Numerous programmes designed to prevent violence against women (VAW) have raised awareness and shifted attitudes about abuse, but far fewer have successfully reduced violent behaviour.¹ This has led researchers and practitioners to explore whether and how behaviour change theories and approaches might be applied to support the development of more effective VAW prevention programmes.

The nature of VAW, the contexts in which it occurs and the populations affected vary. Approaches to understand and address VAW therefore need to be flexible enough to respond to this diversity. Contemporary behavioural change theories do not assume humans are rational beings or that we always make decisions we know are best for us. Instead they encourage context-led analysis of the drivers of harmful behaviours in order to devise solutions to change those behaviours.²

There are many different theories about and approaches to behaviour change processes, but they all have a common focus on factors that can hinder or enable behaviour change. Understanding these factors can support the design of more effective interventions and strategies to change the targeted behaviours.

This brief is intended for practitioners who are interested in applying behaviour change approaches to develop effective programmes to prevent and reduce VAW. It proposes a five step process:

1. Identify the specific behaviour(s) of specific actors that you are trying to change;
2. Understand the main drivers of the behaviour(s) in the specific context;
3. Design interventions to address the drivers of the identified behaviour(s);
4. Include strategies to reinforce and embed behaviour change(s);
5. Monitor if and how the intervention(s) lead(s) to the desired behaviour change(s).

Ultimately, the success of any prevention programme is measured by the extent to which it reduces the harmful behaviour of interest. In the case of intimate partner violence (IPV), for example, the behavioural goal is to prevent episodes of violence and/or to reduce their frequency and severity. Nonetheless, there are many other behaviours that need to change to make long-term progress on gender equality and to reduce VAW. These include, for example, men taking on more domestic and care work, improved communication skills between couples, women disclosing violence, and community members taking action to stop violence.

VAW is driven by multiple factors involving different actors at a household, community, and societal level. Thus, several different behaviours of several different individuals and groups may need to change to bring about desired reductions in VAW. For example, ActionAid Ireland identified that reducing child marriage requires behaviour changes among parents (target behaviour: seeking and giving permission for marriage to occur); religious leaders (target behaviour: carrying out the marriage); and children (target behaviour: expressing their wishes not to be married).

Many VAW prevention programmes focus narrowly on changing the behaviours of individuals. Yet, there is growing recognition that effective programmes should consider interpersonal, family and community dimensions to generate, support and sustain individual behaviour changes. In this respect, the socio-ecological model is a useful tool to identify the risk and protective factors for a particular form of VAW in a specific context. For example, this model has been used to understand the risk and protective factors for IPV at individual (with specific factors for men and women), relationship, community, and macrosocial levels (see figure 1).

IPV is driven by a range of factors related to attitudes, knowledge, beliefs, practices, social norms and other triggers, including the distribution of family resources and the division of household labour. These factors impact behaviours, such as alcohol use, modes of communication and decision-making processes. In addition, environmental factors influence behaviours, such as women’s employment, community norms of privacy, stigma and the ease of divorce for women. These point to the importance of an enabling social, political and legal environment.

The socio-ecological model can therefore be useful to analyse the combination of behaviours of different actors that may need to shift in a particular context to support the ultimate goal of preventing VAW.

Another useful approach to identify the behaviours to target is the 4Ws approach which asks: what behaviour needs to change by whom, where and when?

If there are multiple potential behaviours to target, behaviours can be rated according to how likely it is they will change, the impact that making such a change will likely have on the overall outcome, and the degree to which there will be spillover effects, in which changing one behaviour will lead to other desired behaviour changes.

The behavioural target can be to stop a behaviour (e.g. physical violence) or start a behaviour (e.g. women working outside of the home); to increase or decrease the frequency, duration or intensity (e.g. women investing more of their money in savings accounts; men reducing the amount of alcohol consumed); or change the form of the behaviour (e.g. improving communication patterns between parents and children).

3 Garnelo et al. (2019).
6 Ibid.
### MACROSOCIAL

**Gender regime**
- Lack of economic rights and entitlements for women
- Discriminatory family law
- Ease of divorce for women
- Composite measures of gender inequality

**Cultural factors**
- Collectivist versus individual cultural orientation
- Emphasis on women’s purity and family honour

**Economic factors**
- Level of development
- Women’s access to formal wage employment

### COMMUNITY

**Norms**
- Acceptance of wife beating
- Male right to discipline/control female behaviour
- Tolerance of harsh physical punishment of children
- Stigma against divorced or single women
- Norms linking male honour to female purity
- Family privacy

**Lack of sanctions**
- Lack of legal or moral sanction for violence
- Others do not intervene

**Neighbourhood**
- Community violence
- High unemployment
- Low social capital
- Poverty

### FEMALE PARTNER

**Socio-demographic**
- Young age (for current violence)
- High educational attainment (protective)

**Violence in childhood**
- Child sexual abuse
- Other childhood traumas
- Witnessing mother being beaten

**Attitudes**
- Tolerance of wife beating

**Low social support**

**Factors that operate differently in different settings**
- Women’s employment
- Participation in credit schemes or other development programmes
- Asset ownership

### MALE PARTNER

**Socio-demographic**
- Young age (for current violence)
- Low educational level

**Violence in childhood**
- Harsh physical punishment
- Other childhood traumas
- Witnessing parental violence

**Attitudes**
- Accepting of violence as a means to resolve conflict
- Acceptance of partner violence
- Gender hierarchical or transitional attitudes

**Psychological dysfunction**
- Antisocial behaviour
- Adult attachment issues

**Gender role conflict**
- Alcohol abuse
- Delinquent peers

### CONFLICT ARENA

**Partriarchal triggers**
- Female challenge to male authority
- Failure to meet gender role expectations
- Assertions of female autonomy

**Situational triggers**
- Sex/infidelity
- Money/distribution of family resources
- Children or in-laws
- Division of labour
- Male drinking

### RELATIONSHIP

**Interaction**
- Decision-making
- Poor communication
- High relationship conflict

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**FIGURE 1: SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL MODEL: EVIDENCE ON DRIVERS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE**

[Diagram showing the sociological model with interrelated factors affecting intimate partner violence]
After identifying which behaviours need to change, the next step is to identify what is needed to bring about those changes.\textsuperscript{8} There are many approaches to identify drivers of behaviours,\textsuperscript{9} but one model that we have found particularly useful to analyse the behavioural drivers of VAW and design strategies to change these behaviours is the Behaviour Change Wheel (BCW) developed by Michie et al.\textsuperscript{10} The BCW model is practical and was developed through reviewing best practices and existing frameworks from across the behavioural and social sciences.\textsuperscript{11}

Figure 2 depicts the BCW model: the green inner hub shows the major influences on or drivers of behaviour; the blue circle shows the range of strategies for behaviour change interventions; and the grey outer circle shows possible policy options that can help deliver these interventions.

Behaviour drivers (green hub) are categorized as capability (C), opportunity (O) or motivation (M). They are elements of the COM-B framework (figure 3), which can be used to analyse how different behavioural drivers combine to drive a specific behaviour.

\begin{itemize}
  \item **Capability** refers to a person’s psychological or physical ability to enact a behaviour. This includes capacity for comprehension, reasoning and having the necessary knowledge or understanding and physical, emotional, cognitive and/or behavioural skills that are warranted to change one’s behaviour.
  \item **Motivation** refers to a person’s reflective and automatic mechanisms that activate or inhibit a behaviour. This includes goals, decision-making, habits, emotional and analytical decision-making. It distinguishes between reflective processes involving evaluations or plans and automatic processes involving emotions or impulses. It takes a broader understanding of behaviour, beyond conscious deliberative processes that have been the focus of much behavioural research.
  \item **Opportunity** refers to contextual factors outside an individual that make a behaviour possible, including the physical environment (e.g. housing, resources, finances) and social environment (e.g. traditions, community beliefs).\textsuperscript{12} Given how environments hinder or enable behaviours, this should be the starting point of a behaviour change intervention design.\textsuperscript{13}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{8} Chadwick, Pender and Onduru (2020).
\textsuperscript{11} Chadwick, Pender and Onduru (2020).
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Michie, van Stralen and West (2011).
The COM-B framework encourages a detailed understanding of factors internal to an individual as well as external factors in their social and physical environment that influence their behaviour. Thus, if we want to influence or change an individual’s behaviour through particular interventions, we must consider both the individual’s agency and how this is enabled or constrained by the power dynamics operating within broader social structures and institutions.

The COM-B framework should ideally be used during the intervention design phase to help identify which behavioural drivers are most significant for each target behaviour in a specific context. It can also be applied retrospectively as an evaluation tool, or mid-way through a programme to drive programmatic changes. It is important to apply the COM-B framework to all the key actors whose behaviours are targeted by an intervention, as capability, motivation and opportunity level factors may vary (for instance, between women who report violence and service providers who respond).

**EXAMPLE:** Promoting positive discipline of children may entail interventions to:

- Support parents to develop knowledge of and skills to use alternative, healthier forms of discipline of children (capability);
- Persuade parents to use alternative discipline techniques in order to avoid negative consequences of harsh physical discipline (motivation);
- Provide safe space to connect with and learn from other parents around using positive discipline of children (opportunity).

**STEP 3: Design interventions to address the drivers of the identified behaviour(s)**

Once the main drivers of the target behaviours have been identified, the next step is to develop ways to change those drivers. The BCW model suggests specific types of strategies and interventions to change different behavioural drivers – capability, opportunity, motivation – identified in the COM-B diagnosis. Examples of strategies that are relevant to VAW prevention programming (table 1). The BCW model can also be used to develop theories of change.

**EXAMPLE: Application of the COM-B model to a community mobilisation programme to prevent IPV in Mumbai**

The programme aimed to increase the capability of participants to understand IPV, support survivors and intervene in violence through increasing their knowledge of laws and rights, negotiation skills, and self and collective efficacy.

The programme aimed to increase motivation of participants to develop beliefs in preventing VAW through education, persuasion, training, enablement and modelling.

The intervention presented opportunities for participants to engage with others, develop confidence and leadership, and connect with non-governmental and government organisations through training, enablement, and modelling.

14 Michie, van Stralen and West (2011); Chadwick, Pender and Onduru (2020).


**EXAMPLE: APEASE criteria to select behaviour change interventions**

ActionAid Ireland (2019) applied the BCW model to identify and design interventions in Ethiopia, Kenya and Nepal to address the structural drivers of gender-based violence. The APEASE criteria can be used to select BCW strategies to apply to programming:

- Acceptability (acceptable to community stakeholders);
- Practicality (appropriate to the context and resources available);
- Effectiveness (likely to produce the desired change);
- Affordability (extent to which intervention can be delivered within the programme budget);
- Side Effects (no or limited negative unintended consequences);
- Equity (including equitable outcomes for the most vulnerable or marginalised community members).
TABLE 1: Strategies and interventions to address different behavioural drivers (C-O-M)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>DRIVERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Coercion (negative sanction)** | Creating expectation of punishment or cost | • Foster social norms that reject use of corporal punishment  
• Raise awareness of legal consequences of using VAW  
Many practitioners are trying to move away from using negative sanctions or criminalising behaviours to prevent VAW, although this is an avenue to influence behaviours. Criminalising or stigmatising behaviours can lead to negative unintended consequences, including to drive a practice underground, rather than creating sustained behaviour and social change.* | MOTIVATION                |
| Education                     | Increasing knowledge or understanding | • Providing information on laws which prohibit VAW or set out provisions to protect survivors of VAW  
• Providing information on different types and causes of VAW  
Awareness raising on its own is unlikely to change behaviours but increasing knowledge through awareness raising can be an important element of behaviour change. | CAPABILITY, MOTIVATION    |
| Enablement                    | Increasing means or reducing barriers to increase a capability or opportunity | • Training community members to accompany survivors to support services  
• Interrupting opportunities for violence through bystander interventions  
• Providing accessible support services for women who have experienced violence | CAPABILITY, MOTIVATION, OPPORTUNITY |
| Environmental restructuring   | Changing physical or social context | • Installing public lights to reduce women’s risk of exposure to violence  
• Women-only subways to reduce the risk of sexual harassment of women | MOTIVATION, OPPORTUNITY   |
| Incentivisation               | Creating expectation of award      | • Giving a stipend and/or certificates of completion to participants that regularly attend a couples’ curriculum  
This strategy is often not enough to sustain behaviours but can be an important prompt or initial motivating factor. | MOTIVATION                |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>DRIVERS (Capability, Motivation or Opportunity)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modelling</td>
<td>Providing an example for people to aspire to or imitate</td>
<td>• Community activists or facilitators modelling the relationship changes that they encourage</td>
<td>MOTIVATION</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Men actively engaged with domestic and care work, and modelling alternative norms of fatherhood</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>→ This strategy can provide both inspiration and an alternative model of behaviour. It is important to be aware that more influential individuals/groups in communities can be more powerful modellers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persuasion</td>
<td>Using communication to induce positive/negative feelings</td>
<td>• Faith leaders urging community members not to use violence against children</td>
<td>MOTIVATION</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Use of examples and role models in edutainment to motivate increased commitment to intervene in VAW</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>→ The source of the message and the trust or value of the message is important to consider for this strategy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Restriction</td>
<td>Using rules to reduce the opportunity to engage in the target behaviour or to increase target behaviour by reducing opportunity to engage in competing behaviours</td>
<td>• Civil protection orders forbidding known perpetrators of IPV from having contact with the survivor and/or their children</td>
<td>OPPORTUNITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>• Community-led development of bylaws to protect the rights of women and girls</td>
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<tr>
<td>Training (skills building)</td>
<td>Imparting skills</td>
<td>• Constructive communication skills among couples and/or parents with children</td>
<td>CAPABILITY, MOTIVATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Emotional regulation skills to help couples to mitigate and solve conflicts peacefully</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Self-defence and safety awareness skills</td>
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<td>→ The RESPECT Framework identifies Relationship skills strengthened as one of the seven strategies to prevent VAW including skills in interpersonal communication, conflict management and shared decision-making Empowerment of women is also identified as one of the strategies which includes skills in self-efficacy, assertiveness, negotiation and self-confidence.</td>
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* Source: Sood and Cronin (2019).
Example of Behaviour Change Intervention: Edutainment

Social and behaviour change communication (SBCC) - also referred to as communication for development (C4D) - entails the use of communication tools and opportunities for dialogue and engagement, in order to shift individual and collective behaviours. In SBCC participatory processes are used to understand the target audience’s knowledge, attitudes and behaviours around a certain issue and then empowering and positive messages are developed. Messages or tools are then carefully tested and deployed to strategically reach a particular audience, depending on where they are on the behaviour change journey.

Edutainment is a SBCC approach that has successfully shifted norms, attitudes and behaviours underlying VAW among specific groups, especially when compared to other awareness raising approaches. Educational messages are integrated into popular, high-quality entertainment media based on a thorough research process to help make the product dynamic and appealing. Edutainment draws on evidence that people can learn through observing others’ behaviours, including those modelled in fictional dramatisations. As they come to identify or empathise with the main fictional characters, this can increase their openness to new viewpoints and help them to consider the consequences or benefits of certain behaviours.

Some edutainment interventions combine media programmes with other components that foster dialogue, critical reflection, and skills-building: for example, community mobilisation, listener or viewer groups, group-based discussions, or call-in radio shows. Having dedicated opportunities to discuss edutainment programmes face-to-face or virtually in groups can enhance the effect. For instance, communal exposure to edutainment can build people’s abilities to shift beliefs or norms, as this collective process enables audiences to consider how others in their community may be updating beliefs or norms and can in itself display an engaged or sympathetic response to VAW issues. SBCC media content, including edutainment, should also link to relevant and accessible services or resources to support the promoted change.

MTV Shuga

Season 3 of MTV Shuga was an 8 episode HIV and GBV prevention edutainment television series in Nigeria, which included an IPV sub-plot about a young married couple. Participants attended two screenings held one week apart, each featuring four 22-minute episodes.

Eight months after participating in screening events, male participants were less likely to report perpetrating sexual violence and less likely to justify forced sex or wife beating compared to the control group. Female participants were less likely to report experiencing sexual and physical violence, although no effect was found on their attitudes towards IPV.

The evaluation found that viewers who said they occasionally thought about the characters, or remembered specific facts about the characters, displayed significantly lower support for IPV.

References:

Behavioural economics: Nudge theory

Motivation in the COM-B model considers how behaviour is a function of automatic processes involving emotions or impulses. ‘Nudges’ are cues that influence the subconscious. When individuals are thinking automatically, a small contextual shift (the nudge) may change their behaviour. A nudge does not change the set of choices, nor does it forbid, penalize or reward any choice. It is rather intended to point people towards a particular choice by changing the default option, description or reference point.

For instance, to encourage survivors of violence to make use of existing shelters in their community, a nudge could be simply putting up posters and distributing pamphlets in areas where women frequently meet. This may increase the visibility and awareness of the available resources or normalize their use. Another example is the White Ribbon Campaign, which encourages men to publicly commit to ending VAW by signing a pledge and wearing a white ribbon.

A nudge on its own is unlikely to comprehensively change VAW related behaviours (for instance there may be many other barriers to survivors of violence accessing shelters) and is more likely effective in conjunction with other behaviour change strategies. Nudge theory has not been comprehensively tested to prevent VAW, however it is a promising behaviour change strategy to be aware of.

STEP 4: Include strategies to reinforce and embed behaviour changes

Experience from the implementation of violence prevention programmes repeatedly show how the wider social environment can hinder the likelihood and sustainability of behaviour changes. Critics of behavioural change approaches argue that they are too focused on fostering change among individuals and neglect social, historical and political drivers of behaviours. Yet, behaviour change approaches can and should be used as tools to reinforce and embed changes at a wider level (including at institutional, policy and national levels).

The BCW model describes seven policy options to embed or reinforce interventions, which are detailed in table 2: communications and marketing, guidelines, fiscal measures, regulation, legislation, environmental/social planning and service provision. The table has been adapted to include examples relevant to VAW prevention.

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30 Chadwick, Pender and Onduru (2020).
<table>
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<tr>
<th>POLICY</th>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>STRATEGY</th>
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| Communication/marketing   | Using print, electronic, telephonic or broadcast media                      | • Conducting mass media campaigns with clear, targeted messages  
→ A popular communication/marketing strategy for VAW prevention programmes is organized campaigns relying on interpersonal communication, including door-to-door visits, group meetings, posters to prompt dialogues. | EDUCATION, PERSUASION, INCENTIVIZATION, COERCION |
| Environmental/social planning | Designing and/or controlling the physical or social environment          | • Safer cities approach[^31]  
→ The UN RESPECT Framework to prevent violence against women identifies Environments made safe as one of the seven main strategies to prevent VAW, referring to efforts to create safe schools, public spaces and work environments. | ENVIRONMENTAL RESTRUCTURING, ENABLEMENT        |
| Fiscal                    | Using the tax system to reduce or increase the financial cost of product or activity | • Increasing tax on alcohol in order to reduce excessive consumption of alcohol                                                                                                                        | INCENTIVIZATION, TRAINING, COERCION           |
| Guidelines                | Developing documents that recommend or mandate practice. This includes all changes to service provision | • National curriculum on comprehensive sexuality education  
• Service provision protocols for survivors of VAW  
• Sexual exploitation and abuse guidelines                                                                                                        | EDUCATION, PERSUASION, INCENTIVIZATION, TRAINING, RESTRICTION, ENVIRONMENTAL RESTRUCTURING, ENABLEMENT, COERCION |
| Legislation               | Making or changing laws                                                   | • Enacting VAW prevention laws  
• Signing global conventions (e.g. CEDAW)                                                                                                                                  | EDUCATION, PERSUASION, INCENTIVIZATION, TRAINING, COERCION |
| Regulation                | Establishing rules or principles of behaviour change                       | • Establishing shared commitments to avoid sexist advertising  
• Formal pressure applied to local duty bearers to enforce legislation  
• Passing secondary legislation that specifies action to prevent VAW                                                                                                      | EDUCATION, PERSUASION, INCENTIVIZATION, TRAINING, RESTRICTION, COERCION |
| Service provision         | Delivering a quality service                                              | • Establishing holistic one stop centres for survivors of VAW  
→ The RESPECT Framework identifies Services Ensured as one of the seven main strategies to prevent VAW                                                                 | EDUCATION, PERSUASION, INCENTIVIZATION, TRAINING, COERCION |

Identifying whether the interventions bring about the expected behaviour changes or change behavioural drivers is a key part of the process. There are many ways to monitor and evaluate behaviour changes and changes to drivers with different benefits and limitations. Decisions on the approach to take should be made based on the evaluation scope, feasibility and budget, with a focus on monitoring if and how the interventions led to the targeted behaviour changes.

Ideally, a baseline for the behaviour(s) should be established prior to implementing any intervention. This can then be compared to endline data on how the behaviour(s) changed in response to the intervention. For example, self-reported survey data of violence perpetration and victimization is commonly used to assess the impact of VAW prevention interventions. However, such measurement approaches have ethical and safety risks, tend to be lengthy and cost-intensive and require specific skills and capacity, they should only be conducted if an intervention is reasonably expected to change the prevalence of violence.

There are other monitoring and evaluation approaches that can help to indicate whether, how and why behaviours are changing (or not changing), among whom, and the strength or sustainability of change. There is often limited attention to the process of change between inputs and activities and programme goals. In this respect, qualitative and participatory approaches are especially valuable to assess processes of behaviour change.

For instance, longitudinal qualitative interviews with couples can be a useful tool to assess changes in their communication and conflict resolution skills. The best approach is usually to interview partners separately and triangulate the data. Participatory tools can also be used with couples to track behaviour changes in their relationships. One example is to map out time use to compare the domestic and care work of men and women and how this has changed throughout the period of an intervention.

Process evaluations to track the quality of interventions and whether they are implemented as intended, can also be an important component of understanding why and how interventions lead to behaviour changes.

For instance, focus groups can be a useful tool to assess the relevance of and viewers’ connection with edutainment campaigns, and can reveal important insights on the quality and impact of an intervention given how important these factors can be to the success of such programmes.

Additionally, focus groups are a useful tool to assess wider social norms that can influence behaviours, such as through vignettes. Vignettes helpfully allow participants to offer their views about a third person (rather than about themselves) and can reveal contextual and nuanced insights including about sensitive topics that respondents might normally not talk about openly or respond to honestly.

Evidence shows that the quality of facilitators can be critical to the success of curriculum-based programmes, and spot checking, observing and debriefing with facilitators can contribute to their success and improve the outcomes of behaviour change curriculums among participants.

It is also important to regularly monitor the progress of interventions leading to targeted behaviours and outcomes, and if necessary, go back to the behavioural diagnosis or intervention design as part of adaptive programming.

Some factors may be identified which drive behaviours, but interventions to address them would be too costly or difficult. These factors are important to be aware of, and it may be important to measure them as they can hinder the success of an intervention or help explain resistance to targeted behaviours changing in response to an intervention.

The RESPECT Framework Monitoring and Evaluation guide provides information and tips for monitoring and evaluating programmes for VAW prevention. This includes strategies to measure a variety of behaviour change indicators, such as the proportion of partnered women and girls aged 15-49 years who participate (alone or jointly) in household decision-making.

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32 Chadwick, Pender and Onduru (2020).
33 Petit (2019).
36 Chadwick, Pender and Onduru (2020).
EXAMPLE: SASA! Learning and Assessment Approach

SASA!, established by Raising Voices in Uganda, is an evidence-based programme to reduce VAW at the community level. SASA! Together is a recent revision drawing on lessons learned from more than a decade of implementation, and it uses learning and assessment tools instead of monitoring and evaluation tools to emphasize the importance of continual learning to strengthen the intervention. Changes are assessed in a linear trajectory based on shifts in knowledge (start phase), attitudes (awareness phase), skills (support phase) and behaviours (action phase). Communities often made gradual changes throughout, rather than waiting until the action phase to adopt new behaviours.

To provide a more precise assessment of ongoing social and behaviour changes, SASA! Together introduced a “know-feel-do” framework of expected outcomes in what community members know, how they feel and what they do during each phase. Several tools are used to inform this framework, including observations, activities, community change trackers, focus group discussions and community and institutional assessment surveys.

Implications

Behaviour change is often a gradual, complex and lengthy process that can require sustained investments over time. Interventions for behaviour change should consist of multifaceted strategies to win people's hearts and minds, and shape the crowd and the environment to induce positive actions. Default and one-size-fits-all solutions are unlikely to work to shift behaviours, which is why it is important to carefully design interventions to address specific behaviours of specific actors in specific contexts.

VAW prevention interventions need to address drivers of VAW at individual, relationship, community and institutional levels. It is therefore important to move beyond behaviour change approaches focused on the individual and supplement these with comprehensive interventions that also address the social and environmental influences on behaviours. The BCW model and COM-B framework are helpful tools to design interventions to do so.

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