



Literature review:

# Behaviour change communications campaigns targeting the demand-side of exploitation

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## Abstract

Behaviour change campaigns have long been used in the fields of health and development to transform an individual's behaviour. The purpose of this review is to synthesise evidence from behaviour change campaigns where the target of the campaign is the perpetrator of a behaviour that is directly harmful to another person, for example, child abuse, violence against women, or sexual violence. This review is intended to inform a future behaviour change campaign that will focus on perpetrators of the commercial sexual exploitation of children in Kathmandu, Nepal. Drawn from 28 different studies, we have sought to provide guidance for the design and implementation of a behaviour change campaign that targets the perpetrators of exploitative behaviour.

## Table of contents

1.	Introduction .....	1
2.	Methodology.....	1
	Search strategy .....	1
	Inclusion criteria .....	2
	Range of evidence included in this review .....	2
3.	Main findings from the literature .....	3
	Behaviour change theory .....	3
	Recommended process .....	6
	The message.....	7
	Target norms rather than individual attitude .....	7
	Descriptive vs. injunctive norms .....	7
	Tone of the message .....	8
	Clear directions for new behaviour .....	8
	Narrative vs. descriptive .....	9
	Simplicity vs. nuanced message .....	9
	Sensitive portrayal of the victim.....	9
	Message testing .....	10
	The medium .....	10
	Use of multiple communications channels and forms of exposure .....	11
	Choice of messenger .....	11
	Potential adverse effects .....	12
	Effectiveness/evaluation findings .....	12
4.	Conclusion .....	14
5.	Bibliography .....	15
	Annex A: List of campaigns included in review .....	15

## Glossary

BCC	Behaviour change campaign
CSEC	Commercial sexual exploitation of children
GEM scale	Gender-Equitable Men scale

# 1. Introduction

Within the movement to combat human trafficking, the vast majority of communications campaigns have sought to raise the awareness, either within communities as a whole or of potential victims, to increase knowledge of the risks. The case may be, however, that the key to lasting change is not to focus solely on encouraging a transformation in the behaviour of potential victims, but also to target the behaviour of those who constitute the demand side of human trafficking. This includes clients, customers, and owners of establishments that participate in trafficking, or the traffickers themselves; anyone who benefits from the perpetration of the exploitative behaviour.

To respond to this, the Freedom Fund, working in collaboration with local partners, will be designing and implementing a behaviour change campaign in Kathmandu, Nepal. The campaign will specifically focus on the commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC), which is a known problem within the adult entertainment sector in Kathmandu. The campaign will target the demand-side of the issue, as it has been reported that there is a growing request for minors (children and adolescents under 18) in adult entertainment venues where they may be subjected to sexual exploitation (ECPAT Luxembourg, 2015).

The purpose of this literature review is to draw upon the lessons from previous behaviour change campaigns, across a variety of geographies, that have targeted the perpetrators of exploitative behaviour, and use these to inform the development of the campaign in Nepal.

This review incorporates a broad range of credible resources and purposely seeks to learn from other disciplines. As such, the review includes a number of campaigns that target exploitative and damaging behaviour in the form of violence against women and sexual abuses on campuses. In addition, behaviour change campaigns that target bystanders to such behaviour are also considered relevant and have been included. Selections were made on the basis of specific selection criteria, described in the next section.

## 2. Methodology

The purpose of this research is to review the evidence from behaviour change communications campaigns that target the perpetrators of exploitative behaviour. Exploitative behaviour is defined to include any behaviour by one person that is directly harmful to another person (or persons), such as domestic violence and bullying.

### Search strategy

Literature was identified through internet searches using Google, Google Scholar, and JSTOR. The key search terms are provided below, with AND/OR used to make up exact search terms. Regarding terminology, there was not broad consistency in the way research was described via keywords, which made the keyword searches challenging. Because of this, a large number of sources were found using the snowball method.

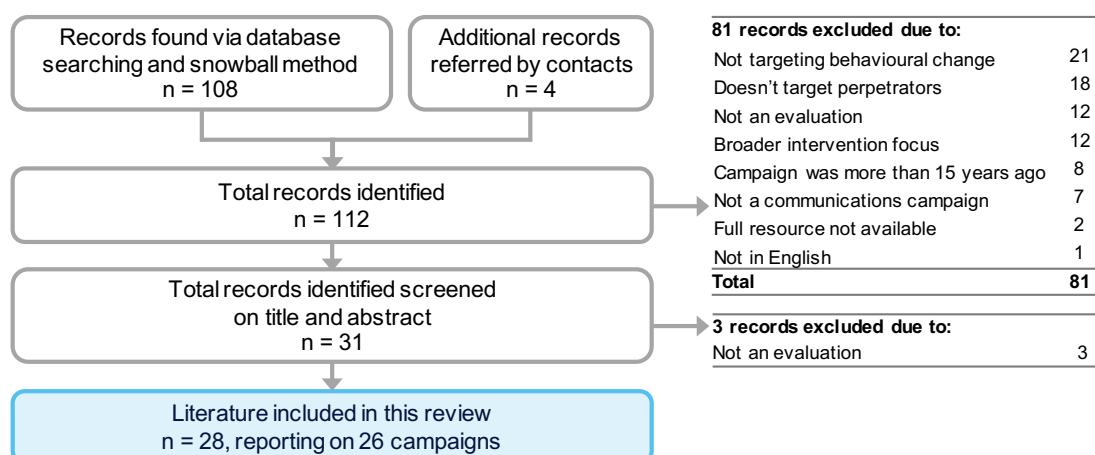
Subject of the campaign	Type of intervention	Type of research
Child abuse	Behaviour change campaign	Case study
Domestic violence	Behaviour change communications	Evaluation
Exploitation	Behavioural change campaign	Impact
Gender-based violence	Behavioural change communications	Review
Human trafficking	Edutainment	
Intimate partner violence		
Sexual abuse	AND	
Sexual exploitation		
Sex trafficking	Bystander	
Sexual violence	Client	
Violence against children	Demand	
Violence against women	Demand-side	

## Inclusion criteria

In order to be included, each study must meet all the following criteria:

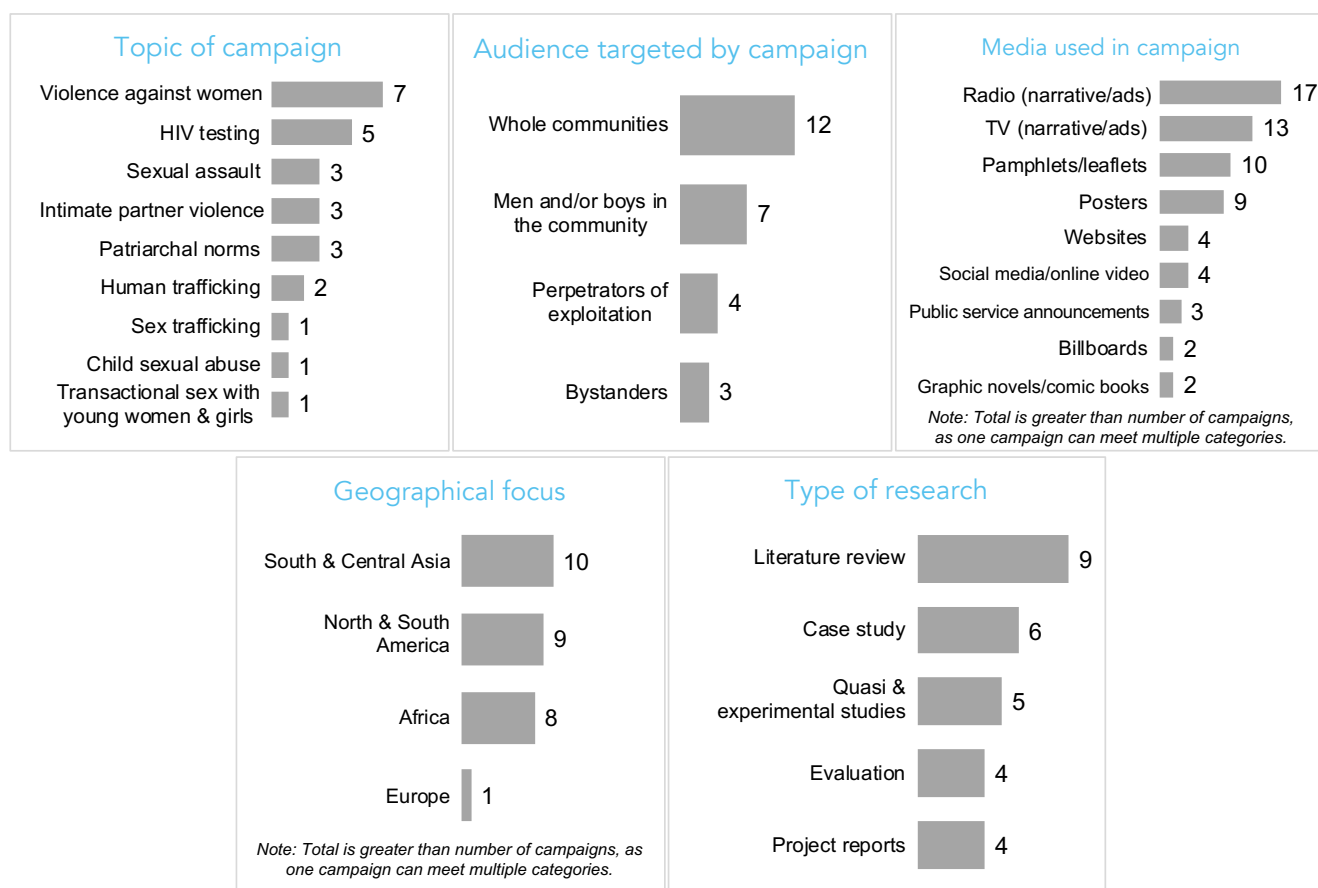
Inclusion criteria	Specific inclusions/exclusions
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Focus on the perpetrator's behaviour	- Targets perpetrators specifically, not members of the public (eg, to increase reporting of incidents)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Focus on reducing behaviour that is directly exploiting/harming another person	- Not behaviour primarily harmful to oneself i.e. smoking or drink driving
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Communications campaign	- Not a face to face intervention - Not public policy/advocacy
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Seeking behaviour change	- Not just awareness raising or educating
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Conducted less than 15 years ago (2004 - 2018)	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Includes an evaluation or assessment of campaign results and/or impact	- Either qualitative or quantitative - Self- or externally-reported
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Literature provided in English (campaigns can be in other languages)	

The process for screening records is described below, resulting in 28 reports on 26 campaigns included in this literature review.



## Range of evidence included in this review

Whilst a lot has been written on the topic of behaviour change, not all resources were deemed of sufficient robustness for inclusion in this review. Each piece of evidence was reviewed for quality and credibility. The categories of resources that made it into the final review are as follows:



A summary of the 28 reports and 26 campaigns included in this study can be found in Annex A.

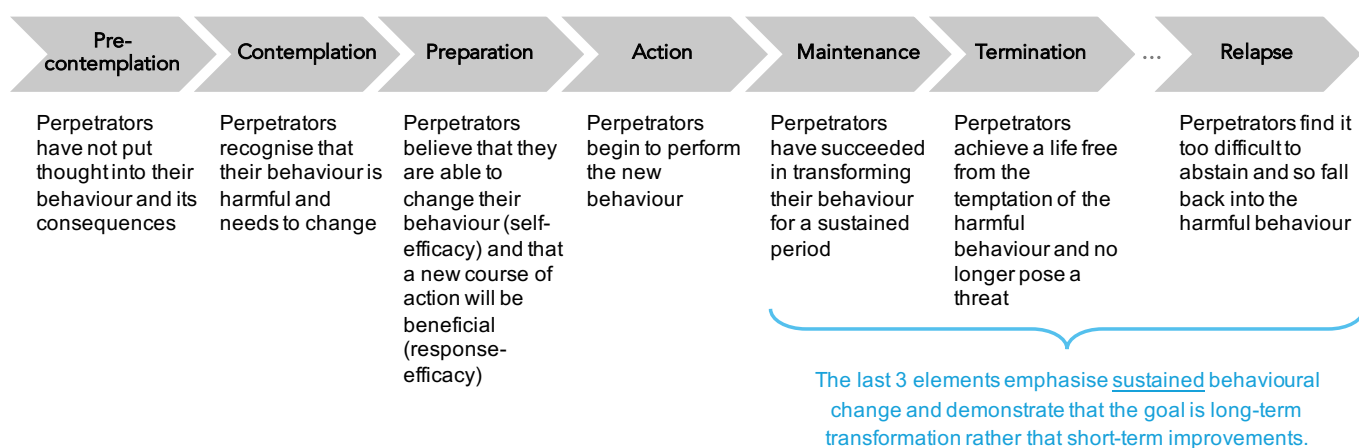
### 3. Main findings from the literature

#### Behaviour change theory

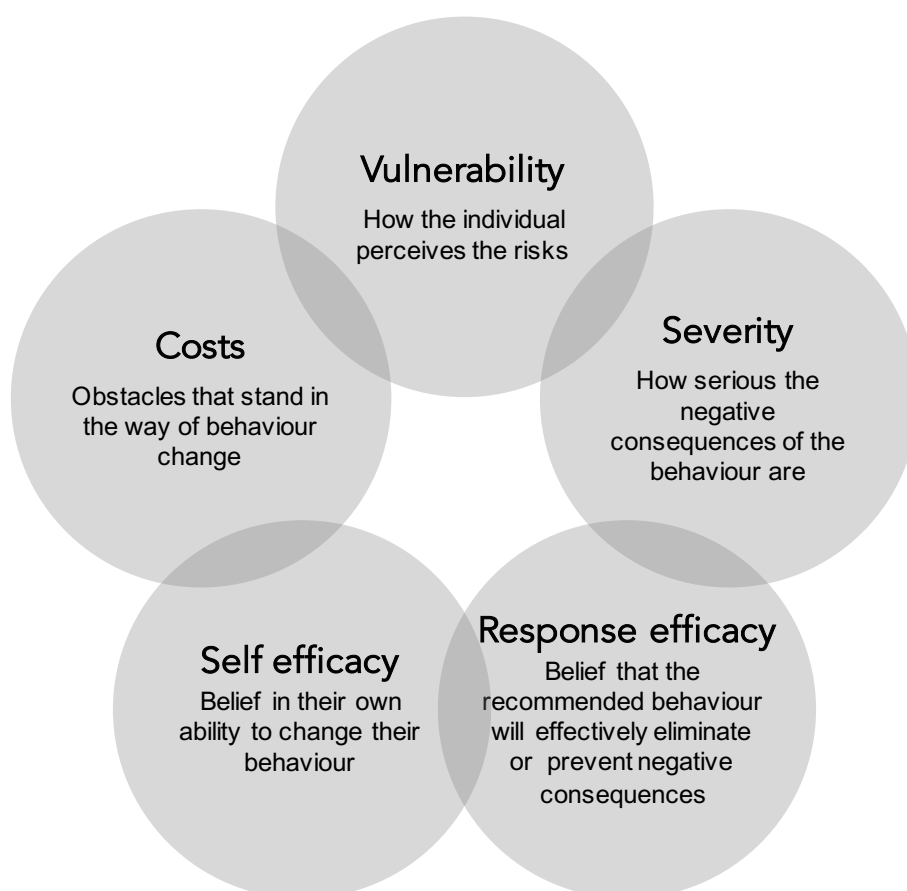
Before a discussion on the lessons that can be drawn from specific behaviour change campaigns, it is useful to consider the underlying theories that underpin behaviour change. Behaviour change campaigns have been used in the field of public health for a long time; the first prominent anti-smoking campaigns were launched in Germany in 1933. While the development context presents different challenges, health interventions provide us with a solid foundation of knowledge.

Theories underpinning behaviour change were described in several of the studies reviewed, used to both design a campaign and evaluate its success. The basis for several of these is the standard economic model, which posits that all humans are economically rational and so all their behaviour seeks to maximise their own self-interest (Flanagan and Tanner, 2016). All other theories stem from this explanation of motivation. More nuanced theories include the theory of reasoned action and social cognitive theory. The latter of these stipulates that people learn behaviours by observing others.

One theory mentioned by multiple sources is the Transtheoretical (Stages of Change) Model (Cismaru and Lavack, 2011; Flanagan and Tanner, 2016). According to the Transtheoretical Model, when an individual is attempting to change their behaviour, they move through several stages of change - illustrated below.



Working in concert with this is the Protection Motivation Theory, which stipulates five variables that play a role in behaviour change. These are:



Both of these theories have been tested and successfully applied to studies attempting to alter various behaviours, including domestic abuse, smoking, exercise, stress reduction, and racism (Cismaru and Lavack, 2011).

The Red Alert campaign to prevent sex trafficking in India conducted research to discover more about the decision-making processes associated with paying for sex and with selling or forcing girls and women into trafficking (Operation Red Alert, 2015). The research found that there are three stages of developing a behaviour: consideration, trial, and habit. Within this framework it is recommended that behaviour change campaigns target those who are in the first two stages in order to prevent the behaviour as habits are much harder to break.

Due to fragmentation in the field, there are many other theories and frameworks for behaviour change that are mentioned in the literature, including COM-B, MINDSPACE, EAST, OAM, SaniFOAM, and Defra's 4E (Flanagan and Tanner, 2016; Marshall, 2011). Most of these include many similar elements and have a lot of overlap. Those described above are included as they came up most frequently and seemed highly relevant for analysing campaign effectiveness (Cismaru and Lavack, 2011).

These theories and frameworks can provide the basis for understanding the process of behaviour change and is relevant in the formulation of future behaviour change campaigns.



## Recommended process

Across the various campaigns, a number of recommended steps stood out as constituting best practice when designing a behaviour change campaign (Almeida et al., 2016; Raab et al., 2011). These can be broadly summarised as follows:

	Key activities	Outputs
1. Set purpose of the campaign	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consultation with project stakeholders and community representatives (including victims where appropriate)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campaign outcomes and timeframe agreed</li> </ul>
2. Identify the target audience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Examine the harmful situation and identify people whose behaviour must change in order to achieve the desired social outcome</li> <li>• Determine the exact behaviour/action that is being addressed through the campaign</li> <li>• Conduct focus groups with the target audience to understand motives for current behaviour</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demographic of target groups clearly defined</li> <li>• Audience profiles developed, with segmentation where relevant</li> <li>• Enablers and barriers to change are identified</li> </ul>
3. Examine the operating environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collect data on the prevalence of the harmful behaviour and the success of previous efforts to combat it</li> <li>• Understand wider community attitudes towards the behaviour in question</li> <li>• Examine the availability of and preference for different forms of media</li> <li>• Consult with third parties including subject-matter experts (eg, social workers) and community representatives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A solid understanding of the social and physical environment in which the campaign will be implemented</li> </ul>
4. Design the message	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campaign designers draft message options, including themes, slogans, visuals and narratives</li> <li>• Consultation with project stakeholders and community representatives to agree on final message</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A theme/slogan and key messages are agreed upon</li> </ul>
5. Choose medium of communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consider all viable options with consideration to cost, reach and effectiveness</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One or more mediums are selected</li> </ul>
6. Pre-test the message	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Select a small group that resembles the priority audience and solicit their candid feedback on the campaign concept, messages and materials</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Revised messages based on pre-test results</li> </ul>
7. Measure response and adapt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop monitoring &amp; evaluation plan, with indicators to measure campaign reach and progress towards outcomes</li> <li>• Implement data collection tools (polls, surveys, focus groups) and review results regularly with campaign team</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monitoring &amp; evaluation plan and data collection tools</li> <li>• Data (qualitative &amp; quantitative) analysed and reported</li> </ul>



## The message

### *Target norms rather than individual attitude*

In order to change behaviour, the message of the campaign needs to tap into social norms. It is worth noting here that a lot of the research and discussion claiming to be concerned with social norms is actually concerned with attitudes. This common confusion can be avoided by clearly distinguishing between the two. Attitudes describe how people privately think or feel. Social norms describe perceptions about how other people behave. A social norm is a mechanism through which individuals coordinate their own behaviour with what they believe to be widely accepted within their community.

When the media influences behaviour, it is through social effects rather than persuading individuals to change their attitudes. This is because public behaviour is a product of what individuals perceive to be acceptable, rather than what they privately believe (Arias, 2016). This suggests it is more effective for campaigns to target social norms than individual attitudes.

Studies have found that exploitative or undesirable behaviour is concentrated in peer groups; those whose friends exhibit the behaviour are more likely to exhibit it themselves (Wells et al., 2013). Thus, defining the target audience of a campaign by peer group could prove to be successful. Other strong group affiliations such as sports teams can also be used in this way to capitalise on social connections and channels of influence (Operation Red Alert, 2015). However, even when one specific behaviour is being targeted, it is important to remember that those engaging in the behaviour are not homogenous. Within the target group, there will be those who have both strong and weak norms contributing to the undesired behaviour (Mabry and Turner, 2016). Some may engage in it consciously and enthusiastically while others may engage only reluctantly or be yet to engage in the behaviour at all. It is useful to consider sub-groups within the target audience when designing a campaign.

One set of norms that is targeted frequently in the literature is the notion surrounding what it means to be a man. Edutainment (material intended to be both educational and entertaining) interventions and media campaigns have been successful in prompting critical analyses of masculinity and using representations of masculinity in media campaigns to model different behaviours (Lapsansky and Chatterjee, 2013). When targeting these norms, campaign designers have to be careful not to challenge the current culture too directly as this will prevent engagement and could cause a backlash. This sensitivity can be as simple as reframing the central theme from 'are you man enough?' to 'what kind of man are you?' (Lapsansky and Chatterjee, 2013).

### *Descriptive vs. injunctive norms*

The literature recommends clarifying which type of norm the campaign is targeting. A distinction is made between descriptive and injunctive norms as both have different effects when targeted in campaigns (Mabry and Turner, 2016).

Descriptive norms are the perceptions that individuals have about the prevalence of a particular attitude or behaviour within a defined social group. The higher the perceived prevalence, the stronger the descriptive norm. In contrast, injunctive norms are the perceptions that individuals have about how people ought to behave (Mabry and Turner, 2016) and have no bearing on actual or perceived behaviour. Injunctive norms have sanctions associated with them for non-performance.

For targeting bystander behaviour, campaigns that appealed to injunctive norms were found to be more effective (Mabry and Turner, 2016). This is because they are aspirational and so cannot be disproven by observation. For example, it is harder to disprove the (injunctive) claim that 'decent men don't commit sexual assault' than the (descriptive) claim that '95% of men in this community have never sexually assaulted anyone'. Descriptive norms can still be an effective target of behaviour change campaigns where there is a false consensus and communities wrongly believe that certain attitudes, behaviours, or beliefs are common or in the majority (Almeida et al., 2016). An example of a message tackling a false consensus comes from a campaign targeting misconceptions about the prevalence of sexist beliefs among male college students in the US. After pre-testing, the campaign used slogans such as: 'A Man Respects a Woman: nine out of ten James Madison University men stop the first time their date

says “no” to sexual activity’ (Almeida et al., 2016). However, in the absence of a false consensus, appealing to descriptive norms may pull behaviour in the wrong direction. Injunctive norms do not have this effect and so are less likely to result in adverse effects.

### *Tone of the message*

Sticking with injunctive norms, the message used can be positive or negative - showing perpetrators how they should or shouldn't act. Rather than condemning the perpetrators of exploitative behaviour and vilifying their actions, campaigns appear to be more successful when using aspirational or positive messaging, tapping into the perpetrator's belief that they have the power to be better. Such messages also increase the perpetrator's belief in their own capacity to change their behaviour (Cismaru and Lavack, 2011). Similar findings were also reported by Red Alert (2015); messages were more effective when they focused on the inherent good in the men they targeted and harnessed their desires to live up to the expectations that the messages were setting.

An experimental study comparing the effects of three campaigns found that positive messages were more effective than negative messages (Mabry and Turner, 2016). The more persuasive campaign, Men Can Stop Rape, uses positive modelling to show men how they ought to act in bystander situations (Mabry and Turner, 2016). The campaign appeals to traditional notions of male chivalry. The message is action oriented ('I'm the kind of guy who takes a stand. Where do you stand?') and provides a clear recommendation of how behaviour should be altered.

### Campaigns tested in Mabry and Turner's study



The language used within campaigns is often neutral to ensure that the target audience does not feel judged, as if they did, they would most likely choose not to engage with the message. Even when using neutral or aspirational language, there may remain some difficulty in convincing the target audience to identify themselves within the message and recognise that it pertains to their behaviour. One possible solution to this is to describe clearly within the campaign the negative behaviours that are being targeted, in order that perpetrators can better self-identify and recognise their actions (Cismaru and Lavack, 2011).

Campaigns also have the option to focus on the positive consequences of the new behaviour, not just for the individual being targeted, but also on their family and friends (Cismaru and Lavack, 2011). For example, to emphasise the perpetrator improving relationships with their children or recovering their pride. Highlighting benefits has been found to be effective, resulting in an increase in self-reported ability to make changes or intention to change their behaviour (Lee, 2007).

### *Clear directions for new behaviour*

It is not enough to condemn the target audience's current behaviour. Successful campaigns model new behaviours to replace the old. By setting realistic goals and clearly demonstrating the new behaviour that the target audience

should perform, messages increase the self-efficacy of perpetrators and provide different behaviour options (Haider et al., 2011). One campaign that does this efficiently is the Fataki campaign (Kaufman et al., 2013). In campaign messages, different characters are seen disrupting dates with young girls and older men. This is behaviour that bystanders can easily model at little cost to themselves.

### *Narrative vs. descriptive*

There is some evidence to suggest narrative communications that are creative and centred around a scenario or character have a greater effect than those that are descriptive and fact-based such as information booklets (Haider, 2017). Some implementers have found that sharing facts about prevalence and the impact of violence is likely to be insufficient in inspiring male action (where men are the perpetrators) (Almeida et al., 2016). An alternative is for learning to occur through observations of narratives, where the audience can engage with characters and empathise with their storylines rather than being expected to internalise facts or statistics (Govender et al., 2013). If using narrative communications, it is easier to add nuance to the message and make the characters more sympathetic and therefore more effective (Haider, 2017). However, a possible pitfall in narrative messages is creating characters that are not relatable to the target audience. Red Alert chose to design the characters in their comic books in such a way that they looked like average men from India so that the target audience could easily step into their shoes (Operation Red Alert, 2015). Breakthrough's Bell Bajao campaign targeted bystanders through television adverts that showed a neighbour ringing a doorbell to interrupt domestic violence. The designers made sure not to ascribe any qualities to their representation of a bystander for the same reason (Silliman, 2011).

### *Simplicity vs. nuance*

There is some tension within the literature between simplicity and nuance in messages. Breakthrough developed their strategy across several anti-domestic violence campaigns and each became progressively simpler in its central message in order to make it easier to absorb and recall (Silliman, 2011). The simplicity of the message contributes to the efficacy of the call to action. Simple language is also more accessible (Haider et al., 2011). However, in some of the literature, nuance is encouraged in order to avoid a reductive interpretation of perpetrators and victims (Andrijasevic and Anderson, 2009). Simpler messages tend to allow for only two clear and distinct groups: those who are exploited and those who aren't. This can be suitable for simple and clear-cut target behaviours. However, such a message can be detrimental to the development of a nuanced understanding of exploitative behaviour and so more complex messages will work better for grey areas, for example where there is no law prohibiting the behaviour or where perpetrators believe that victims are consenting. Simple messages are more suitable in contexts where it is easy to draw a line between harmful and non-harmful behaviour.

### *Sensitive portrayal of the victim*

The simplicity of the message is further challenged by the difficulties surrounding the portrayal of victims of exploitative behaviour in communications campaigns. While the campaigns considered in this literature review target perpetrators rather than victims, often both are represented within the message, whether by visual depiction, audio description, or as characters in a narrative.

Special care should be taken to remain respectful to victims by representing them sensitively (Andrijasevic and Anderson, 2009), as the way victims are portrayed in communications campaigns can contribute to how they are perceived and classified by the audiences of these campaigns. The very act of portrayal defines victimhood in a way that is fixed. Using specific indicators or identifiers within campaigns may make such audiences less sympathetic to those victims that do not exhibit such indicators or identifiers (Andrijasevic and Anderson, 2009). Along similar lines, the legal definitions and characteristics of victims should be considered so as not to represent victims in a way that does not align with the eligibility criteria for receiving aid and gaining access to available services.

## *Message testing*

Messages should be pre-tested before launch to ensure that they are culturally relevant to the target audience (Pedro, 2013). For instance, slogans and wider campaigns aiming to reduce domestic violence in Timor-Leste were found to be unsuccessful because they were not respectful of local traditions and made no attempt to appeal specifically to the target communities. The 16 Days campaign used posters with community leaders crossing their arms in an X shape with the slogan 'Stop violence against women'. However, the gesture didn't mean anything to the audience and most didn't understand what violence against women was (Pedro, 2013). All of this could have been avoided if pre-testing had occurred, and it clearly demonstrates the importance of developing messages that are context-specific. Pre-testing includes not only ensuring that the target audience will understand the message, but also consulting with local stakeholders. Designers should stay responsive to community feedback and adjust the message as necessary (Haider et al., 2011). Messages can build upon local traditions or popular culture to resonate more effectively with the audience (Haider et al., 2011).

## *The medium*

While it is in the interest of those who are designing behaviour change campaigns to identify the most trusted communication channel, there is no single method that is most effective. The most trustworthy medium depends on the location and context of the campaign (Pedro, 2013). Even within campaigns, different channels were found to be effective for different indicators (Hutchinson et al., 2012).

Radio can be an effective communication channel because it can be cost-effective and far-reaching, and illiteracy is no barrier (Haider et al., 2011). The Samajhdari radio program in Nepal saw a significant increase in self-reported interventions to prevent domestic abuse (Equal Access, 2010). However, another campaign in Niger found that the use of radio as a medium was less successful at engaging women and girls because the men and boys controlled access to the radios (Haider et al., 2011).

Video might be more effective than radio because of its added visual element, however, its success relies on target communities owning televisions or other devices that support video. It can also be very expensive to produce (Haider et al., 2011).

Overall, posters alone were found to be insufficient for behaviour change, but one study found that they can lay the foundation for encouraging conversation and reflection on the issues (Lee, 2007).

Participatory theatre is a channel that has limited reach but has been found to be effective in communities where literacy is low, and information is often not conveyed in a way that people understand (Pedro, 2013).

Only for one campaign, Intersexions, was there a serious evaluation of the role that social networks play in communications campaigns. It found that Facebook could be useful as a platform for learning, in support of other strands of the campaign like television or radio. Facebook provided the audience with a place where they could discuss the ideas and share knowledge without being stigmatised (Govender et al., 2013).

Some channels lend themselves more to narrative communications than others. Through television, radio, and comic books the audience can live through characters and learn from their behaviour (Govender et al., 2013). This could mean that such channels are more likely to be effective. In Nepal, when the effectiveness of several different communications channels was compared, the results suggested that while narrative communications were more effective, the actual channel used made little difference and so the most cost-effective narrative medium should be selected (Archer et al., 2016). In this context, it was radio.

Beyond just the channel of communication, studies have found that group exposure to the message was more effective than individual exposure (Arias, 2016). Those who gathered in groups to listen to the radio broadcast experienced a greater effect than those who listened alone. Elsewhere it was also recommended that messages should target whole groups or communities rather than individuals (Haider et al., 2011). This links back to the discussion of the role of social norms in behaviour change. By targeting individuals, campaigns are trying to change

individual attitudes or beliefs about the behaviour. By targeting whole groups and communities, campaigns are looking to change the wider perception and acceptability of the issue, and so transform the social norms surrounding it.

Group exposure can also increase the effectiveness of the campaign by providing an opportunity for the audience to discuss the issue with their peers and engage further with the campaign (Archer et al., 2016). However, the discussion should be moderated by trained facilitators as one evaluation found that unmoderated discussion can bring audience members' biased assumptions and opinions into the mix, muddying the campaign messages (Archer et al., 2016).

It is no surprise, but worth noting, that longer lasting interventions have been found to be more effective than short-term campaigns (Haider, 2017). While there is no set recommended timeframe, the longer a campaign lasts, the more likely it is that the target audience is exposed to it. Repetition of messages also contributes to effectiveness, particularly for narrative communications such as TV and radio (Pedro, 2013).

### *Use of multiple communications channels and forms of exposure*

A common theme in much of the literature is the importance of using more than one channel to communicate the message. Many campaigns, including Breakthrough's Bell Bajao (Silliman, 2011), used multiple channels. While the television ads may have been the most well-known element of the campaign, Breakthrough also used radio, print, video vans, and celebrity spokespersons. Online, they had an interactive website and pages on social media sites.

Repeated exposure across different mediums or in different settings has been found to be more effective than single exposure or a single medium (Clark et al., 2017; Haider, 2017). Some campaigns measured this by assigning different channels to different groups. One evaluation found that public service announcements alone did not have as significant an effect as public service announcements and booklets combined (Rheingold et al., 2007). The results from another suggested that the largest changes in behaviour occurred in groups that were exposed to the message in two or more ways (Almeida et al., 2016). However, this does not hold true for all campaigns. One campaign in Lesotho found no significant effect when combining interpersonal communications with mass media messages instead of using media alone (Hutchinson et al., 2012).

### *Choice of messenger*

In some cases, it can be helpful to identify groups or individuals whose voices are persuasive in the target community to disseminate the message. These might include celebrities, religious leaders, fathers, and sports coaches (Haider et al., 2011). The Vrai Djo campaign in the Democratic Republic of Congo sought to fight sexual and gender-based violence by promoting positive male role models. The implementers selected a music star, known for his clean reputation, to play the lead role in the television and radio campaign ("Vrai Djo Final Project Report," 2011). It is important to choose a messenger that is trusted and respected, and also feasible. In Timor-Leste, the research preceding the ending domestic violence campaign found that community leaders were trusted messengers, however in practice, they often failed to properly disseminate the message (Pedro, 2013). Where messages were communicated over the internet, one campaign found that the target audience was more likely to watch/receive the message if it was sent by someone influential (Almeida et al., 2016). Another possible avenue is to try to communicate through personal connections and trusted peers within the target group, however, it is unlikely that all members of the target group will trust the same people, therefore the messages will likely have limited reach (Almeida et al., 2016).

If an appropriate messenger cannot be identified, the campaign can proceed without one. While it follows that persuasive and recognisable public voices may be more effective than anonymous ones, it may not be advisable for some campaigns to tie themselves to specific public figures and the associations that come with them (Almeida et al., 2016).



## Potential adverse effects

One example of a campaign with adverse effects comes from the Male Motivation and Family Planning Campaign in Zimbabwe. Here the message was designed to appeal to men by incorporating language from competitive sports, as well as images of local sports heroes. As intended, the campaign resulted in increased use of contraceptives, however, the language and imagery contributed to and reinforced male-dominant gender roles, which manifested itself in men taking control of the family planning process. Thus, while the specific goal of the campaign was achieved, overall the outcome was detrimental to gender equality and female empowerment (Haider et al., 2011).

Another potential pitfall of behaviour change campaigns is that the message can end up reinforcing perceptions of descriptive norms. By talking about the issue, campaigns risk making the audience believe that the undesired behaviour is widespread and more acceptable than they previously thought. For example, a man who is not violent towards his spouse could learn about the high rates of domestic violence and feel more justified in becoming abusive (Paluck and Ball, 2010, Clark et al., 2017). This can be avoided by targeting injunctive, rather than descriptive, norms, as injunctive norms function more directly to ban or discourage a behaviour.

The boomerang effect describes a phenomenon where communications have the opposite effect to the one intended (Byrne and Hart, 2009). This is more common where there is a visual element to the message. For example, an anti-drugs poster depicting a group of good-looking teenagers doing drugs is likely to result in an increase rather than a decrease in teenage drug use, as the target audience will associate attractiveness with drug use (Byrne and Hart, 2009). The boomerang effect has been found to be greater in men than women, specifically where the message is attempting to prevent a certain behaviour. Another manifestation of the boomerang effect occurs when the target audience feel that their behaviour is under threat and so its value as a commodity is increased (Byrne and Hart, 2009). People may take the campaign as a threat to their personal freedom and so may respond with hostility.

## Effectiveness/evaluation findings

While there have been many behaviour change communications campaigns that target exploitative behaviour, evaluations of the effectiveness of these campaigns, have, on the whole, lagged (see Annex A for a breakdown of which campaigns were self or externally evaluated). Of those with evaluations, many were measured by surveys and focus groups. Few tried to measure the specific behaviour change itself, instead using indicators such as the individual's intentions to change their behaviour or self-reported beliefs about behaviours (Haider, 2017). Since there is a poor correlation between what people say they will do and what they actually do, success measured this way does not necessarily mean the campaign was successful. In fact, social norms marketing may create pressures to self-report altered behaviour when in reality, behaviour remains the same (Paluck and Ball, 2010). It has been found that the gap between attitude change and behaviour change is greater for media interventions than for face-to-face interventions (Haider, 2017). One possible avenue to more reliable evaluations might be to focus on measuring how people perceive accepted norms rather than how they claim they will act. The evidence on the power of social norms in behaviour change suggests that might more reliably indicate the success of a campaign.

Given behaviour is typically a difficult area to evaluate, some campaign implementers have designed their own tools for measuring behaviour change. One example of these is Cri<sup>2</sup>SP, a framework developed for World Bank evaluations of water, sanitation, health and urban transit projects (Flanagan and Tanner, 2016). Its purpose is to capture the extent to which behavioural considerations are integrated into the projects. Promundo's Program H interventions in Latin America seek to influence gender equity and health behaviours and are measured through a specifically designed tool called the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) scale, which consists of 24 questions to measure changes in norms and attitudes associated with manhood (Barker et al., 2004).

Breakthrough's Bell Bajao developed specific indicators during the baseline which then provided a benchmark and were tested again in the final evaluation. Examples of these indicators include asking participants to define

domestic violence, asking whether they know about the relevant laws or services for victims, and how they would respond to different scenarios (Silliman, 2011). Although the scenarios were specific and developed for the campaign, it is difficult to see how they bridge the gap between self-reported behaviour and actual behaviour.

The Vrai Djo also took the approach of asking project participants to respond to hypothetical scenarios in order to measure the impact of the campaign ("Vrai Djo Final Project Report," 2011). These included whether they would hire a woman for a job because she was beautiful, how they would react if their spouse came home late, and how they would react if their partner denied them sexual intercourse. Although this was a small scale self-evaluation, it demonstrates a more creative approach to measuring social norms.

The Change Starts at Home campaign developed the Partner Violence Norms Scale to measure social norms that might contribute to the risk of intimate partner violence. Examples of norms measured include traditional gender expectations, the acceptability of violence, and the non-interference of outsiders into family affairs (Clark et al., 2018).

One interesting method of evaluation was formulated by Red Alert (Operation Red Alert, 2015). A simulation was created to mirror real-life decision-making processes and so more accurately capture whether or not behaviour actually changed. This was the only evaluation found that used innovative methods to try to overcome the problems associated with self-reporting.

Depending on the target behaviour, some campaigns may be able to use other indicators such as measuring the use of available services and helplines or increased reporting of the behaviour to the police. Campaigns should carefully consider the possible range of indicators available to them that capture elements of their target behaviour. All indicators should be thoroughly thought through and tested, not least due to the range of other factors that have the potential to influence certain behaviours.



## 4. Conclusion

**Behaviour change campaigns have long been used to shift a variety of health, economic and environmental behaviours across the world.** They are grounded in a reputable body of evidence and span several sectors. Using a behaviour change campaign to target perpetrators of exploitative behaviour is just one of many applications. However, there are specific sensitivities related to this application, as, unlike campaigns in the field of health, the benefits of the behaviour change are mostly experienced by someone other than the person performing the behaviour.

**A strong recommendation arising from the literature is the need to focus on injunctive, rather than descriptive, norms.** This means tapping into people's perceptions about how they ought to behave rather than their beliefs about how people actually behave. For CSEC, this means focusing on increasing the social sanctions associated with exploiting minors, rather than highlighting how many people currently do so. In practical terms, this means trying to convince perpetrators that other members of their social groups and communities don't approve of their behaviour, rather than trying to transform the attitudes and beliefs of individuals towards the harmful behaviour. This approach is made easier when perpetrators are given clear directions as to the new behaviour they should be performing.

**Behaviour change campaigns have been shown to be effective across a variety of mediums, but that does not mean that all mediums will work in all contexts.** Formative research can help designers discover which medium will have the greatest reach. Using multiple channels has been found to result in more positive changes than a single channel, but of course, this must be balanced with the higher cost.

**While campaigns have often succeeded in changing behaviour for the better, there is also the possibility that they have adverse effects.** A key principle of any social intervention should be to 'do no harm'. Care must be taken to minimise possible adverse effects of the intervention, ranging from harmful stereotypes (of victims and perpetrators) being portrayed to the boomerang effect, where, by highlighting a negative behaviour, perpetrators feel threatened and increase performance of the behaviour. This is linked to the recommendation to focus on injunctive norms over descriptive norms. For CSEC campaigns, the portrayal of the victims will be a particularly difficult line to walk. On the one hand a campaign may want to feature scenarios that the audience will easily recognise (eg, a vulnerable young child), but on the other hand to avoid stereotyping a heterogeneous population of victims (eg, older, more affluent adolescents).

**Evaluation must be embedded at the onset.** Behaviour change campaigns can be ineffective, or worse, harmful. Without proper research, including formative research and pre-testing, designers could be pouring money into a campaign with unknown effectiveness. There are a number of relevant frameworks to CSEC for measuring campaign effectiveness on perpetrators of violence, such as Promundo's GEM scale and the World Bank's CrI<sup>2</sup>SP framework. However, none of these is infallible in capturing behaviour change. Also, depending on the time and resources it may not be possible to immediately achieve behaviour change by the end of a project, so measurements should also assess changes in knowledge, attitude and social norms - which are important prerequisites towards behaviour change. Lastly, people are known to give socially desirable but unreliable answers about their own attitudes and behaviours, especially given the sensitivity of CSEC, so creative methods such as hypothetical scenarios and simulations should be trialled more widely.

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## Annex A: List of campaigns included in the review

Campaign	Source literature	Pub. year	Implementer	Location(s)	Targeted Behaviour(s)	Target Group	Medium(s) of campaign	Evaluation
<b>1. 16 Days Campaign on the Elimination of Violence Against Women</b>	Communications Strategies for Preventing Violence Against Women: Case Study of Timor-Leste	2013	Secretaria de Estado para a Promoção da Igualdade (Secretary of State for the Promotion of Equality/SEPI)	Timor-Leste	Violence against women	Whole communities	Posters	Externally evaluated
<b>2. An Experimental Intervention using anti-trafficking campaigns to change knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and practices in Nepal</b>	Reducing Vulnerability to Human Trafficking	2016	Empathetic Media, York University, Vanderbilt University	Nepal	Human trafficking	Whole communities	Radio, Television, graphic novels, brochure/poster	Self-evaluated
<b>3. Bell Bajao!</b>	a. Case Study: Breakthrough campaign Bell Bajao b. Breakthrough's Bell Bajao! A campaign to bring domestic violence to a halt	a. 2015 b. 2011	Breakthrough	India	Intimate partner violence	Bystanders	Television, radio, print ads, video vans, interactive website	Externally evaluated
<b>4. Blue Blindfolds</b>	Anti-trafficking campaigns: Decent? Honest? Truthful?	2009	UK & Ireland Governments	UK, Ireland	Human trafficking	Whole communities	Posters	Externally evaluated
<b>5. Change Starts at Home</b>	a. Social norms and women's risk of intimate partner violence in Nepal b. Evaluating a multicomponent social behaviour change communication strategy to reduce intimate partner violence among married couples: study protocol for a cluster randomised trial in Nepal	a. 2018 b. 2017	Equal Access	Nepal	Intimate partner violence	Perpetrators	Radio	Self-evaluation
<b>6. Don't Be That Guy</b>	Do Sexual Assault Bystander Interventions Change Men's Intentions? Applying the Theory of Normative Social Behaviour to Predicting Bystander Outcomes	2016	Sexual Assault Voices of Edmonton	Canada	Sexual assault	Perpetrators	PSAs	Externally evaluated
<b>7. Fataki</b>	Effects of the Fataki Campaign: Addressing Cross-Generational Sex in Tanzania by Mobilising Communities to Intervene	2013	Strategic Radio Communication for Development (STRADCOM)	Tanzania	Transactional sex with young women & girls	Bystanders	Radio and television public service announcements	External evaluation

Campaign	Source literature	Pub. year	Implementer	Location(s)	Targeted Behaviour(s)	Target Group	Medium(s) of campaign	Evaluation
<b>8. Intersexions</b>	Social Networks as a Platform to Discuss Sexual Networks	2013	Commissioned by South African Broadcasting Corporation and Johns Hopkins Health and Education in South Africa, produced by Curious Pictures and Antz Media, funded by USAID/PEPFAR	South Africa	HIV testing	Whole communities	Facebook	Externally evaluated
<b>9. James Madison University Anti-Sexism Campaign</b>	Insights from Behavioural Sciences to Prevent and Combat Violence Against Women with Awareness-Raising and Education Activities	2016	James Madison University	US	Violence against women	Men and/or boys in the community	Posters and flyers	Self-evaluated
<b>10. Jiving with Science</b>	Changing gender and social norms, attitudes and behaviours	2017	Africa Centre for Health and Population Studies	South Africa	HIV testing	Whole communities	CDs distributed to bus and taxi drivers to be played on public transport	Self-evaluated
<b>11. Male Motivation and Family Planning Campaign</b>	Communications Initiatives to Change Attitudes and Behaviours	2011	Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council	Zimbabwe	Patriarchal norms	Men and/or boys in the community	Radio, TV, print materials, community events	Self-evaluated
<b>12. MyStrength</b>	California's Comprehensive Social Marketing Campaign to Prevent Sexual Violence	2007	California Coalition Against Sexual Assault	US	Sexual assault	Men and/or boys in the community	Posters, billboards	Self-evaluated
<b>13. Pop culture with a purpose</b>	Changing gender and social norms, attitudes and behaviours	2017	Oxfam	Bangladesh	Violence against women	Whole communities	TV docudramas and PSAs, street theatre	Self-evaluated
<b>14. Program H</b>	How do we know if men have changed? Promoting and measuring attitude change with young men: lessons from Program H in Latin America	2003	Instituto Promundo, ECOS, Instituto PAPAI, Salud y Género	Brazil, Mexico	Patriarchal norms	Men and/or boys in the community	Video	Self-evaluated
<b>15. Programa Conjunto Construcción y Evaluación de un modelo Integral para Prevenir la Violencia de Género en comunidades indígenas de México desde un enfoque intercultural</b>	How does media influence social norms? A field experiment in the role of common knowledge	2016	UNESCO	Mexico	Violence against women	Whole communities	Radio	Self-evaluated
<b>16. Operation Red Alert</b>	Operation Red Alert: Preventing Sex Trafficking in India	2015	My Choices Foundation	India	Sex trafficking	Perpetrators	Mobile phone game/app	Self-evaluated
<b>17. SASA!</b>	Changing gender and social norms, attitudes and behaviours	2017	SASA!	Uganda, India	Violence against women	Whole communities	Street Theatre	Externally evaluated

Campaign	Source literature	Pub. year	Implementer	Location(s)	Targeted Behaviour(s)	Target Group	Medium(s) of campaign	Evaluation
<b>18. Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales (We're Different, We're Equal)</b>	Communications Initiatives to Change Attitudes and Behaviours	2013	Puntos de Encuentro	Nicaragua	HIV testing	Whole communities	TV	Self-evaluated
<b>19. Soul City</b>	Communications Initiatives to Change Attitudes and Behaviours	2013	Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication	South Africa	Violence against women	Whole communities	TV, radio, booklets	Self-evaluated
<b>20. Southern African Regional Social and Behaviour Change Communication Program</b>	External Evaluation of the Southern African Regional Social and Behaviour Change Communication Campaign Program, as Implemented in Lesotho	2012	Phela Health and Development Communications, Community Media Trust (CMT), Southern African HIV and AIDs Dissemination Service (SAfAIDS)	Lesotho	HIV testing	Whole communities	TV, radio	External evaluation
<b>21. STOP IT NOW!</b>	Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse: Evaluation of a Community Media Campaign	2007	Lucy Faithfull Foundation	US	Child sexual abuse	Perpetrators	Television, radio, pamphlets, website	Self-evaluation
<b>22. VOICES</b>	Impact Assessment: VOICES Project	2010	Equal Access	Nepal	HIV testing	Whole communities	Radio	Self-evaluation
<b>23. Vrai Djo</b>	Vrai Djo Final Project Report	2011	Search for Common Ground	Democratic Republic of Congo	Violence against women	Men and/or boys in the community	Television and radio	Self-evaluation
<b>24. What Kind of Man are You?</b>	Masculinity Matters: using entertainment education to engage men in ending violence against women in India	2013	Breakthrough	India	Patriarchal norms	Men and/or boys in the community	Music video, print ads, radio and television PSAs	Self-evaluation
<b>25. Where Do You Stand?</b>	Do Sexual Assault Bystander Interventions Change Men's Intentions? Applying the Theory of Normative Social Behaviour to Predicting Bystander Outcomes	2016	Men Can Stop Rape	US	Sexual assault	Bystanders	Posters	External evaluation
<b>26. White Ribbon Campaign</b>	Engaging Men and Boys in Domestic Violence Prevention: Opportunities and Promising Approaches	2013	Shift: The Project to End Domestic Violence	Canada	Intimate partner violence	Men and/or boys in the community	Public service announcements, website, posters, social media	Self-evaluation