal	Diop, N., Faye, M.M., Moreau, A., Cabral, J., Benga, H., Cisse, F., Mane, B., Baumgarten, I. and Melching, M.	Adults	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test, post-test, and post-post-test surveys, ethnography and IDIs		This community-based education programme was designed to improve women's health and abandon the practice of FGC. An overwhelming majority of participants were women. There were improvements in attitudes towards gender roles, violence, and FGC, although improvements were seen in experimental and comparison groups. Because there was a radio component, individuals who did not participate in the education programme could have learned about the topics. Additionally, significant methodological challenges led to a mismatch in evaluations from baseline through post-test evaluations.

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Sexual and reproductive health	Nepal	Youth reproductive health in Nepal: Is participation the answer?	Mathur, S., Mehta, M. and Malhotra, A.	14-25	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test surveys	Basic reproductive health outcomes, gender attitudes towards sexuality and reproductive health	This participatory programme was implemented in two sites, one rural and one urban. The intervention consisted of adolescent-friendly health services, peer education and counselling, an information and education campaign, adult peer education, youth clubs, street theatre on social norms, efforts to improve livelihood opportunities, and teacher education. The programme was designed to change the context that influences youth reproductive health. The outcomes for basic reproductive health were not significantly different in intervention vs. control sites, and in some cases outcomes were better in control sites, but in intervention sites, girls reported substantially higher participation in social activities. There was also qualitative evidence to support a changing context and more open discussions about taboo gender topics.
Livelihoods	South Africa	Understanding the impact of a microfinance-based intervention on women's empowerment and the reduction of intimate partner violence in South Africa	Kim, J., Watts, C., Hargreaves, J., Ndhlovu, L., Phetia, G., Morison, L., Busza, J., Porter, J. and Pronyk, P.	14-35	Randomized controlled trial	Pre-test and post-test surveys	Experiencing domestic violence and female empowerment indicators	This intervention was a microfinance model with a participatory gender learning programme integrated into loan meetings. The one-hour sessions covered gender roles, cultural beliefs, relationships, communication, domestic violence, and HIV infection. The intervention reduced the levels of past year IPV by more than half. Women in the groups also engaged the wider community in their lessons, mobilizing communities to organize village workshops, meetings with people in positions of power in their communities, marches, partnerships with local institutions and village committees. The attitudes of the greater community were not evaluated.

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Livelihoods	Egypt	The ISHRAQ program for out-of-school girls: From Pilot to Scale-Up	Selim, M., Abdel-Tawab, N., Elsayed, K., El Badawy, A. and El Kalaawy, H.	13-15	Quasi-experimental	Pre-test and post-test surveys	School retention, attitudes towards gender norms	ISHRAQ is a nationally scaled-up programme that aims to improve the education and life opportunities for out-of-school girls. Activities are organized in youth centres, reclaiming what were male-only spaces, and the curriculum covers basic literacy and numeracy, life skills, sexual and reproductive health, and communication. Girls also played sports. Participants scored higher on self-esteem and decision-making indices (no significance reported in the evaluation) and had more equitable attitudes towards marriage and childbearing.
Livelihoods	Egypt	Impact study of the New Horizons program in Egypt	North South Consultants Exchange	9-20	Intervention and comparison group	FGDs and IDIs post-evaluation	Attitudes towards girls' empowerment	New Horizons aimed to improve the lives of girls and young women through education and development strategies. The curriculum had 102 sessions which covered basic life skills, sexual and reproductive health, violence against women, marriage, pregnancy, and family planning. Programme participants demonstrated more positive attitudes and behaviours toward education, health, and the status of women in the community and communicated more with parents and communities. Additionally, families of participants demonstrated a more positive attitude and behaviour towards girls' education, health, status, and life options.