Fostering Healthy Norms to Reduce Violence in our Communities:

A Social Norms Toolkit

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Sexual assault and other forms of violence occur within an environment that shapes the behaviors occurring within it. As our field has developed its focus has shifted from emphasizing survivor support and perpetrator accountability to improving legal and judicial response, and finally, to include changing the environment that allows the violence to occur. Thus in recent years prevention has taken its place along-side of the still necessary activities of supporting victims and holding perpetrators accountable. Preventing sexual assault requires that we pay attention to the environments in which the assaults occur, which in turn asks us that we understand our community members, their norms, values, and their actions. With this understanding we can then design programs that will foster healthy behaviors and norms that support anti-violence actions.

Definition: Environment:

The "field" in which behavior occurs, having physical, legal, social and cultural elements that serve to shape the attitudes and behaviors of individual within it. Norms are an important aspect of e human environment.

| The Three Pillars of Prevention | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Victim support and advocacy | Legal and judicial response | Prevention and Intervention |

Environments and the individuals within them can therefore be encouraged to support prevention efforts by acting to reduce risk factors and to identify and intervene against problems before violence occurs. One promising tool for this purpose is the "social norms approach" (SNA), a theory and evidence-based methodology for addressing health and social justice issues that can be used to foster environments that resist and intervene to prevent violence. The social norms approach has documented empirical success in reducing alcohol and tobacco use and other problem behaviors in college and high school populations and has shown promise for empowering individuals to prevent sexual assault in a number of preliminary studies, including

Did you know?

Approximately 5% of men commit over 90% of assaults and that the majority of men does not assault and can prevent the minority from doing so.

one recent program evaluation which produced an actual reduction in sexual assaults. (Gidycz, Orchowski & Berkowitz, 2011) using a workshop based on the "Rape Prevention Program for Men" developed by Berkowitz (1994, 2004A)

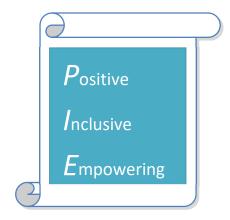
This tool-kit will provide a basic introduction to the social norms approach, review relevant theory and research, and offer ways that practitioners can implement social norms interventions with individual, groups and communities.

The social norms approach is part of a larger paradigm shift within the prevention field that focuses on the positive rather than emphasizing only the negative. For example, in our work

with men we can approach the majority as allies who are willing to play a role in ending violence against women rather than viewing them as potential perpetrators. This makes sense when we consider that approximately 5% of men commit over 90% of assaults and that the great majority of men do not assault and are bystanders who can prevent the minority from doing so. With well-designed surveys and/or interviews we can document men's willingness to become involved with and support our efforts to end sexual assault. Or, when working with survivors we can utilize a "strengths-based" approach in which we identify and foster positive coping skills and behaviors. Focusing on the positive can be effective because attention to the positive serves to grow or

increase it. Although our work by definition requires that we acknowledge and address negative behavior – in this case sexual violence – we have also learned that the best way to prevent this violence is to focus on the positive and engage our community members as partners in prevention by helping the majority to act on their desire to help confront the negative.

One way to conceptualize this development is to consider prevention as a "PIE." This framework suggests that all prevention must have three elements — it must be "P" -positive, "I" -inclusive and "E" -



Thinking Points

Can you think of an example in the course of your professional career in which you over-estimated the negative or under-estimated the positive when working with a client, group or community? What was the effect of your doing so? How was it different and what was the impact of recognizing and assuming the positive of an individual or group?

empowering. These prevention elements have been supported by research and are considered as elements of any best practice, and will be reviewed in more detail later in this handbook.

One danger of a negative mind-set is that we tend to expect or project the worst in people. This becomes natural for us working in a field where we deal with the effects of negative and reprehensible behavior every day. But prevention research has demonstrated that focusing on the negative tends to produce more of the negative, just as focusing on the positive produces health. Extensive social science research (reviewed in

Chapter 2) shows that in all age groups, communities, and cultures, individuals tend to assume that there is more of the negative than is actually the case. Thus people assume that others drink more alcohol than they do, engage in more risky behaviors than they do, believe in rape myths and victim-blaming more than they do, and are less willing to help than is actually the case. This suggests that what is perceived as the "norm" is usually an over- or under-estimation of what is true. SNA researchers thus distinguish between the "perceived norm" and the "actual norm." We can say that the "perceived norm" is a "misperception" of the "actual norm."

| Environment: | •The "field" in which behavior occurs, having physical, legal, social and cultural elements that serve to shape the attitudes and behaviors of individual within it. Norms are an important aspect of the human environment. |
|--------------------|--|
| Norm: | •a belief or custom that is held by the majority of a group or community |
| Actual norm: | •what most people actually believe or do |
| Perceived norm: | •what most people think or perceive the norm to be |
| Misperceived norm: | •when the perceived norm is different from the actual norm, i.e. when what most people think is the norm is not actually the case. |

Example: In most high schools in the United States, most students do not drink alcohol. Thus, the actual norm is that "most United States high school students do not drink alcohol". However, most high school students believe that most of their peers drink alcohol regularly. Thus, the perceived norm is that "most United States high school students drink alcohol." In this case the norm for alcohol use is overestimated or misperceived" -- thus the perceived norm is based on a misperception.

For example, men and women may choose to not be sexually active, or may restrict their sexual activity for personal, relational and/or religious reasons (the actual norm) but think that everyone else is more sexually active then they are (the perceived norm). We know that most college men think that other men would not respect them if they intervened to prevent a sexual assault (the perceived norm) when in fact most men say that they would in fact respect a man who did so (the actual norm).

Human beings act within a social context or environment that serves to inhibit or encourage healthy behaviors. Violence prevention is facilitated when individuals can identify situations with the potential for violence and then act to prevent it. Thus, bystanders play a critical role in the prevention of sexual assault. Yet, whether or not someone intervenes is strongly influenced by the extent to which they feel that others in their immediate environment share their concerns and will support their efforts – in other words, by whether or not the norms for intervention are

perceived correctly. For example, men who think that their friends would not intervene are less likely to intervene, whereas men who correctly perceive that their friends would intervene are more likely to intervene. This "correct perception of the norm" is the basis of the effectiveness of the social norms approach as a violence prevention strategy and a community in which anti-violence norms are correctly perceived is more likely to prevent violence..

The social norms approach therefore requires that we know the truth about the individuals and communities that we work with – through conversation and/or social science research – and that we share this truth with them. While this requires that we share the "bad news" about the prevalence and negative effects of violence, effective prevention also requires that we document and share the "good news" about most people's desire to help stop the violence and act is ways that are supportive of victims. Sharing the truth as a prevention strategy requires that we identify under-estimations of positive values, attitudes and behaviors and share this information with others so that they may be corrected.

This in turn requires that we re-define within ourselves what it means to be a professional or expert. Certainly we have important skills, knowledge and expertise that we want to put at the service of others, but we must do so in a way that recognizes and is responsive to our community and the individuals within it.

The social norms approach provides specific tools that allow us to accomplish the goal of being responsive professionals and to design programs to increase perceived support to take action to address health and violence behaviors that can be used with individuals, groups and communities. (These strategies and tools are reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4). This tool-kit provides an introduction to this approach and to the strategies associated with it.

The social norms approach need not be a "stand alone" strategy and it is more than a method. It can be combined with other prevention strategies to increase the effectiveness of both and its philosophy can be used to help improve the effectiveness of what we do. For example, if I or my agency does something that increases a negative misperception – for example, that "everyone" is sexually active, or engages in risky behavior, or that no one cares — then I may actually contribute to the problem that I am trying to solve.

The social norms approach is therefore both a philosophy of prevention that can be applied to all that we do, as well as a specific prevention tool that can be implemented in a variety of activities and programs.

Teaching bystander intervention is a cutting-edge prevention strategy that is increasingly supported by research. We know that a bystander who could intervene to prevent an assault will be inhibited from doing so if he or she under-estimates the support and respect of others for them to intervene. This provides another example of how the social norms approach can be effectively combined with other prevention strategies, i.e. correcting misperceptions about bystander behavior in combination with teaching individuals to notice risky situations and have the skills to intervene in them. The relationship between the social norms approach and bystander behavior is the theme of Chapter 5.

In essence the social norms approach is about aligning actions and values. Where do these deeper values and ideals come from? We can answer this question in a variety of ways, considering psychological, humanistic, religious and spiritual understandings of what it means to be human. However we define our humanity and our values, we can say that there is a "deeper" part of us that "wants to do the right thing" even when we sometimes act in ways that contradict these values. As human beings we are influenced by others and this influence can sometimes be negative – especially if our assumptions about others' are less positive than the truth. Correcting these negative assumptions about others therefore requires that we also correct our negative assumptions about ourselves – i.e. that we develop a sense of who we are as individuals and as

members of the human species that takes account of these deeper longings, values and intentions that may be called "sacred." Chapter 6 (written by my wife and colleague Beatriz Berkowitz) explores these "spiritual" and "transpersonal" implications of the social norms approach and relates them to the issue of bystander intervention.

We know from extensive research and evaluation of successful prevention programs focus on the positive, use accurate data, involve all parts of the community, and that they are "relevant" – i.e. that they are designed in a way that meets the needs of the community or target audience. Prevention activities must therefore be "culturally

Thinking Point:

Can you think of a time when you acted in a way that did not conform to your inner beliefs? Most of us can easily do so. Perhaps you wanted to intervene in a situation but didn't and later regretted it, or you engaged in behavior that was not consistent with the person who you want to be. Try and recall such as situation and perceive what kept you from acting in a way that was truer to your deeper values.

relevant" in order to be effective. The social norms approach is by definition culturally relevant because it is designed to identify the healthy norms within a community or group and empower the community to act on them, in this case to prevent violence. Thus, the final chapter in the

toolkit discusses the social norms approach as a culturally relevant prevention approach that recognizes and affirms the inherent diversity and its strengths within our communities.

Those of us who have worked to reduce sexual violence can say that we have come a long way but that we have yet a long way to go. We have provided tremendous support and resources to help victims become survivors. We have pressured legal and judicial systems to be more responsive to victim needs and learned to work more collaboratively with our partners. And we are now learning the best practices for the foundations of effective prevention to reduce sexual assault. One of these, the "social norms approach," is the topic of this tool-kit.

It is my sincere hope that learning about this approach and how to implement it will help you to be a better sexual assault prevention professional, one who can design and implement more effective programs, but I hope even more that it will give you the understanding and tools to be more true to yourself as a human being with an innate desire to make the world a better place – and that in turn you will help others to do so as well.

In appreciation for all that you do.

Alan Berkowitz Mount Shasta, California November, 2012

Learning Points:

- 1. Effective prevention requires understanding and impacting the environment in which violence occurs.
- 2. Focusing on the positive majority who want to do the right things is most effective
- 3. Prevention efforts must be PIE: positive, inclusive and empowering
- 4. Most people over- or under-estimate the attitudes and behaviors of others in a negative direction.
- 5. The social norms approach is both a philosophy of prevention and a specific intervention technique.
- 6. Social norms interventions can be combined synergistically with other interventions, such as bystander intervention.
- 7. It is useful to understand the deeper context for the social norms approach.
- 8. Practitioners must understand and be responsive to the communities they serve and programs must be culturally relevant.

Thought Questions:

- 1. What makes me interested in the social norms approach?
- 2. What do I need to learn to feel that I can effectively implement this approach?
- 3. How do I anticipate using it at my agency or workplace?
- 4. Do the assumptions of this approach make sense to me?

Chapter Two The Theory and Research of the Social Norms Approach

The social norms approach is based on a well-articulated theory of behavior that has been tested in many studies and successfully implemented in a number of prevention programs (such as alcohol abuse prevention campaigns). It was first developed by myself and H. Wesley Perkins (Berkowitz & Perkins, 1987; Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986) and has since been used at all levels of prevention: primary or universal with entire campus, school or community populations; secondary or selective with particular subpopulation groups; and tertiary or indicated with individuals. These approaches use a variety of methodologies to provide normative feedback to communities, groups, and individuals as a way of correcting misperceptions that have a documented influence behavior. Thus, by correcting the misperception one of the causes of a problem is reduced and the problem itself is diminished. The assumptions of the social norms approach are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: Assumptions of the Social Norms Approach

Norms influence behavior

Norms are often misperceived, i.e. they are over- or under-estimated by the majority

Misperceptions encourage people to conform to a false norm, i.e. attitudes and behaviors are adjusted to confirm to what is incorrectly perceived to be true.

Correcting misperceptions allows individuals to act in accordance with their actual beliefs, which are most often positive and consistent with prevention goals.

The social norms approach is considered to be a "science-based approach" (also called "evidence-based") because it is based on a well-articulated theory that is supported by considerable research and positive evaluation outcomes. How to implement a social norms campaign will be the subject of later chapters. In this chapter we will consider to consider answer two important questions

- 1) What does it mean to be a science-based or evidence based approach and what kind of evidence is necessary?
- 2) What is the evidence for the social norms approach?

As a prevention specialist you are not in a position to do a carefully designed intervention with a control and experimental group unless you have the opportunity to be part of a larger, well-funded study conducted by researchers. But it is important that you understand how the science works, and to evaluate the evidence for the approach that you are trying to implement. To illustrate how one might "do" social norms, we can consider an illustrative example which will also give us insight to the theory and how it might be tested.

A hypothetical case scenario

Let's imagine that the rape crisis center that you work for has the opportunity to offer programs in the local high school. After meeting with the school staff you determine that there is a need to reduce victim-blaming due to a school environment appears very negative towards victims. As a result of this perception few victims come forward to report their assaults. Your initial thinking is to try a social norms media campaign that would reduce victim-blaming by correcting misperceptions about victims and the need to support them. This would bring into the open supportive and respectful attitudes towards those who report – which you believe exist but are hidden. The result – a climate that is more visibly supportive of victims – would in turn result in more victims being willing to report.

The application of the basic social norms model to correcting misperceptions of victim support are illustrated in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Hypothetical Example

Increasing Victim Support

1. Victim willingness to report is influenced by how victims perceive the norm for victim support.

- 2. Non-victims with supportive attitudes may refrain from expressing them if they perceive the norm to be unsympathetic towards victims.
- 3. Victims and others may underestimate the extent to which others are sympathetic to victims and support their desire to report.
- 4. Correcting underestimations of victim support can change the environment so that more individuals express support for victims and more victims are willing to report.

How do you proceed and what assumptions do you need to test?

Step 1: Test your hypothesis. Your first step would be to determine if your hypothesis is true that there are misperceptions among students towards victims. Are most students more respectful or blaming towards victims? What do most students think that "most students" believe – that victims are to blame, or that victims should be supported and treated with respect, or somewhere in between? With this question in mind you conduct some focus groups with students to get a sense of their attitudes and beliefs towards victims with the goal of collecting qualitative data that will be used to identify relevant survey questions.

Step 2: Design and administer your survey. Using this information, you design and administer a survey asking students about their own attitudes and their perceptions of peers with regards to victim-blaming and support.

Step 3: Analyze your data. Now you need to analyze your data. As you thought, you determine that most students do not blame victims but believe that their peers do. For example, you might ask a question such as: "I would respect a person who sought help after experiencing a sexual assault." You find that that 85% of your students answer that they would respect this person "very much" but that only 45% of your students say that "most students in my school would respect a person who sought help after experiencing a sexual assault." In other words, the actual norm is that most people (85%) express a supportive attitude towards victims, while the perceived norm is that most do not (45%). You have now supported your first assumption, that there is a misperceived norm regarding victim support – i.e. a gap between what is actual and what is perceived. The evaluations of your media campaign will establish if this perception of non-support has in fact inhibited victims from coming forward.

Step 4: Implement a media campaign. Now you have documented the "misperception" that you want to correct in your media campaign. Your assumption is that as you disseminate more accurate, positive norms about victims, more individuals will act in a supportive manner towards victims and more victims will come forward. It is also your responsibility to make sure if your campaign is successful and more victims do come forward, that they will receive competent and supportive care, so as a second component of your intervention you design a training program for first responders. Now your task is to develop your media campaign.

Step 5: Educate your stakeholders. Before or once you launch the campaign, you have to educate students and stakeholders about the misperception so that they can understand that what they thought about victims is not true.

Step 6: Evaluate. After your campaign, you do an evaluation survey to determine if the misperception has been reduced, and if more victims have, or are willing to, come forward about an assault.

These six stages of a social norms campaign are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3:

Steps in the Development of a Social Norms Campaign

- 1. Formulate a hypothesis regarding misperceptions and their impact.
- 2. Design and administer a survey that will measure if these misperceptions exist
- 3. Analyze your data to determine if your hypothesis is true i.e. do misperceptions exists of the attitude or behavior that you want to change?
- 4. Design a media campaign to correct the misperception that you have documented.
- 5. Education your audience regarding why the actual norms is different than what they think.
- 6. Evaluate the impact of your campaign.

If all of this seems to be a bit challenging, it is! To implement a social norms media campaign requires much time, energy, and expertise, but the benefits can be great. If you are not ready to do something of this scale, you have the option of using social norms techniques in small-group workshops, with individuals, or as a philosophy of prevention that you can disseminate to your staff and stake-holders. Methods for implementing and using this approach are covered. later in this toolkit.

Now you have replicated the basic, social norms model outlined in Table 3, i.e.: 1) develop a hypothesis regarding the impact of misperceptions on a behavior or attitude that you want to change, 2) design a survey, based on focus-group data, to measure if the misperceptions exist, 3) analyze your data to determine if the hypothesized misperceptions exist, 4) design a media campaign or other form of norms-dissemination, to correct them, 5) develop a plan to explain the campaign data to the community and address questions and disbelief about the positive norms you are disseminating, and 6) measure any changes that have come about as a result of your campaign.

With this basic framework in mind, we can look at the history of the social norms approach, the research that has supported it and its potential effectiveness as a sexual assault prevention strategy and also try to answer our question: what is a "science or evidence-based approach?" or "what is science-based prevention?"

A brief history of the Social Norms Approach

Following initial research by Berkowitz and Perkins in the late 1980's documenting that student drinking behavior was influenced by misperceptions of peer drinking, and that over-estimations of campus drinking were associated with increased personal drinking, the approach was implemented on a number of college campuses. The first social norms intervention, conducted in 1989 at Northern Illinois University (NIU), used standard social marketing techniques to present healthy norms for drinking through specially designed media (Haines & Barker, 2003). This approach was termed "social norms marketing" (SNM) to distinguish it from traditional social marketing. The NIU campaign produced significant increases in the proportion of students who abstain from alcohol, in the proportion of students who drink moderately, and decreases in the

Exercise: Have you ever been in a situation where you later realized that you had "misperceived the norm." Try and remember this situation and what contributed to your over or under-estimation. Now, develop a hypothesis regarding misperceptions that exist in your community or in a group regarding sexual assault. What is the attitude or behavior that you want to measure, and what do you predict you will find regarding the actual and perceived norms? What do you propose will happen if you correct the misperception?

proportion of students who drink heavily (Haines and Barker, 2003). This campaign was the prototype for other primary or universal social norms marketing campaigns focusing on an entire campus or community as the target of the intervention. As more college campuses implemented this approach, data was generated that it can be used successfully when implemented carefully. The difference between "social marketing" and "social norms marketing" is illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4 – Social Norms Terminology

Social Marketing:

• The use of standard marketing techniques (product, price, place, promotion) to influence an attitude or behavior.

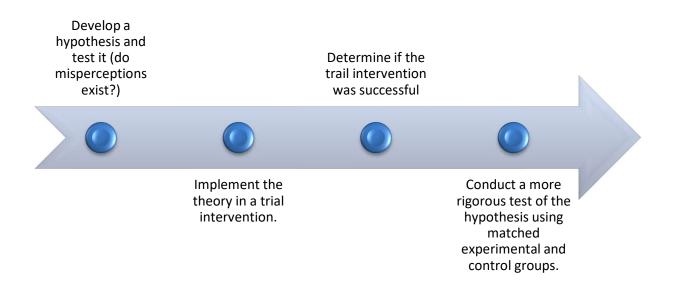
Social Norms Marketing:

 The use of standard marketing techniques to correct a misperception that is thought to influence an attitude or behavior

In this brief history, we see the elements of science. First, someone develops a hypothesis and tests it – in this case that misperceptions influence behavior. Second, an intervention is designed to implement the theory, and the results are analyzed to determine if what was expected occurs, i.e. if correcting misperceptions results in behavior change. But now we have to answer another question: how do we know that what we did (corrected misperceptions) caused the change that we found? The way to answer this question is to design a study that has both an experimental and a control group that are "matched" (i.e. they are similar). For example, you could choose

one high-school to be the control group, in which do not offer any programs, but measure our variables in a pre-and post survey, and a second similar high school to implement your media campaign, where you administer the same pre- and post measures. At the end of your project, you conduct a follow-up survey in both high-schools to see if there are any changes. If there are changes in the intervention school but not in the control school you may conclude that the changes you found were probably due to your social norms intervention.

Table 5: Components of Science Based Prevention



This more stringent research design has been used to evaluate and document the effectiveness of the social norms approach with respect to reducing alcohol use and abuse (DeJong et al, 2006, 2009), getting individuals to wear seat belts (Perkins & Linkenbach, 2004) and to reduce the incidence of sexual assaults (Gidycz, Orchowski & Berkowitz, 2011).

Subsequent universal prevention interventions at other educational institutions (including colleges, universities, high schools and middle schools) have reported similar positive results for social norms interventions relating to alcohol, and tobacco prevention and seat-belt use programs (Berkowitz, 2004A, 2005; also see chapters in Perkins, 2003). The website of the National Social Norms Resource Center (www.socialnorm.org) contains numerous examples of successful social norms campaigns and the media used to present actual norms, along with an archive of published articles relating to the social norms approach and back issues of *The Report on Social Norms*.

Most evaluations of media-campaigns were conducted by prevention practitioners and did not follow a rigorous experimental design. Thus they provided only preliminary support for the social norms approach. However, as noted above, more recent, rigorous evaluation of media campaigns combined with studies of individual and group intervention have confirmed the effectiveness of the social norms approach for substance abuse and related issues (cite DeJong et al, 2006, 2009;, Cronce & Larimer, 2012).

With respect to secondary or selective prevention, social norms interventions utilizing interactive

workshops in small groups were first developed by Far & Miller (2003). This approach, termed "The Small Group Norms Model" (SGNM) can be used to correct misperceptions of norms in small groups and among sub-populations within a community. This model has been adapted further in workshops described as "snowball surveys" as well as in programs using clickers (see end of Chapter 3 for references).

Thought bubble: Are you already conducting workshops that could be adapted to include normative feedback? What questions would you like to know about the group members, and what misperceptions could you survey? How would you re-design your workshop to include providing normative feedback about the misperceptions that you have documented in the group, and how would you discuss them? Would you use a paper-and —pencil survey, clickers, or some other means of measuring the misperception?

Thought bubble: Would a media campaign be effective in your community? What problem would you like to address and what misperceptions would you like to correct?

Who is the target audience for your campaign? What should your posters say and what should they look like? Who would be your partners and collaborators in developing such a media campaign?

A third type of normative intervention provides feedback to a single individual about discrepancies between perceived and actual norms. The use of personalized normative feedback as an indicated or tertiary intervention utilizes motivational interviewing and stages of change theory as a framework for providing normative feedback. Recent studies using a very strong experimental design with experimental and control groups suggest that providing individualized normative feedback can produce behavior changes lasting up to six months (Cronce & Larimer, 2012), and that may be useful in confronting domestic violence perpetrators about their abuse (Neighbors et. al., 2010).

Is there a context in which you could collect individualized normative feedback to share with individuals in a counseling context?

Research on Social Norms

The majority of current research on misperceptions and their effects has been conducted on alcohol and tobacco use and related issues. Extensive research indicates that middle-school, high-school, and college students overestimate the alcohol use of their peers, and that those who abuse alcohol misperceive more than others. This misperception results in most moderate or light-drinkers consuming more than they would otherwise, encourages non-users to initiate drinking sooner, and is strongly correlated with heavy drinking, allowing abusers to create a rationalization for their behavior. Similar patterns have been documented for tobacco use. As mentioned above, social marketing campaigns designed to correct these misperceptions have been successful in reducing alcohol use, smoking and other health behaviors in a variety of settings, with this literature summarized by Berkowitz (2003A, 2005) and Perkins (2002, 2003, 2012). Over time, the empirical research has provided stronger evidence for the use of the social norms approach as a substance abuse prevention strategy, leading to its designation by a number of Federal agencies as a "science-based prevention strategy."

Research suggests that the social norms approach can be applied to their issues as well. For example, other researchers have reviewed evidence for misperceptions relating to social justice and a variety of other issues, including white's attitudes towards desegregation; gang behavior; and student radicalism (Miller and McFarland, 1991; Toch & Klofas, 1984). Misperceptions have been found to inhibit individuals from engaging in healthy behavior and facilitate problem behavior on the part of the less healthy minority.

Another Scenario

Imagine that you are among a group of friends. For some reason you feel a little bit "left out" of the group and you don't enjoy the evening. It seems that you are the only one who feels this way and that most people are having a good time. However, over the next few days, you talk to your friends and find out that most of them felt the same way as you did. In other words, you thought that in feeling left out that you were in the minority but later found that you were part

Thought Bubble: Have you ever thought that you were in the minority and later found that you were in the majority? How did you feel thinking that others were not like you, and how did you feel when you learned that others shared your view? On the other hand, have you ever know someone who was vocal and self-righteous in believing that they spoke for the majority when their view was in fact not popular?

of the majority. In technical terms, you were experiencing *pluralistic ignorance* — feeling that you are in the minority when in fact you are part of the majority — in other words, you are *misperceiving the norm* or being *ignorant about the plurality*.

Among your friends, someone could be described as the life of the party. This person had a good time and thought that everyone else was having a good time. In other words, they thought that they were in the majority when in fact they were in the minority. This is what we call *false consensus* — i.e. falsely thinking that you are in the majority when you are in the minority.

Many of you may have had a similar experience. The story above was the personal experience of the author

when he was in college. It is common for someone to think that they are the only one who doesn't like an offensive joke, or who is uncomfortable when men describing their sexual experiences in detail. In each case, the incorrect believe that one is in the minority disempowered disempowers us from acting.

The other side of the coin is the person who thinks that they represent the majority when in fact they do not. In this group fall the abusers – those who abuse alcohol, women, drugs, gamble, etc. Because these individuals incorrectly think that they are in the majority they justify their behavior. For example, in a study of domestic violence perpetrators in court-mandated treatment (Neighbors et al, 2010) the perpetrators thought that abusive behaviors towards spouses (hitting, foul language, etc) were common, when in fact they are not. Here we see how the person engaging in the problem behavior uses the misperception to justify their behavior. These men have an emotional stake in believing that what they do is "normal." Thus, when we provide information through social norms efforts that such behavior is not normative, we hope to induce cognitive dissonance which in turn challenges their denial and can begin a process of change. For men like this using normative feedback in individual and group context has been found to be effective. Social norms media campaigns, i.e. community-based interventions, on the other hand, are more likely to impact the silent majority than the vocal minority.

The terms used in the scenarios above are defined in Table 6.

Table 6 – Social Norms terminology

Question: What would lead someone to think that more people are sexually active than is actually the case; that more people believe in rape myths than is actually the case, or that more people engage in nonconsenting sex than is actually the case?

What could you do to reduce these misperceptions?

Pluralistic Ignorance:

 When the majority thinks that it is a minority, i.e. the "plurality" is ignorant of itself

False consensus:

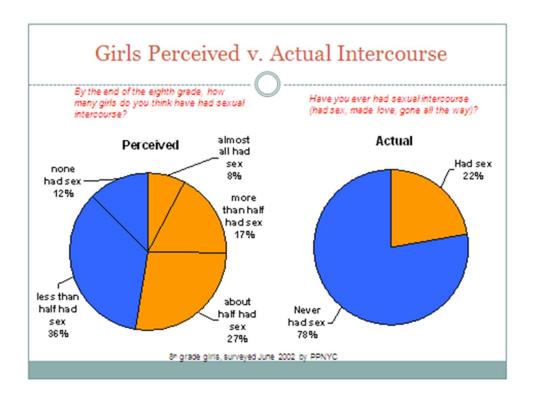
• When the minority incorrectly things that it is in the majority, i.e when a "consensus" is falsely perceived.

With all of the above in mind, let us turn to the literature on social norms and violence.

More Social Norms Theory

The interaction of false consensus and pluralistic ignorance is fundamental to the theory of social norms and its use as a prevention strategy. Thus it is important that we understand them if we plan to utilize the social norms approach. When the silent majority (those experiencing pluralistic ignorance) think they are a minority, they are less likely to act (for example to prevent a sexual assault) and more likely to engage in the problematic behavior that they assume is normative (laugh at an inappropriate comment, feel pressure to be sexually active, engage in risky sexual

behavior, etc.). For example, in one unpublished study middle school girls thought that most of their peers were active when in fact they were not. More importantly, the 8% of girls who had the greatest misperception -- incorrectly thinking that "almost all" of their peers were sexually active – were ten times more likely to have had sex themselves. On the other hand, when the majority knows that they are in fact the majority, they are more likely to intervene, behave in healthy ways, and not feel pressure to act otherwise.



Misperceptions, sexual activity, and sexual assault

In an early theoretical paper on the social norms approach (Berkowitz, 2003B), it has been suggested that this approach can be adapted as a sexual assault prevention strategy. This led to a number of studies examining the extent to which sexual behavior and attitudes about sexual violence are misperceived among high school and college men. A consistent outcome is that high school and college students over-estimate both their peer's frequency of sexual activity, numbers of sexual partners and adherence to rape myths. Further, college men underestimate the extent to which male friends and peers are uncomfortable with hostile or offensive remarks towards women. Both men and women have been found to overestimate the prevalence of risky sexual behavior among peers along with peer's comfort with a "hooking-up" culture. For a review of this literature see Berkowitz (2010).

Specifically, studies reported that college students over-estimate prevalence of the sexual activity among peers and the average number of sexual partners while underestimating the prevalence of safe-sex practices (Lynch et. al, 2004; Martens et. al. 2006; Scholly et al, 2005). Among high-school students, Hillebrand-Gunn et. al. (2011) found most boys over-estimated their peers' support of rape myths and rape-supportive behavior. Other researchers report similar findings for college men in relation to attitudes about sexual assault, willingness to engage in behaviors which will ensure consent, willingness to intervene to prevent a sexual

assault, and/or peers discomfort with inappropriate language and actions towards women (Bruner 2002; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2009; Fabiano et al, 2003; Loh et al, 2005; Kilmartin,

"Compared to themselves, participants believed that the average college man demonstrated more rape-myth acceptance, was less likely to intervene in situations where a woman was being mistreated, and was more comfortable in situations where women are being mistreated." (Loh et al, 2005, p.1334)

et al, 2008; Stein, 2007).

In these studies, we see that the assumptions of social norms as a violence prevention strategy are supported, i.e. misperceptions exist regarding attitudes and behaviors associated with sexual assault and violence. (See Table 7 for a list of misperceptions relevant to sexual assault). Now what is necessary is to show that changing these misperceptions would in turn produce attitude and behavior changes.

Thought Bubble: Why would violence perpetrators overestimate the occurrence of abusive behaviors? What purpose would it serve for them to believe this? What do you think would happen if these men knew the truth, i.e. that the behaviors that they engage in are much less common than they believe?

Table 7- Misperceptions Documented for Sexual Assault

Men and women overestimate other men and women's:

- Comfort with stereotypical masculinity
- Sexual activity
- Belief in rape myths
- Willingness to use force (men)
- Unwanted sexual activity

Men and women underestimate other men and women's:

- Discomfort with language/behavior that objectifies or degrades women
- Willingness to intervene

In the study cited above (Loh et al, 2005), initial perceived rape-myth acceptance of peers was a predictor of perpetration for members of fraternities at a three month follow-up, leading the authors to conclude that "the level of perceived acceptance of rape myths has some influence on perpetration within the context of history of perpetration and fraternity membership" (p. 1343).

This study and those reviewed below thus provide evidence correlation for the application of the social norms approach to violence issues because a causal relationship is established between the misperception and a desired outcome.

In another study of rape proclivity and misperception of peer support for rape myths, male college students were placed in two feedback conditions (Bohner, Siebler & Schmelcher, 2006). In the first condition feedback was provided suggesting that male peers had very high rape myth acceptance, while in the second condition feedback was provided suggesting that male peers had very low rape myth acceptance. Men in the high feedback conditions reported greater willingness to rape, suggesting that willingness to rape may be mediated by perceived rape myth acceptance of peers. This effect was stronger for men who initially demonstrated greater adherence to rape myths. These findings were replicated in a second study (Eyssel, Bohner, & Seibler, 2006), providing empirical support for the impact of misperceptions on perpetrators (i.e. the false consensus group.)

What these studies tell us is that men who strongly believe in rape myths are more likely to act

on them and perpetuate sexual assaults when they perceive their male peers to have similar attitudes, while on the other hand they are less likely to act on them when they correctly perceive that other men are not in agreement.

In the first study of social norms in relation to partner violence, Neighbors and his colleagues (2010) found that perpetrators of partner violence dramatically overestimated national norms for abusive behaviors such as punching, grabbing or shoving a partner; choking a partner; beating up a partner; throwing something at a partner; and/or making a partner have sex against their will. These overestimations ranged as high as 200-300% more than actual national norms.

Finally, two recent studies suggest that women's misperceptions regarding how much men think women should drink, and regarding men's and women's expectations for "hooking-up" place women at risk for dangerous drinking and sexual activity. LaBrie et al (2009) found heterosexual

women dramatically overestimated the amount of alcohol that men expected women to drink, while Lambert, Kahn and Apple (2003) found that both women and men overestimated each genders comfort with hooking up. In a related study, Lewis et al (2007) found male and female undergraduates over-estimated peers' participation in risky sexual activity; these misperceptions predicted participation in risky sexual activity oneself.

Collectively, these studies suggest that misperceptions of other men's attitudes and behaviors with respect to sexual assault may inhibit men who are bystanders from Thought Bubble: What would lead college women to overestimate the amount of alcohol that their male friends expect them to drink?

What would be the effect of this overestimation?

intervening, and may function to facilitate violent behavior in men; especially among men who are already pre-disposed to sexual assault and domestic violence. In addition, misperceptions regarding alcohol use by men and women, risky sexual activity, and hooking up may increase women's risk of sexual assault by fostering a perceived normative culture that encourages women to expose themselves to being taken advantage of, and for men to feel that it is normative to do so.

In the review of research above, we can see that the emerging evidence for the social norms approach as a violence prevention strategy. First, misperceptions were documented, then they were shown to be correlated with attitudes and behaviors associated with perpetration and victimization, and finally it was determined that the misperception predicted behavior.

Recently, the social norms and violence field has developed further to look at the role of bystanders in preventing sexual assault and to identify misperceptions that serve to inhibit bystanders from intervening.

Misperceptions and willingness to intervene

Violence prevention experts have argued for a comprehensive approach that includes training men to partner with women in ending violence against women through community activism,

Question: Have you ever been in a situation as a bystander when you wanted to intervene but didn't? Why. What kept you from acting on your impulse to "do the right thing?" How much of this was due to what you thought others would think or do if you acted? Were your assumptions correct? Would your behavior have been different if you had known that most people would respect you and support you if you intervened?

participation in educational workshops and activities, and by intervening with other men who express problematic language or behavior towards women (Berkowitz, 2002A, 2004B, 2007; Katz, 1995). Banyard and her colleagues (2004) have suggested the bystander approach could be expanded to focus on the whole community. Recently, these bystander models have been examined to determine to what extent misperceptions might inhibit individuals from intervening, exploring the potential for correcting misperceptions as a component of a comprehensive violence prevention strategy.

Berkowitz (2006) reported on a pilot study that assessed college students' desire to have someone intervene to prevent negative effects of others' drinking. In this study, students were found to underestimate both the extent to which peers were

bothered by second-hand effects of drinking and peer interest in having someone intervene to prevent it. Student leaders also underestimated their peers' desire to have them intervene. These misperceptions may function to inhibit individuals from expressing concern about behaviors that are bothersome and inappropriate.

In a study that examined the role of college men as allies in ending sexual assault, men reported misperceiving other men's adherence to rape-supportive attitudes and underestimated other men's willingness to intervene to prevent sexual assault (Fabiano et. al, 2003). Men's perception of other men's willingness to intervene to prevent a sexual assault was the strongest predictor of men's own willingness to intervene to prevent a sexual assault, accounting for 42% of the variance in men's willingness to intervene. Stein and Barnett (2004) also found that college men misperceived their close friends' willingness to prevent rape, with men's perception of their close friends' willingness to intervene to prevent rape accounting for 34% of the variance in men's self-reported willingness to intervene to prevent rape. In a similar study, Brown and Messman-Moore (2009) reported that men underestimated other men's willingness to intervene to prevent sexual assault. In other words, men who incorrectly think that other men are not likely to intervene are less likely to intervene then men who correctly assess other men's discomfort with a risky situation.

These studies confirm the important influence men exert on each other and how this influence operates even when it is based on incorrect perceptions. Thus, correcting misperceptions men have of each other's willingness to intervene is one strategy to reduce barriers that keep men from intervening to prevent sexual assault.

Summary of the Social Norms Research

A substantial body of research suggests that misperceptions are widespread; they are associated with increased alcohol use and other health problems; and problem behavior is often best predicted by misperceptions of peers attitudes/or and behaviors. This includes correlational studies, longitudinal studies, and outcome studies with experimental and control groups. This research has recently been extended to issues of sexual behavior, sexual violence, and intimate partner violence, suggesting that misperceptions may inhibit individuals from intervening and that social norms interventions to reduce misperceptions associated with willingness to intervene might be effective in increasing bystander willingness to prevent sexual assault. Collectively this research supports the conclusion that the social norms approach is a promising and potentially effective violence prevention strategy.

On the strength of this research a number of studies have been conducted to determine the effectiveness of the social norms approach as a violence prevention strategy. These studies can help us to understand how we might utilize the social norms approach as a violence prevention strategy and provide us with ideas on how this might be done.

Social Norms Interventions to Prevent Sexual Assault

There have been a number of recent pilot studies using social norms interventions to correct misperceptions of attitudes about sexual assault and men's willingness to intervene to prevent sexual assault. These studies include small group norms interventions and marketing campaigns among high school and college students

Small group norms interventions to prevent sexual assault

In a three-part workshop for high school boys and girls, Hillebrand-Gun and her colleagues (2010) incorporated a normative feedback component for boys along with other educational topics related to sexual assault. The feedback to boys provided norms for other boys' adherence to rape-myths and willingness to engage in rape prevention. Follow-up surveys documented reduced misperceptions of peers' attitudes conducive to rape coupled with a reduction in personal attitudes conducive to rape. These changes were maintained at a one-month follow-up but did not occur in a matched control group.

Another small group norms intervention developed by the White Ribbon Campaign (2005) incorporates normative feedback into small group workshops that address gender stereotypes and promote gender equity for middle and high-school students. The workshops, which have not yet been evaluated, can be offered to all-male, all-female, and mixed gender groups in middle and high school classrooms. Participants fill out a survey assessing their adherence to gender-stereotypical attitudes and behaviors along with their perception of the gender attitudes and behaviors of other students in the class. Following the survey, feedback is provided to the

students indicating that a majority of them misperceive their class-mates adherence to gender stereotypical norms. The ensuing discussion is designed to foster more public expression of these norms along with actions in support of gender equity. Preliminary evidence suggests that boys dramatically underestimate other boys' attitudes and support for gender equity.

Kilmartin et al (2008) conducted a small group social norms intervention to correct college men's attitudes about rape and sexist attitudes. Following the intervention, misperceptions of men's support for rape myths were reduced among men in the experimental group along with small reductions in men's reported sexism and in men's comfort with other men's sexism. These changes occurred without similar changes in a control group.

The strongest evidence for the effectiveness of the social norms approach as a violence prevention strategy comes from a CDC funded evaluation study of a workshop I developed that used social norms strategies (corrections Thought Bubble: Have you experienced "rebound" in your professional work? Was there a workshop or program that you felt was effective that washed out over time? What could be done to boost or extend the positive impact achieved from such a program?

of misperceptions in the workshop group) along with bystander intervention skills, with a matched control group receiving no intervention (Gidycz, Orchowski & Berkowitz, 2011). At three month follow-up, actual sexual assaults were reduced by 75% in the experimental group as compared with the control group, and there were many other beneficial outcomes, including

- greater discomfort among the majority with sexually abusive behavior
- less likelihood of associating with sexually aggressive men;
- reduced use of pornography;
- greater interest in intervening

This study provides the strongest empirical evidence to date in support of the social norms approach as a violence prevention strategy. However, after six months, sexual assaults rebounded in the experimental group, erasing the gains measured at three months – although other beneficial outcomes remained. This suggests there are limitations to what can be accomplished with a single workshop and a more comprehensive approach with multiple ongoing elements might be necessary to sustain the initial reduction in sexual assaults that was accomplished.

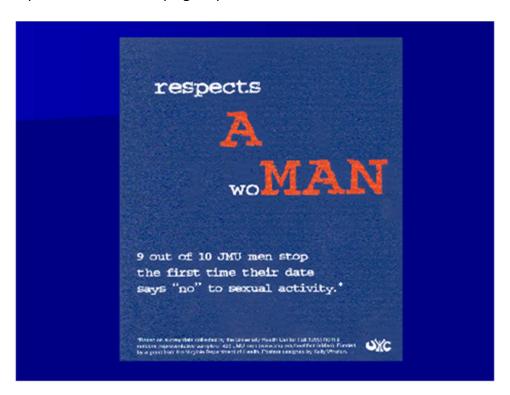
Small group norms interventions such as those described above are easily implemented and a social norms component can be incorporated into already existing workshops. The practical "how-to" of implementing a small group norms intervention is described in Chapter 3.

Social norms marketing campaigns to prevent sexual assault.

Three separate social norms marketing interventions to prevent sexual assault among college students and a fourth with a high school sample have reported promising results. Kilmartin et al. (1999) designed a poster and media campaign that documented men's discomfort with inappropriate language about women. A post-campaign assessment found a reduction in participants' misperception of other men's level of comfort with such language. Bruce (2002) implemented a similar campaign at James Madison University to change men's intimate behavior towards women. Data was collected revealing positive attitudinal and behavioral norms among men regarding sexual intimacy, and a poster campaign was created to advertise these norms. Three messages were developed:

- A Man Always Prevents Manipulation: Three out of of four JMU men think it's NOT okay to pressure a date to drink alcohol in order to increase the chances of getting their date to have sex.
- A Man Talks Before Romance: Most JMU men believe that talking about sex doesn't ruin the romance of the moment.
- A Man Respects a Woman: Nine out of ten JMU men stop the first time their date says "no" to sexual activity.

A poster from this campaign is presented below.



The campaign significant percentage of they "stop the says no to and a decrease in men who said to touch I try and see

Question: What do you think of the social norms media campaigns described above and the posters? Do any of them appeal to you or give you ideas about how you might conduct a media campaign in your community?

was followed by a increase in the men who indicated first time a date sexual activity" significant the percentage of that "when I want someone sexually, how they react."

Another college social norms campaign that was designed for male and female deaf and hard-of-hearing students corrected misperceptions of consent behaviors, with a subsequent reduction in sexual assaults (McQuiller-Williams & White, 2003; White, Williams, & Cho, 2003). This intervention followed a previous unsuccessful campus-wide social norms marketing campaign to prevent sexual assault was marketed to all students (including deaf and hard-of-hearing). The re-designed campaign specifically addressed the needs, culture, and communication styles of deaf and hard-of-hearing students. Findings indicated positive changes were greater for students who reported having seen the social norms media (McQuiller-Williams & White, 2003).

Moran and Berkowitz (2007) developed a high school social norms campaign focusing on healthy dating relationships. At two-year follow-up, boys reported more accurate perceptions of other boy's discomfort with "trash-talking girls" and these more accurate perceptions were correlated with an increase in the number of boys who did something when they heard trash-talk. Another positive outcome of the campaign was that more students stated that they knew others who were in an abusive relationship, suggesting that the focus on healthy dating relationships helped students to notice abusive relationships in contrast. Figure 3 contains an example of a poster from this campaign.

Finally, one multi-campus social norms marketing campaign was conducted to address risky sexual activity but was not successful (Scholly, et. al., 2005). The campuses participating in this campaign used a common protocol to collect data and disseminate accurate norms through social norms marketing media. Its failure may have been due to the short length of the campaign and the insufficient tailoring of the media to the culture of the individual campuses.

Summary of Research and Interventions Using the SNA as a Violence Prevention Strategy

In summary, there is considerable research to support the theory of social norms with respect to violence prevention. In addition, individual, small group, and media interventions that provide normative feedback about relevant attitudes; behaviors associated with violence; willingness to intervene to prevent violence show promise for changing attitudes and behaviors associated with sexual assault. With this in mind, we can now consider in the following two chapters how to develop and implement a sexual assault prevention social norms media campaign and/or small group workshop.

Learning Points:

- 1. Misperceptions have been documented with respect to alcohol and other substance abuse behaviors, as well as for attitudes and behaviors related to sexual assault.
- 2. These misperceptions have been found to influence individual behavior, resulting in increased alcohol use, reduced seat belt use, and provide a justification for the behavior of alcohol-abusing individuals, strengthening denial regarding the extent to which they have a problem.
- 3. Similar research has documented misperceptions for attitudes and behaviors related to sexual assault, including the fact that over-estimations of abusive behavior serve to enable and justify perpetrators.
- 4. The preliminary results of group and media interventions using social norms theory to prevent sexual assault are promising, although the evaluation research is not as strong for violence prevention as it is for substance abuse prevention.

Thought questions:

- 1. Can you give an example of a misperception and describe both the actual and perceived norms for your example?
- 2. Explain in your own words the phenomenon of "pluralistic ignorance" and "false consensus"
- 3. Can you give any examples from your own experience of individuals experiencing pluralistic ignorance and false consensus?
- 4. What are your initial thoughts regarding how you might design and implement a social norms campaign in light of the theory and research described above?

Chapter Three Social Norms Interventions in Small Groups

One of the more popular applications of the social norms approach is what is called "Small Group Norms Interventions." This involves designing a workshop in which misperceptions are surveyed and then sharing the results with participants. In addition to being popular, it is much easier to implement than a social norms media campaign and it is a good way to get familiar with the theory and with common reactions to normative feedback. Of course a workshop does not have the advantage of reaching large numbers of people as with a media campaign, but it is a good place to begin and many of you will already have workshops that you or your agency offer which can be revised to include a small group norms component. In an ideal situation, we could consider conducting a social norms media campaign combined with small-group workshops together, which would create an opportunity for the two to be mutually reinforcing, but this would not be realistic for most of you.

Hopefully by now what you have already read in the toolkit has given you a basic understanding of the theory underlying the social norms approach and the research associated with it, at least enough for you to feel comfortable trying out an actual intervention.

Let's begin by returning to the hypothetical case study of Chapter 2, in which we decided to conduct a social norms media campaign to correct misperceptions that inhibit victims from reporting, with the goal of creating an environment that is supportive and empowering of victims. Now, instead of conducting a media campaign we are going to design a workshop that will be given to small groups of students in pre-existing classes in the school, such as home rooms or health classes. For this purpose we will modify the outline of the intervention

Is there a workshop that you or your agency currently offer that can be modified to include a very short survey of misperceptions with the opportunity to share and discuss the results with the workshop participants? Or is there a workshop that you would like to develop that could include a normative feedback component?

that was designed for the media campaign, as in the following table:

6. Discuss the results of your 1. Formulate a hypothesis data in the workshop and 7. Evaluate the workshop. regarding misperceptions and discuss with participants why their impact. the actual norm is different than what they thought. 5. Create a small group norms 2. Design and administer a exercise to conduct with survey that will measure if participants as part of the these misperceptions exist workshop. 3. Analyze your data to determine if your hypothesis 4. Design a workshop to correct the misperception misperceptions exist of the that you have documented. attitude or behavior that you want to change?

Table 1: Steps in the Development of a Small Group Norms Intervention

To begin we have to decide what questions we want to ask in our very short (approximately one-page survey). The questions should be relevant to the purpose of the workshop and there should be a question about an attitude or behavior that is matched with a perception question. It is usually a good idea to begin by asking a "warm-up" question that is simple and not related to the topic of the workshop.

For example, if we are conducting a workshop on gender norms and sexual harassment, we might ask the following questions listed in Table 2.

Table 2 – Sample Questions for a Small Group Norms Classroom Survey

How serious do you think MOST STUDENTS IN THIS CLASS are about their studies and homework?

(not at all serious, a little serious, moderately serious, very serious)

How serious are YOU about your their studies and homework?

(not at all serious, a little serious, moderately serious, very serious)

A bunch of kids are standing in a group near their lockers between classes. A boy starts yelling at his girlfriend because she is wearing a tight shirt. What do you think MOST STUDENTS IN THIS CLASS would say about their relationship if they saw this happen? (it' great, it's ok, it's a little unhealthy, it's problematic)

A bunch of kids are standing in a group near their lockers between classes. A boy starts yelling at his girlfriend because she is wearing a tight shirt. What would YOU personally think about their relationship if they saw this happen? (it' great, it's ok, it's a little unhealthy, it's problematic)

For the actual workshop we have to make a number of decisions.

Question:

How will we collect the data?

Choices:

- Have students take a paper and pencil survey before or at the beginning of the workshop
- Use clickers

Question:

How will we analyze the data?

Choices:

- Give the survey in advance of the class and analyze the data beforehand
- Re-distribute the surveys so that everyone has someone else's survey (without knowing whose it is) and ask student to raise their hands according to the answers on the survey.
- Use clickers and have the results appear on the screen in the moment

Whatever we decide, our goal is to share the results of the data in a way that is anonymous, reveal the misperception to the students, and ask them if they can explain why most students were wrong about the norm for the class. Knowing the positive truth can be empowering, because it brings the silent healthy majority out into the open, garnering allies for our prevention efforts, while at the same time creating an environment that inhibits abuse.

We can begin by asking the class to guess what were the results, i.e. "What percent of you do you think said that they were "very serious about their studies and homework?" It is good to get a number of different guesses from the group. Then, depending on which method of data analysis we are using, we can share the results. For example, we can say to the class: "80% of you said that you were very serious about your studies and homework" but when we asked you about the other students, 75% said that most students were either not serious or only a little serious about their homework and studies." What do you think of these results? Can you explain how it is that most students are serious about school, but most of you thought that almost everyone else was not serious?

The White Ribbon Campaign, a Canadian men's anti-violence organization, has developed with my assistance a small group norms intervention that can be used in middle schools and high schools. The workshop is titled: What Do We Really Think? A Group Social Norms Exercise and it is contained in the White Ribbon Campaign's Education and Action Kit (White Ribbon Campaign, 2003). The workshop includes sample surveys on attitudes about gender, bullying and harassment, and healthy relationships, and contains an introduction, a protocol for conducting the workshop, and guidelines.

Common Discussion Questions and Talking Points

Ponder: Think of an attitude or behavior that is not normative but that is very visible and that is frequently discussed. How does the visibility of the minority behavior lead us to see it as "normal." (For example, false reports of sexual assault are very rare, but they are given extensive publicity that lead many to believe that they are common).

Do students answer surveys honestly?

Students often question the integrity of the data and suggest that others lie on surveys. This is expected after all, as we are sharing information that contradicts what most people believe. To answer this challenge, it is helpful to consider why someone might lie on a survey. It would be reasonable to lie about illegal behavior if one's identity could be determined. Another motivation would be if the individual's running the survey were not respected or trusted. A third reason might be if it was believed that the survey results were going to be used as part of an effort

that would be anti-student. The survey procedures are carefully designed to address all of these concerns. First, all surveys are anonymous and confidential. Questions asked cannot be used to identify the person taking the survey and no identifying information is collected. Extensive research on the reliability of surveys suggests that if a survey is perceived as anonymous and confidential participants answer honestly – even when they may think that others are not honest.

Was the group representative?

In most groups misperceptions will occur as expected. However each class or group has its own personality and some groups may be unusual in ways that skew the results. If your survey does not produce the expected misperceptions you can still discuss with the students what usually occurs in similar surveys.

Will people act differently when they know what others really think?

People often refrain from expressing concern when they believe their concerns are not shared by others. One of the benefits of revealing misperceptions is that the discussion can shift to how people might act differently when they see someone behaving in gender non-conforming ways, or when they feel concerned about others' actions.

Extreme examples.

Students will often refer to extreme examples as a way of confirming a misperceived norm. For example, they may talk about people who don't care about school, or who aren't bothered by inappropriate remarks. What is important to emphasize that these more visible behaviors are not necessarily the norm, i.e. although some people do these things it does not prove that most do. In fact, extreme visible behavior contributes to the false norm because everyone sees it and talks about it, while normal healthy behavior is often hidden and is not discussed.

Variations on the Small Group Norms Approach

When clickers are used (hand-held devices that allow participants to click an answer) the results appear immediately on a screen. This approach is commonly called a "BLING" session i.e. a Brief Live Interactive Normative Group. Another version of the small group norms approach that is popular with middle school students is the "Snowball Survey" in which participants crumple up their surveys (i.e. make a "snowball") and throw the around the room. After each survey has been thrown three times, each person picks up a "snowball" and "defrosts" it (i.e. uncrumples it), and then the facilitator poses the survey questions and each person raises their hand according to what their "snowball" says.

Table 3 contains a protocol for how to conduct a workshop, and Table 4 contains the advice of experienced small group norm practitioners on mistakes to avoid and best practices. At the end of this chapter, a list of resources is provided.

A Successful Example

A recent evaluation of a small-group norms sexual assault prevention intervention for men reported very promising results, with a reduction of 75% in actual sexual assaults over a sixmonth period in comparison with men in a matched-control group, where rapes remained stable (Gidycz, Orchowski & Berkowitz, 2011). Many other positive changes were reported included men's reduced use of pornography, less frequent association with coercive men, reduced misperceptions of other men's willingness to intervene, etc. At the same time, this study demonstrates some of the challenges of creating a successful intervention that persists: sexual assaults among men in the study "re-bounded" after six months so that there were no differences between the experimental and control groups. Yet other positive changes reported persisted after 6 months. This suggests that a well-designed and implemented workshop by itself can have long-term positive effects, but that to actually inhibit sexual assault perpetrators from perpetrating over time, a stronger intervention or a combination of related interventions may be necessary.

In this workshop, first-year men living together in a college residence hall learned guidelines for consent and participated in a small group norms feedback exercise in which they learned the true, healthy norms for their group and for the campus with respect to men's participation in preventing sexual assault, willingness to intervene, make sure that they have consent, etc. At the end of the workshop they participated in a bystander intervention exercise. One important feature of the workshop (Orchowski et al, 2011) was the extensive training given to the peer facilitators to prepare them to deliver the workshop and to address concerns and reactions of the participants.

Summary

Normative feedback can easily be incorporated into a workshop, either as the focus of the workshop or as a part of a workshop addressing other issues. Knowing the true norm, or the truth about the majority, is empowering and supports our efforts to end sexual assault. Men and women need to know that their peers are not as sexually active as they think, that most care about having consent, are uncomfortable with sexist and inappropriate remark, and would intervene to prevent a sexual assault, respecting and supporting someone who did so. A well-conducted workshop with normative feedback about the group reveals some or all of these positive attitudes and behaviors, empowering participants to act against gender violence.

A small group norms workshop is also easy to conduct and can provide training and experience with the model before the step of conducting a larger, more complicated social norms media campaign is taken. Sharing and learning about the positive – in ourselves and others – can be empowering, joyful and fun. I hope that you will enjoy and learn from your initial attempts to use the social norms model in small groups and this will enhance your personal and professional development.

Now we are ready to discuss how to design and implement a social norms media campaign, which is the subject of Chapter 4.

Table 3
Sample Protocol for Administering a Small Group Norms Intervention

- 1. Choose your topic and design your questions.
- 2. Explain the survey, i.e. tell the class that they will take a confidential survey to find out how they feel about the issue selected. Emphasize that the survey is anonymous, and that no one will be able to tell what they wrote on their survey. If the survey is a paper and pencil survey, hand out pens or pencils that are all the same. (Note: surveys can also be administered before the workshop)
- 3. Have everyone take the survey. (Note: if you are using clickers steps 3 & 4 below do not apply)
- 4. Hand in the surveys. When everyone is done, ask them to hand in their surveys. You can collate the data yourself and present it to the workshop, shuffle the surveys and hand them out again (so that participants have a different survey), or crumple up their survey into a "snowball" and have a "snowball fight" (everyone stands up and throws their snowball. Each snowball should be thrown at least three times. Then everyone gently "defrosts" the "snowball" to prevent ripping them.) Remind everyone to not say anything if they get their own survey.

If for any reason someone calls out that they got their own survey you should have another "snowball fight" or re-distribute them. Explain that this is to ensure that all answers are anonymous.

- 5. Present the survey results. First, ask participants to guess the answers for some of the survey questions. Now share the data by either presenting it yourself, or by asking students to stand to display the perceptions and behaviors expressed by the person who took the survey they are holding. For example, the first question says, "How serious do you think most students in this class are about their studies and schoolwork?" Ask students to stand or raise their hands if the person marked "very serious" for how most other students feel.
- 6. Present the true norm. Now look at the reality by asking students to stand or raise their hands if the person answered "very serious" for Question 2, "How serious are YOU about your studies and schoolwork." In most cases only a few students stand the first time but about half will stand the second time. This provides a visual demonstration of the misperception or gap between perception and reality. If very few students stand you can redo the exercise by asking students to stand for "moderately serious" and "very serious" together for Questions 1 & 2.
- 7. Discuss why misperceptions occur. A large discrepancy between the number standing for the first and second questions demonstrates that the attitude or behavior is being misperceived. Ask the students why they think studying behavior is misperceived. Possible explanations include that it is often an invisible behavior done at home, that goof-off behavior is more visible and attracts more attention, and that it is more is more interesting to talk about goof-off behavior in conversations. Mention that misperceptions can either overestimate or underestimate reality. In general, people tend to underestimate less visible healthy behavior and overestimate more visible unhealthy behavior.
- 8. Present the remaining survey results. Repeat steps 5, 6 and 7 for the remaining questions.
- 9. Discuss the implications of the exercise, i.e. that most people want to "do the right thing" and will support others who do so, and that it is ok to be oneself.

Table 4:

Tips from Small Group Norms Practitioners on Conducting Small Group Norms Workshops

- 1. Collect data in advance. This is not necessary but it can allow you to review the data and pick the best norms to clarify with the group.
- 2. Always practice ahead of time.
- 3. Consider questions that are both descriptive (about behavior) and injunctive (about attitudes). While actual behavior (descriptive) is better injunctive can get at attitudes and beliefs and could be a good place to start with some groups.
- 4. Always ask "so what?" when putting together your intervention. Sharing data is important but helping the students draw connections and discuss the data will make for a stronger connection to what it all means.
- 5. Define what is a social norm? Teaching people what a social norm is and letting them think of a few examples provides context for the group.
- 6. Use motivational enhancement. Look for those in the audience who are neutral and can see both sides.
- 7. Roll with resistance. There will be people in the group who just don't believe the data. Don't spend too much time on them and use other group members to share opposing opinions. Never argue and always praise questions.
- Reveal the answer to your warm-up question at the beginning. This allows your audience to see the accuracy of the system. Gain consensus that everyone wants to know the "truth"!
- 9. Try to work with groups of at least 20
- 10. Consider offering a brief discussion of the bell curve and sampling
- 11. Point out any suspected small-group variation from norm ahead of time
- 12. Only ask behavior questions that you feel fairly certain capture 65%-70% of population

Thanks to Linda Hancock of Virginia Commonweath University
and Amy Kiger and Jenny Rabas of Central Missouri University for these tips.

Learning Points

- 1. Small group norms interventions, i.e. providing normative feedback to small groups or classrooms, can be designed or incorporated into existing workshops.
- 2. Discussion of misperceptions existing within a group can be empowering to the "silent majority" who want to be "part of the solution" to ending sexual assault.
- 3. There are a variety of techniques for administering a small group norms intervention, in terms of how the data is collected and how the feedback is provided.
- 4. Facilitators can use the data collected documenting misperceptions to stimulate an engaging and valuable discussion about the health and positive motivation of a majority of students.

Thought Questions

- 1. Can you think of a workshop or training that you have conducted or participated in that would have been improved if normative feedback had been available?
- 2. Is there a situation in your person life, as a member of a group, where something changed as a result of knowing the true norm?
- 3. What concerns or questions do you have about using this approach? Is there something additional that you need to learn or know in order to feel comfortable implementing it?

Resources for Implementing Small Group Social Norms Interventions

What Do We Really Think? In: *The Education and Action Kit* (Middle school and Secondary school versions). The White Ribbon Campaign. www.whiteribboncampaign.org. (Click on "Order Materials)

Social Norms Interventions in Small Groups. Fall 2001, p.1. *The Report on Social Norms*. Available for download at www.socialnorm.org (In Resources section)

The Small Group Norms Challenging Model. Fall 2001, p.4. *The Report on Social Norms*. Available for download from www.socialnorm.org. (In Resources section)

An Interview with Jeanne Far about the Small Group Norms Challenging Model. November 2003, p. 1. *The Report on Social Norms*. Available for download at www.socialnorm.org. (In Resources section)

Chapter Four Social Norms Marketing Campaigns

Social norms marketing campaigns are the most well-known and most common application of social norms theory and are more commonly used than individual and group focused interventions. As we saw in our review of the research in Chapter 2, when well-prepared, implemented and evaluated these campaigns have shown dramatically positive results for substance abuse prevention and are considered to be a promising practice for violence prevention (Lonsway et al 2009). Hopefully by now we are familiar enough with the research, theory and application of the social norms approach to discuss how to conduct a media campaign – perhaps the most challenging and complicated of the different social norms interventions.

Public health media campaigns are a popular tool of prevention professionals. They allow us to reach a large audience with a message that we want to deliver. In addition, research has shown that they can be effective building support for our work and in changing some attitudes. We can therefore begin our discussion of social norms marketing campaigns with a brief review of how public health anti-violence media has evolved, which in turn reflects the development and evolution of the field itself.

Public Health Anti-Violence Media and its Evolution

In order to change someone's behavior we need to get them to pay attention to the problem. Similarly, if we are designing public health media, we want them to look at and remember it, and hopefully be changed by it. One of the easiest ways to accomplish the need to get attention is to use shocking or extreme visuals and/or statements. This seems intuitive and obvious and for this reason for many years public health media campaigns used fear-based messages to invoke guilt, shame, or fear of punishment to garner attention to the issue of violence against women and to get men to change their behavior. This approach is called "Health Terrorism" by professionals and has been shown by extensive research not only to be ineffective but to even cause a negative backlash. Consider, for example, the following conclusion of a Federal panel of experts:

"Programs that use 'scare tactics' to prevent children and adolescents from engaging in violent behavior are not only ineffective, but may actually make the problem worse, according to an independent state-of-the-science panel convened this week by the National Institutes of Health."

NIH Press Release – October 15, 2004

Despite the research and warnings against the use of Health Terrorism, such posters persist because they satisfy our need to feel that we are getting people's attention and making a difference.

Research suggests, however, a positive message is likely to have a more long-lasting effect and to foster positive change, and most important of all, to avoid doing harm. This is consistent with our use of the prevention PIE (positive, inclusive and empowering) and has been called "The Science of the Positive." Based on this, recent anti-violence media has tended to use positive messages that focus on a desirable attitude, behavior or action. A Science of the Positive marketing campaign is a campaign that uses the principles and science of social marketing to market a positive message.

More recently, the introduction of the social norms approach into the violence prevention field has led to the development of "social norms media campaigns" – public health campaigns with a positive focus that market a positive norm to a target audience. Technically, a social norms marketing media campaign is a sub-set of the Science of the Positive because it markets something positive – in this case a positive norm.

The following three messages provide us with examples of health terrorism, positive science marketing, and social norms marketing, respectively, and offer a perspective on how the violence prevention field has evolved:

➤ Health Terrorism: "If you rape someone you could go to jail and be placed on a sex-offender registration list for the rest of your life.





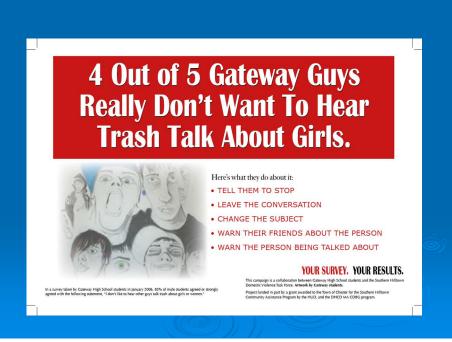
Science of the Positive: "Being a friend means stopping him before he does something stupid"





➤ Social Norms Marketing: "93% of Random University men would respect someone who intervened to prevent a sexual assault."





To create good public health media requires that we consider the visual image, the message itself, and the characteristics of the target audience. This is consistent with our premise that good prevention is a science. The conclusion is: no fear approaches, scare-tactics, or inducing-guilt, blame or shame. Both Science of the Positive marketing and Social Norms Marketing avoid these pitfalls, are research based and have been shown to be effective. The choice between them is therefore up to you, depending on your resources, goals, and understanding of the problem.

Choosing between the Science of the Positive and Social Norms Marketing

If you have limited resources and do not have the budget, skills and time to survey your target population, develop carefully-designed media, and address audience reactions to the media, you may want to conduct a Science of the Positive Media campaign. This is less labor intensive, less costly and requires less training. Many national organizations have developed media campaigns with posters that can be obtained for free or at a low cost, such as those offered by Men Can Stop Rape, the White Ribbon Campaign, and RAINN. A number of state coalitions, including NJCASA, have also developed posters that are available for free to their communities and agencies. Thus, for many prevention professionals a Science of the Positive public health media campaign that is positive, inclusive and empowering will be the best choice.

As we will see, to conduct a Social Norms Marketing Campaign is much more difficult. It requires that we survey the target audience and document misperceptions, carefully develop our media with audience input, and most importantly, deal with the "push-back" and resistance inherent in the act of asking someone to re-evaluate what they believe or perceive to be true. It is apparent if we look at the news, television, and other media formats that we live in a culture that tends to

Question: Can you think
of a time in your life
when you were faced
with a need to change
and you resisted it, but
later realized that the
change in question was
positive?

focus on negative and extreme behavior and that many individuals – including our colleagues and ourselves – have been taught to believe that the extreme is the norm, and resist information that tells us otherwise. Who among us can say that we really embrace and welcome change? In a social norms campaign we do not explicitly tell the audience that we are asking them to change, but instead promote a positive message – but this message is implicitly a request for change because it introduces cognitive dissonance, contradicting personal beliefs and perceptions that are widely and deeply held.

The process of conducting a social norms media campaign is therefore a process of convincing the intended

audience to correct something that that they believe or think is not true — or stated more positively, that there is good news to report. Messages of this nature may meet with resistance. Therefore it is not enough to put up posters. We must engage our audience in conversations about the message and train our leaders in the model so that they can assist us in this process. Social norms media campaigns therefore require a foundation of training and understanding that must be in place before we put up posters. The same educational process occurs in a social norms workshop, where the audience (when given permission) will express the same skepticism about the data, but these concerns are more easily addressed in an interactive, small group context.

The positive side of the coin is that a social norms marketing campaign can be extremely effective because it is carefully tailored to the audience and because it corrects beliefs that are directly tied to the problem of sexual assault and that contribute to the culture of tolerance that allows it to occur. It is for this reason that social norms media campaigns have shown such dramatic positive effects for issues of substance abuse and that we are now considering it as a promising best practice for sexual assault prevention.

Table 1 reviews the pro's and con's of science of the positive and social norms media campaigns. It is good for us to remember that these two approaches are not really opposed to each other, but instead represent two different ways, or degrees, of implementing a positive, affirming process of change that is more effective than one of using scare tactics.

| Table 1 | |
|--|---|
| Pro's and Con's of Science of the Po | sitive and Social Norms Media Campaigns |
| Social Norms Marketing | Science of the Positive |
| Requires data Message must be "salient" | Easier to use Fewer challenges |
| Specialized training | Can be purchased ready-made |
| but may be more powerful | |
| | |

With all of this in mind, we can now review the elements of a social norms marketing campaign and evaluate our ability to implement one.

Question: Have I helped develop a media campaign in the past or used ready-made posters for one? What were the assumptions of the campaign – i.e. what did I assume about the message that would serve for it to be an agent of change? Was it an example of health terrorism, the science of the positive or social norms marketing? What have I learned from past experience with media campaigns that can be applied to my work at present?

Stages in the Development of a Social Norms Media Campaign

Berkowitz (2003c), Haines (1996), Johannesesen (1999), and Linkenbach (2003) have provided a detailed overview of the phases of implementing a social norms media campaign, which can be condensed into seven:

- choose your topic or issue
- preparation of stake-holders

- assessment (collection of data)
- selection and testing of the normative message and campaign theme
- selecting the normative delivery strategy
- implementing the campaign
- evaluation of the campaign

The website of the National Social Norms Institute has an excellent comprehensive guide to developing and implementing a social norms media campaign written by a team of national experts titled: "A Guide to Marketing Social Norms for Health Promotion in Schools and Communities." This "all you need to know" guide can be downloaded at no cost at the website of the Institute (www.socialnorm.org). Thus, rather than reproduce the information in this guide, this chapter will focus on the process of developing a social norms media campaign and its application to the issue of violence prevention.

With this in mind let us review the steps involved:

Choose your topic or issue. What do you want to accomplish with your campaign? Do you have reasons to believe (as reviewed in Chapter 2) that there are misperceptions associated with your topic and that correcting these misperceptions will have a beneficial impact? A social norms media campaign can be applied to a variety of violence prevention topics, such as creating an environment of support and less blame for victims, fostering consent behaviors, encouraging bystanders to intervene, empowering the characteristics of healthy relationships, etc.

Preparation of the stake-holders. The social norms approach involves a change in mind-set. Therefore we ourselves must be prepared. This requires training and education in the approach along with reflection and self-analysis in which we examine how we have conducted prevention activities in the past and to what extent we may believe in the misperception itself.

I can say from personal experience and reflection that it has taken me years to erase the negative mind-set associated with misperception, and that I have not finished the process. To the extent that we have begun this process, we can then proceed to educate the key-stakeholders in our community about the model and how we are planning to use it. Often some of our key allies and advocates manifest resistance to this approach and it is important to address this (as much as possible) before we implement a campaign. An excellent article by Koreen Johannsen and Kim Dude (2003) titled "Is Your Campus Ready for a Norms Marketing Campaign?" addresses these issues and is available for free download at www.socialnorm.org.

Assessment (collection of data). To conduct a media campaign we need to know if a key variable is misperceived. For this we can develop a list of questions related to our issue and pair each question with a perception question. Then we can pilot test the draft survey to determine if our questions are being understood. It is important that the survey be developed and administered in consultation with an expert to make sure that is consistent with best practice, and to avoid the distraction later of having to deal with criticisms of the survey and its methodology. With this in mind we can return to our hypothetical case-study of a social norms media campaign to create a climate that is supportive of

Question: can you think
of someone on your
team, or in your
community who has an
emotional interest in
believing that a problem
is worse than is really
the case?

victims and will increase reports. For this campaign we could consider testing the following questions.

- o If someone I knew was sexually assaulted, I would not blame them for what happened.
- o If someone I knew was sexually assaulted I would encourage them to seek help.
- o I would respect a victim of sexual assault who reported their crime.
- A person who takes sexual advantage of another person should face consequences for their actions.

Each of these statements would be paired with a perception statement, i.e. "most people I know..." or "most students at my school" etc, so that the results of our survey provide us with the both actual norm and the perceived norm for a topic. Usually it is good to ask a number of different questions about a topic – i.e ask about it in different ways – because often the data from a particular question is better suited to our intended message.

Selection and testing of the normative message and campaign theme. This brings us to our next step – selecting the message or messages that we want to use in our media. One criteria is that there should be a majority of 65% or over that endorse the message. A second is that there should be a gap between the perception and the reality. With this in mind, we can look at the data for our topic and choose a question or questions that can be transformed into a positive message. To some extent this is subjective. For example, is it better to say that "65% of men always make sure that they have consent," or that "85% of men usually or always make sure that they have consent?" To answer this question it is best to construct a variety of different messages based on your data and then to have a focus group of individuals from your target group review them and identify which ones they like.

Another element of the message selection process is to determine a theme for your campaign that will be visibly displayed on all of your posters and materials, to provide it with a unifying theme and recognizability. As above, a good way to do this is to have a focus group with individuals from your target group to evaluate and respond to different campaign themes.

Selecting the normative delivery strategy. We are now ready to develop our posters and to consider how to disseminate them. To do this we develop a few different versions of our posters that display our message, and test them in a focus group.

There are many examples of social norms media throughout this toolkit that demonstrate these characteristic. You will find that different communities or schools have a different "style" of media that they like.

It is good for each poster to have a positive message, a statement of the campaign theme, an engaging photo or media, and something about the sponsor of the campaign and the source of the data.

For this reason it is best to develop unique posters for each campaign that are designed with feedback from the target audience.

Implementation of the campaign. Now we are ready to disseminate our media. For this we have to decide where to put our posters up and for how long, and what posters to replace them with, so that there are a series of messages that the target group is exposed to over time. It is also good to develop a plan to advertise and draw attention to your campaign within the community so that you can generate a "buzz" about it. Finally you must have a strategy and be prepared to address the skepticism and criticisms that inevitably will accompany an effort that causes cognitive dissonance in the intended audience.

For all of these reasons a well-run social norms media campaign takes place over the course of a year or multiple years and we do not expect immediate results to occur. It is good to ask the question: what people, places or customs within my community foster the misperception that I am trying to change, and what can I do to address them? For example, let's say that there is a widespread perception that men don't care about sexual assault and blame victims, and you are able to identify a visible and popular group of men who act in ways to reinforce this misperception. How will you work to marginalize the impact of this small group and give visibility to the majority of men who are more positive to our issue? A well-run campaign is linked to a variety of other compatible and synergistic efforts in the community which as a whole will work together to produce a positive effect.

A very good resource for generating media in support of a social norms media campaign is *The Main Frame* (2002) by Jeff Linkenbach, myself, and a number of other social norms experts and it is also downloadable from the National Social Norms Institute website (www.socialnorm.org)

Evaluation of the campaign. As with any prevention method, it is important to evaluate the campaign which requires conducting a follow-up survey to determine if there were any perception changes that were in turn associated with desirable attitude or behavior changes.

Gateway High School is a small rural school in a close-knit community in the North East. A social norms campaign was conducted from September 2006 through April 2008 to promote healthy relationships and reduce dating violence. There was extensive involvement from students throughout the campaign, to ensure "buy-in" and to receive ongoing feedback about how the messages were being received. The campaign began with a series of "Have you Heard" posters to generate interest. Student input included an extensive series of student designed posters conveying campaign messages, along with over a dozen focus groups, student participation through intercept interviews, feedback memos and e-mails, and many presentations to students both in large settings and through small classroom discussions. Presentations were also made to faculty, staff and community members to orient them to the purpose and goals of the campaign and to educate them about the social norms approach.

The campaign was evaluated by comparing a survey taken in January 2006 with a similar survey taken in April 2008. Survey results showed the campaign was effective in several areas. There was a significant reduction in negative misperceptions about general student attitudes regarding relationships that was accompanied by an increase in the number of students who did or said something when they heard boys talk trash, or when they had a friend who was abused in a relationship.

The following case study illustrates these stages and media campaign elements:

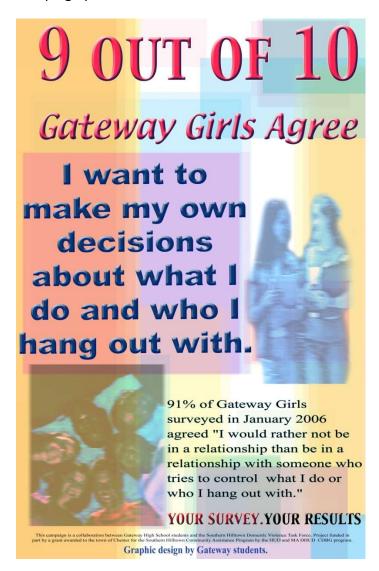
A High School Social Norms Media Campaign to Foster Healthy Relationships

Other significant findings showed an increase in the percent of students who stated that they

have a friend who was abused in a relationship and an increase in the percent of students who did something to help a friend that was abused. The increase in students who responded that they have a friend who has been abused may be due to an increased awareness of what relationship abuse is, as there were no other indicators that relationship abuse increased.

Student's attitudes toward the campaign were also evaluated. Fifty-three percent of students responded that the campaign influenced how they think about or how they might behave in a relationship either a little, somewhat, or a lot. Sixty-two percent of students reported that the posters influenced their opinion of other students' attitudes about relationships either a little, somewhat, or a lot. Forty-six percent of students responded that they were favorable or very favorable towards the campaign, 15% were unfavorable or very unfavorable, and 38% had no opinion about the campaign.

Campaign posters from Year 1 and Year 2 are featured in Figure 2.



88% of Gateway students agree:

I WOULD HELP A FRIEND IN AN UNHEALTHY RELATIONSHIP

Here is how Gateway students already help:

- >You talk to your friend. You listen.
- >You try to help without being judgmental.
- >You tell the person who is hurting your friend to stop.
- >You figure out with a friend or an adult how to get help.

 HELPED A FRIEND USING THE STRATEGIES LISTED TO THE

IN A SURVEY TAKEN IN
JANUARY 2006 88% OF
STUDENTS AGREED: IF THEY
HAD A FRIEND WHO WAS
ABUSED, THEY WOULD DO
SOMETHING TO HELP. MANY
STUDENTS HAVE ALREADY
HELPED A FRIEND USING THE
STRATEGIES LISTED TO THE
LEFT.

YOUR SURVEY, YOUR RESULTS.

This campain is a collaboration between Gateway High School students and the Southern Hilltown Domestic Violence Task Force. Project funded in part by a grant awarded to the town of Chester for the Southern Hilltown Community Assistance Program by the HUD and MA DHCD CDBG program.

Graphic design by Gateway students

In addition to the extensive student input, some unique features of this campaign included different posters tailored to boys and girls, the overall theme of healthy relationships, and a series of posters with data about what students feel is characteristics of a healthy relationship, with a final poster combining all of these statistics in one poster. The theme of the campaign was "Your Survey — Your Results" and the fact that students helped to design the posters was prominently displayed on each poster.

The Gateway campaign is an example of a well-designed social norms media that was tailored to a specific issue and audience.

For more information on this campaign contact: Monica Moran at the Pioneer Valley Planning Commission, 60 Congress Street, Springfield, MA 01104. (413-781-6045 or <a href="morange:mo

Summary

As is clear from this chapter, to conduct a social norms media campaign is a challenging task, but it can yield great benefits. Understanding the stages and process of a campaign can help you to be prepared to implement it and address issues as they come up. We can also consider that it may be beneficial to start small – for example, we could conduct a media campaign in a local school before doing one for the whole community. Perhaps most important is that the social

norms approach is a philosophy of prevention and a way of thinking. Understanding how to conduct a media campaign and how to address the challenges involved trains us in this way of thinking and is beneficial whether or not we actually conduct a campaign.

Learning points

- 1. Of the three approaches to public health media, health terrorism has been discredited and both the science of the positive and social norms media have been found to be effective.
- 2. Starting with a science of the positive media campaign may be a good first step before taking on the larger task of a social norms media campaign.
- 3. Preparing for and executing a social norms media campaign is an extensive process.
- 4. A social norms media campaign can be broken down into stages with specific tasks associated with each one.

Thought questions

- 1. Is there an issue within my community or within a subset of my community that would be amenable to a social norms media campaign?
- 2. Do I feel prepared to host one and does my agency and community have the resources to execute it?
- 3. What drives the misperception in my community? Who or what are the things that foster the misperception and what can I do to address this?
- 4. What is my reaction to the case study and to the different posters displayed?

Resources for Social Norms Media Campaigns

Published in *The Report on Social Norms* (available from www.socialnorm.org)

Berkowitz, AD (2002). Responding to the Critics: Answers to Common Questions and Concerns about the Social Norms Approach. Working Paper #7.

Berkowitz, AD (2004). Emerging Challenges and Issues for the Social Norms Approach. V3(7).

Granville, R. (2002). Can You Believe It? Assessing the Credibility of a Social Norms Campaign. Working Paper #2.

Haines, M. (2005). Habituation and Social Norms. V4(7).

Johannessen, K ((2002). Frequently Asked Questions about the Social Norms Approach. V1(4)

Johannessen, K & Dude, K (2003). *Is Your Campus Ready for A Social Norms Marketing Campaign?* V2(4).

Kilmer, J. (2003). Do Your Data do you Justice? Evaluating Social Norms Interventions. 2(7).

Linkenbach, J. (2001) *Cultural Cataracts: Identifying and Correcting Misperceptions in the Media.* Working Paper #1.

Myers, P. (2002). Advertising Myths about Sexual Behavior. V1(3).

Haines, M; Perkins, WP, Rice, R & Barker, G. (2005). <u>Guide to Marketing Social Norms for Health Promotion in Schools and Communities.</u> National Social Norms Resource Center. Available from www.socialnorm.org

Linkenbach, J., Berkowitz, A., Cornish, J., Fabiano, P., Haines, M., Johannessen, K., Perkins, H. W., Rice, R (2002) <u>The Main Frame:Strategies for Generating Social Norms News.</u> A PDF Document available at www.mostofus.org.

The National Social Norms Institute (NSNI). www.socialnorm.org. An excellent resource containing articles, recent research, case studies, bibliographies, back issues of the Report on Social Norms, and guidebooks.

Chapter Five Bystander Intervention and Social Norms

As the violence prevention field has evolved, the role of bystanders has come into focus. Bystanders are individuals who see a problematic situation and who could intervene to prevent it but may choose not to. Almost all situations involving sexual assault have bystanders – either those who notice the event as it is occurring or those who could have prevented it beforehand. Currently bystander intervention and the social norms approach are considered to be two current best practices in sexual assault prevention (Lonsway, et al 2009). The emphasis on bystanders represents a further evolution of the field away from teaching potential victims to reduce their risk and from focusing on men as potential perpetrators to viewing community members as "part of the solution." Current bystander intervention programs for violence prevention include

Jackson Katz' Mentors in Violence Prevention (2005); Victoria Banyard and her colleague's Bringing in the Bystander Program (2004), Dorothy Edwards Green Dot Program (Coker, et al 2009); Mike Dilbeck's "Everyday Hero Campaign," (http://raproject.org/pages/everyday-hero-campaign

) and my own work emphasizing the theme of bystander "Response Ability" (Berkowitz, 2009).

Tabachnick (2009) suggests that there are three benefits of the bystander approach: it discourages victim blaming, offers the chance to change social norms, and shifts responsibility to men and women. Focusing on the bystander is an effective strategy because it places responsibility for changing the environment on the whole community as well as offering individuals the skills and understanding to do so (Banyard et al, 2004;

Question: Think of different situations in which you were a bystander to a potentially violent situation or to a situation that was demeaning to women. Did you intervene in any of these? What did you do? Was it successful? In situations where you didn't intervene, why not?

Berkowitz, 2009). Because it is non-blaming and avoids focusing on people as problems it offers a positive role for men to play in ending violence against women (Berkowitz, 2011). For all of these reasons it is very consistent with the positive approach that is fundamental to the philosophy of social norms, and as well as with best practices in sexual assault prevention for men (Berkowitz, 2003, 2011).

Research and Theory on Bystander Intervention

Current theory and research on bystander behavior indicates that there are a number of stages an individual must go through before they are willing to intervene and at each of these stages there are barriers that block progress to the next stage (Berkowitz, 2009, 2011; Tabachnick, 2009). Many of these barriers are a result of misperceived norms such as falsely believing others

are not concerned; they do not see a reason to intervene; and they would not respect someone else who intervenes. Therefore, correcting these misperceptions can serve to reduce barriers that bystanders face when deciding if they will intervene.

Thus, while not serving as a complete prevention intervention for bystanders, the social norms approach is an excellent approach to pair with it. Removing some of the barriers that inhibit individuals from intervening is an important and necessary step, but current research suggests that correcting misperceptions alone is not be enough to get people to actually intervene. Social norms interventions to address bystander behavior must be therefore be combined with other important elements of the bystander approach such as teaching people the actual skills to intervene effectively. Thus, unlike other applications of the social norms approach such as substance abuse prevention, normative correction for bystander intervention cannot serve as a complete intervention or stand-alone program, but should be a component of a larger effort.

The stages of bystander behavior are that an individual must notice the event and interpret it as a problem (1 & 2), then feel responsible for dealing with it, and fourth, have the necessary skills to act. Some models of bystander behavior include a fifth stage, that of having a plan for a response. These stages are illustrated in Table 1. The barriers that inhibit individuals from moving through these stages are: not seeing anyone act and incorrectly assuming that there isn't a problem; assuming that someone else will do something; believing that others aren't concerned, fear of embarrassing oneself or others, and fear of retaliation. These barriers are illustrated in Table 2.

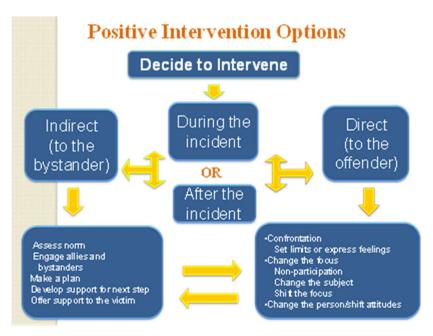
| Stages of | notice the event |
|------------------------|---|
| Bystander Behavior | interpret it as a problem |
| | feel responsible dealing with it |
| | have the necessary skills to act |
| Reasons | assume it isn't a problem because other's don't intervene |
| for Not Intervening | |
| Intervening | fear of embarrassment |
| Intervening | fear of embarrassment think other's aren't bothered |
| Intervening | |

For a review of these barriers and stages see Berkowitz (2009) or Tabachnick (2009). As noted above, in addition to introducing the basic theory of bystander intervention, bystander intervention workshops must teach actual skills and problem-solving for intervention. In this regard, it is important that bystander skills training offer a variety of options that are suited to individual temperament, culture and environment.

Question: Do these stages of bystander intervention apply to you and situations that you have been in? Do the barriers describe correctly the reason or reasons that you chose to not intervene?

These can be: to intervene directly with the perpetrator or indirectly with the other bystanders, to do so immediately or after some time, and by employing a variety of different intervention skills (Berkowitz, 2009).

These intervention options are diagrammed in Figure 1.



The combination of bystander intervention and the social norms approach points to an important characteristic of the social norms approach — that while it can be utilized successfully as an independent intervention — it can also be incorporated as a component into other effective prevention approaches.

Combining the Social Norms
Approach with Other
Prevention Approaches

The compatibility of bystander intervention with the social norms approach points to another important feature of normative feedback as a prevention tool, i.e. that it is compatible with many other prevention approaches and can be utilized synergistically along with them. This makes sense because misperceptions are a component of normal life and pertain to many of the issues that prevention professionals are concerned with, such as substance use, gambling, bullying, hazing and of course, violence prevention. For each of these problems misperceptions have been documented that serve to contribute to the problem by inhibiting the majority from acting in healthy ways and by encouraging the minority to believe that their behavior is normative.

Thus, it would make sense to incorporate a misperception correction component into prevention efforts to address any of these issues. This is what we are suggesting here for bystander intervention – that it include a social norms component within it. Even prevention approaches

Question: Can you think of some applications of the social norms approach that are not mentioned above? Are there programs that you are involved with that could be expanded to include a component of normative feedback?

that have already been documented to be effective best practices could be improved further by incorporating a misperception correction component.

Social Norms-Bystander Interventions

To use the social norms approach to address bystander issues we would follow the guidelines already established and reviewed in this toolkit for developing and implementing small group social norms interventions and social norms media campaign. In this case the development of a hypothesis and the selection of questions would all focus on addressing misperceptions that inhibit bystanders from

intervening.

This could include surveying attitudes about bystander intervention (i.e. "I think it is important to do something when I see a man trying to take advantage of a woman"), actual behaviors "If I saw a man trying to take advantage of a woman I would: do nothing, talk to someone about it, create a distraction, intervene), as well as responses to scenario's that give more descriptive information about a situation and ask them what they would do. For each question we would include a perception question to measure how what the person taking the survey things of others.

Following the collection of our data, we would continue with the steps previously described, developing our small group intervention or media campaign accordingly.

There are a number of strategic decisions to be made in developing a bystander intervention campaign that includes a social norms component. Who will receive the skills training? If you are designing a social norms media campaign, it will not be possible to offer skills training to everyone. In this case you might design a component with skills training that is offered to leaders and key influencers and train them in turn to be disseminators of the skills. If you are designing only a small group norms intervention workshop, you can incorporate both skills training and normative feedback into the workshop (for example, see Gidycz, Orchowski & Berkowitz, 2011).

Another unexplored application of bystander intervention is to incorporate a discussion of the role of bystanders into treatment and recovery strategies for victims of violence. Knowing that there were bystanders who could have intervened but didn't can help victims reduce the self-blame that is associated with sexual assault and understand that violence against women is an environmental problem that has a significant cultural component.

Summary

Bystanders are in a position to prevent violence against women and to intervene against the culture that permits it. Bystander intervention training is therefore an important and potentially effective sexual assault prevention tool. An important and often overlooked component of bystander intervention is the correction of misperceptions that inhibit bystanders from intervening. Feedback that provides accurate norms regarding a group or communities desire to intervene and respect for someone who does can therefore be incorporated into existing interventions to prevent sexual assault, as well as serve as the basis for group interventions and media campaigns that combine misperception correction with skills training.

Learning Points

- 1. Bystanders are in a position to intervene to prevent sexual assault
- 2. There are specific barriers that inhibit bystanders from intervening and stages that bystanders go through that lead to intervention.
- 3. Misperceptions exist that inhibit individuals from intervening, such as whether or not others perceive a situation to be a problem, would intervene, and/or would respect someone who intervened.
- 4. Social norms interventions that correct misperceptions relating to bystander intervention can be incorporated into bystander intervention programs that also include a component of skills development and training.

Thought Questions:

- 1. Am I currently involved with any bystander intervention program or training?
- 2. Does this program include a normative correction component, and if not, could it be expanded to include one?
- 3. Could a social norms media campaign on the theme of bystander intervention be used to support and enhance bystander intervention programs that are currently being offered?

Chapter Six

A Case Study of a Combined Social Norms Media Campaign and Small Group Norms Intervention at Florida State University

Now that we have reviewed the theory and research of social norms and discussed how to develop small group and media interventions we can examine a case study to help ourselves understand the dynamics and specific of implementing a campaign. Here we review a recent social norms media intervention conducted at Florida State University (FSU) that was directed at male students with the goal of engaging them as partners in preventing violence against women. The theme of the campaign was "FSU Men Measure Up" and, in addition to the media campaign, a small group norms intervention was developed and delivered to student groups that was adapted from the program developed by Berkowitz and implemented successfully at Ohio University (Gidycz, Orchowski & Berkowitz, 2011). A parallel workshop for women was developed and implemented but is not described here.

The Florida Center for Prevention Research at FSU has a long history of successful implementation of social norms campaigns to address alcohol use and abuse. Over a period of ten years from 2002-2012 "The Real Project" socials norms media campaign to address alcohol use and abuse was successful in producing a 15% increase in the percent of students who do not drive after having 5 or more drinks along with a 30% in increase in the percentage of students who do not drink or drink moderately.

The intervention described here was supported by funding from a Rape Prevention Education grant provided by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) through the Florida Department of Health (FDOH) and Alan Berkowitz served as an Expert Consultant and Trainer for the project. As we have noted, most prevention programs at rape crisis centers and other agencies would not have the resources to implement a program of this scale or to hire an expert consultant to help implement it. The purpose of the case study is therefore primarily educational – to help us understand how to implement such a campaign and to address the challenges in the event that we have the opportunity to do something on a smaller scale, or with funding, of a similar scope.

Development of the Survey and Campaign

A survey was developed to collect data about men's attitudes and behaviors with respect to sexual assault prevention. Based on a review of current literature, the survey was designed to include questions on consent, bystander intervention, and disapproval of sexist comments. In addition demographic information was collected as well as data on the sexual activity of respondents. For each question a perception question was asked to assess what the respondent thought of FSU men in general. The survey design thus allowed FSU to assess the degree of misperception for each of the questions and themes covered in the survey.

A copy of the survey is provided in Table 1.

| Question | Response Pattern |
|--|----------------------------------|
| Age | A=17-20; B=21-25 C=26 or Over |
| Year in School | A = Freshman; B = Sophomore; |
| | C = Junior; D = Senior; E = |
| | Graduate Student; F =Other |
| Ethnicity | A=African-American; B=White, |
| | Non-Hispanic; C=Hispanic; |
| | D=Asian, Pacific Islander; |
| | E=Other |
| What is your current living arrangements as a student? | A = live on-campus; B= live off- |
| | campus |
| With what groups are you involved on campus (check all that apply)? | A=Fraternity; B=Sorority; |
| | C=Student Government; |
| | D=Intercollegiate Sports Teams; |
| | E=Intramural Sports; F=Student |
| | Organization |
| What is your sexual orientation (check only one) | A=Hetrosexual; B=Bisexual; |
| | C=Gay D=I don't identify as a |
| | male |
| On average, how many times do <u>you</u> have sex in a month? | A=0; B=1-4; C=5-9; D=10-14; |
| | E=15-19; F=20 or more |
| Over the past year, how many sexual partners have <u>you</u> had? | A=0; B=1-2; C=3-5; D=6-10; |
| | E=11 or more |
| On average, how many times do you think most FSU men have had sex in a | A=0-4; B=5-9; C=10-14; D=15- |
| month? | 19; E=20 or more |
| Over the past year, how many sexual partners do you think most FSU men | A=0; B=1-2; C=3-5; D=6-10; |
| have had? | E=11 or more |
| | |
| | |
| Indicate YOUR level of agreement with each of the following statements: | |
| If a close friend of mine were in an abusive relationship, being sexually | A=Strongly Disagree; |
| assaulted or stalked, I would want someone to intervene on their behalf to | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree |
| help. | Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree |
| If a close friend of mine were sexually assaulted, in an abusive relationship, | " |
| or stalked, I would want them to seek help? | |
| I would believe someone at FSU who reported being abused, sexually | и |
| assaulted, or stalked. | |
| I would respect someone at FSU who reported being abused, sexually | и |
| assaulted, or stalked. | |
| I would admire someone at FSU who intervened to prevent abuse, sexual | и |
| assault, or stalking. | |
| Most FSU men would believe people who reported being abused, sexually | и |
| assaulted, or stalked. | |
| | <u>l</u> |

| Most FSU men would respect people who report being abused, sexually " | и |
|---|---|
| assaulted, or stalked. | |
| Most F30 men would admire people who intervene to prevent abuse, sexual | " |
| assault, or stalking. | |
| Treef uncomfortable when thear sexist comments. | " |
| when I withess a male mitting on a woman and I know she doesn't want | " |
| it, I think it is important to intervene. | u |
| when I witness a situation in which it looks like someone will end up being | " |
| taken advantage of, I think it is important to intervene. | u |
| it is important to get consent before sexual intimacy. | |
| I believe I should stop the first time my date says no to sexual activity. | |
| Within the last 12 months how often have YOU | |
| | A=Never; B=Rarely; |
| | C=Occasionally; D= Frequently; |
| | E= Have not been in that |
| s | situation |
| Got consent before sexual intimacy. | и |
| Stopped the first time your date said no to sexual activity. | и |
| Indicated your disapproval when you heard sexist comments. " | и |
| Intervened when you witnessed someone "hitting on" a person, when you | и |
| know that person didn't want it. | |
| Intervened when you witnessed a situation in which it looked like a female " | u |
| would end up being taken advantage of. | |
| | |
| In your opinion, in the last 12 months, how often do you think <u>MOST FSU</u> MEN | |
| | A=Never; B=Rarely; C=Occasionally; D= Frequently |
| Got consent before sexual intimacy. | u |
| Stopped the first time a date said no to sexual activity. | u |
| mulcated disapproval when hearing sexist comments. | |
| Intervened when witnessing someone "hitting on" a person, when it is clear " | u |
| | u |
| that person didn't want it. | и |
| Intervened when witnessing a situation in which it looked like a female " | |
| | и |
| Intervened when witnessing a situation in which it looked like a female would end up being taken advantage of. | и |
| Intervened when witnessing a situation in which it looked like a female would end up being taken advantage of. Indicate YOUR level of agreement with each of the following statements: | и |
| Intervened when witnessing a situation in which it looked like a female would end up being taken advantage of. Indicate YOUR level of agreement with each of the following statements: If I witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave with him, I would ask if | " A=Strongly Disagree; |
| Intervened when witnessing a situation in which it looked like a female would end up being taken advantage of. Indicate YOUR level of agreement with each of the following statements: If I witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave with him, I would ask if everything was okay. | " A=Strongly Disagree; B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree |
| Intervened when witnessing a situation in which it looked like a female would end up being taken advantage of. Indicate YOUR level of agreement with each of the following statements: If I witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave with him, I would ask if everything was okay. | " A=Strongly Disagree; |
| Intervened when witnessing a situation in which it looked like a female would end up being taken advantage of. Indicate YOUR level of agreement with each of the following statements: If I witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave with him, I would ask if everything was okay. | " A=Strongly Disagree; B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree |
| Intervened when witnessing a situation in which it looked like a female would end up being taken advantage of. Indicate YOUR level of agreement with each of the following statements: If I witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave with him, I would ask if everything was okay. If I saw a man physically mistreating a woman I know, I would do something to help her. | " A=Strongly Disagree; B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree |
| Intervened when witnessing a situation in which it looked like a female would end up being taken advantage of. Indicate YOUR level of agreement with each of the following statements: If I witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave with him, I would ask if everything was okay. If I saw a man physically mistreating a woman I know, I would do something to help her. If I saw a man emotionally abusing a woman I know, I would try to help her. | " A=Strongly Disagree; B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " |

| It's embarrassing when men I am with make sexual comments about women | и |
|--|---|
| they don't know. I will stop sexual activity when asked to, even if I am already sexually | · · |
| aroused. | |
| If a man was sexually harassing a woman, I would stay out of it. | и |
| Even if a woman has her clothes off, she still has the right to say no to sex | и |
| | |
| Indicate how you think MOST FSU MEN would answer the following | |
| statements: | |
| If I witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave with him, I would ask if | A=Strongly Disagree; |
| everything was okay. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree |
| | Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree |
| If I saw a man physically mistreating a woman I know, I would do something to help her. | u . |
| If I saw a man emotionally abusing a woman I know, I would try to help her. | и |
| I have a problem with men joking about scoring with women. | и |
| I feel uncomfortable if a friend brags about having sex. | и |
| It's embarrassing when men I am with make sexual comments about women | и |
| they don't know. | |
| I will stop sexual activity when asked to, even if I am already sexually | и |
| aroused. | |
| If a man was sexually harassing a woman, I would stay out of it. | и |
| Even if a woman has her clothes off, she still has the right to say no to sex | ш |
| | |
| | |
| Indicate <u>YOUR</u> level of agreement with each of the following statements: | |
| Indicate YOUR level of agreement with each of the following statements: If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible | A=Strongly Disagree; |
| | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for sex. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for sex. Rapes are usually committed by strangers. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for sex. Rapes are usually committed by strangers. Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for sex. Rapes are usually committed by strangers. Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them. A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for sex. Rapes are usually committed by strangers. Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them. A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape. Most women who say they have been raped are really lying about it. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " " " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for sex. Rapes are usually committed by strangers. Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them. A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape. Most women who say they have been raped are really lying about it. A woman who "teases" men deserves anything that might happen. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " " " " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for sex. Rapes are usually committed by strangers. Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them. A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape. Most women who say they have been raped are really lying about it. A woman who "teases" men deserves anything that might happen. When women are raped, it's often because the way they said "no" was | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " " " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for sex. Rapes are usually committed by strangers. Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them. A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape. Most women who say they have been raped are really lying about it. A woman who "teases" men deserves anything that might happen. When women are raped, it's often because the way they said "no" was ambiguous. | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control. If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex. If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape. Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men. All women should have access to self-defense classes. It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are really asking for sex. Rapes are usually committed by strangers. Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them. A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape. Most women who say they have been raped are really lying about it. A woman who "teases" men deserves anything that might happen. When women are raped, it's often because the way they said "no" was | B=Disagree; C=Neither Agree Nor Disagree; D= Strongly Agree " " " " " " " " " " |

| A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be s | urprised if a man " | |
|---|--------------------------|---------------------|
| tries to force her to have sex. | | |
| If you are in a committed relationship with someone (I | _ | |
| exclusively for a period of time, are engaged, are married | d, etc) consent to | |
| have sex is implied. | | |
| | | |
| Indicate how you think <u>MOST FSU MEN</u> would answ | Question: What would | d vou include in a |
| statements: | | |
| If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least som | survey designed to colle | |
| for letting things get out of control. | assault prevention cam | paign for men? Is |
| | there something that yo | ou feel should have |
| If a woman is willing to "make out" with a guy, then it's a little further and has sex. | been included in this su | |
| If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent | out? Can you make so | me hypotheses or |
| If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't rea | guesses about what t | he results of the |
| Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting | survey wi | |
| All women should have access to self-defense classes. | Survey Wil | - |
| It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are ra | ped. | |
| Women who are flirtatious or use suggestive language are | e really asking for | |
| sex. | | |
| Rapes are usually committed by strangers. | | |
| Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them. | u | |
| A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape. | u | |
| Most women who say they have been raped are really lyir | g about it. | |
| A woman who "teases" men deserves anything that might | happen. | |
| When women are raped, it's often because the way th | ey said "no" was " | |
| ambiguous. | | |
| Men don't usually intend to force sex on a woman, but so | metimes they get " | |
| too sexually carried away. | | |
| A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be s | urprised if a man " | |
| tries to force her to have sex. | | |
| Rape happens when a man's sex drive gets out of control. | и | |
| If you are in a committed relationship with someone (I | _ | |
| exclusively for a period of time, are engaged, are married | d, etc) consent to | |
| have sex is implied. | | |

The survey was administered on-line in 2010 to a random sample of 3,000 FSU men with a response rate of 30%, which is considered high for on-line surveys. Two follow-up surveys were conducted over the following two years to measure any changes that may have occurred.

In addition to conducting a campus-wide sexual assault prevention social norms media campaign for men, it was decided that a small-group norms workshop would be developed based on Gidycz, Orchowski & Berkowitz's (2011) successful program that would be offered to groups of male

campus leaders and organization, such as fraternities and athletic teams. As previously mentioned, a parallel workshop was designed and offered to women. The men's workshop was adapted to makes use of "clickers" to provide immediate normative feedback and a small group of facilitators was trained by the consultant to deliver the workshop. A third component of the intended intervention was to strengthen the activities and programs of the campus "Community Action Team" which was responsible for providing support and response for victims.

Data Set and Analysis

The process of analyzing data and making choices about campaign strategy can be complex. What is the best campaign strategy is not always obvious and often we are faced with choices about how to proceed. Sometimes the data we have collected gives us a different picture than what we were expecting and hoping for. Table 2 provides selected data on rape myth attitudes, bystander norms and actual bystander intervention data from the FSU survey. This data offers us the opportunity to look closely at a data set and evaluate what would be the best use of the data in a media campaign.

Table 3 FSU Data for Misperceptions of Bystander Norms and Rape Myths (N = 903)

Norm

Strongly Agree/Agree

| If a close friend of mine were in an abusive relationship, being sexually assaulted or stalked, I would want someone to intervene on their behalf to help. | 98% | NA |
|--|-----|-----|
| I would admire someone at my campus who intervened to prevent abuse sexual assault, or stalking. | 93% | 77% |
| When I witness a situation in which it looks like someone will end up being taken advantage of, I think it is important to intervene. | 84% | NA |
| If I saw a man physically mistreating a woman I know, I would do something to help her. | 97% | 85% |
| If I witnessed a man pressuring a woman to leave with him, I would ask if everything was okay. | 69% | 50% |

Strongly Disagree/Disagree

| If a woman is willing to go home with a man, consent to have sex is implied. | | 35% |
|--|-----|-----|
| It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped. | | 44% |
| When women are raped, it's often because the way they said "no" was ambiguous. | 73% | 49% |

In the last 12 months how often have you (frequently):

| Intervened when you witnessed someone "hitting on" a person, when you | 7% | 5% |
|---|-----|-----|
| know that person didn't want it. | | |
| Intervened when you witnessed a situation in which it looked like a female would end up being taken advantage of. | 19% | 6% |
| Got consent before sexual activity. | 85% | 55% |
| Stopped the first time that your date said no. | 62% | 17% |

A close reveals this strong

Question: Look at the date in Table 3 and see what themes emerge. How could this data be used in a social norms media campaign? What messages would you develop? What would be the strategy of your campaign based on this data set? Are you surprised by any of the results?

look at this data set four themes. First, campus has very positive bystander intervention norms that are correctly perceived for the most part (i.e. the misperception is small.) Second, even though almost all men state that they would intervene, the actual rates of frequent intervention in the past year are very low. Thus, it seems that most men agree that one *should* intervene, but few actually do. Third and fourth, there are very large misperceptions for rape myth attitudes and consent behaviors. How do we make sense of this data and what are the implications for developing a campaign?

A famous researcher once said: "The best survey is the one that you wished you had done after looking at your results." Therefore let us begin by pointing out that there may be a problem with the measure of bystander behavior and that it would have important to also ask a question about actual exposure to intervention opportunities, such as: "what did you do the last time you had the opportunity to intervene to prevent a sexual assault?" or "how many times in the last month/year have you witnessed a situation in which you could have intervened?" This is because many of those who did not intervene may have not had the opportunity to do so, or may not have had the opportunity to do so "frequently." Thus the numbers for bystanders who "frequently" intervene may be artificially low. At the same time, this data is consistent with what we know from the literature on bystander behavior — that most people say that they would intervene but don't.

What then should our course of action be if we were to use this data in a social norms media campaign?

First, we need to look at the data and see what it is telling us. Second, we need to decide which

Should we use items with the most positive norms (i.e. the highest percentages) but which may have a small perception gap (i.e. the bystander items), or those with lower percentages that have a greater perception gap (i.e. the consent and rape myth items)?

themes or items we want to market in our campaign.

The theory would say that we should choose the items that have the larger perception gap but the goals of the campaign might be to focus on themes such as bystander behavior for which there is a smaller perception gap.

A second option would be to use the data on bystander behavior to engage the community in the task of learning intervention skills in order to hopefully increase the numbers of actual interventions. In this case we could advertise in our media campaign the positive norms for the desire to intervene, include quotes from students who wanted to learn intervention skills, and then announce bystander intervention skill training. In this way we could create a media campaign that would capitalize on already existing positive norms to encourage community members to take the next step of learning skills and reducing barriers to intervene. The goal of such a campaign would be to increase the percentage of students who actually intervene by using the positive norms to leverage increases in the skills of the population.

Finally, this data set presents a third option to us, to launch a media campaign that addresses rape myths and consent behavior. For rape myths (or victim blaming) there are positive norms that are significantly misperceived – i.e. the gap between perception and reality is greater than for bystander behavior and attitudes. This suggests that the benefit of correcting misperceptions would be great (because greater changes in perceptions should produce greater changes in behavior), and that it might therefore be possible to create a climate on this campus that was less victim-blaming.

In making a decision it could be beneficial to develop potential messages based on the data in each of these areas and then present them to focus groups to see how students (the intended target group) respond to the messages. This would give us added information about what students thought about potential campaign themes. Although the primary target audience is men, it would be beneficial to also conduct focus groups with women since they would also be exposed to the messages.

There are three choices and there is no one best answer. This exercise demonstrates an essential component of good prevention is to strategize, taking into consideration our goals, the options provided by the data, what is realistic, and what we think is needed and would work based on our knowledge of the community.

Question: can you think of a time in your career as a prevention professional when you were faced with multiple options for how to proceed? What were the choices and what was your decision based on? In retrospect do you feel that you choose the best strategy?

Deciding Upon and Implementing a Campaign

The decision made at FSU was to conduct a media campaign over a period of three years focusing on all of the themes mentioned as well as to correct norms for sexual activity. Thus, the media campaign had four themes: a consent theme, a bystander theme, a rape-myth non-victim blaming theme, and information about the actual sexual behaviors of FSU men. The theme "The Measure of A Man" was chosen for the campaign and would appear on all posters.

The survey questions that were chosen for use in the posters along with the actual and perceived norms for each question are presented in Tables 3-6.

(Insert Tables 3-6 Here)

The original plan to offer a small group intervention along with a media campaign also fit well the data analysis that most men wanted to intervene but did not seem to when presented with the opportunity. The small group workshop would be designed to fill this gap and teach an identified group of male student leaders the skills to intervene which they would then, hopefully, disseminate to others.

Following the data analysis and selection of a campaign strategy the campaign team developed a set of messages and poster mock-ups in each of the four areas and presented them to students in focus groups for feedback. As a result of this process the following messages were chosen for the media campaign.

"Most FSU Men are not as sexually active as you might think."

"Most men understand the importance of getting consent before sexual intimacy."

"Most FSU men would intervene to prevent a sexual assault."

"Most FSU men agree that blaming a sexual assault victim is wrong."

Question: Imagine that you are in a focus group designed to get feedback about the proposed campaign messages? What do you think of them?

These messages were presented to the campus over a period of three years in posters that are shown below.







Question: What do you think of these posters?

In evaluating the FSU campaign, we can make a number of observations.

First, some sexual assault prevention professionals prefer to avoid messages that ask men to "measure up" to a standard or to be "real men" as this type of message may unconsciously reinforce standards of masculinity and competition of men that are not healthy. At the same time, such messages may appeal to students and be popular. The choice of campaign theme provides another example of a strategic decision that must be made by the team in executing the campaign.

over a decade, this may not have been necessary, as the campus population is likely to be educated about social norms and key administrators were already committed to and familiar with the social norms approach. Thus, there may have already been a structure in place to address believability issues and skepticism about the data. In other situations, a formal effort to address believability issues would be necessary in order to address questions, skepticism and disbelief about campaign data. This can be done by training of professionals to respond to student comments, articles in campus newspapers and media, and presentations in classes.

Another lesson from the FSU campaign is the necessity to share campaign data – especially the messages that will be used in posters – with key administrators and community leaders. A common challenge in social norms campaigns is that some individuals do not want to publicize the fact that there are any problems with alcohol or sexual assault in a community – even if the message is a positive one, and in other cases it is possible that the intent of the message may be misconstrued. For these reasons it is important to share campaign data and messages in advance with key individual to address any concerns that they might have.

Media Campaign Results

Let us begin with a question: What would be a successful outcome of a well-done sexual assault prevention social norms media campaign? It is probably not realistic to expect that a media

campaign would produce actual results in sexual assault, although we have seen that a small group norms intervention can be successful in doing so for a period of time (Gidycz, Orchowski & Berkowitz, 2011). One goal would be to correct misperceptions in line with the theory of social norms predicting that corrections in perceptions will produce changes in behavior over time. Another, more broad goal, would be to change the campus culture in a direction that was less victim-blaming and more pro-active in intervening to present sexual assault. A final goal would be to increase the actual numbers of interventions.

This campaign did produce positive results. For the most part, perceptions were corrected for each of the four campaign theme areas, and for some of the themes the percentages of men responding positively were increased. For example, with respect to the consent theme, the percentages of men who said that they "got consent before sex" increased from 85% to 90%, with the percentage of men who said that they "stopped the first time that their date said no" increasing from 62% to 71%.

For the bystander intervention theme, there were improvements in the correction of misperceptions, but the percentage increases for the actual norm were small – probably because the percentages were so high to begin with. Thus, the percentage of men who said that they would help if they saw emotional abuse increased from 88% to 91% while the percent of men who said they would admire someone who intervened remained stable at 93%. The data for rape myths/victim blaming were similar, i.e. the actual norm remained similar while there were noteworthy corrections of the norm.

Regarding sexual activity, there were small decreases in the sexual activity of men and corrections in the misperceptions of other men's sexual activity.

Data results from the social norms media campaign are presented in Table 7.

Table 7

Results of Media Campaign

| | Norm | Year One | Year Two | Year Three |
|---|-------------|----------|----------|------------|
| Got consent before sexual activity | (actual) | 85% | 88% | 90% |
| | (perceived) | 34% | 38% | 43% |
| Stopped the first time date said no | (actual) | 62% | 67% | 71% |
| | (perceived) | 17% | 21% | 26% |
| Would intervene if witnessed emotional | (actual) | 88% | 89% | 91% |
| abuse (strongly agree) | (perceived) | 70% | 73% | 77% |
| Would admire someone who intervened | (actual) | 93% | 93% | 93% |
| (strongly agree) | (perceived) | 77% | 77% | 83% |
| Flirtatious women are asking for sex | (actual) | 65% | 63% | 65% |
| (disagree/ strongly disagree) | (perceived) | 32% | 36% | 41% |
| Rape accusations are to get back at men | (actual) | 51% | 54% | 56% |
| | (perceived) | 40% | 46% | 48% |
| Zero sexual partners last year | (actual) | 23% | 29% | Xx |
| | (perceived) | 2% | 3% | XX |
| Didn't have sex last month | (actual) | 34% | 39% | Xx |
| | (perceived) | 3% | 3% | xx |

Question: What do you think of these results? Would you consider this campaign a success? What else would you do if you wanted to boost or increase any positive outcomes of the campaign?

Finally, the small group norms intervention was implemented and evaluated. The small group workshop produced similar changes as reported below for the media campaign, but stronger – as one would expect form a small group intervention. With respect to bystander intervention, for example, the percentage of men who said that they would intervene if they saw emotional abuse increased from 77% to 85% after the workshop. Disagreement with rape myths also

Question: Is there somewhere that you could offer a social norms media campaign along with a small group workshop that was delivered to a part of the community?

increased dramatically, as illustrated by increases in percentage of men who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the belief that a woman who was flirtatious or dressed "suggestively" was interested in sex increased from 57% to 79%.

These data suggest that both the social norms media campaign and the small group norms workshop had a positive effect. However, it would be theoretically important to know if there was a synergistic effect of both the campaign and the workshop together – i.e. did men who participated in the workshops experience a greater positive outcome as a result of also being exposed to the media campaign? Is a workshop effective in itself or more effective in combination with a media campaign, and vice-versa? Other research has shown that the combination of a media campaign with a small group workshop does produce syntergistic effects (Potter, in-press).

Analysis of the Results

We can say that this campaign was successful in correcting perceptions that are known to inhibit prevention of sexual assault, and in changing some attitudes and behaviors that are known to foster prevention and reduce victim blaming, both for men on campus as well as for the men in the workshop. On a large campus such as FSU this is a challenge and any positive improvements in the campus culture are noteworthy. At the same time, this campaign illustrates the challenges of prevention in general, i.et: 1) that prevention is labor-intensive, 2) that it is not easy to produce results, and 3) that it is hard to sustain results over time. With all of this in mind the ideal intervention would be to develop multiple synergistic components that are manageable and can be maintained over a longer time period. In this respect, an agency such as a local rape crisis center working in conjunction with a local public school might be able to develop an ongoing program that, continued and refined over a period of years, might have more positive long term results than a grant funded program that lasts only a few years and is difficult to sustain without continued funding.

Summary

Hopefully this chapter gives us more of the "feel" of how to actually conduct a social norms media campaign, and provides a sense of realism regarding what is involved. This pragmatic realism is very important considering that many professionals upon exposure to the social norms approach become very enthusiastic and rush to develop an intervention without sufficient training, care about implementation, and knowledge of the target community. Even if this case study and the previous chapters dissuade you from doing a social norms campaign we can consider this as a successful outcome. Effective prevention is a strategic process that requires the optimum combination of skills, resources, and planning. Thus for many the optimal outcome of this chapter, and indeed this toolkit, would be to gain a deeper understanding of the social norms approach both as a philosophy and a tool and then to implement it selectively based on available resources and training opportunity.

Learning Points:

1. Steps and procedures reviewed in earlier chapters must be implemented in executing a social norms media campaign or small group intervention.

- 2. There are philosophic and strategic decisions that must be made as the campaign is developed, taking into consideration what the data says, what feedback is provided from the target group, and the goals and purposes of the campaign.
- 3. Effective prevention requires that we be realistic about what we are trying to accomplish and what it is possible to do to extend and sustain gains from short term interventions.

Thought Questions:

- 1. Do I feel that it would be possible for me, or my agency, to implement a social norms media campaign in light of the FSU case study? What would be manageable and sustainable for me or my agency?
- 2. What are the challenges for me to implement such a campaign, in terms of skills, resources, challenges, and what is practical.
- 3. If a full social norms media campaign seems to be to much, in what other ways can I implement the thinking and practice of the social norms approach?

NOTE: The contents of this chapter are solely the responsibility of the author and do not necessarily represent the official view of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the CDC, or DOH, who funded this case study. Special thanks to Rick Howell, Deputy Director of the Florida Center for Prevention Research at FSU, who provided materials and valuable feedback for this chapter.

Chapter Seven Social Norms, Values and Spirituality (A philosophical and theoretical interlude)

Beatriz Berkowitz, MA, DMinn.

There is a philosophical or inner aspect of the social norms approach that is implicit and unexamined which has only been briefly mentioned in the literature (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 25; Berkowitz et al, 2009; Berkowitz & Berkowitz, 2012). This philosophical aspect is the subject of this chapter which is intended to deepen our understanding of both the social norms approach and bystander intervention strategies. Thus, this chapter does not discuss strategies and implementation techniques and the material discussed is not necessary for the practice of either approach. However, understanding the underlying assumption of the theories and the deeper causes of behavior will enable the interested practitioner to implement them more effectively.

When speaking of an individual in relation to a group and the norms of the group, there is an underlying assumption that within the individual are personal norms, values, or standards that

may be called "inner" or "spiritual" that are compared or contrasted to the "external" and "social" – i.e. the perceived norms, values and standards of the external group.

Consider, for example, the following statements that were made earlier in this toolkit:

We can ask: how is it that individuals do not act according to their deeply held values? What is it within ourselves that produces

"The social norms approach is about aligning values with actions"

"Bystander intervention arises from a need within a person to do the right thing"

desire to do the right thing? Analysis of the statements above can help us to answer these questions. As human beings we live in groups and take others into consideration when deciding to act. When values are not acted upon it is because the external is given more importance than the internal and the internal is suppressed in favor of what is perceived in the external. This is what occurs in the case of pluralistic ignorance, when an individual ignores their inner norm or value to adjust to a perceived external norm. The external norm acts as a regulator to help individuals adjust to the group and to be aware of their behavior in relation to others, while the internal norm represents the ethics or deeper values of the individual that are carried within each

person and which provide the impulse to intervene. When the two are in harmony we can say that a state of health and balance exists.

Question: How do you personally describe this inner dimension? What words do you use to label it? What do you believe about it?

This inner aspect has been given different names across cultures and traditions: soul, higher self, values, spirit, nous, essence, etc. It is important to acknowledge that this inner aspect and consider it when we discuss the social norms approach and bystander intervention, while leaving it up to the individual how to label or describe it.

Therefore both social norms and bystander approaches help bring about the alignment of two realities that are often in conflict. In the case of a misperception the internal personal norm is falsely perceived to be in

conflict with the external social norm. This was described earlier as a "pluralistic ignorance." We can imagine a situation in which we see that someone may be taken advantage of sexually. Our instinct is to intervene, but we notice that others don't seem concerned and do not want to call negative attention to ourselves, so we don't do anything. This is an example of suppressing inner values based on a false perception of an external situation. Knowing that others are also concerned and would respect someone who intervenes results in a situation of harmony or balance between the inner and the outer that empowers action.

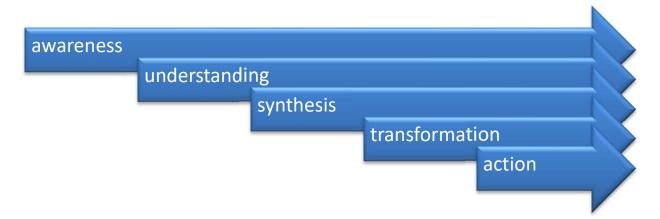
The correction of the misperception eliminated the conflict between the inner and the outer. With this adjustment occurs a gain in consciousness or awareness about the self in relation to the external. With this new information we are more likely to intervene the next time a problematic situation occurs. This suggests that one outcome of a social norms intervention is to help us to be more conscious about ourselves and the environment that we live. As a result of receiving correct information about the external we can correct our relationship to it.

Many other sciences have focused on the relation and interaction between the inner and the outer. One example is provided by quantum physics research demonstrating that the internal and external influence each other and interact constantly, affecting each other in both positive and negative ways. Eliminating a misperception will therefore also have a potential effect on the external environment. Thus, when enough people perceive the environment correctly a "tipping point" is reached and the whole environment can shift rapidly. In the case of violence prevention, reaching such a tipping point could re-create the environment into one in which victim blaming was not tolerated and bystanders did not hesitate to intervene.

As a complement to strategies that focus on the external, such as media campaigns and misperception correction, the inner dimension can also be strengthened so that it is less

vulnerable to being influenced by the external. This can take the form of character education and other methods that serve to increase self-awareness. Expansion of consciousness through inner transformation thus serves as another tool in helping the individual overcome the negative influence of the misperception, allowing the individual to act correctly in spite of what they believe others may think.

This process of transformation can be broken down into five phases as follows:



These phases describe the process that an individual goes through in correcting a misperception or moving through the stages of bystander behavior. First, one becomes aware of the misperception or the need to intervene. Second, one begins to understand why this happens and through this understanding new knowledge and awareness is synthesized, leading the person to change and act differently. An effective prevention intervention thus serves as a catalyst to accelerate the movement through these phases or stages so that the perceived conflict between the inner and outer is removed and balance restored.

An individual bystander who feels the need to "do the right thing" is in the position of observing an external situation. Through bystander intervention training, or misperception correction, this observational ability can be turned inward and strengthened, helping the individual to understand the barriers within that prevent them from acting. While this process is not usually discussed when we speak of social norms or bystander intervention, it is implicit and evolves through the five stages mentioned above. Strengthening the individual's ability to be the observer in turn creates the awareness to notice the misperception or intervention barrier and not be affected by it. In this sense, the social norms approach and bystander intervention serve as forms of self-empowerment. This is what is meant when we spoke of the prevention PIE (positive, inclusive and empowering) and the need for media and other interventions follow these guidelines. As a result they support individuals to act on the inner values that have been put aside.

The goal of this chapter has been to make explicit the inner or philosophical elements of the social norms and bystander approaches. What is the benefit of this analysis? How does it help us as prevention practitioners to notice that there is an inner process and transformation that is catalyzed by these prevention methodologies?

The benefits are many and their translation into specific techniques or prevention practices is something to be developed in the future. For now, we can state the following benefits of focusing on the internal or inner side of these approaches: 1) increased awareness of internal processes, 2) greater ability to be introspective, and 3) generating a sense of empowerment in the individual to serve intervene effectively in situations where violence can be prevented.

Let us end this chapter by quoting "Megan," a college student who has observed the effects of social norms and bystander intervention training within herself (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 25):

"I was very scared putting myself out there and to be in a group of this amazing people that share the same passion for and that want to stand up and say something, that y'all really as individuals really empowered me. And I'm not as scared to – in fact, I'm not really scared at all anymore – to stand up and say 'this is what I believe in' and if you are the leader that we hope that you are, this is what you should not be afraid to stand up and say what needs to be said. It was a very hard thing for me to do. I had a lot of long nights thinking about it and seeing if I actually still wanted to do it and I'm so glad I did."

Learning Points:

- 1. The social norms approach can be approached philosophically.
- 2. The human being has an inner aspect which is reflected in the process of social norms.
- 3. Social Norms and BI have the potential to being about inner transformation.
- 4. The social norms approach must be brought into alignment with paradigm shifts in other disciplines.
- 5. The internal and external environments influence each other reciprocally.

Thought Questions

- 1. Can you think of a time in your life when you felt aligned with something deeper within yourself? What was this like and how did it influence your actions?
- 2. Have you ever had the experience of an inner change producing external effects?
- 3. What are the characteristics of effects of personal transformation and empowerment in your life.

Chapter Eight
The Social Norms Approach and Cultural Diversity

In an ideal world this chapter would be unnecessary because all prevention, by definition, would be culturally relevant, i.e. designed to fit the needs, lifestyles, culture and values of the community that it is addressed to. Culturally relevant prevention is good prevention as extensive research has documented. Prevention that does not strive to be culturally relevant is in turn poor prevention that is not likely to be effective.

Because we are all products of the cultures that we have lived in, we are both nourished and limited by them. Therefore to be a "culturally relevant" prevention practitioner requires that we be willing to question and even change our own assumptions, world-view, and way of seeing things. To be culturally competent is to be willing to participate in a process of self-transformation.

What does the social norms approach have to contribute to our goal of culturally relevant programs? The social norms approach properly executed accomplishes the goal of cultural relevance because it seeks to identify and feed back to a community its positive values and behaviors. In working with a community we can ask:

- What are the strengths of my community?
- ➤ What positive behaviors would I like to reinforce and strengthen?
- ➤ In what ways might my community not appreciate and recognize its own strengths?
- ➤ Which of these strengths, when promoted and reinforced, can serve to inhibit the problem of violence against women?

Because each community and/or identity group is different, so will be the answers to these questions. Correctly surveying our communities, coming up with accurate information, and finally, sharing these strengths with the community is therefore culturally relevant by definition.

An Example: Tobacco Use in the Native American Community

An important aspect of Native American culture and spiritual practice is the use of tobacco for sacred purposes. Any attempt to address and reduce unhealthy use of tobacco by Native Americans – i.e. cigarette smoking – takes place a context that also acknowledges that tobacco can be used in a sacred way.

How then can we address unhealthy use of cigarettes while still acknowledging that in tribal communities there is an important use of tobacco that is considered healthy and sacred? This is the question that came to the surface in Montana, a state with a large Native American population, early in the history of the social norms approach, during the development of a social norms anti-smoking campaign. The "Most of Us Campaign" directed by Jeff Linkenbach (www.mostofus.org) came up with a good solution: to include in its survey of attitudes and

Question: Can you think of a time in your career when you did not make a sufficient effort to understand, seek input from, and familiarize yourself with a community that you were working with?

What was the result?

behaviors related to tobacco use the attitudes towards the use of tobacco for sacred purposes (Linkenback, 2003).

The data collected was used in a statewide media campaign which included one poster specifically directed at a Native American youth audience. Based on the data collected, the message chosen was "Most Native American Teens Keep Tobacco Sacred." See the poster below:

(Insert Figure One Here)

This example demonstrates that a culturally relevant intervention will take into account what a particular behavior means within a cultural context. It will draw on the positive values and attitudes of the community which when strengthened, will serve to inhibit the problem behavior.

The Three Cultures of Prevention

The word *culture* is broad, and what we define as culture has many aspects. With respect to prevention, we can define culture in terms of: the culture of the problem, the culture of the message delivery system, and the culture of the target group (Berkowitz, 2003B, p. 262). These three aspects or "cultures" are important to consider in the development of any social norms intervention and will influence the choice of messages, the means for delivering the message, and how it is received by the intended audience.

The Culture of the Problem. As we have seen with the example of Native American tobacco use, there may be differences among cultures with respect to an attitude or behavior that is considered to be problematic. Another example might include the relationship of African-Americans to the issue of sexual assault, which was used as a tool of domination and abuse while slavery was in existence. Once I experienced a very profound moment of recognition of this issue when a light skinned African American colleague of mine tapped her light-brown skin and said "how do you think I got to be this color?" We might also consider the experience of Native Americans with alcohol, which was used as a tool to break treaties and exploit tribes by white settlers and government officials.

Another way to consider the "culture of a problem" is to look at the way individuals use particular substances and notice that each substance has its own "culture" as well. For example, research has demonstrated that most people who smoke cigarettes want to quit, but that most individuals who consume alcohol do not. With this information in mind, many social norms media campaigns directed at tobacco use include information on how to sign up for a smoking cessation program. To design an effective prevention program we must therefore consider the "culture of the problem" within a particular community and design our intervention accordingly.

Question: Can you think of an example of these "three cultures" from your own experiences as a prevention professional? Can you apply them to a culture or group that you consider yourself to be a member of? may have different cultural practices regarding the acquisition and dissemination of information. For example, some cultures may be more visual, others may focus more on oral dissemination of information and others be more text or writing oriented. In the African American community clergy have an important role as disseminators of health promotion information because historically the African American community did not trust many of the institutions of the dominant culture. Thus, in the design of an intervention for an African American population it might of significance to consider the role and involvement of clergy.

The Culture of the Message Delivery System. Different groups

Early in the development of the social norms approach it was common for prevention specialists to "borrow" a poster developed on another campus and to change the message and text, so that the new poster looked the same. However the field soon realized that this did not work, because each campus has its own "style" with respect to what kind of media was appealing. As a result best practice now demands that a social norms campaign develop its own media in consultation with the target population.

Another early mistake had to do with the wording of the messages. A common practice when the field was young was to collect data on how many drinks most students have "when they party." Social norms campaigns using a message such as "X% of Normal College students have 0-4 drinks when they party" were successful on many campuses. However, this practice led to the failure of certain campaigns that were implemented using this slogan on campuses where the word "party" had a different meaning.

Thus, how we present a message has a cultural context and it is our responsibility as prevention professionals to design messages that fit with the norms and values of the communities that we work with. Cultural competence is not only a matter of translating a message into a different language, but requires that have a deeper understanding of an issue within the context of a culture and how that culture receives and understands information.

The culture of the intended audience. Finally, we can consider the values, behaviors and attitudes of the individuals within a particular culture. For example, who is respected within a particular community and who is not respected? It is important that the sponsor of a prevention program be credible and respected in a community. For example, if a local newspaper is not respected or widely read it would not be a good place to advertise a campaign. Similarly, if the institution hosting the campaign is not respected in the community issues related to the believability of the message may be intensified. With respect to bystander intervention, In some communities a

more direct style of intervention would be considered appropriate, while in others it would be considered disrespectful. These are only a few examples of situations in which we need to know a community as a precondition of working with it. Thus, to be effective we must understand our audiences and get to know them before we take the step of designing and implementing an intervention.

Culturally Relevant Best Practices for Social Norms

With all of the above in mind, we can consider the following best practices for social norms practitioners.

- Get to know the community that you will be working with
- Have community members be involved in each step of your campaign
- Solicit feedback from community members when you are designing a survey, interpreting the data, choosing a workshop or campaign theme, and designing media.
- Train community members in the social norms approach so that they can address questions and issues as they come up during your campaign.
- Seek help from the community in defining for evaluation purposes how you would define a successful outcome.

Summary

Cultural relevance, best practice, and being science based are one and the same thing. As researchers and practitioners we have skills that can be put at the service of a community, but we often do not know what is best even if we might think that we do. Thus, effective implementation of the social norms approach and best practice in general requires that we develop a collaborative, consultative model in working with the communities that we intend to serve.

Learning Points

- 1. By definition, best practice means that our programs are relevant to the cultures that they are designed to serve.
- 2. Culture has many elements, including the culture of the problem, the culture of the message delivery system, and the culture of the intended audience.
- 3. To be "culturally competent" requires a willingness to change and examine one's own assumptions and beliefs.
- 4. Many early failures in the history of the social norms approach were due to professionals not considering cultural issues when designing a program.

Thought Questions:

- 1. What are some positive aspects of a culture or cultures that consider myself a member of?
- 2. How do these cultural attitudes and practices relate to the issue of sexual assault?
- 3. Am I sure that these attitudes and practices are held by a majority?
- 4. When have I been guilty of engaging in culturally ineffective prevention?

Chapter Nine Conclusion and Final Thoughts

Within each individual, group and community there is an inherent impulse towards balance and well-being. Our job as prevention professionals is to support and help to actualize this impulse, whether in working with a victim who is in the process of transformation into a survivor, helping someone respond to an inappropriate remark, or supporting and teaching individuals to intervene to prevent a sexual assault. We could say that we are midwives assisting in the process of birthing health and reducing violence – providing a necessary skill or helping to catalyze understanding and supporting but not interfering with the inner impulse towards wholeness.

The social norms approach is an important tool that can help us to assist in this process. It is both a philosophy of prevention and a specific prevention tool. Hopefully as a result of reading this toolkit you will have the tools to re-evaluate how you think about the task of prevention and examine to what extent you and your colleagues over-focus on the negative or extreme and overlook the hidden positive in your everyday thoughts, speech, actions and programs. Applying the social norms approach requires that we pay attention to how we, our colleagues, our clients, and the larger culture – including media --- describe and think of a problem, and it provides a powerful re-framing that allows us to notice and enhance the health that we seek to create, as well as to change the way that we talk about it.

As we have seen, the social norms approach also offers us specific tools that we can use in our efforts to prevent sexual assault in the form of small group norms interventions and social norms media campaigns. It also is the basis of a philosophy of counseling that is being effectively applied with domestic violence perpetrators and others who engage in problem behaviors.

In all of these applications, our goal is to:

identify the underestimated health in individuals and/or communities

to share this information with them

to galvanize a discussion of what is true and to what extent others are in harmony with one's own desire to act in a way that feels correct and compassionate

Thus, the social norms approach provides us with both a philosophy of human actions and a tool to influence them. Because of its focus on the positive it can be empowering and energizing for

those who use it, especially in the context of our work which can often be demoralizing and foster pessimism. A popular and oft-repeated phrase states that we can "be the change that we wish to see in the world." This is what the social norms requires of us -- that we first implement this change of thinking and perspective in ourselves – i.e. to think and act differently about our task of prevention – in order to be able to help others to manifest it as well.

The reading of this toolkit has hopefully provided you with the motivation to use this approach and to assess how it might be incorporated into your work, along with the pragmatism to realize that this is not a simplistic or easy approach to implement and that it requires training and a thoughtful process of application. With this in mind, you can assess how you can use the information in this manual. All of us can integrate a "social norms way of thinking" into what we do, many of us can incorporate normative feedback into our programs and workshops, and finally, a smaller group may be in a position of host a social norms media campaign.

With all of this in mind, we can now consider how to use and implement one of the most powerful, cutting edge science based tools for preventing sexual assault. Your interest in learning about the social norms approach places you at the beginning of a journey that encourages thoughtful reflection regarding how to think of prevention and how to go about doing it. There will be frustrations and challenges of course, but the rewards of thinking through and living by the positive can be transformative.

In conclusion, I sincerely hope that this toolkit has accomplished its goal of introducing you to the social norms approach to violence prevention. I am very thankful to NJCASA for the leadership that they have provided in making this possible.

Good luck and thank you for all that you do.

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