Enhancing Inclusive Governance in Fragile & (Post) Conflict-Affected Settings

An exploration of social norms related practices affecting public authorities

Every Voice Counts

REPORT

Acknowledgements

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Executive Summary

Inclusive governance (IG) can be understood as a means to reducing poverty, empowering poor and marginalized communities, and rendering nations accountable to the needs and interests of their citizens. CARE identifies promoting inclusive governance at the core of its approaches to address "...the underlying causes of poverty and social injustice."[1] Further, CARE believes that IG is a fundamental right and should be a goal in itself. Yet, the process of developing and implementing IG in fragile and (post) conflict-affected settings (FCAS) faces many challenges as evidenced by, for example, women and other marginalized groups still lagging behind men and more powerful groups worldwide in their inclusion in political processes.[2]

Through the *Every Voice Counts* (EVC) initiative by CARE Netherlands, social norms have been identified as one of the key determinants of success or failure for IG development initiatives. Isolating key norms and the related practices that influence IG development, as well as the origins and mechanisms for social norm change, can help us understand why current IG interventions may not be as successful as planned as well as mechanisms or leverage points to enhance the effectiveness of these interventions. ***Social norms impact inclusive governance through guiding the behaviors of powerholders, decisionmakers, and the community.*** Little research exists on norms from the perspective of supply-side actors: the Public Authorities (PAs), i.e. the bureaucratic and elected representatives of government with the power and resources to build IG. Inquiry from this perspective can shed insight on the social norms that exist within government institutions and those more broadly associated with the FCAS context, local communities, and personal networks that enable or hinder their ability to develop IG.

This study aims to generate insights on the social norms and related practices that influence PAs' ability to develop IG in FCAS.[3] In this study, IG is measured through four elements: transparency, inclusivity, responsiveness, and accountability. From the perspective of PAs, a systems approach[4] is used to identify social norms related to IG development and service delivery to marginalized communities, especially women and youth. Four spheres of influence are researched to identify norms and practices that exist and interact within and across different levels of the system: chrono- (FCAS context), macro- (government system), meso- (local government/community), and micro (individual) levels. The study follows a multiple case study, qualitative research design. Key informant interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in three of CARE's target countries (Burundi, Somalia, and a third anonymous country) with PAs, country-experts, and CARE country offices, and CSO partners, as well as remotely with content-experts.

What are the social norms and related practices that affect IG development, from the perspective of PAs, in FCAS?

Given the focus of the study, the majority of the key findings emerged from the perspective of public authorities:
1. The IG mandate is created at the national level but fails to get properly implemented at the regional/local level;
2. Built/physical infrastructure takes priority over social infrastructure (e.g., GBV);
3. If NGOs are developing IG, PAs may be less inclined to engage in IG development;
4. IG is often viewed and treated as a low priority and under-resourced at the regional/community level;
5. Priority is given to informal power holders over the needs of the broader community;
6. PAs sometimes view IG as more of a hindrance than a benefit;
7. PAs may not believe in IG, and if they do, they face competing secondary norms in the workplace and FCAS environment;
8. Perceptions of marginalized communities interfere with service delivery.

Within these eight themes found, numerous primary and secondary norms can be identified. For example, a primary norm that "IG implementation should be the responsibility of the national government" and a secondary norm of "It is more important to be accountable to your superiors than to the general public" emerged.

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[1] CARE. (2016). Inclusive Governance: Guidance Note. CARE. Retrieved from
https://insights.careinternational.org.uk/media/k2/attachments/CARE-Inclusive-Governance-Guidance- Note-April-2016.pdf
[2] Castillejo, C. (2018). The political participation and influence of marginalised women in fragile and conflict affected settings. The Hague: CARE Nederland. Retrieved from
https://insights.careinternational.org.uk/media/k2/attachments/Political_participation_influence_marginalised_women_in_FCAS.pdf
[3] In this study, the FCAS studied were predominantly in Africa. Many of the subject-matter experts interviewed also spoke of FCAS contexts outside of Africa and the literature review also included global contexts.
[4] Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory is utilized in this study. See Section 2 for a detailed description.

In addition to the perspectives of public authorities above, a limited number of themes emerged from the perspective of marginalized communities broadly (and men and youth specifically). From the marginalized communities' perspective, they can be as disengaged with participating in governance efforts as PAs are with prioritizing their engagement. From the men's perspective, the key finding was that men may exclude or disempower women out of fear, powerlessness or misunderstanding. Regarding youth, they are excluded, and self-exclude, from IG development practices due to perceptions of lack of capacity, experience, and discriminatory beliefs. Women's perspective, on the other hand, identified a greater number of themes including that they are excluded and self-exclude from IG practices due to their perceived cultural role and behavioral expectations in the FCAS context or their perceived limited capacity to engage and contribute in comparison to men. The study also found social norms that women can be hired as PA, but are discouraged from full engagement in the workplace and higher positions. Further, women in leadership roles face competing identities in the workplace and at home.

Why do these social norms exist and how can we change them?

In general, factors of FCAS (chrono-level factors) that influence all stakeholders include their history of trauma and volatility, poverty, poor education, access to resources and corruption, cultural and religious norms, as well as those linked to patriarchy.

From the PA perspective, across national to local government (macro to meso-level), influential factors are linked to power, upward accountability, corruption, and focus on physical instead of social infrastructure. PAs may exclude communities due to competing social norms associated with clans (i.e., Somalia), poorly organized government systems, and fear that marginalized groups may claim rights that are not included in existing laws. At the community and local level, PAs are influenced by competing identities and strong negative sanctions associated with IG development. Suggestions received by participants on how these social norms may be changed span accommodating their cultural history of trauma in programming, recognizing and working with competing norms; establishing a shared vision for IG and addressing mechanisms of exchange; and training on IG.

From the perspective of marginalized communities, women, men and youth, influential factors spanned self-discriminating social norms and a global belief of marginalized communities having low capacity. For women specifically, contextual factors that directly influence women's ability to engage as PAs and in IG processes include patriarchy, poverty, lack of education, and lack of opportunities to develop capacity. Within government, women are influenced further by legal and contextual factors reinforcing social norms linked to the powerlessness of women, low experience and belief in lack of experience, superficial participation, and challenges with competing identities at home and work. Men who buy into IG and gender norm change are also forced into masculine positions and may be heavily sanctioned if they go against more dominant norms. Youth are heavily influenced by poverty and lack of education, as well as their perceived lack of capacity. They are also stigmatized as being engaged in violence and extremism.

Suggestions on how to change social norms among marginalized communities, as well as gender and age-specific norms include finding a champion that discourages patriarchy, increasing the visibility of women, building trust in government, building understanding of why women are valuable in government, working to reframe women from powerless to powerful, creating learning experiences that mix women, men, and youth, with specific attention on engaging men to work with women, and building understanding and buy-in of IG within communities.

Recommendations

Four main recommendations are provided and are further delineated in the main report specifically to the three main beneficiaries of this report (public authorities, EVC and CSOs in the field, governments and INGOs) and across each level of the system (chrono to micro). Recommendations include:
1. Build PA understanding of IG, elements of IG, and why to engage marginalized communities;
2. Build community understanding of IG, elements of IG, why to engage in IG, and their experience and capacity to engage;
3. Co-create IG purpose and programming interventions with PAs and community when such interventions are absent, or build on existing interventions that are already working;
4. Include women AND men (adult and youth) in interventions across varying age levels.

Acronyms

CNL	CARE Netherlands / CARE Nederland
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CCO / CO	CARE Country Office
CSO	Civil Society Organization
EE	Empirical Expectation
EVC	Every Voice Counts program
FCAS	Fragile & Conflict Affected Settings
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IG	Inclusive Governance
INGO/NGO	International/Non-Government Organization
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
KII	Key Informant Interviews
NE	Normative Expectation
PAs	Public Authorities
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
SMEs	Subject Matter Experts
THA	The Hague Academy
TIRA	Transparency, Inclusivity, Responsiveness, Accountability
TOC	Theory of Change
VSLA	Village Savings and Loans Associations
WDR	World Development Report

Key Terms

Accountability: is the obligation to reveal, explain and justify one's actions in a relevant, timely and accessible manner, and accept the possibility of sanctions for failure to fulfill one's duties.

Civil society: is defined by CARE by following the CIVICUS definition: "the arena outside the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests." Civil society consists of formal and informal groups. It surpasses the level of the individual because it creates linkages amongst and between people and the state. By nature, civil society is highly diverse; it is generally said to include NGOs, associations, trade unions, media, religious groups, traditional authorities, and a diverse range of community-based organizations.

Contextual factors: are referred to as enabling or disabling factors throughout this document; they are the characteristics of the surrounding environment that directly or indirectly influence norms and practices.

Empirical expectations: are beliefs about what others do.

Empowerment: of excluded groups implies building agency to make choices and decisions regarding their development; it increases through the development of resources, assets, capabilities and transformed institutions.

Fragility: is, according to the OECD definition, characterized by a "weak capacity to carry out basic governance functions and a lack of ability or political will to develop mutually constructive and reinforcing relations with society." CARE prefers to speak of "fragile settings", instead of "fragile states", since fragility is not exclusively determined by the role and functioning of states, but also by the role and functioning of civil society, the relations between formal and informal power-holders and society, specific geographic areas within a state, and across different levels of governance.

Governance: is the exercise of power in the management of public affairs, according to CARE. It is a dynamic, political process through which decisions are made, conflicts are resolved, and diverse interests are negotiated.

Inclusive Governance (IG): is the effective, participatory, transparent, equitable and accountable management of public affairs.

Inclusivity: is defined as the processes or practices that enable individuals and groups to take part in society that may otherwise be marginalized or excluded such as women and youth.

Marginalized communities:	are those communities restricted to the lower or peripheral edge of society based on living conditions, lifestyles, or factors such as age, disability, economic status, race, or education; they are often denied involvement in mainstream cultural, social, economic, political events.[5]
Normative expectations:	are beliefs about what others think one should do.
Power holders:	are defined as those who have a higher degree of control over material, human intellectual, and financial resources than others, and can make decisions impacting on other people's lives in both formal (state) and informal (non-state) decision making processes.
Public Authorities (PAs):	the bureaucratic and elected representatives of government with the power and resources to build IG.
Reference group:	consists of the people (e.g., family, leaders, or colleagues) whose opinions on the specific issue addressed through the social norm at hand tend to matter the most; they differ depending on context, and norms differ with reference groups.
Responsiveness:	is encouraging meaningful and inclusive participation (stakeholder engagement) throughout all stages of the decision-making cycle, and stakeholders' inputs translate into practices and policies.[6]
Sanction:	refers to the consequences that reinforce and sustain behaviors in place as a result of the approval or disapproval of one's actions by a reference group.
Social norms:	are the behavioral rules and expectations (formal and informal) that are constructed and shared by a reference group; they can be reinforced through sanctions.
Spaces of dialogue and negotiation:	can be conceptualized as arenas for the participation and engagement of the public and can be categorized as invited/formal spaces (provided by the government/state, e.g., development committees or participatory budgeting) and popular/informal spaces (where CSOs or groups of individuals come together on their own initiative to channel unrecognized demands, protest, provide services and solidarity, etc.). The boundaries between these spaces are flexible, often abstract, and may change over time.
Transparency:	is the extent information and/or data linked to the decisions of government institutions is open and easily accessible, including those pertaining to laws, budgets and expenses, planning and prioritization.

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[5] IGI Global. 2019. What is Marginalized Communities. IGI Global. Retrieved from https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/technologies-for-digital-inclusion/50719
[6] CARE UK Governance Strategy 2008-2013

1. Introduction to Study

As outlined in CARE (2016):

> *"At its root, poverty is caused by unequal power relations that result in the inequitable distribution of resources and opportunities, between women and men, between power-holders and marginalised communities, and between countries. CARE believes that poverty cannot be overcome without addressing those underlying power imbalances."[7]*

Inclusive governance (IG) can be understood as a means to reducing poverty, empowering poor and marginalized communities, and rendering nations accountable to the needs and interests of their citizens. CARE identifies promoting inclusive governance at the core of the approach to address "...the underlying causes of poverty and social injustice."[8] Further, CARE believes that IG is a fundamental right and should be a goal in itself.

Many factors contribute to the origin and sustainability of suboptimal conditions for IG processes. These factors range from community and local political dynamics to organizational culture and international politics. Social norms often play a crucial role in influencing these factors and the general conditions for IG. In many cases, they can have more influence on individual and collective behaviors than personal attitudes, knowledge or morals.[9] In the quest to create social change, acknowledging and addressing social norms is crucial. Effectively doing so requires understanding social norms as part of the larger system, as well as the contextual factors (like poverty, power dynamics, or internalized oppression) that enable and disable positive and negative norms and practices and addressing these norms and/or the factors to the extent possible.

Social norms impact inclusive governance through guiding the behaviors of powerholders, decisionmakers, and the community. Looking at informal rules and power through the lens of social norms presents new entry points for thinking about how the status quo around IG is maintained by public authorities. Addressing norms is not the only solution, but it is part of the bigger solution, and failure to acknowledge norms can undermine the effectiveness of an IG program, potentially worsen a situation, and even put the people you wish to support at risk.[10] [11] There is still much learning required to further this work and to identify better mechanisms to implement IG and influence broader social change.

Extensive literature exists on norms and practices related to IG from the perspective of beneficiaries of IG programming, i.e., communities and vulnerable groups like women and youth. Yet, little research exists on the implementers' perspective: the Public Authorities (PAs). PAs are the bureaucratic and elected representatives of government with the power and resources to build IG. Inquiry from this perspective can shed insight on the contextual factors (within the FCAS to the community level) and sanctions that enable or hinder their ability to develop IG, but also the social norms that exist within government institutions and those more broadly associated with the FCAS context, local communities, and personal networks.

This study aims to generate insight on social norms and related practices that influence PAs' ability to deliver IG in fragile and (post) conflict-affected settings. This report begins with an overview of the purpose and methodology of the study, followed by an initial discussion on the concept of IG and then social norms, including the connection between these two topics specific to FCAS. Next, the aggregated research findings from data collected in three countries (Burundi, Somalia, and a third anonymous country) are presented through three questions: (1) What are the social norms and related practices that affect IG development, from the perspective of PAs, in FCAS?; (2) Why do these social norms exist?; and (3) How can we change these social norms? Brief recommendations and next steps are provided.

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[7] CARE. (2016). Inclusive Governance: Guidance Note. CARE. Retrieved from https://insights.careinternational.org.uk/media/k2/attachments/CARE-Inclusive-Governance-Guidance-Note-April-2016.pdf

[8] ibid.

[9] Scharbatke-Church, C., & Chigas, D (2019). Understanding social norms: a reference guide for policy and practice. Henry J Lier Institute, Tufts University.

[10] Heise, L. & Manji K. (2016). Social Norms. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 31. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. Retrieved from https://gsdrc.org/professional-dev/social-norms/

[11] CARE (2017). Applying Theory to Practice: CARE's Journey Piloting Social Norms Measures for Gender Programming. CARE Gender Justice. CARE.

2. Study Purpose and Methodology

> **What is the purpose of studying the social norms and practices of PAs? What is a system approach, and why is it valuable? How does this approach influence research?**
> This section outlines why research on this topic is necessary. It defines and defends a systems approach to understanding social norms. The methodology for how the research is framed and conducted, as explained through the systems approach, is outlined. It lies the foundation for the study and the subsequent sections on the key findings ahead.

2.1 Purpose of Studying Social Norms and Practices of PAs

The purpose of this research is to enhance CARE Netherlands' (CNL) ability to promote governance processes in fragile settings that are **inclusive** and **effective**. To be inclusive implies that all people have the right to participate meaningfully in governance processes and influence decisions that affect them. Effectiveness refers to the implementation of decisions and following of processes by local government that make the best use of the available people, resources and time to ensure the best possible results for citizens. It perceived to be built through inclusivity when institutions, powerholders, and policies become more accessible, accountable and responsive to marginalized groups. This, in turn, helps protect citizens' interests and provide equal access to services (e.g., health, education, justice) across diverse populations.[12]

The inquiry in this study investigates two components of CARE International's IG model[13]: 1) organizational accountability, and 2) capability, accountability and responsiveness of the state and related formal structures. The goal of the research is to improve the ability of the Every Voice Counts (EVC) program to assist with building effective and inclusive governance efforts and processes – particularly for women and youth – in six Fragile and (Post) Conflict-Affected Settings (FCAS): Afghanistan, Burundi, Pakistan, Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan.

Research is needed to further understand the factors that hinder and enable inclusivity and effectiveness within IG programming. The persistence of detrimental social norms and practices[14] have been identified as one of the key barriers that hinder women and youth from full participation. Extensive literature exists on gendered norms and practices at the grassroots level that suppress involvement; yet, little research exists on the broader **social norms and practices of public authorities** that hinder participation,[15] specifically those that enable or disable **transparency, inclusivity, responsiveness, and accountability** (TIRA).

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[12] CARE NL (n.d.). Every Voice Counts Programme: Theory of Change. CARE International.

[13] According to the CARE International Inclusive Governance Guidance Note, the five main programmatic areas of how CARE promotes IG are: A. Social Accountability B. Local participatory development C. Voice and advocacy D. Capability, accountability and responsiveness of the state and other power-holders E. Organisational accountability.

[14] The term practices is used over behaviors to capture the external factors (or influences) of the surrounding system that impact the individual. Behaviors is perceived to be too directed to the individual.

[15] As identified in this section, research targets the third and fourth domains of the EVC TOC. This study focuses exclusively on public authorities holding formal government positions (i.e., state actors); these positions may be administrative or political in nature. Although we recognize the importance of other powerholders (e.g., traditional leaders, opinion leaders) in governance processes, this study will only investigate the social norms and practices associated with this group only as they relate to and/or affect public authorities or formal governance processes directly.

Women in Burundi participating in a community dialogue.
Photo by Irene Nduwayezu

2.2 Study Hypothesis and Research Questions

This study hypothesizes that understanding social norms and related practices from the perspective of PAs (linked to building and sustaining IG), as well as social norm and behavior changing mechanisms, can provide insight into engaging more effectively on the supply side of IG processes and shift power dynamics in favor of poor and marginalized people. The desired outcome is to help the EVC program revisit assumptions about IG development programs and identify approaches for how to better improve program design and implementation.

Subsequently, the main research question guiding this study is:

> **How do the norms and practices of public authorities affect transparency, inclusivity, responsiveness, and accountability toward women and youth?**

Addressing this question requires, first, understanding the general concept of inclusive governance and social norms. The next section will provide this theoretical foundation for study. Subsequently, a deeper understanding of the concept specific to three (of the six) FCAS settings is investigated through analysis of primary data collected.

2.3 Systems Approach

Human systems are complex adaptive systems and they are best understood by contemplating the whole, not just the individual parts. In his book, The Fifth Discipline, Senge describes systems thinking as "...a conceptual framework, a body of knowledge and tools" that identifies interrelationships rather than cause-effect chains, and the processes of change rather than static "snapshots".[16] **Systems thinking, he explains, exposes the structures underlying complex situations and helps us identify leverage points for change** (point in a system where change

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[16] Senge, P. M. (1990). The Fifth Discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization. New York: Doubleday/Currency.

can have a larger impact). Actors are understood through their interrelationships with one another but also within the environment they exist. Exploring phenomena as part of a bigger system, generates deeper and more accurate understanding than studying in isolation. It serves as a way to isolate behaviors in a system.[17]

Many approaches can be used to do a systems analysis; however, Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory is particularly useful as it generates understanding of the individual through spheres of influence.[18] His theory suggests that individuals are influenced by their social context and the nature of relationships with family, neighbors and institutional bodies. He argues an individual's beliefs and behaviors can be modelled through five levels of influence: Microsystem, Mesosystem, Ecosystem, Macrosystem and Chronosystem. His systems approach is applied in this study to help CNL effectively adjust expectations and program practices to improve the delivery and impact of IG programs.

The systems approach is used in this study to shape the understanding of the **social norms and related practices affecting PAs as a component part of a larger (formal and informal) system**. This approach identifies the origin and persistence of social norms by an exchange between the different levels. It identifies aspects of the FCAS context at the local, regional and national level that influence the emergence and assimilation of social norms and practices. As such, the subject of our systems study of the PA is situated within four levels of influence: micro (individual), meso (community, government office, work environment), macro (government system at the regional and national level), and chrono (FCAS context) levels (see figure 1 below). Each of these system levels aligns with the different levels of contextual factors identified in section 5.
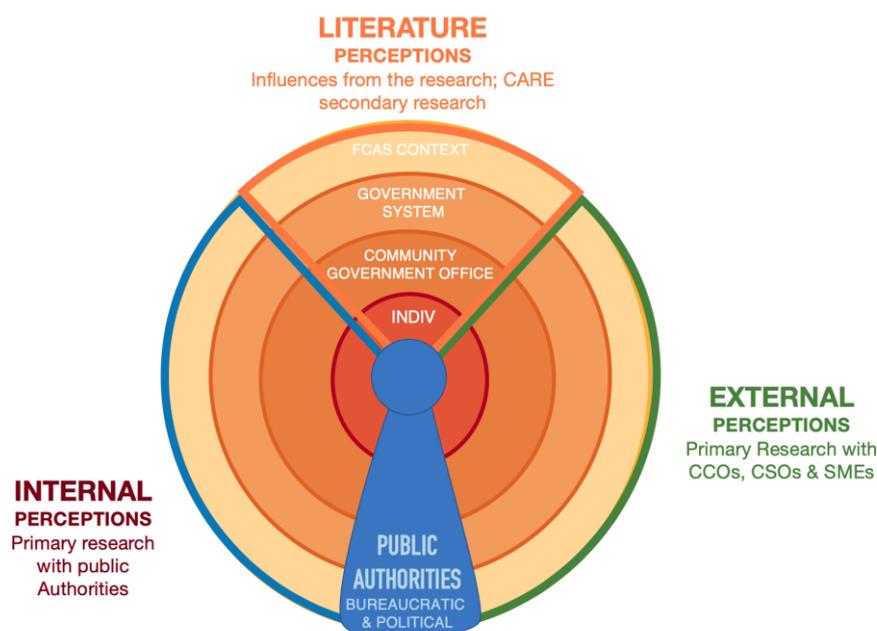
Figure 1. Systems Approach to Study of Norms and Practices
Affecting PA Choices and Abilities to be Transparent, Inclusive, Responsive and Accountable

To address the primary research question, three sub-questions are defined:

1. What are the perceived social norms and related practices at the local, regional and/or national level that hinder and/or enable the ability of PAs to be inclusive, responsive, accountable and transparent?
2. Why do these social norms and practices exist?
3. How can social norms be changed?

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[17] Scharbatke-Church, C., Hathaway, R. (2017). Are Social Norms an Important Missing Link in Anti-Corruption Programming? Henry J Lier Institute, Tufts University. Retrieved from https://sites.tufts.edu/ihs/are-social-norms-an-important-missing-link-in-anti-corruption-programming/

[18] Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an Experimental Ecology of Human Development. American Psychologist, 513–531.

To answer these questions, data was collected for three domains:

1. To identify the landscape of primary and secondary social norms influencing PAs ability and decisions for IG development.
2. To assess the beliefs and understanding of IG, as well as enabling and disabling contextual factors that affect social norms and their associated sanctions and IG development practices.
3. To isolate and understand instances of social norm change failure or success, as well as opportunities and challenges associated with social norm change.

As depicted in figure 1, each domain was addressed through three data sources: the literature, external perceptions (e.g., from CSOs, researchers) of PAs, and perceptions of PAs themselves. The domains were reviewed across the four levels of influence (micro-individual, meso-community/government office, macro-government system, and chrono-FCAS context).

2.4 Primary data collection and analysis

Data was collected through in-person and remote semi-structured key informant interviews (KII) and focus group discussions (FGDs) with participants of three categories: public authorities (political, bureaucratic), CSOs (CARE Country Offices & partners) and subject matter experts (country experts, content experts). In total, 50 data collection activities occurred and 83 people in total participated (a detailed breakdown of the data collected is available in Annex 3). All participants were selected using purposeful and convenience sampling, with some snowball sampling for content experts. Data was collected in-person with public authorities (FGDs and KIIs), CSO staff, and country experts (KIIs), and remotely with content experts (KIIs).

The findings were coded and summarized at four levels (i) Themes (common narratives about IG identified by respondents in the study); (ii) System-level (levels of the IG system impacted by the theme); (iii) IG elements (four elements of IG studied: transparency, inclusivity, responsiveness, accountability) that respondents' narratives addressed; and (iv) primary/secondary norms (underlying norms identified that affect IG development and practice). See Annex 3 for further details.

3. Understanding Inclusive Governance (IG) in FCAS

> **What is inclusive governance and why is it useful? How is it developed? What is the connection between inclusive governance and social norms?**
> Based on the literature, this section builds an understanding of what inclusive governance is and is not and how it is developed. It introduces the four elements of IG studied in this report: transparency, inclusivity, responsiveness, and accountability. It also highlights key challenges with IG in FCAS and contextual factors to consider.

3.1   Defining IG

Inclusive Governance: the effective, participatory, transparent, equitable and accountable management of public affairs.[19]

Governance is the exercise of power in the management of public affairs. It is a dynamic, political process through which decisions are made, conflicts are resolved, and diverse interests are negotiated.[20] Governance becomes 'good governance' or 'inclusive governance' when the management of public affairs is effective, participatory, transparent, equitable and accountable,[21] and is guided by agreed procedures and principles, to achieve the goals of sustainable poverty reduction and social justice.

There is widespread consensus that 'inclusion' within these political processes is crucial to international development, from citizen empowerment to fostering peace[22] in FCAS.[23] Among marginalized communities, gender, youth and disability are essential components and key intersecting factors of exclusion that need be understood in building inclusiveness. The political nature of governance often means that it is **the interests of those less able to participate** (e.g., due to social norms or other restrictions) that **get left out in policy and budget processes**. Inclusive processes are important to give all segments of society access to government decision making in order to better reflect their interests, needs and aspirations, both in policy making and in service delivery. Bringing citizens actively on board in the design and implementation of policies increases their legitimacy and effectiveness whilst creating a sense of the feeling of ownership by citizens.[24] The engagement of marginalized groups helps to access knowledge about needs, solutions and impacts that could otherwise be overlooked, and help address the differential impacts of various policies for different segments of society.[25]

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[19] CARE. (2016). Inclusive Governance: Guidance Note. CARE. Retrieved from
https://insights.careinternational.org.uk/media/k2/attachments/CARE-Inclusive-Governance-Guidance-Note-April-2016.pdf
[20] CARE International Inclusive Governance Glossary of Terms
[21] CARE. (2016). Inclusive Governance: Guidance Note. CARE. Retrieved from
https://insights.careinternational.org.uk/media/k2/attachments/CARE-Inclusive-Governance-Guidance-Note-April-2016.pdf
[22] Rausch, C., & Luu, T. (2017). Inclusive Peace Processes are Key to Ending Violent Conflict. United States Institute of Peace.
[23] Pinnington, R., Douma, N., and Whipkey, K. (2019). *Social inclusion study in fragile contexts: Pathways towards the inclusion of women & girls in local governance processes.* The Hague: CARE Nederland.
[24] Chirenje, L. I. et.al. (2013). Local communities' participation in decision-making processes through planning and budgeting in African countries, Chinese Journal of Population Resources and Environment, 11:1, 10-16, DOI:
10.1080/10042857.2013.777198
[25] OECD. (2015). Government at a Glance 2015, Paris: OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/gov_glance-2015-en.

3.2   Developing IG

CARE envisions the pathway to IG through four domains outlined in their Theory of Change (TOC)[26] (see Annex 3). These include:

1. **Empowered members of excluded groups**
2. **Capable civil society organizations**
3. **Responsive public authorities and other power holders**
4. **Effective spaces for dialogue negotiation**

Although these domains appear bounded, in reality they are overlapping, interdependent and dynamic. They are mutually constitutive and a change in one can trigger change in another. Subsequently, each domain must be addressed in isolation and in relation to one another. CARE works to achieve these domains through five main programmatic areas: 1) social accountability, 2) local participatory development, 3) voice and advocacy, 4) capability, accountability and responsiveness of the state and other power-holders, and 5) organizational accountability.[27] This study focuses on the 4th and 5th areas.

3.2.1   Four elements of IG

This study examines four key elements of inclusive governance that are associated with effectiveness of IG:

Transparency: the extent information and/or data linked to the decisions of government institutions is open and easily accessible, including those pertaining to laws, budgets and expenses, planning and prioritization. It may be one means of mitigating corruption and holding public officials accountable.

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[26] CARE Nederland. (2018). Every Voice Counts Programme: Theory of Change. CARE International.
[27] CARE International. (2016). *Inclusive Governance Guidance Note*.

Accountability: the obligation to reveal, explain and justify one's actions in a relevant, timely and accessible manner, and accept the possibility of sanctions for failure to fulfill one's duties. Accountability implies being responsive to all stakeholders.

Responsiveness: encouraging meaningful and *inclusive* participation (stakeholder engagement) throughout all stages of the decision-making cycle, and stakeholders' inputs translate into practices and policies. [28] . Responsiveness, coupled with transparency and contextual factors such as citizen agency, is an approach to demonstrate downward accountability and inclusivity.

Inclusivity: processes or practices that enable individuals and groups to take part in society that may otherwise be marginalized or excluded such as women and youth.[29]

3.3   Challenges with IG Development

The literature suggests that there are certain preconditions exist for IG to be realized. For example, citizens need to know their rights and PAs need to be willing to engage with citizens. In FCAS contexts, these conditions are not a given and are a lot more unpredictable. There are a number of challenges with achieving IG outcomes. However, three broad categories have been synthesized here for the purposes of this report: (i) more informal rather than formal rules, (ii) exploitative power asymmetries, and (iii) poor collective action capabilities of marginalized groups.

(i) More informal than formal rules: IG is pervaded by rules that shape attitudes, behaviors and decision-making. In contexts of fragility, these "rules of the game" tend to be more informal (through relationships and networks) than formal (e.g., codified in law). In many cases in FCAS, semi-formal structures also exist through the roles of traditional, opinion, clan, and or religious leaders. These leaders and their associated semi-formal systems often act as an intermediary between the more informal and formal rules. They act in key positions as intermediaries often translating traditional/informal rules into modern/formal ones. Informal rules tend to shift based on personalities, individual preferences and priorities that benefit those with power in the ecosystem.

These fluid and informal rules are often a reflection of weak and/or absent systems of management, weak rule of law, and poor checks and balances (horizontal accountability) within the system. For example, marginalized young men and women may be left out of policy processes related to the design and implementation of state-driven programs in favor of elite young people who are aligned to political parties. This happens in contexts where the 'rules of the game' favor the distribution of public benefits through political channels rather than administrative ones and where there is little public accountability around the distribution of state benefits.

(ii) Exploitative power asymmetries: The challenge for IG, however, is not just one of absent or weak systems and institutions. As highlighted in the World Development Report (WDR) 2017, "the unequal distribution of power in the policy arena can lead to exclusion, capture, and clientelism."[30] These practices have direct implications for the ability of citizens to participate in and influence policy and budget processes. Inclusive governance presents a direct challenge to 'power asymmetries.' According to the WDR 2017[31], power asymmetries are where individuals in the system have an ability to disproportionately cause harm to others through the instruments of the policy and budget processes. Understanding how power asymmetries are formed, the incentives for public authorities, and how this impacts the participation and interests of the poor is a key consideration for IG.

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[28] CARE UK Governance Strategy 2008-2013

[29] Bordia Das, M. (2013). Inclusion matters: the foundation for shared prosperity–overview. Washington, DC: World Bank.

[30] World Bank. (2017). World Development Report: Main Messages. Retrieved at
https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2017

[31] World Bank. (2017). World Development Report: Main Messages. Retrieved at
https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2017

Women leaders in Suuqsade, Somalia
Photo by CARE/Georgina Goodwin

For instance, conflict, political instability and a weak central government in Somalia can be cited as a reasonable claim for the inability of PAs to include young people and women in peace and community development processes. However, while this happens, patriarchal and other forms of harmful social norms are being reinforced. This poses significant challenges for IG as the power imbalance in the system also tend to produce less transparent, inclusive and accountable practices. Despite significant evidence that the political participation of women can make a significant difference in statebuilding and peacebuilding,[32] [33] the systematic exclusion of women, young people, the disabled and other marginalized groups is sometimes seen as part of the collateral damage of the institutional dysfunction within settings of fragility.

(iii) Poor collective action capabilities: A key consideration for IG in FCAS contexts is how civil society can organize in peaceful but effective, politically smart ways. Often the tendency is for some groups in the community to self-organize into armed groups and gangs in order to make known their demands or claim perceived rights. This sometimes ends up inflicting more harm and damage to other members of the community than on the oppressive system they aim to up-end. Civil society's capability to self-mobilize and build solidarity for collective action is an important condition for IG. Often civil society is loosely organized, divided, and has weak capacity to influence and drive change on issues about which marginalized groups care, especially in FCAS. Social movements are known to foster political engagement and a sense of citizenship. According to research from the Governance and Social Development Resource Center, "Social movements have the potential to democratize the state and foster a sense of citizenship amongst movement members".[34] However, civil society can also reflect the social norms, tribal,

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[32] Castillejo, C. (2018) The political participation and influence of marginalised women in fragile and conflict affected settings. The Hague: CARE Nederland. Retrieved from
https://insights.careinternational.org.uk/media/k2/attachments/Political_participation_influence_marginalised_women_in_FCAS.pdf
[33] Castillejo, C. (2016) Women political leaders and peacebuilding. Norway: Norwegein Peacebuilding Resource Center. Retrieved from https://ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/resources/docs/6ccaf3f24b120b8004f0db2a767a9dc2.pdf
[34] Earle, L. (2011) Literature Review on the Dynamics of Social Movements in Fragile and Conflict-Affected States. Birmingham: UK Department for International Development (DFID) through the Emerging Issues Research Service of the Governance and Social Development Resource Centre GSDRC). Retrieved from https://gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EIRS13.pdf

ethnic and political disagreements and divides that affect the context or region in which they are based. For IG to be effective and transform institutions, CSOs must develop the agility and influence to build pro-reform coalitions across sectors and levels (e.g., national, sub-national and international), sometimes with diaspora and unusual suspects, to be effective in improving the state of governance in FCAS.[35]

3.4 Contextual Factors & Beliefs about IG

In FCAS, some key public institutions do not have legitimacy, societal expectations, or capacity to meet the needs of marginalized groups. As a result, the effects of external and internal shocks on people make survival or improvements in wellbeing difficult.[36] PAs usually have relatively little experience in governance work and there is a lack of effective civil society organizations (CSOs) in FCAS. Much donor policy on fragile states has been focused on building 'effective' but not necessarily accountable states, while **no society will be stable until its citizens (and civil society) can hold their state to account**. Tensions and challenges of governance in FCAS give rise to informal rules and the prominence of informal institutions,[37] which can have the effect of exacerbating conflict and violence as communities compete for scarce resources.

Although some FCAS regions buy-into and champion IG development, others reflect lower motivation and understanding to recognize the benefits. Contextual factors that enable or disable social norms and practices exist within the individual citizens of FCAS to the FCAS context itself, as well as within the government institution either within PAs' government offices (the workplace of PAs) or the government system itself (the regional or national government).

Factors associated with the *FCAS system (chrono level)* itself include resource scarcity, but also a **strong in-out group culture**. Within the broader *government system (macro level)*, factors that may impact IG include **unclear legal frameworks, internal political influence, external national political influence** ranging from opinion leaders to informal power holders like clan elders, and **external international political influence** from donors to foreign governments and stakeholders. These factors can encourage preferential treatment practices for voters, or social norms linked using elders as a primary and sole source of decision making about a community.

Within the government *office/workplace (meso level)*, factors may include how **positions are acquired, promotions are received, internal processes** like rules or culture are shaped and sustained, the amount of **time allocated to staff to prioritize IG development tasks**, and broader **lack of training or capacity** provided. These factors can contribute to social norms such as one should not overperform, or one must not question their superiors. At the PA *individual level (micro level)*, factors may include personal beliefs or feelings, from **fear to morals, lack of education or experience, and competing roles**, like the balance between acting as a PA but also as a citizen. Lack of education as a factor, for example, may lead women to believe and enforce the internalized norm that women are not capable of engaging in political discussion.

[35] O'Meally, S. C. (2013) Mapping Context for Social Accountability. Washington, DC, USA: The World Bank Group. Retrieved from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1193949504055/Context_and_SAcc_RESOURCE_PAPER.pdf
[36] Oxfam (2015) In the national interest: poverty, security and aid for fragile states retrieved from https://views-voices.oxfam.org.uk/2015/12/in-the-national-interest/
[37] Green, D, 2017 Theories of Change for Promoting Empowerment and Accountability in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Setting https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/13349/Wp499_Online.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

4. Understanding Social Norms

> **What is a social norm? Where do social norms come from and what sustains them? How can we change social norms?**
> This section addresses these questions by building an understanding of the concept of social norms, defining and distinguishing it from similar concepts, describing how social norms evolve, and outlining how we might approach changing social norms.

4.1   Defining Social Norms

Social Norms: The behavioral rules and expectations (formal and informal) that are constructed and shared by a reference group; they can be reinforced through sanctions.

4.1.1   Rules & Expectations

Social norms are made up of two types of expectations, **empirical** and **normative**.[38] An **empirical expectation** (EE) is a descriptive norm or collective behavioral norm – a belief about what others do; what is an acceptable practice. A **normative expectation** (NE) is an injunctive norm or collective attitudinal norm – a belief about what others think one should do; what is common practice. It may not be acceptable to engage in corrupt behavior (EE), for example, but it may be believed to be common (NE). Both categories are often delineated as behaviors that are *typical* and those that are *appropriate*.[39] People may conform to a social norm when both expectations align, i.e. they follow a norm and also feel compelled to follow this norm. The nature of these expectations and rules within relatively weak and fragile public institutions in FCAS is of significant import to IG. This is largely because of the perverse incentives that are often in place that tempt public authorities to apply informal rules despite potentially having their own moral views about what should be acceptable.

4.1.2   The Reference Group

Social norms are socially constructed and shared through a reference group. The reference group consists of the people (e.g. family, colleagues) whose opinions on the specific issue addressed through the social norm at hand tend to matter the most. **Reference groups differ depending on context and social norms differ with reference groups.** For example, some groups may influence who has a voice over others, while others may influence engagement in IG service delivery programs.[40] As the strength of relationships grow with a reference group, social norms shared within that reference group may become more sustainable. In FCAS, the influence of reference groups may supersede the rule of law when law functions ineffectively and trust is stronger within reference groups than with the legal system. Also, standards and expectations of behavior may vary across different social groups. For example, one social group may perceive a woman's role as the upholder of family values, rendering them trustworthy and capable of representing them in parliament, while another group may feel this role renders them incapable and underqualified, and that they should have no role in parliament.

4.1.3   Sanctions

The social influence of reference groups is enforced through positive or negative sanctions. Sanctions refer to the approval or disapproval of one's actions by a reference group resulting in consequences that reinforce and sustain behaviors in place ranging from reward, like community respect or a promotion, to punishment, like public shaming or loss of credibility.[41]

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[38] Bicchieri, C. (2016). Norms in the wild: How to diagnose, measure, and change social norms. Oxford University Press; Bicchieri, C, and Hugo M. (2014). Norms and beliefs: How change occurs. Jerusalem Philosophical Quarterly 63 (January): 60–82.

[39] Heise, L. & Manji K. (2016). Social Norms. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 31. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. Retrieved from https://gsdrc.org/professional-dev/social-norms/

[40] CARE (2017). Applying Theory to Practice: CARE's Journey Piloting Social Norms Measures for Gender Programming. CARE Gender Justice. CARE. Retrieved from http://www.care.org/sites/default/files/applying_social_norms_theory_to_practice_cares_journey.pdf (SNAP Framework)

[41] Jackson, D., & Kobis, N. (2018). Anti-corruption through a social norms lens. U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. Retrieved from https://www.u4.no/publications/anti-corruption-through-a-social-norms-lens

4.1.4 Distinguishing Social Norms

Social norms are distinct from behaviors, attitudes and beliefs. **Social norms depict social pressures and expectations to behave**; they directly or indirectly dictate behavior, but they are not the behavior itself.[42] **The stronger the norm, the stronger the social pressure to act a certain way**. Cislaghi & Heise (2018) depict this strength of influence along a spectrum from possible to obligatory behavior (see Figure 2 below).[43] The strength of a social norm may be dictated by the strength of sanctions, i.e. the worst punishment or the best reward. A **primary norm,** like *a woman should not speak if a man is in the room*, has a direct impact on behavior. A **secondary norm,** like *a woman cannot make important decisions* has an indirect impact on behavior. In many cases, these norms may be competing or reinforcing one another. In a corrupt system, for example, a government official may face the primary norm against stealing and a secondary norm to expect bribes to support their families from their community. The stronger norm (the one that exerts more social pressure or has more severe sanctions) will most likely dictate behavior.
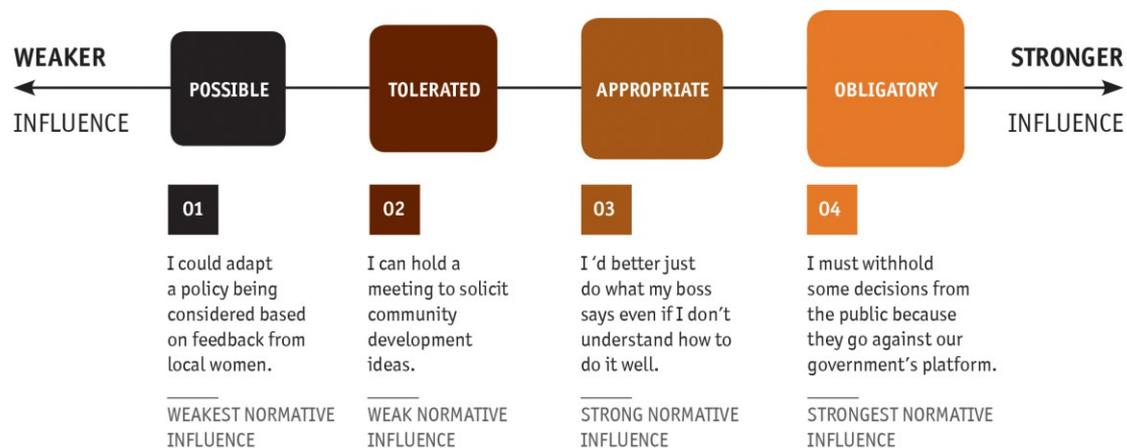
Figure 2: Adapted based on Cislaghi, B. and Heise, L. (2018). Four avenues of normative influence: A research agenda for health promotion in low and mid-income countries. Health Psychology.

It is important to note that there are key differences between social norms, attitudes, and beliefs. Understanding these concepts in detail are beyond the scope of this paper, but for more information about these distinctions, see Annex 2.

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[42] Scharbatke-Church, C., & Chigas, D (2019). Understanding social norms: a reference guide for policy and practice. Henry J Lier Institute, Tufts University.

[43] Cislaghi, B., Heise, L. 2017 October. Embedding Social Norms for Effective Anti-Corruption Interventions. CDA. Retrieved from https://www.cdacollaborative.org/blog/embedding-social-norms-effective-anti-corruption-interventions/; Jackson, D., & Kobis, N. (2018). Anti-corruption through a social norms lens. U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. Retrieved from https://www.u4.no/publications/anti-corruption-through-a-social-norms-lens

4.2   Social Norm Evolution & Sustainability

All social norms exist to serve a purpose within a system. In the event of resource scarcity, for example, social norms enabling corruptive behaviors or violence may surface when a government cannot provide service to all its citizens. [44] **Social norms cannot enforce themselves; they propagate through a system of collective behaviors and beliefs**. [45] They are conceived and shared through reference groups. Beliefs form through experience, reflection and testimony, and are upheld by social proof and coherence (doing what others do). A norm may emerge from *misunderstanding a behavior*, for example, and sustain through reference group pressures.

Social norms evolve and sustain through individual, social and structural factors. They become stronger and weaker depending on the severity of sanctions (identified earlier). Social norms are sustained when empirical and normative expectations align, i.e. when there is overlap between what people think is typical behavior and what is approved. Whether these expectations are accurate or not, people often practice these social norms and impose sanctions on those that reject them based on these expectations.

Factors sustaining social norms

Individual: People choose to continue to practice social norms and impose sanctions on others for breaking these norms because of internal perceptions about a practice, independent of what is expected of them. For example, a PA may face pressure to engage in corrupt behaviors but feel that it is intrinsically wrong.

Social: People choosing to continue to practice social norms and impose sanctions on others for breaking these norms because of a correct or incorrect perception about what people think is typical behavior and what is approved. For example, PAs accepting bribes, and forcing their peers to also accept bribes or risk being fired from their position as someone who is untrustworthy.

Structural: People choosing to continue to practice social norms and impose sanctions on others for breaking these norms because one social norm is dependent on another norm. For example, the social norms linked to corruption, like bribery, may be sustained by the kinship norm (the expectation to support friends and personal networks first).

4.3   Social Norm Change

Social norm change can occur through a variety of different complex and intricate processes and there is no one-size-fits-all approach to addressing norms.[46] The process of changing social norms involves acknowledging the complex relationship between norms, the individual and their context, as well as the relationship between norms themselves. At the individual level, the ability to make one's own decisions and act against the collective (and reference group) is crucial for norms to change. Social norm change requires **building individual and collective self-efficacy** (what I believe I can do and what we believe we can do) as a means to address both independent and interdependent norms.

Social norm change involves **accounting for any primary and secondary norms that may compete with or reinforce one another**. In many instances, social norms can be self-reinforcing, the more they are adopted the more they are reinforced. One norm may be dependent on another norm, like participatory behaviors may depend on gender norms. Understanding multiple norms may reveal the need to override or disconnect local norms with national norms, like demonstrating that community-level norms linked to domestic violence is outweighed by norms being established by the federal government linked to peace building. Therefore, we must identify social norms, but also the strength of norms.[47]

[44] Scharbatke-Church, C., & Chigas, D (2019). Understanding social norms: a reference guide for policy and practice. Henry J Lier Institute, Tufts University.

[45] Hoffmann, L. K., & Navanit Patel, R. (2017). Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria: A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions. Chatham House.

[46] Menocal AR. (2016). "It's all about inclusion, but how? World Bank Blogs, World Bank Group. Retrieved from https://blogs.worldbank.org/governance/it-s-all-about-inclusion-how.

[47] Heise, L. & Manji K. (2016). Social Norms. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 31. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. Retrieved from https://gsdrc.org/professional-dev/social-norms/; Mackie, G. et al. (2016). What are social norms? How are they measured? New York, USA: UNICEF.

Women in Niger discussing how to utilize technology to serve their community.
Photo by CARE Niger

4.3.1 Systematic norm change processes

The process of changing a norm concludes when a critical mass of norm adopters creates a "tipping point" when a new norm becomes the standard and an old norm falls out of fashion.[48] It is possible to think of norm change through three main processes: 1) contextual drivers of change such as large-scale events, economic development, or the spread of technology; 2) deliberate efforts to encourage change such as laws, policies, programs, or social/political activism; and 3) exposure to new ideas and practices that get discussed through formal and informal channels (conversations, role modeling), including the media.

Broader social change is brought about through **addressing social norms in conjunction with the contextual factors** that enable and disable these norms. Social norm change is naturally gradual and incremental, though contextual drivers such as paradigm-shifting events (e.g., war or other crises) that offer an opportunity to more quickly shift norms.[49] There are many drivers of social norm change that fluctuate across contexts and time, though ODI (2014) suggests that the most significant are "economic change, education and exposure to new ideas via the media or other communication processes".[50] Another driver of change is when neighboring states (or regions) adopt new norms; these neighbors should be similar (e.g., same language, etc.) and have regular contact.[51]

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[48] van Ham, P. (2010). *Social Power in International Politics.* London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group; Mackie, G., & LeJeune, J. (2009). *Social Dynamics of Abandonment of Harmful Practices: A New Look at the Theory.* UNICEF. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

[49] van Ham, P. (2010). *Social Power in International Politics.* London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

[50] Marcus, R., Page, E., Calder, R., & Foley, C. (2014). Drivers of change in gender norms. London: Overseas Development Institute.

[51] Weldon, S., & Htun, M. (2013). Feminist Mobilisation and Progressive Policy Change: Why Governments Take Action to Combat Violence Against Women. *Gender & Development , 21* (2), 231-247.

Governments, INGOs, CSOs, activists, or other organizing bodies may craft deliberate **interventions** aimed at changing social norms. **Communicating and translating shared beliefs to the outsiders of the recognized social norms** may incite sustainable social norm change.[52] Once people begin to change their behavior in the community and the change becomes highly visible (i.e., enough people are making the change), then the organized diffusion of information from participators to non-participators of change becomes more effective. An evaluation in East Africa found that organized diffusion can change people's attitudes and behaviors even when they personally disagree with the new norm.[53] **Diffusion is most effective when the speaker and listener know each other very well** because the speaker can specially tailor the message and reliably predict reactions of the listener; starting in the family first is typically most successful.[54]

In reference groups, the aim must be to **influence and create new beliefs within a critical mass** of the group so that their collective expectations enable new behaviors to emerge.[55] Collective action on social norm change is sometimes impeded because people have misconceptions about what other people really think.[56] A study in Nigeria found that people underestimated how many people believed that corruption was wrong and deduced that corruption may reduce if people understood how many others actually shared their personal beliefs about corruption being morally unacceptable. Thus, Mackie et al (2016) suggests using direct experience or credible testimony to **show how one social norm can be outweighed by a more important one.[57]** For example, when a village community in India was exposed to female political leaders, they developed more equal views at the household level on the effectiveness of men and women leaders.[58]

One of the most commonly cited warnings for social norm change initiatives is to **undergo change gradually by replacing one norm with another**.[59] When undergoing social norm change, all existing norms must be replaced with a new norm rather than just eliminating a norm all together. This ensures that a void is not left and that the norm change will be more sustainable.[60] To replace a social norm, leaning on other widely agreed upon, strong existing norms that may have a higher moralistic value can be an effective mechanism to argue for change.[61]

[52] Koni Hoffmann, L., & Navanit Patel, R. (May 2017). *Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions.* London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs.

[53] Cislaghi, B., Denny, E.K., Cissé, M. et al. (2019). Changing Social Norms: the Importance of "Organized Diffusion" for Scaling Up Community Health Promotion and Women Empowerment Interventions. Prevention Science, 20, 936–946.

[54] Cislaghi, B., Denny, E.K., Cissé, M. et al. (2019). Changing Social Norms: the Importance of "Organized Diffusion" for Scaling Up Community Health Promotion and Women Empowerment Interventions. Prevention Science, 20, 936–946.

[55] Heise, L. & Manji K. (2016). Social Norms. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 31. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. Retrieved from https://gsdrc.org/professional-dev/social-norms/

[56] Koni Hoffmann, L., & Navanit Patel, R. (May 2017). *Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions.* London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs; World Bank. (2012). *Gender Equality and Development. World Development Report 2012.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

[57] Cialdini, R. B., Kallgren, C. A., & Reno, R. R. (1991). A focus theory of normative conduct: A theoretical refinement and reevaluation of the role of norms in human behavior. In Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 24, pp. 201-234). Academic Press; Mackie, G. et al. (2016). What are social norms? How are they measured? New York, USA: UNICEF.

[58] World Bank. (2012). *Gender Equality and Development. World Development Report 2012.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

[59] van Ham, P. (2010). Social Power in International Politics. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group; Paluck, E., Ball, E., Poynton, C., & Siedloff, S. (2010). Social Norms Marketing Aimed at Gender-Based Violence: A Literature Review and Critical Assessment. New York: International Rescue Committee; UNICEF (UN Children's Fund). (2013). Female Genital Mutilation/ Cutting: A Statistical Exploration. New York: UNICEF; Raymond, L., Weldon, L., Kelly, D., Arriaga, X., & Clark, A. (2013). Norm-Based Strategies for Institutional Change to Address Intractable Problems. Political Research Quarterly , 67, 197-211

[60] Paluck, E., Ball, E., Poynton, C., & Siedloff, S. (2010). Social Norms Marketing Aimed at Gender-Based Violence: A Literature Review and Critical Assessment. New York: International Rescue Committee; Raymond, L., Weldon, L., Kelly, D., Arriaga, X., & Clark, A. (2013). Norm-Based Strategies for Institutional Change to Address Intractable Problems. Political Research Quarterly , 67, 197-211.

[61] Raymond, L., Weldon, L., Kelly, D., Arriaga, X., & Clark, A. (2013). Norm-Based Strategies for Institutional Change to Address Intractable Problems. Political Research Quarterly , 67, 197-211;

Community members in Burundi discussing
power relations between men and women
Photo by Irene Nduwayezu/CARE

4.3.2 Addressing power in social norm change

Social norms may originate from and reinforce the desire to acquire and maintain power and control. This is associated with the idea of 'power asymmetry', where those in power have a vested interest in keeping certain rules in place that advance their interests. **At all levels, social norm change involves addressing the power relations around that norm.** This may be done by leveraging powerful individuals in a reference group, or nodes in a network, to have a positive impact[62] or to promote a decrease in power.[63] Power takes many forms; it can liberate or dominate. Within different groups, some members exercise power over others to adhere to a social norm and a variety of responses from the "oppressed" members – from acceptance to resistance – can follow. Power is often defined only in negative terms, and as a form of domination, but it can also be a positive force for individual and collective capacity to act for change.[64] For example, women who experience the norm that they should not speak at public events where men are present, may choose to form womens' groups or networks to increase their collective action capabilities.

In addition to collective action, members of a group may target the powerful 'norm holders' and use their **social position, networks and relationships within the group to influence change**. Some examples of women's strategies to influence norm change include using their relationships and proximity to power holders. A paper by Kandiyoti (1988) reveals that women's strategies and mechanisms for coping with the operations of patriarchy in different sociocultural contexts has the potential for breakdown, collapse, and change in these systems as crisis points occur and new socio-economic relationships [between men and women] are constructed. These strategies are termed 'patriarchal bargains', which determine gender norms and relations as well as the possibilities for change and resistance in each situation.[65]

[62] Gladwell, M. (2000). The Tipping Point; Borgatti, S. P. (2005). Centrality and network flow. Social Networks, 27(1), 55–71. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2004.11.008

[63] Mackie, G. et al. (2016). What are social norms? How are they measured? New York, USA: UNICEF.

[64] Powercube.net. (n.d.). Expressions of power. Sourced at https://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/expressions-of-power/

[65] Kandiyoti, D. (1988) 'Bargaining with Patriarchy'. Gender and Society 2(3) (Special Issue to Honour Jessie Bernard): 274-290.cited in Marcurs R. et.al. (2014 Drivers of change in gender norms An annotated bibliography accessed at https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9184.pdf

4.3.3   Challenges of social norm change in FCAS

Understanding and trying to change social norms in FCAS poses unique challenges. First, **social norms generally have a stronger influence in FCAS than more stable countries**.[66] When societies are more segmented, rejecting a group norm can be devastating in contexts where group affiliation is key for survival. Social norms can offer a sense of order or predictability in volatile climates. Collectively, these factors can render it more difficult to identify and change norms. Additionally, the individuals and reference groups targeted to influence may have a limited vision of what is possible.[67] The **threat of negative sanctions can have more detrimental consequences in FCAS**. The desire to reject or change a social norm may exist, but the sanctions associated with breaking these norms may be more detrimental than the outcomes of compliance.

Further, inclusive governance is not always desirable for citizens, PAs, and the government institutions alike. In some instances, the **core principles IG aims to promote** (e.g., open-dialogue, community input and engagement in decision making, transparency) **may conflict with the cultural needs of those in power**. FCAS "are often characterised by *hidden power*. Hidden power includes behind-the-scenes contacts and informal links based on clan, ethnic or religious links."[68] Those that wish to break social norms and challenge power, including hidden power, could put them at risk of serious social sanctions including security concerns (e.g., ostracized, abuse, disappearance, etc.).

Emotional response, and denial in particular, may be an inhibitor of social norm change, particularly in FCAS. People may choose to avoid negative emotions by keeping unpleasant knowledge at a distance and deny it rather than confront it. This choice may explain, in part, social movement nonparticipation.[69] In the context of IG, it may be possible to extrapolate this finding to confronting GBV, shifting power dynamics, and other issues that are sensitive and conflict with social norms; **people may choose to deny that there are problems with exclusivity in governance** (e.g., women lack equal access to participate or influence policy despite having achieved success in being granted equal access by law) **rather than addressing it in an effort to protect themselves emotionally**.

4.3.4   Dangers of social norm change

Before partaking in any deliberate interventions aimed at social norm change, or while witnessing periods of organic norm changes, it is essential to **understand the possibility of negative externalities** resulting from changes. Resistance to social norm change could take the forms of physical violence, emotional violence, withdrawal of financial support, establishment of conservative policies, empowerment of anti-change politicians, religious fundamentalist opposition, amongst other consequences.[70] In some workplaces, for example, an individual may not wish to engage in corrupt activities. In situations where corruption is endemic, however, the penalty for rejecting social norms related to corruption could mean isolation, bullying, professional consequences, to potential abuse. Or, for instance, in South Sudan, women's increased political participation has led conservative elders to undermine some of their efforts.[71]

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[66] Scharbatke-Church, C., Hathaway, R. (2017). Are Social Norms an Important Missing Link in Anti-Corruption Programming? Henry J Lier Institute, Tufts University. Retrieved from https://sites.tufts.edu/ihs/are-social-norms-an-important-missing-link-in-anti-corruption-programming/

[67] Heise, L. & Manji K. (2016). Social Norms. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 31. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. Retrieved from https://gsdrc.org/professional-dev/social-norms/

[68] Green, D. (2017) Theories of Change for Promoting Empowerment and Accountability in Fragile and Conflict-Affected Settings. IDS Working Paper 499. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies. Retrieved from https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/13349/Wp499_Online.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

[69] Norgaard, K. M. (2006). "People Want to Protect Themselves a Little Bit": Emotions, Denial, and Social Movement Nonparticipation. *Sociological Inquiry , 76* (3).

[70] Alvarez Minte, G. (2013). Conservative Backlashes to Women's Bodily Integrity in Latin America: The Cases of Mexico and Chile. London: University of London, Birkbeck College, Department of Geography, Environment and Development Studies.

[71] Ritchie, H. A. (2018). *Social Norms and Barriers Analysis for Agro-Pastorialist Women and Girls in South Darfur, Sudan: Trends of Change in a Complex Context?* Khartoum and South Darfur: CARE International Switzerland.

Additionally, some power holders may be able to frame and manipulate people's perceptions to influence their choices. As we know from the literature, when people participate in governance processes they tend to view government outputs more favorably. This could lead to a potentially damaging cycle of typically marginalized groups with little capacity for making policy decisions being coerced unknowingly into harmful decisions, and then being satisfied with the outcome.[72] Hence the need to **ensure people get the correct information but also understand how to validate this information** is crucial. Also, there is a danger of governments engaging in 'open-washing' if they are forced to become more responsive, accountable, and inclusive, whereby they cherry-pick ideas from the citizens that already align with pre-determined government priorities to give an illusion of responsiveness and downward accountability.[73]

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[72] Herian, M. N., Hamm, J. A., Tomkins, A. J., & Pytlik Zillig, L. M. (2012, October). Public Participation, Procedural Fairness, and Evaluations of Local Governance: The Moderating Role of Uncertainty. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory: J-PART, 22*(4), 815-840.

[73] Wytze, A. (2016) Open Washing: Scratching Beneath the Surface of France's Open Government Initiative. GovNews. Retrieved from https://g0v.news/open-washing-scratching-beneath-the-surface-of-frances-open-government-initiative-4fe970a9fa8

5. Social Norms Affecting Public Authorities (PAs) in FCAS

> **Why should we study PAs? What are the known social norms, contextual factors and challenges that influence PAs?**
> This section describes the focus on public authorities and justifies the need for study. Factors identified in the literature that influence PAs ability to develop IG is provided. These include primary and secondary norms, contextual factors, existing beliefs on IG, and current challenges for IG development.

5.1 The Focus on Public Authorities

In recent years, much attention has been paid in the literature and in practice to the role of 'social norms' in defining behavior and deep-seated cultural attitudes and practices within communities, with a strong focus on the social norms related to gender. Less attention, however, has been paid to how norms amongst public authorities and within public-serving institutions get formed, generated and reinforced, and how this impacts IG processes. Further, little research exists on the norms and practices that impact female participation in government and political positions.

Social norms are particularly important for the IG discourse because the attitudes and practices of public authorities (that result from these norms) impact the opportunities, and sometimes the very survival, of some of the most marginalized and excluded groups in society. It is clear from the literature that the behaviors of PAs can have big impacts and improving accountability, for instance, requires cooperation from both the supply (PA) and demand (citizen) side.[74] The literature suggests that interventions are more successful when PAs are also supported with technical assistance in service delivery; when this is not the case, PAs may event actively obstruct efforts (e.g., falsify or block information).[75] So, understanding the factors that diminish accountability of PAs is essential.

The relative power of the bureaucratic and political elite and the offices they reside within can have the effect of **reinforcing power dynamics and discriminatory norms**, ultimately hindering transparency, inclusivity, responsiveness and accountability mechanisms for IG development. *In a sense, public authorities can take social norms to scale; reinforcing them at an institutional level and magnifying their impact on the groups they affect.* Consequently, the prevailing institutional ethos, incentives and the drivers for PAs and the social norms that promote or discourage IG are significant. For example, PAs' attitudes to the sexuality of people with disabilities (PWDs) may determine whether or not PWDs are engaged in public policy and service designs around contraceptive use if there is a prevailing belief that PWDs are not able to engage in sexual activities. Conversely, if PAs promote and champion PWD's rights to contraception, this may help to shift social norms and attitudes.

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[74] Centre for the Future State. (2010) An Upside-Down View of Governance, Institute for Development Studies, Brighton. And CARE (2011), Towards Better Governance: A Governance Programming Framework for CARE, CARE International UK, London. And Waddington, H, Sonnenfeld, A, Finetti, J, Gaarder, M and Stevenson, J. (2019). *Does incorporating participation and accountability improve development outcomes? Meta-analysis and framework synthesis.* 3ie Systematic Review 43. London: International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie).

[75] Waddington, H, Sonnenfeld, A, Finetti, J, Gaarder, M and Stevenson, J. (2019). *Does incorporating participation and accountability improve development outcomes? Meta-analysis and framework synthesis.* 3ie Systematic Review 43. London: International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie). And McGee, R. and Gaventa, J., (2011). Shifting Power? Assessing the Impact of Transparency and Accountability Initiatives. IDS Working Paper 383. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

5.2 Primary & Secondary Norms

Existing literature on social norms pertaining to IG in FCAS provides insight into the secondary social norms (indirect impact on behavior) that influence PAs. These social norms are associated with socio-cultural, economic and political contexts.

General socio-cultural	Gender and youth-specific socio-cultural	Economic	Political
- conflict and safety[76] trustworthiness[77] - reciprocity[78] - nationalism[79] - propensity for solidarity[80]	- power imbalance in the household[81] - physical limitations[82] - perception of capacity[83] - peer pressure to stay silent[84] - family honor and respect[85] - patriarchy and masculinity[86] - feminism[87]	- social hierarchy[88] - socio-economic balance of power and assets[89]	- corruption[90] - upward and horizontal accountability[91] - community's perception of capacity[92] - tendency to exclusivity[93] - lack of transparency[94] - existing processes and structures related to accountability and government structure[95] - extremist groups, religious beliefs, and religious or traditional/opinion leaders[96]

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[76] Ritchie, H. A. (2018). Social Norms and Barriers Analysis for Agro-Pastorialist Women and Girls in South Darfur, Sudan: Trends of Change in a Complex Context? Khartoum and South Darfur: CARE International Switzerland; Voors, M. J., & Bulte, E. H. (2014). Conflict and the evolution of institutions: Unbundling institutions at the local level in Burundi. Journal of Peace Research, 51(4), 455-469.

[77] Bicchieri, C., Xiao, E., & Muldoon, R. (2011). Trustworthiness is a social norm, but trusting is not. Politics, Philosophy & Economics, 10(2), 170-187.

[78] Scharbatke-Church, C., & Chigas, D (2019). Understanding social norms: a reference guide for policy and practice. Henry J Lier Institute, Tufts University.

[79] Hoffmann, L. K., & Patel, R. N. (2017). Collective action on corruption in Nigeria: A social norms approach to connecting society and institutions (pp. 1-53). London, UK: Chatham House.

[80] Helling, L., Serrano, R., & Warren, D. (2005). Linking Community Empowerment, Decentralized Governance, and Public Service Provision Through a Local Development Framework. Social Protection: The World Bank.

[81] El Bushra, J., & Sahl, I. (2005). Cycles of Violence. Gender Relations and Armed Conflict. London: ACORD.

[82] Kabeer, N., Khan, A., & Adlparvar, N. (2011). Afghan Values or Women's Rights? Gendered Narratives about Continuity and Change in Urban Afghanistan. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

[83] World Bank. (2012). Gender Equality and Development. World Development Report 2012. Washington, DC: World Bank.

[84] Kiss, L., d'Oliveira, A., Zimmerman, C., Heise, C., Schraiber, L., & Watts, C. (212). Brazilian Policy Responses to Violence against Women: Government Strategy and the Help-Seeking behaviors of Women Who Experience Violence. Health and Human Rights, 14(1).

[85] Petesch, P. (2013). The Clash of Violent Conflict, Good Jobs, and Gender Norms in Four Economies. Background paper for the World Development Report. Washington DC: World Bank. Retrieved from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTNWDR2013/Resources/8258024-1320950747192/8260293-1320956712276/8261091-1348683883703/WDR2013_bp_The_Clash_of_Violent_Conflict.pdf

[86] Green, M., Robles, O., & Pawlak, P. (2011). Masculinities, Social Change and Development. World Bank; Ritchie, H. A. (2018). Social Norms and Barriers Analysis for Agro-Pastorialist Women and Girls in South Darfur, Sudan: Trends of Change in a Complex Context? Khartoum and South Darfur: CARE International Switzerland.; Silberschmidt, M. (2001). Disempowerment of Men in Rural and Urban East Africa: Implications for Male Identity and Sexual Behavior. World Development, 29(4), 657-671.

[87] World Bank. (2012). Gender Equality and Development. World Development Report 2012. Washington, DC: World Bank.; Htun, M., & Weldon, S. (2010). When Do Governments Promote Women's Rights? A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Sex Equality. Perspectives on Politics, 8(1), 207-216.

[88] Helling, L., Serrano, R., & Warren, D. (2005). Linking Community Empowerment, Decentralized Governance, and Public Service Provision Through a Local Development Framework. Social Protection: The World Bank.

[89] Petesch, P. (2013). The Clash of Violent Conflict, Good Jobs, and Gender Norms in Four Economies. Background paper for the World Development Report. Washington DC: World Bank. Retrieved from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTNWDR2013/Resources/8258024-1320950747192/8260293-1320956712276/8261091-1348683883703/WDR2013_bp_The_Clash_of_Violent_Conflict.pdf

[90] Hoffmann, L. K., & Navanit Patel, R. (2017). Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria: A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions. Chatham House; Saikal, A. (2010, March). Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Question of Pashtun. Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 30(1); Chigas, D., Scharbatke-Church, C. (2019). Three Reasons Why Actors Working in Fragile and Conflict-Affected states must stop ignoring social norms. Henry J Lier Institute, Tufts University.

[91] Fox, J. A. (2015). 'Social accountability: What does the evidence really say?' World Development, 72, 346–361.

[92] Helling, L., Serrano, R., & Warren, D. (2005). Linking Community Empowerment, Decentralized Governance, and Public Service Provision Through a Local Development Framework. Social Protection: The World Bank.

[93] Norgaard, K. M. (2006, June 22). "People Want to Protect Themselves a Little Bit": Emotions, Denial, and Social Movement Nonparticipation. Sociological Inquiry, 76(3)

[94] CARE Nederland.(2018). EVC Learning Brief. CARE Nederland.

[95] CARE Nederland. (2018, 31 October). Every Voice Counts: Midterm Review.

[96] CARE Nederland. (2018, 31 October). Every Voice Counts: Midterm Review.

Drawing on existing literature on social norms as well as bureaucratic management and governance, a set of indicative IG social norms (one per element of IG) that may have a strong impact on IG development are outlined below:

- For public authorities, accounting to managers at senior levels should take priority over accounting to citizens (**accountability**)[97]
- The evidence from citizen participation and feedback is not necessarily an urgent priority requiring changes programs or services (**responsiveness**)
- Public authorities tend to engage more able and easily accessible citizens but neglect to utilize resources to reach the most marginalized and excluded citizens (**inclusivity**)
- Public authorities do not need to make information on policies, budgets, procurement and plans available to citizens and simple to understand (**transparency**)[98]

It is important to note that the social norms outlined above are not an exhaustive or exclusive list of social norms associated with the dimensions of IG. As this is an exploratory study, this research uses these norms as a foundation or proxy to generate similar norms and a bigger-picture understanding of the vast range of norms directing influencing PA behavior for CARE's six priority countries.

5.3 The Need for Norms Research

5.3.1 Evolution of governance norms research

In recent times, researchers have placed a renewed focus on 'Bureaucracy and Governance': bureaucratic politics or what is referred to as the "bureaucratic arena".[99] Mangla (2015) notes that bureaucratic norms refer to the "unwritten rules that guide the behavior of public officials and structure their relationships with civic actors outside of the state".[100] He further pointed out that "bureaucratic norms influence how officials enact their roles and responsibilities as they carry out the tasks of policy implementation … [and] shape the ways officials engage with citizens and civic agencies." This research aims to expound on the idea of the bureaucratic arena to investigate how social norms, and PAs, intersect with the wider system. Thus, the research makes the vital and needed connection between the social norms operating internally within bureaucratic institutions, as previously studied in the governance literature, and the factors enabling and disabling social norms across the wider system that affect PAs.

5.3.2 Interplay between norms and the system

There is increasing recognition that understanding social norms is crucial to building the power of citizens' voices, which is necessary for effective IG. A study across six African countries, for example, concluded that "*citizen voice is rooted in social norms*" (e.g., respect for elders).[101] Many contexts report relatively high inclusiveness and representativeness by PAs in FCAS, but other data shows progress is slow.[102] Experience and evidence from the EVC program and beyond recognizes the formation of entrenched social norms and related practices amongst PAs. These have served as key determinants for the responses of public authorities in relation to IG practices. For

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[97] Blair, H., 2011, 'Gaining State Support for Social Accountability', in Accountability through Public Opinion: From Inertia to Public Action, eds. S. Odugbemi, S. and T. Lee, World Bank, Washington DC, pp.37-52 Retrieved from https://issuu.com/world.bank.publications/docs/9780821385050

[98] Lindberg, S., 2010, 'What Accountability Pressures do MPs in Africa Face and How Do They Respond? Evidence from Ghana', Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 117-142 Retrieved from http://users.clas.ufl.edu/sil/downloads/Lindberg10_MPsinGhana.pdf

[99] Hyden, G., Court, J., & Mease, K. (2003) The Bureaucracy and Governance in 16 Developing Countries. London: Overseas Development Institute, World Governance Survey 7Discussion Paper 7. Retrieved from https://www.odi.org/publications/3141-bureaucracy-and-governance-16-developing-countries

[100] Mangla, A. (2015). Bureaucratic Norms and State Capacity in India: Implementing Primary Education in the Himalayan Region. Asian Survey, 55(5), p. 882–908. The Regents of the University of California. Retrieved from https://www.hbs.edu/faculty/Publication%20Files/Asian_Survey_5505_03_Mangla_219b4d54-2a4f-4a43-a0ab-d632628f8fae.pdf

[101] Tembo, F. (2012). 'Citizen Voice and State Accountability: Towards Theories of Change that Embrace Contextual Dynamics', London: Overseas Development Institute. And Domingo, P., Holmes, R., Rocha Menocal, A. & Jones, N., with Bhuvanendra, D., and Wood, J. (2013) Assessment of the Evidence of Links Between Gender Equality, Peacebuilding and Statebuilding: Literature Review. London: ODI. and Milabyo Kyamusugulwa, P., Hilhorst, D. and Bergh, S.I. (2019) The Importance of Gender Norms in Promoting Social Accountability for Women In DRC – Policy Paper 2. London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).

[102] Breton, N. and Douma, N. (2018, Oct). Every Voice Counts Program: Midterm Review. The Hague: CARE Nederland.

instance, during the EVC mid-term evaluation, over a quarter of respondents in Burundi reported bribery by public authorities occurring. Therefore, the practice of bribery amongst PAs may exclude groups that cannot afford to pay bribes to influence the outcomes that would most benefit them. Outside of EVC, for example, in a program to reduce corruption, Ghanian government program increased salaries among police (traffic) officers but not others: the result, an increase in the demand for bribes.[103]

The rules and expectations that govern the **social contract** between citizens and the state is central to the IG discourse, and weak social contracts often result in more localized and informal responsiveness and accountability.[104] That is because the interplay or exchange between state institutions and the citizenry in the delivery of public policy and services are not neutral or merely transactional. These interactions are influenced by **values, attitudes and beliefs that are constructed over time and which come to shape the 'rules of the game'**. Of course, these values, attitudes and beliefs are not created in a vacuum. They emerge from the very values and belief systems that occur in wider society. Detrimental normative beliefs and behaviors could get replicated within the institutional and bureaucratic systems of public policy and service delivery to reinforce exclusion and discrimination. This latter manifestation of norms is harmful and **gives rise to power asymmetries** that have a detrimental effect on IG processes. In this form, power becomes invisible and the rules get encoded within the system to establish a 'status quo' that is self-reinforcing. For example, a value or belief system that suggests that a woman's place is in the home may affect the woman's ability to speak up or participate in decision-making in public meetings. Thus, social norms play a critical role in IG processes and the attitudes and practices of PAs.

5.3.3 Contribution of this study to norms research

Understanding norms and how they get formed and maintained in institutional processes is crucial to understanding IG processes. IG is typically concerned with influencing and shaping policies and improving the accessibility and quality of public service delivery; important though this is, it risks achieving only low-level service and policy adjustments that are insufficient to transform culture and deep-seated power relations that sustain exclusion. **Understanding underlying norms is critical to understanding the underlying factors that prevent inclusive governance outcomes from being realized** and, as such, should be a critical variable in inclusive governance strategies.

We know from the evidence outlined above on the challenges of IG in FCAS, that the patterns of norm formation and how these create incentives that sustain behavior are complex. CARE's Inclusive Governance Learning Brief states: "Social norm change is as essential in fragile contexts as policy change".[105] Identifying and changing norms may offer an important strategy for bringing about changes to the bureaucratic system; this is an approach that this study aims to offer to this discourse. Social norms must be treated as part of a broader ecosystem for interventions to be successful. A systems perspective to understanding social norms is needed to better design interventions to treat social norms specific to IG programming.

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[103] Foltz, J. (2016). Do higher salaries lower petty corruption? A policy experiment on West Africa's highways. International Growth Centre.

[104] Holland, J. and Schatz, F. (2016). Macro Evaluation of DFID's Policy Frame for Empowerment and Accountability, Empowerment and Accountability Annual Technical Report 2016: What Works for Social Accountability, DFID.

[105] CARE Nederland (2018). Advancing towards promoting inclusive governance in Fragile Settings: A Learning Brief. CARE Nederland.

6. Country Background

This research is primarily explored through data collection in three countries. Two of the countries are described in brief below. The third country in which data has been collected is kept anonymous for privacy reasons.

Burundi: In Burundi, decentralization was enacted in the constitution in 2005 and today five administrative levels exist. The public authorities are nominated or elected depending on the administrative level[106] and at least 30% must be women at all levels except for collines. Burundi has a multiparty system, although the space for oppositional parties has been shrinking in recent years due to conflict and shrinking civic space. The EVC mid-term evaluation found that most people (87%) believe that women have an equal right to be elected, but only 40% think women have an equal opportunity. Less than half of female respondents' rate accountability and transparency of PAs as satisfactory. Despite this rating, the overall perception of the accountability of PAs is very high, with over 85% of people believing that planning activities are made known to the public, special needs of the populations are accounted for in planning, information is shared with citizens on activities, and needs and interests of the public are taken into account in decision making. Over 25% of respondents report bribery by authorities occurring, though.[107]

Somalia: Since 2014, Somalia has seen a rise in the institutionalization of federal, state and local level governments, which sparked a growing focus on inclusive political participation of minorities, women and youth groups. Many policies, frameworks and initiatives addressing inclusive political participation have been developed and launched across the country. Yet, despite these efforts, there has been no considerable change in political power, and women and youth are still undermined by their aspects of their culture like patriarchy and beliefs around their capabilities to engage. Understanding of inclusive governance is constrained by social norms influenced by religious identity of the population. Parts of Somalia lack functioning state structures, and clan leaders continue to influence the political system and decide who gets elected into the political leadership positions, giving little to no opportunities for youth and women. Despite these challenges, women and youth roles are making several gains, like the increased visibility of women and youth in parliament.

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[106] The Provinces are led by a central government-nominated governor and communal councils each have 25 elected members. The council is presided by an administrator who is supported by a team of technical and administrative staff. The collines have a five-headed elected council led by the chef de colline.

[107] Breton, N. and Douma, N. (2018, Oct). *Every Voice Counts Program: Midterm Review*. The Hague: CARE Nederland.

7. What are the social norms and related practices affecting the ability of PAs to develop IG in FCAS?

This question will be answered through four perspectives: public authorities, marginalized communities in general, women, and youth. For each perspective, themes, the corresponding system level(s), TIRA elements, and primary/secondary norms associated with that theme are summarized and described. Social norms and related practices listed were identified by participants including PAs and country experts in case study countries and content experts globally. As a result, the findings may relate specifically to a case study country or may be identified as a broader norm or practice observed in other FCAS. *The countries in which each social norm was identified during data collection are not indicated to avoid a potentially misleading assumption that the social norm is not present when a country is not listed* (i.e., the norm may be present but did not come up in this exploratory data collection). In the subsequent section, the enabling and disabling factors found as to why these norms and practices exist are described.

Woman in Burundi filling out forms to receive assistance
Photo by CARE

7.1 Public Authorities Perspective

PUBLIC AUTHORITIES	SYSTEM LEVEL				TIRA EFFECT				NORMS
THEMES	Chrono	Macro	Meso	Micro	Transparency	Inclusivity	Responsiveness	Accountability	
The IG mandate is created at the national level but fails to get properly implemented at the regional/local level		✔			✔	✔	✔	✔	**PRIMARY NORMS** • IG implementation should be the responsibility of the national government • Governments in FCAS must develop IG to comply with international obligations and to continue receiving foreign funding
Built/physical infrastructure takes priority over social infrastructure		✔				✔	✔		**PRIMARY NORMS** • PAs should invest in physical infrastructure before social infrastructure
If NGOs are developing IG, PAs may be less inclined to engage in IG development		✔					✔	✔	**PRIMARY NORMS** • Enabling IG development should be the responsibility of I/NGOs
IG is low priority and under-resourced at the regional/community level			✔		✔	✔	✔	✔	**PRIMARY NORMS** • IG development should not pull resources away initiatives perceived to be more important • IG development should not be a priority since it involves doing work outside of one's job description **SECONDARY NORMS** • It is more important to be accountable to your superiors than to the general public
Priority is given to informal power holders over the needs of the broader community			✔		✔	✔	✔	✔	**SECONDARY NORMS** • Priority or rewards should be given, and also accepted, from voters/political supporters (e.g. voting body) or clan affiliations • Priority or rewards should be given to, and also accepted from, those with power/assets • Priority or rewards should be given to, and also accepted from family, friends, one's community and personal networks • Elders should be the main voice for communities; decisions and communication should be done through them
PAs sometimes view IG as more of a hindrance than a benefit		✔		✔	✔	✔			**SECONDARY NORMS** • Engaging communities through IG will create more needs or questions than can be accommodated • IG implies relinquishing power to the citizens
PAs may not believe in IG, and if they do, they face competing secondary norms in the workplace and FCAS environment			✔	✔	✔			✔	**SECONDARY NORMS** • PAs should have all the power • Power and money are more important than IG • No one (PAs) should follow the rules or goes 'by the book' in the workplace • One (PAs) should not speak-up to authority, and one should implement whatever they're told • No one (PAs) should reveals secrets • No one (PAs) should try to change things or 'over perform'
Perceptions of Marginalized Communities interfere with service delivery	✔	✔	✔			✔	✔	✔	**PRIMARY NORMS** • Marginalized communities have nothing of value to contribute to governance

THEME: The IG mandate is created at the national level but fails to get properly implemented at the regional/local level

System level: Macro (Government System)
TIRA Effected: Transparency, Accountability, Responsiveness, Inclusivity
Primary Norm(s):   *IG implementation should be the responsibility of the national government*
Governments in FCAS must develop IG to comply with international obligations and to continue receiving foreign funding

Across FCAS, IG development is expected (within government and communities) to begin at the national level. National governments typically implement IG through varying policies or legal frameworks intended to trickle down to regional and local levels. In Somalia, for example, the government has implemented frameworks including the National Development Plan, the gender policy, and the National Youth Policy. Many FCAS, including Burundi and Somalia have mandated that 30% of staff should be women.

IG has been adopted both proactively and reactively. Proactive development implies that IG already has high-level buy in; leaders develop IG because they intrinsically believe that it will bring national peace and stability. Reactive development suggests that governments develop IG out of obligation. This appeared to be a norm in some contexts; governments feel they are expected to develop IG due to influence from international pressures, governments, standards and regulations, and risk negative sanctions of losing donor funding or ensuring foreign infrastructure investment if they do not comply. In reactive development, IG is frequently perceived as a developed world ideal imposed on FCAS. In both cases, the priority for IG development disintegrates as it moves to the local level, if it reaches that level at all.

All TIRA elements suffer with this norm, as it implies that IG is poorly developed at lower levels of the system or not at all.

THEME: Built/physical infrastructure takes priority over social infrastructure

System level: Macro (Government System)
TIRA Effected: Inclusivity, Responsiveness
Primary Norm(s):   *PAs should invest in physical infrastructure before social infrastructure*

In the data collection, numerous participants talked about issues with insufficient/ misallocated budget. They explained the practice of allocating budgets to physical infrastructure because of the belief that it is more important than social issues (e.g., GBV), so little to no budget is allocated to the general public (social infrastructure). While it is often true in conflict and post-conflict affected contexts, rebuilding damaged infrastructure is an important priority, PAs give value to visible structures more than constructing the people's "mind-set" and issues linked to gender balance, gender-based violence, along with other broader IG principles. PAs in two countries explained how issues often considered women's issues, in particular, are not always a priority (or at least not a very high priority). Respondents felt that the visible structures are easier to be evaluated on and accountable for to their superiors, so these are given higher value.

Physical infrastructure investment also provides the opportunity for corruption. From hiring those you know to getting a kick-back on a contract, there are endless ways authorities can abuse power for personal gain (positive sanctions) with infrastructure projects that would not be possible with social infrastructure. Lack of social infrastructure investment implies *inclusivity* and *responsiveness* to communities is lower priority.

THEME: If NGOs are developing IG, PAs may be less inclined to engage in IG development

System level: Macro (Government System)
TIRA Effected: Responsiveness, Accountability
Primary Norm(s): *Enabling IG development should be the responsibility of I/NGOs*

I/NGOs play a substantial role in enabling IG development, and many participants highlighted that sensitivity trainings and capacity-building initiatives with PAs and community leaders were some of the primary channels for building the elements of IG. Conversely, relying on I/NGOs has mixed outcomes in terms of dynamics with the state (macro). In some contexts, PAs see themselves as 'gatekeepers of NGO work.' They say they (the government) are doing what they are supposed to be doing, but, in reality, they will offload their IG development responsibilities onto I/NGOs while still getting credit for building these capabilities (positive sanctions). They become less *accountable* and *responsive* to communities, since the I/NGOs may do that job for them. As one content expert explained, funding I/NGOs to do the work that the state is supposed to do enables a dependence relationship with the global north. Further, I/NGOs doing IG work also frees up limited resources to be siphoned to personal causes/friends and reduces pressure from the citizenry (positive sanctions).

THEME: IG is a low priority and under-resourced at the regional/community level

System level: Meso (Workplace)
TIRA Effected: Transparency, Inclusivity, Responsiveness, Accountability
Primary Norm(s): *IG development should not pull resources away from initiatives perceived to be more important*
IG development should not be a priority since it involves doing work outside of one's job description
Secondary Norm(s): *It is more important to be accountable to your superiors than to the general public*

Explicit and implicit norms were identified that influence PA behavior in the workplace (meso). Participants emphasized that PAs experience stronger pressure to be accountable upward (to their superiors) than downward to the general public, implicating all TIRA elements of IG. Despite national mandates, management further down

the organizational structure under-prioritizes IG. This lack of senior support implies the perception of IG as a low priority venture is the norm in the workplace. This is reinforced with the norm that resources should be allocated elsewhere and, also, that IG work involves working beyond one's job description. Subsequently, IG development becomes heavily under-resourced in terms of time, money, training, and human resources. PAs frequently focus only on their job description (voluntarily or involuntarily) and deliver the status quo. Here, upward accountability pressures can also act as negative sanction for working outside of one's job description. Even if PAs think IG is desirable, they are heavily constrained at the local levels and IG ends up being developed ad-hoc or not at all.

THEME: Priority is given to informal power holders over the needs of the broader community

System level:	Meso (Workplace, Community)
TIRA Effected:	Transparency, Inclusivity, Responsiveness, Accountability
Secondary Norm(s):	*Priority or rewards should be given, and also accepted, from voters/political supporters (e.g. voting body) or clan affiliations*
	Priority or rewards should be given to, and also accepted from, those with power/assets
	Priority or rewards should be given to, and also accepted from family, friends, one's community and personal networks
	Elders should be the main voice for communities; decisions and communication should be done through them

Across FCAS studied, participants described the influence (and sway) of informal power holders on PAs in the workplace and in communities. These include clans, political parties, political supporters, friends, family, and the immediate community group of PA. PAs face social pressures to place the needs of these groups before the broader community they serve. In Burundi, one country expert remarked:

> *"If you are competent but you do not belong to a given party, you are excluded. Leaders seem to serve the parties not the people."*

Failure to conform to these norms can have severe sanctions. Ties are typically stronger with reference groups in FCAS than other settings.[108] In conflict areas, these relationships enable security and survival. Sanctions can span being fired to being isolated from a community, which can be devastating in situations where alliance is needed. Consequently, PAs frequently outsource, reward and/or prioritize activities related to IG specific to their reference groups with the strongest influence.

Community elders are another power holder group with strong influence at the PA level and the community level. Participants described that communities will often go to an elder in their community to relay their needs upward. PAs sometimes use elders as a conduit downward to their community.

THEME: PAs sometimes view IG as more of a hindrance than a benefit

System level:	Macro (government), Micro (individual)
TIRA Effect:	Inclusivity, Responsiveness
Secondary Norm(s):	*Engaging communities through IG will create more needs or questions than can be accommodated*
	IG implies relinquishing power to the citizens

In some cases, PAs refrain from IG activities simply because they perceive giving a voice to communities will create the opportunity for bigger expectations and broader demands that they may be able to accommodate (due to insufficient resources or other constraints). This affects PAs within a government system, but also as individuals. Meanwhile, as one content expert explained, experience has shown that communities can feel better by simply having a voice even if their needs are not always met. Also, many PAs believe that adopting IG practices implies giving up power to the public. In other words, PAs perceive that becoming more inclusive and responsive to the needs of the public means they empower the public while they disempower themselves and their institution (negative sanctions). In turn, PAs may be less likely to be more inclusive and responsive to community needs.

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[108] Chigas, Diana., Scharbatke-Church, Cheyanne. (2019). Three Reasons Why Actors Working in Fragile and Conflict-Affected states must stop ignoring social norms. Henry J Lier Institute, Tufts University.

THEME: PAs may not believe in IG, and if they do, they face competing secondary norms in the workplace and FCAS environment

System level: Meso (workplace), Micro (individual)

TIRA Effect: Transparency, Accountability

Secondary Norm(s):   *PAs should have all the power*

                                Power and money are more important than IG

                                No one (PAs) should follow the rules or goes 'by the book' in the workplace

                                One (PAs) should not speak-up to authority, and one should implement whatever they're told

                                No one (PAs) should reveals secrets

                                No one (PAs) should try to change things or 'over perform'

Further discussion revealed that power and money are heavy drivers in FCAS, and subsequently intrinsic and workplace motivators for PAs. They usually take priority over IG development. Power is valued more than education, and many view their position as a conduit and entitlement to power. Further, IG directly competes with these norms. To some, building inclusion into governance processes implies giving up power, while simultaneously creating more demand from communities. Conversely, many view PA's as having all the power. They perceive "...everything from data to contracts are theirs, they are the owner of everything." They make decisions behind closed doors, sometimes claiming they consulted the public without doing so, or may hide behind a lack of resources to justify failure to develop IG. One content expert interviewed reflected on work that he/she engaged with in Colombia, that breaking the rules is ingrained they one of their common proverbs: "only a fool follows the rules." There is generally a lack of internal sanctions associated with exclusion and misconduct, which both enables and reinforces corruptive behaviors. And, for those who wish to implement IG, they are expected (in most cases) to do what they're told without question, even if they disagree, and not challenge their superiors. It is generally frowned upon to try to over-perform or change things, and the social pressures are strong to not reveal the secrets of superiors not doing what they are supposed to be doing according to law or official mandate.

THEME: Perceptions of marginalized communities interfere with service delivery

System level: Chrono (FCAS), Macro (government system), Meso (Workplace, Communities)

TIRA Effected: Inclusivity, Responsiveness, Accountability

Primary Norm(s):   *Marginalized communities have nothing of value to contribute to governance*

Within all levels of government and FCAS context, marginalized communities are frequently believed to be inferior and are treated as people who lack capacity to engage in decision-making. The norm is that they are expected to be, and remain, weak and incapable of effective decision making or informing governance activities. This norm often leads to the exclusion of marginalized communities and can strengthen partiality to stronger reference groups. Single mothers were identified as one group that is particularly vulnerable, for example. One PA in Burundi explained:

> "...for single mothers, they seem to see no future. As a leader, I tried to gather
> them together in associations so that they can earn a living and exchange ideas. Single
> mothers seem to be neglected."

In one country, a content expert talked about PAs perceptions, at times, that marginalized communities are poor, weak, etc. The expert elaborated that in response, citizens reported via social media cases where they are treated poorly based on the belief that they are poor or dirty, saying they are "...tired of them [PAs] because they [PAs] are abusing us or treating us harshly." Because of this norm, PAs may be less likely to be inclusive, responsive and accountable to marginalized communities.

7.2 Marginalized Communities Perspective

MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES	SYSTEM LEVEL				TIRA EFFECT				NORMS
THEMES	Chrono	Macro	Meso	Micro	Transparency	Inclusivity	Responsiveness	Accountability	
Marginalized communities can be equally disengaged in IG development			✔	✔		✔	✔	✔	**PRIMARY NORMS** • Marginalized communities are weak and cannot engage in decision making • Marginalized communities lack the capacity for decision making • Community meetings should not be prioritized because they are long, disorganized and a waste of time • One should be wary of information collected during meetings

THEME: Marginalized communities can be equally disengaged in IG development

System Level: Meso, Micro
TIRA Effected: Inclusivity, Responsiveness, Accountability
Primary Norm(s):   *Marginalized communities are weak and cannot engage in decision making*
Marginalized communities lack the capacity for decision making
Community meetings should not be prioritized because they are long, disorganized and a waste of time
One should be wary of information collected during meetings
Representatives should be the ones to make governance decisions

Marginalized communities can be self-disempowering. They can also believe and act based on shared internal perceptions that they are weak, and they lack the capacity to engage in inclusive governance processes. Community members can also feel disenchanted or lack motivation to participate in IG activities, and potentially feel the pressure by family or community members to not engage. One content expert felt:

> *"… citizens have very low expectations of their government … People don't want to have to decide about everything: this is why representative democracy exists. Should a politician invite everyone to have an opinion/conversation? People need to get on with their lives. What they want is to have someone to do it that they trust. People don't care about governance, they care about their children's safety, infrastructure, markets... I think governance is a second-order worry because they have basic needs that are not satisfied."*

Participants highlighted the perception that community meetings often go on for hours and they are disorganized. As a result, community members often will not engage based on this belief, combined with skepticism around norms linked to information collection. During meetings, for example, it is the norm for PAs to collect information about participants but not to disclose the destination or purpose of this information collected (which aligns with norms around secrecy explained earlier). In a culture of distrust and a traumatic past, this lack of transparency has adverse effects on open discussion and honest feedback from communities.

Religious leaders coming together in Niger
Photo by CARE/Johanna Mitscherlich

7.3 Women's Perspective

WOMEN	SYSTEM LEVEL				TIRA EFFECT				NORMS
THEMES	Chrono	Macro	Meso	Micro	Transparency	Inclusivity	Responsiveness	Accountability	
Women are excluded and self-exclude from IG practices due to their role and behavioural expectations in the FCAS context	✓			✓		✓			**SECONDARY NORMS** • Women must manage the household and uphold family values • Women must stay quiet, be nice, and remain non-disruptive • Women should be confined to the home or specific areas of public space
Women are excluded and self-exclude from IG practices due to their perceived capacity to engage and contribute in comparison to men	✓			✓			✓	✓	**PRIMARY NORMS** • Women should not engage in governance if they are older • Women should not seek a leadership role • Women should not contribute to decision making processes • Women should adjust their behaviour if a male is present **SECONDARY NORMS** • A man should have more power than a woman • A man should make all the decisions
Women can be hired as a PA but are discouraged from full engagement in the workplace and higher positions	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	**PRIMARY NORMS** • Women should be hired (or elected) but they do not need a role • Men are best for giving intelligent ideas and decision making, women are best utilized for executing these ideas • Men should do scientific work and leadership, women should do social and gender affairs • Women can run for political positions, but cannot become active or competitive, or seek to be president or lead a political party • Women who speak-up should be told of their error
Women who lead face competing identities in the workplace and in the home	✓		✓	✓		✓			**SECONDARY NORMS** • Women in leadership positions must respect cultural norms at home

Social norms and practices linked to the engagement of women in the IG process, either as a PA or as a community member engaged in IG activities, can be best explained along a continuum of engagement: from completely disengaged to engagement as a community member to engagement as a PA and leader. Different levels of engagement are described below as they relate to different levels of the system.

THEME: Women are excluded and self-exclude from IG practices due to their perceived cultural role and behavioral expectations in the FCAS context

System level: Chrono (FCAS Context), Micro (Individual)
TIRA Effected: Inclusivity
Secondary Norm(s):   *Women must manage the household and uphold family values*
                        Women must stay quiet, be nice, and remain non-disruptive
                        Women should be confined to the home or specific areas of public space

Women are frequently excluded from IG processes all together based on social norms linked to the FCAS context (macro) and internalized norms (micro) associated with their role and expected behaviors. In FCAS, it is common that the role of a women is to maintain the household and care for their family. This implies many women are bound to the home out of responsibility, but also lack the time to attend and contribute to IG activities. In sub-Saharan FCAS, for instance, women are expected to behave in ways that are non-disruptive, and they're supposed to 'be nice.' Although male violence against women is frequently condoned in FCAS, women are expected to stay quiet on issues (including IPV) inside and outside the home. In Burundi, for example, a woman must hide abuse to avoid further abuse and harassment by the family. Combined, they may be physically limited in public spaces. Some

are confined to the home, others are restricted from specific public places. This restriction can limit their access to information that would enable them to participate in IG activities. These norms and beliefs can lead to decreased inclusivity of women.

THEME: Women are excluded and self-exclude from IG practices due to their perceived capacity to engage and contribute in comparison to men

System level:	Chrono (FCAS Context), Micro (Individual)
TIRA Effected:	Responsiveness, Accountability
Primary Norm(s):	*Women should not engage in governance if they are older*
	Women should not seek a leadership role
	Women should not contribute to decision making processes
	Women who marry into another group (e.g., clan) cannot adequately represent their group or the group into which they married
	Women should adjust their behavior if a male is present
Secondary Norm(s):	*A man should have more power than a woman*
	A man should make all the decisions

In some FCAS, social norms may exist regarding underlying beliefs that women lack the capacity to engage in IG. A select number of participants (PAs, experts, and implementers) talked about how women are believed to lack the skills and knowledge to understand issues (e.g., technical and financial topics) or make decisions. Patriarchy is strong in FCAS. In public spaces (like community meetings), where men are present, women are expected not to 'speak loudly' and, in some cases, not speak at all. Generally, men are considered more powerful than women (husband and wife dynamics included). In a discussion on older women, for example, a content expert talked about how women in some cases can be grandmothers at age 35, which is still considered the cut-off age for youth in some countries. Then, they are considered "older" women and somewhat obsolete, meanwhile older men are perceived as knowledgeable and more valuable.

In Somalia, for example, women are considered incapable of representing their clan because they are the responsibility of the husband. Therefore, a woman cannot participate in governance and decisionmaking since these roles are typically decided by clan membership. A wife is not allowed to represent her birth clan once she's married since she has become a member of a different clan, but it is believed that she cannot accurately reflect her husband's clan's priorities because she was not born into it.

Coupled with external expectations on women in FCAS, research found that women also assimilate these beliefs and impose these expectations on themselves and one another as well. In particular, they can disempower themselves under the norms of being weak, lacking capacity and power. Together, these norms and practices can render PAs to be less responsive and accountable to women.

THEME: Women can be hired as a PA but are discouraged from full engagement in the workplace and higher positions

System level:	Chrono (FCAS context), Macro (government system), Meso (Workplace)
TIRA Effected:	Inclusivity, Responsiveness, Accountability
Primary Norm(s):	*Women should be hired (or elected) but they do not need a role*
	Men are best for giving intelligent ideas and decision making, women are best utilized for executing these ideas
	Men should do economic/infrastructure work and leadership, women should do social and gender affairs
	Women can run for political positions, but cannot become active or competitive, or seek to be president or lead a political party
	Women who speak-up should be told of their error

In many cases, study participants (in-country and remote) discussed influences (from the FCAS context and government system) on women that had been hired (or elected) into government or politics. Across FCAS, most countries have implemented a mandate that parliament should consist of 30% of women. Associated laws and initiatives, however, are a) enabling women to be hired or present, but not to have a role; b) restricting women to limit themselves to just the 30%; or c) not implemented or followed. In many instances, this mandate has been successful in increasing the number of women. The law brought in many women to governance, and despite expectations that women weren't able to play a role, they actually were able to and some of them have been quite strong leaders. They constantly have to fight against dissent, but they are there and playing a role. Conversely, the law could be enacted, but women are still not intrinsically viewed as equal and valuable. One participant explained:

> *"Local elections [can be] done in a way where they nominate people then they suddenly remember about the 30% quota and quickly vote in women because it's required by law."*

Another participant remarked during one government event she attended, women PAs were simply sitting in the room knitting (because they had no role) while men dominated discussion. Women often have an unequal role to men in FCAS. Men are perceived as being best for giving ideas and decision making; they are given positions in leadership and the sciences. Women, on the other hand, are best for implementing these ideas; they manage social and gender affairs. A participant from Burundi explained how women must work harder to gain trust. Women may also limit themselves, i.e. they may forget they can apply for other positions beyond those typically allocated to them. Together, the diminished value and understanding of women as PAs can imply male PAs and the broader government are less inclusive, responsive and accountable to women.

Tadfie Addise, Head of the Women and Children Affairs Office in Ebinat, Ethiopia:
"Just a few years ago, it was impossible to think of women in leadership positions. In fact, women had no place at the decision-making tables in their communities. They were severely undermined. "
Photo by Jennifer Bose/CARE

THEME: Women in leadership positions face competing identities in the workplace and in the home

System level: Chrono (FCAS Context), Meso (community), Micro (Individual)
TIRA Effected: Inclusivity
Secondary Norm(s):   *Women in leadership positions must respect cultural norms at home*

For women that manage to achieve leadership positions, participants explained they face competing identities in the context of FCAS. A country expert talked about the case of a woman senator:

> *"If my wife is a Senator, she is so powerful in the public space, but ... when she reaches home, she must respect the cultural aspects where a husband may tell [her] that [she] must know that this is my home and respect me and respect my instructions. The cultural beliefs are still patriarchal and negatively affecting the inclusion of women in governance."*

The same participant later explained:

> *"When we [both arrive home] from work together with our wives ... a man sits in his chair and waits for a woman to bring tea and she starts running in the kitchen and other home activities."*

7.4 Men's Perspective

MEN	SYSTEM LEVEL				TIRA EFFECT				NORMS
THEMES	Chrono	Macro	Meso	Micro	Transparency	Inclusivity	Responsiveness	Accountability	NORMS
Men may exclude or disempower women out of fear, powerlessness or misunderstanding	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓	**PRIMARY NORMS** • If men include women, they are allowing them take men's jobs and dominate • Men should be mocked for allowing a woman to the table • Men should not be taking care of children • Women should be viewed and treated as a homogenous group

Although women may surpass norms linked to their powerlessness, they are still vulnerable to deeper rooted norms linked to their role in the home. Likewise, men may face sanctions for breaking these gendered norms as well.

THEME: Men may exclude or disempower women out of fear, powerlessness or misunderstanding

System level: Chrono (FCAS), Meso (workplace), Micro (individual)
TIRA Effect: Inclusivity, Accountability
Primary Norm(s):   *If men include women, they are allowing them take men's jobs and dominate*
                      Men should be mocked for allowing a woman to the table
                      Men should not be looking after children
                      Women should be viewed and treated as a homogenous group

Some participants talked about how men may exclude women from politics and government because there is the common perception of fear in the workplace that women will take their jobs. One content expert explained:

> *"In a group of PAs, likely mostly men, women don't have a place at the table. I think that women should be allowed at the table. I will be mocked if I allow women at the table, etc. I can imagine those kind of gender norms stopping women and youth from being included."*

In the home, men who may be more progressive in their ideas towards women may wish to contribute to taking care of daily chores in the home and with their family. One participant, for example, explained that it is

inappropriate for a man to look after children. Many follow this norm out of fear of sanctions, such as being as bewitched by their wives. A participant remarked:

> *"When a man helps her [his wife] in the home activities, the relatives will say that the woman has bewitched the husband; even she cannot allow you to do that work because she knows the impact."*

Also, participants talked about how men (at the individual level) often view women as homogenous, with little understanding of various needs but also various capabilities and capacities. For example, one person explained:

> *"[Men view] women… as a homogenous group. There are different social clusters. There are some groups that are considered vulnerable and are consulted, but there are other groups that are marginalized that are not listened to."*

7.5 Youth Perspective (Internal and External Engagement)

YOUTH	SYSTEM LEVEL				TIRA EFFECT				NORMS
THEMES	Chrono	Macro	Meso	Micro	Transparency	Inclusivity	Responsiveness	Accountability	
Youth are excluded, and self-exclude, from IG development practices due to perceptions of lack of capacity, experience, and discriminatory beliefs	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	**PRIMARY NORMS** • Young people should be considered inexperienced; they are not able to make important decisions • Young people have nothing important to say • One should not speak if there is someone older in the room • Young people cannot head a political party or expect to lead **SECONDARY NORMS** • Youth are engaged in violence and extremism

THEME: Youth are excluded, and self-exclude, from IG development practices due to perceptions of lack of capacity, experience, and discriminatory beliefs

System level:	Chrono (FCAS Context), Micro (Individual)
TIRA effect:	Inclusivity, Accountability, Responsiveness
Primary Norm(s):	*Young people should be considered inexperienced; they are not able to make important decisions*
	Young people have nothing important to say
	One should not speak if there is someone older in the room
	Young people cannot head a political party or expect to lead
Secondary Norm(s):	*Youth are engaged in violence and extremism*

Youth are victim to many of the same norms and practices that hinder female engagement in IG processes. They are discouraged from participating under perceptions that they are incapable of leading, especially a political party. They are excluded more broadly because they are considered inexperienced and unable to make important decisions, and norms determining their behavior with elders lessen their voice to participate. For example, CSO staff from Burundi remarked:

> *"Adult men decide in the place of the youth. It's hard for them to accept that the youth can take important decisions."*

Young people are considered to have nothing important to say. This perception renders youth acutely affected by unemployment. Also, youth are also suppressed under the widespread perception that they are engaged in violence and extremism. Youth are excluded for these reasons, but also self-discriminate one another based on these norms, discouraging participation in IG all together.

8. Why do these social norms and related practices exist?

The nature of FCAS are complex, including the experiences and expectations of the people that share these spaces. This research identified competing social norms, enabling and disabling factors, and sanctions that can help to explain why some of these social norms and related practices exist.[109] Enabling and disabling factors, in particular, stem from all levels of influence affecting PAs including the FCAS context level (chrono), government system to workplace (macro to meso), community to individual (meso to micro). They may include factors like the volatile and traumatic history of FCAS, institutional desires for power or a culture of corruption, to competing roles as a PA versus citizens. The following will outline common points that emerged in discussion regarding social norms linked to IG and PAs, marginalized communities, women, men and youth.

8.1 Enabling and disabling factors for social norms linked to IG and PAs

CHRONO (FCAS Context)

At the FCAS level, the concept of IG, in many ways, conflicts with many of ingrained beliefs and learned behaviors linked with FCAS contexts. Elements like transparency and inclusivity can be incompatible with norms linked to secrecy and trust that stem from a **volatile history**. From genocide to conflict, there are deeply-engrained social norms that come out of trauma. *Recall, all norms exist to serve a purpose.* The genesis of social norms is when groups come together and create strategies to survive. Norms like 'PAs should never reveal secrets' or 'women should not speak out' can stem from this need to sustain safety and security. One content expert explained that he/she noticed while working in Myanmar:

> *"...the ingrained fear and not being able to tell your truth to anyone is still [a] very deeply embedded [norm] and this must affect the PAs much as it affects the citizens… Society has really developed out of norms from the brutal regime."*

At times, governments feels a need to curtail movement and freedoms for assembly. One participant remarked:

> *"There is a restriction on freedom: assembly, speaking on certain things. That has become part of the DNA and how we work. It is military. That is how our government is structured: you are asked to do something and you deliver without questioning. It's a history issue."*

Additional contextual factors that foster these social norms include **poverty**, **poor education** and **access to resources**. Together these factors help to explain the norms that develop linked to perception of capacity, the desire for power, preferential treatment, and corruption. Social norms influencing corruption, for example, can emerge when public services are scarce and human and/or economic rights are not respected. Cultural beliefs, like kinship norms (support your family first) also contribute. Conversely, informal sanctions linked to the refusal of reciprocity measures (like refusing gifts) may be more severe than formal sanctions for breaking a law as in accepting a bribe. In a Burundian context, one participant explains:

> *"In a place where there are very few opportunities, the fact that authorities are uncertain about their future and that of their families, they work to keep their positions and preserve the interests of those who helped them, despite their good will."*

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[109] *Note: discussion of risks associated with social norm and practice change are omitted from this study. Although acknowledgement of risk is critical in social norm change initiatives, data collected focused mostly on social norms and approaches to change social norms, with little discussion of risk to social norm change. A thorough discussion on risk associated with social norm change is recommended for further study.*

Women assembling in Niger for the
March4Women Campaign
Photo by CARE NIger

Linked with power, corrupt behaviors can result from positions of power, i.e. it is one's right and expectations to take and exploit power if they are in the correct position. For example:

> *"In Uganda, if you are a PA and not giving a positive answer (refusing to create a reciprocity... someone gifting you and you refuse), you can be banned from the group. This kind of pressure is strongly indicating you how to behave and act."*

Cultural and **religious norms** can trigger and reinforce norms linked to gender, youth, and marginalized communities. **Patriarchy** runs strong in FCAS, and heavily dictates the expectations and behaviors of men and women, as well with youth. The details of these factors are explained under norms linked to gender.

MACRO, MESO (Government System to Workplace)

At the government level, both macro (national) and meso (regional and local), these norms and practices often stem from competing priorities, misunderstanding of IG, as well as competing institutional norms. The desire for IG competes with the desire for **power**. And, as above, power is fundamental in a context fighting for resources and survival. Poverty is often the driver for PAs to accumulate wealth and not be held accountable for how they derived the wealth. PAs must balance both internal and external pressures to sustain and accrue power, while also manage being powerless to those superior (**upward accountability**). It is assumed that those who sit higher up in bureaucracy are also in a power struggle and less likely to be inclusive. If IG implies building responsiveness to a public that is incompatible with these lines of power, it becomes difficult for PAs to engage and implement IG. Alternatively, if the internal culture dictates obedience versus the freedom to speak up to one's superiors, it becomes difficult to encourage inclusivity and transparency.

Perceptions of IG itself can trigger these norms. One participant explained that leaders do not always link inclusiveness to all categories of people, i.e. that all people that must be involved include women, youth and disabled people. Inclusive governance and transparency principles are often known but they can be perceived as built on militancy more than on leadership. Inclusivity of communities may also be rejected in lieu of less subjective

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interest areas. Revisiting the focus on infrastructure, one participant explained the focus on physical versus social infrastructure:

> "Many leaders say that development is all about things which are visible which can talk on their own without the interpretation of any one. I can put more effort in implementing local development plans and changing the beliefs on how budget is drawn. The cases like Gender Based Violence (GBV) are not highly considered in development when a country is from the conflict and instabilities authorities just considers the infrastructures most."

A focus on physical infrastructure leaves no room for interpretation; PAs like to prioritize what is not arguable. Alternatively, **communities are excluded due to competing norms linked to clans, poorly organized government systems, and fear that marginalized groups may claim rights which aren't included in existing laws** (even though all three case countries studied have constitutions and legal frameworks that promote citizen participation). Combined, the presence of dominant ruling parties and violent elections disempower citizens to use democratic processes as a way of exercising their power and ask for accountability to those they elect in positions. The absence of true democratic elections keep those in power powerful while citizens are disenchanted to demand accountability.

Overall, there is a common perception that IG is a means to relinquish power. Building elements of IG, like accountability or responsiveness, implies empowering the public while disempowering the self and institution.

MESO, MICRO (Community to Individual)

At the community and individual level, PAs must navigate competing identities. PAs must **balance their identity** as an individual, a PA, and a community member. In many instances the norms that govern these reference groups are competing. So, in cases like corrupt behaviors for example, a PA may feel bribery is morally wrong and institutional corruption is not acceptable, but at the community level, their immediate networks and supporters may place stronger social pressures on the PA than at work. In many cases, the competing norms between this micro, meso and macro level can lead to negatively reinforcing IG norms and practices. Also, in situations where there is **no demand** from citizens for IG, then PAs will not likely promote and practice principles of IG.

8.2 Enabling and disabling factors for social norms linked to marginalized communities

The **self-discriminating norms** associated with marginalized communities create a positive feedback loop for exclusion. Often these communities have no resources to invest, whether social, physical or human capital. They may lack education, relationships, and money. If they are lacking in all three dimensions, it is difficult to believe in a capacity to contribute. Combined with a system that believes these communities lack capacity, this **cycle is self-perpetuating**. For those that may try to provide input, they are often discriminated by the ones that are supposed to listen to them. Otherwise, many do not believe in IG, they are not motivated to participate, and/or they do not place trust in the government to engage. Citizens also have low expectations of their governments at times.

8.3 Enabling and disabling factors for social norms linked to women

CHRONO (FCAS Context)

Many of the social norms and practices that hinder women's engagement stem from contextual factors including **patriarchy, poverty, a lack of education, and the opportunities to develop capacity**. As explained earlier, patriarchy is very strong in FCAS, and it perpetuates across all levels of the system. At the national level, it may originate from cultural or religious norms, manifesting and reinforcing the inequality and powerlessness of women. In conditions of poverty, a woman may wish to speak-up against an abusive husband but cannot if he is the main breadwinner of the family. The sanctions a woman may receive from disregarding patriarchal norms can have severe consequences like abuse from their family to rejection from their safety net. As described earlier in the section on social norms in FCAS, ties with reference groups are often stronger as they serve as fundamental to survival. Norms linked to poor capacity are, in part, due to poverty as well as access to education. Women

frequently lack experience in the mechanisms linked to IG. In fact, most girls have never attended university and many do not receive an education at all. They are also **devoid of key information** regarding IG processes when they are constrained to the home or specific public spaces. With a role in the home, women often do not have time to come out and participate. This global lack of capacity building and opportunity to participate perpetuates norms that women have nothing to contribute.

MACRO/MESO (Government to Workplace)

Within government, patriarchy mixed with **legal and contextual factors** generates and reinforces norms linked to the **powerlessness of women, low experience, and superficial participation**. Patriarchy dominates perceptions linked to power and capacity in the workplace. As described earlier, men fear engaging women because they fear losing their power. Including women directly competes with patriarchal norms, and incentives are low to fight these norms. One PA in Burundi, for example, argued that a man with two wives will hardly advise his people to avoid polygamy. Patriarchy may be spread in the workplace simply because there is no incentive to relinquish or share power.

Conversely, some PAs may wish to include women but often these traditional norms are more powerful than the progressive ones. In Tunis, for example, a content expert gave a story of a woman who bypassed norms of the Muslim brotherhood and was elected. Surprisingly, however, her biggest conflict was with the progressive parties who were pro-women. She found that, despite their mission, they prioritized practical issues over their beliefs about female equality.

Aversive social norms against including women may also be due to the perception that the inclusion of women acknowledges they are a group in need of **special attention**, and therefore special focus and dedicated resources. This competes with norms linked to resources and competing priorities and reinforces the perception of lack of capacity. PAs may not wish to prioritize women because they do not want to understand them. As one implementer remarked:

> "People don't want to listen because they don't want to see more people as a special
> group which would mean they need special attention/interventions. People don't
> want to understand 'why women'…"

This lack of understanding fuels norms and practices that influence efforts to accommodate gender in legal frameworks. Another country expert highlighted that often there is an **incompatibility between the laws and gender policies with cultural norms**:

> "...the problem lies between implementations. Legal frameworks and gender policies
> are there and well set but the problem lies in the implementations of fighting against
> the cultural factors that influence public authorities."

Competing norms linked to poverty, capacity and experience of women in the workplace have strong influence on norms linked to the full engagement of women. Frequently, women cannot engage in political elections because they do not have money to initiate or fuel their campaign. This outcome is a result of **poverty** and a patriarchal culture. A country expert described:

> "For the case of social, cultural and economic factors that influence their participation
> in the governance. In other affairs of life when you have capital it become easier
> to influence the governance. Rich people in the community are men it means that they
> are power holders and the poor people are women, so men do influence governance
> hence inclusion is disturbed."

In situations where women lack a role, they lack the opportunity to gain experience. Conversely, they are not given a role *because* they are perceived to **lack experience**. As described earlier, in contexts where a quota has been implemented, this perception of lack of experience made women to assume administrative rather than leadership roles in government institutions. It becomes a negative spiral. The perception of low capacity grows as quotas grow but women are often not given a means to demonstrate their capacity.

Woman leader speaking at the Village Savings and Loan Association group in Somalia
Photo by Raheel Chaudhary/CARE

MESO/MICRO (Community to Individual)

At the community level, **patriarchy** perpetuates negative social norms regarding women further through the immediate social networks surrounding women (e.g., families, churches, friends). Ties with these reference groups are often the strongest, implying the social pressures that come from these groups have the largest influence. Frequently, these social pressures – combined with contextual factors like lack of education and poverty – lead women to **internalize their oppression** and adopt these norms as their own while further perpetuating them to other women. In addition, expectations of behavior may also be internalized leading women to be shyer and hold back on giving opinions, or they may feel unsafe to engage.

For women that do engage in politics or government, they face **competing identities**; specifically, they are heavily pressured to meet norms in the workplace and norms in their community. Demands on women to succeed and the capability to accrue power in the workplace conflict with community expectations that women should grant power to their husbands and take on the responsibility of the home and family. Further, women's participation in meetings and public processes is acceptable only if she is also able to excel in household management (or be able to afford to outsource it). This scenario can trigger norms linked to lower engagement and experience of women in PA positions.

8.4 Enabling and disabling factors for social norms linked to men

CHRONO (FCAS Context)

Much like women are stigmatized with gender norms, men are as well and sometimes these men wish to and need support with rejecting patriarchal roles. At the contextual level, many of the social norms pertaining to female roles or the development of IG can be linked to men feeling **forced into their masculine position** of the provider, the powerful, the asset holder. For men that wish not to conform and decide to help out with household or family chores, for example, they are heavily sanctioned at the community level. Also, men are often overlooked in sensitivity training, which amplifies fear linked to engaging women and lack of understanding of the value of women in government.

8.5 Enabling and disabling factors for social norms linked to youth

CHRONO (FCAS Context)

Norms associated with low capacity and lack of experience stems from similar contextual factors as those experienced by women. **Poverty and a lack of education** contribute to youths' ability to engage and contribute. Conversely, the **perceived lack of capacity** from the PA/system perspective reinforces this expectation. This leads to a decrease in opportunities for youth to engage, learn and gain experience, while also reinforcing internalized beliefs within youth that they lack capacity.

Social norms linked to youth engagement in **violence and extremism** stem from cases where youth engage in extremist groups like ISIS. However, they often engage *because* they are marginalized; when young people feel excluded, or their needs are not met, they look elsewhere. In regions where youth are more educated, they may have greater expectations of their government and, if these needs cannot be met, respondents said there may be a higher likelihood of joining an extremist group to meet these needs and manage broader uncertainty about their future. Combined, the issue of unemployment acutely affects youth driving them further toward resorting to engage in extremist groups given uncertainty about their future.

MESO, MICRO (Community to Individual)

In contexts where elders speak on behalf of youth, young people may **self-exclude** because they may have different interests that misalign with what the elders say and/or the rest of the population. Many feel unheard if these interests are not recognized by the elders, and in turn, their governments, so they may choose not to speak up at all.

Girl in Somalia
Photo by Toby Madden

9. Recommendations

The synthesis of the social norms and related practices hindering the development of IG from the perspectives of PAs and IG actors (women, youth and marginalized communities) reveals eight challenges that could be addressed from national to local government, community and individual levels:

1. IG development starts at the national level and *gets deprioritized* as it trickles to the local level
2. IG interventions can be *too generalized* and should instead work with FCAS contextual factors
3. People *do not understand* IG across all government levels
4. PAs and IG beneficiaries are *disinterested and/or do not value* IG across all levels
5. Men and powerholders do not understand *the value of engaging* women, youth and marginalized communities
6. Changemakers face *competing roles* that undermine IG progress
7. Marginalized communities, women and youth *self-discriminate*, reinforcing negative stereotypes
8. PAs must balance needs to remain in power while also building IG mechanisms that may require them to relinquish power

Four recommendations on how to address these challenges are explained below through the three main beneficiaries of this report (public authorities, EVC & CSOs in the field, governments & INGOs) from a bottom-up approach (individual-community to national).

Recommendation 1. Build PA understanding of IG, elements of IG, and why to engage marginalized communities (across all levels of government)

Target Audience: PAs
Challenges addressed: 3, 4, 5, 6

Public Authorities & Governments in EVC Countries: Acknowledge the need to better understand IG and community engagement, co-create shared understanding and purpose for IG as an organization, while acknowledging fears and intrinsic motivations. Leverage citizen reporting online to listen and understand where IG needs are.

EVC & CSOs in the Field: Work with PAs to build their understanding and generate their own needs for IG and community engagement. Acknowledge the relationship between IG and individual needs or concerns such as power and trust. For example, quell fears associated with the loss of power, demonstrate how IG can complement power, and guide trust building within and between PAs and communities. Investigate working with traditional leaders but be aware of the social norms and power asymmetries that this powerful reference group holds.

INGOs & Donor Communities: Address country perceptions of IG as internationally imposed and/or a funding pre-requisite. Seek to de-couple thinking of IG compliance as a source of international funding/support. Foster and encourage bottom-up/locally-driven initiatives that build personalized understanding of, and purpose for, IG and community engagement. Leverage community leaders to help bridge traditional with modern approaches.

Recommendation 2. Build community understanding of IG, elements of IG, why to engage in IG, and community members' experience and capacity to engage

Target Audience: Communities
Challenges Addressed: 4, 5, 6, 7

Public Authorities & Governments in EVC Countries: Work with communities to build trust with PAs at all levels. Collaboratively identify local needs, fears, and motivations, and make the connection with leveraging IG engagement. Citizens often want their basic needs met before considering engaging in governance processes; so, couple awareness raising and developing a shared purpose for IG while working to meet basic needs. For instance, consider stipend internship programs for youth to gain experience. Encourage women to recognize and build their

capacity and experience. Leverage digital technologies and mechanisms online to expand opportunities for communities to engage in IG. Educate on what IG is and why it is useful.

EVC & CSOs in the Field: Work with community members (especially members of marginalized communities) to build understanding of IG, how it is developed and the benefits it provides to them. Make the connection between IG, FCAS contextual factors and individual needs (e.g., relationships with trust, security, poverty). Develop intrinsic motivations to engage while dispelling the feelings of fear and disempowerment to build confidence in the capacity to engage. Find a leader who will listen to the public and promote IG elements. A champion could be somebody who has informal or non-formal power such as an opinion leader or clan elder who has the ability to influence PAs.

INGOs & Donor Communities: Encourage and support bottom-up engagement in IG from the community level, specifically targeting PAs as community members. Encourage identification of champions within and between communities, fund at the intersection of communities and PAs, i.e. initiatives that encourage PAs and communities working together; seek and enable PAs that are able to model, promote and engage within and between communities. Fund CSOs to strengthen the capacity of PAs and community members alike to be able to more effectively engage in IG.

Recommendation 3. Co-create IG purpose and programming interventions with PAs and community when such interventions are absent, or build on existing interventions that are already working

Target Audience: All (PAs, communities including women and youth)
Challenges Addressed: 1, 2, 3, 4

Public Authorities & Governments in EVC Countries: Participate in and promote IG development programming that is created through collaboration between government and communities. Ensure proper representation of the communities being served. Be sure not to create outsiders and insiders; use community members to identify who is most vulnerable and work with these segments of the population (e.g., single mothers). Find a champion who discourages patriarchy and/or models progressive ideals. The right leaders can contribute to breaking norms linked with patriarchy by modelling ideal behaviors.

EVC & CSOs in the Field: Acknowledge there is no one-size-fits-all approach to IG development. Develop IG programming from the bottom up, get PAs and local communities to work together to define a vision for IG and where IG programming needs to deliver. Collectively identify any risks associated with the change of norms and practices and build ways to prevent and mitigate these risks together. Co-identify needs and motivations across groups and co-create IG interventions to address. Acknowledge the history of trauma. When trying to think about how to bring IG programming into these processes, or understand why these programs are not working, acknowledge the origins of distrust, that people understand IG slowly and implement slowly. Place efforts in trust building.

INGOs & Donor Communities: Promote and support IG development initiatives that encourage cross-sector collaboration, i.e. PA and community, community to community. Build IG purpose and programming at the intersection of the different stakeholder groups. Advocate for IG as a personalized intervention that is needs-driven and from the bottom-up. Ensure interventions do not act as a substitute for IG processes that should be a responsibility of the government and PAs; rather, fund and design programs that enable CSOs/NGOs to support PA-driven IG activities.

Recommendation 4. Include women AND men (adult and youth) in interventions across varying age levels

Target Audience: All (PAs, communities including women and youth)
Challenges Addressed: 5, 6, 7

Public Authorities & Governments in EVC Countries: Acknowledge the need to understand women and youth. Learn and identify the strengths of women and youth and play to their strengths. Women, for example, are often seen as more trustworthy. Create and/or engage in initiatives that bring women and youth with men to work together to build trust and experience with collaboration. Work to build the visibility of women and youth in general. Perceptions of female and youth capacity will change the more experienced and visible they are to both

men. Give women and youth a role in government and create opportunities for them to learn to fill that role and to engage in decision making activities. To support women and youth at higher levels, work with communities at the local level to reframe role expectations in the home.

EVC & CSOs in the Field: Design sensitization training and workshops or non-IG development activities that incentivize collective participation between PAs and communities to (directly or indirectly) build experience between men and women across age ranges working together. Consider targeting older age youth on building perceptions of capacity together (for both genders), encourage shared activities and building IG understanding and motivations. Work with PAs to increase the visibility of women in government, but also understand the strengths of women and how women are not homogenous. Focus on changing patterns of masculinity. Design or integrate training modules that seek to redefine what men deem as masculine and expand roles to include housework and child care.

INGOs & Donor Communities: Continue to lobby governments to encourage female participation. Support initiatives that give women a role in government, but also create opportunities for women and men to work together. Acknowledge men as changemakers that are frequently overlooked. Support programming that targets the awareness raising of men. Support male-female capacity building and collaboration exercises in youth as models/champions of future IG.

10. Limitations & Future Research

10.1 Limitations

The study must be understood through some key limitations:

- **Preparation**: There was insufficient time to test and customize data collection tools prior to the data collection phase of the research. Also, the questions included in the tools often demanded more time than was available, so the questions that were asked of each participant were left up to the discretion of the data collector, resulting in variable data collection between questions. There was little opportunity to conduct a group briefing on data collection tools and processes prior to the data collection.

- **Response bias**: All participants had the right and were given the opportunity to refuse participation, but none refused despite expressing some discomfort with going on the record (even anonymously) about norms and practices within their governments and with their colleagues. Therefore, it is possible that the findings skewed more positively because people did not want to give critical or negative responses. In two FGDs, the participants had different roles in the hierarchy. In these cases, the data collector noted significant bias in the responses given by the more junior/subordinate staff member in the FGD and a tendency to always and only agree with what was said by the superior staff member. The individuals performing the data collection in two countries had previous relationships with many participants as a facilitator of previous IG development workshops. It is anticipated that this relationship may have skewed responses to frame discussion around previous trainings. Some perceptions of PAs were gathered through external sources, e.g. CSOs, content and country experts. As such, some perceptions of PAs were generated deductively.

- **Sample bias**: The PA participants in the focus groups were all selected due to their involvement with EVC and/or associations with CARE due to the convenience of the sample. Thus, the participants are more informed about and/or engaged in the elements of focus in this study. Most of the central and local authorities interviewed were identified by their respective agencies/ministries rather than by the research team or at random. A letter was sent to the government offices and an interview participant was assigned primarily based on the relevancy of their position (e.g., Director of Good Governance, etc.). Also, each of the governance regions in the study received EVC interventions, so the PAs from these regions have received more resources and capacity strengthening than most of the other regions' PAs in the countries. Thus, the findings likely skew toward more awareness of the elements in the study and acceptance of women's inclusion than what would be found if the entire population of PAs in the countries were included.

- **Qualitative capacities**: The data collector conducting the KIIs and FGDs in two countries was novice at qualitative data gathering and the data collector in the third was not an expert in governance research. Thus, the data collection may have had limitations due to capacities including experience and content knowledge that limited the type or quality of probing questions. Also, the data required translation from local language into English. The level of comfort with transcription and translation of the enumerator assigned limited the amount of data that was transmitted for analysis.

It is recommended that further study take more time to refine, shorten and test data collection tools, and spend sufficient time training all interviewers on how to conduct the KIIs and FGDs consistently. It is also suggested to try and gain access to a broader variety of PAs, minimize use of FGDs with PAs, incorporate community members' perspectives, and potentially conduct data collection exercises that bring together PAs and community members for discussions.

10.2 Further Research

The study uncovered many social norms and related practices, but many questions still remain that could contribute to the understanding of social norms affecting IG. Opportunities for further research include, but are not limited to, the following:

- This study is meant to be exploratory and took a broad stroke approach for identifying social norms that affect PAs. As such, key factors such as power, corruption, or trust were not investigated in depth. Subsequent study could further explore the role of power and politics in shaping bureaucratic and political norms that influence the behavior of PAs. Also, understanding how power and political behavior interacts with entrenched social norms to open up or close down the space for developing IG by PAs would of interest.
- Little information was collected for the micro level, which suggests that future research could look more in-depth at PAs as individuals.
- As the study was designed to be an exploratory analysis, further study could utilize the norms identified and conduct a deeper and more targeted study on each of the norms to identify their strength, reference groups, and sanctions. Such a study could test the social norms identified directly with PAs and community members to evaluate their presence in different contexts.
- The majority of our data collected looks at FCAS in Africa. Although other non-African countries, e.g. Myanmar, are referenced in the report, data and findings are heavily skewed to the African context. Further study should be conducted on FCAS contexts beyond Africa.
- Across the board, there seemed to be a lack of buy-in and understanding of IG and the benefits to both PAs and communities. Research could look at how to build this awareness and then evaluate the effectiveness of these mechanisms.
- Given the scope of data collected and time, it was difficult to do a more in-depth systems analysis looking at the interaction between norms, e.g. primary and secondary norms, that may be reinforcing or competing with one another, and the relationship with contextual factors. Further study is recommended to do a more in-depth systems analysis study of one aspect of the IG development process and develop a model of that system in terms of interacting norms.
- A thorough investigation on the context-specific risks associated with social norm change is recommended for further study.
- The use of proverbs was highlighted as a useful method for identifying deeper, values-based social norms. Further study could investigate proverbs to understand their manifestations across the system.
- Hidden and invisible powers were identified both in country case studies and with content experts. Investigating the hidden and invisible powers that shape and sustain social norms in different contexts is recommended for future study.

11. Conclusions

Social norms and related practices specifically affecting PAs fell under themes related to IG as a mandate at the national but not local level, physical infrastructure as a priority over social infrastructure, the outsourcing of IG development to NGOs, influences of informal power holders in communities, lack of buy-in or priority for IG, and poor perceptions of marginalized communities. Norms and practices related to the populations PA's must engage in IG development, i.e. marginalized communities, women and youth, related to exclusion and self-exclusion based on perceptions of role, behavioral expectations, perceived capacity in isolation and in comparison to men.

Further study into the origins and mechanisms for sustaining these norms and practices spanned FCAS contextual factors such as the relationship between a traumatic past with elements of trust, corruption, patriarchy, and poverty; government system and workplace factors like upward accountability pressures and the desire for power and competing informal power systems; and community and individual factors associated with fear of marginalized groups claiming more rights and competing identities. For marginalized communities, specifically women and youth, as well as men, causal factors were linked to competing norms, e.g. self-discriminating beliefs and systematic-discrimination based on lack of capacity, lack of education and/or opportunities to develop experience, powerlessness and challenges associated with competing identifies. Perceptions of masculinity also emerged as a causal factor that constricts men's ability to learn and support women to engage and take on roles in the home.

The discussion concludes with recommendations made by participants on how to approach addressing some of the social norms and related practices identified in this study. The recommendations may be summarized as collaboratively building a deeper understanding with both men and women (adult and youth) of the importance of and processes for IG for both PAs and the communities IG aims to benefit.

This study identifies a vast range of social norms, practices and enabling/disabling factors that influence PAs ability to deliver IG in FCAS contexts. Through the recommendations provided, it is hoped that this study can bring awareness and consideration of social norms into IG development programs and provide help springboard work with individuals in FCAS (especially those mandated to implement IG, like PAs) and the development of training and awareness programs. Further, this study hopes to provide an additional evidence base for the funding and work of INGOs and donors that work with governments to buy-into and support IG programming. In future, we hope to further our study to explore some of these social norms more in depth and identify more specific mechanisms to work to address these social norms directly.

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Annex 2: Distinguishing Social Norms

Social Norms vs. Attitudes

Attitudes are an *individual construct*, an individual belief like "children should be seen and not heard."[110] They are considered independent, a collective pattern that is not driven by a norm. There can be inconsistency, at times, between personal perceptions and collective perceptions.[111] **False consensus** occurs when an individual incorrectly believes their opinions or beliefs align with the opinions and beliefs of others, like "I believe in giving gifts to public officials, and I think everyone else does too." Alternatively, **pluralistic ignorance** occurs when individuals follow a norm because they assume others accept it even though they privately disagree, like bribing a public official even if though don't personally approve of the practice.

Factors Sustaining Social Norms

Social pressures vary between *conjoint* or *disjoint norms.*[112] A *conjoint norm* originates and sustains through the same reference group, i.e. those who sanction are also sanctioned. A *disjoint norm* stems from higher order or superordinate parts of a reference group, i.e. members of a dominant group enforce a norm to subordinate members of a group. A caste may be considered a mixture of conjoint and disjoint norm.[113]

[110] Heise, L. & Manji K. (2016). Social Norms. GSDRC Professional Development Reading Pack no. 31. Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. Retrieved from https://gsdrc.org/professional-dev/social-norms/

[111] Jackson, D., & Kobis, N. (2018). Anti-corruption through a social norms lens. U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. Retrieved from https://www.u4.no/publications/anti-corruption-through-a-social-norms-lens

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Annex 3: Methodology

The main research question this study aims to address is:

> **How do the social norms and related practices of public authorities affect their inclusivity, responsiveness, accountability, and transparency toward women and youth?**

This question was addressed through qualitative study of primary and secondary data. Two methodologies were used to address these questions. First, **meta-analysis** of public authorities' social norms and practices was conducted through a literature review, data collection tool development, and social norm and practice analysis. Second, **multiple case-study** research was used to explore internal and external perceptions of social norms and related practices as they relate to public authorities for three of the six FCAS in which EVC operates. Both methods are described in this annex, including a description of the sampling methodology, data collection, data gathering methods, and data analysis.

This study hypothesizes that understanding social norms and related practices from the perspective of public authorities (linked to building and sustaining inclusive governance), as well as norm and behavior changing mechanisms, can help the EVC program revisit assumptions about inclusive governance development programs and identify approaches for how to better improve program design and implementation specific to the six FCAS implementing EVC.

To answer the research question and investigate the hypothesis, the research utilized a systems framework inspired by Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory because it generates understanding of the individual through spheres of influence. As depicted in figure 1, this research placed public authorities (PAs) holding formal government positions (i.e., state actors) at the center of the ecological system model, to enable understanding of norms and practices influencing PAs in the context of their larger system. Other power holders are individuals holding informal or formal positions of power in non-governmental institutions (e.g., traditional leaders, opinion leaders). For this study, they are considered separate from PAs and are acknowledged in this research as an external influence as they relate to and/or affect PAs or formal governance processes directly. The norms and practices influencing PAs were studied specific to four elements of inclusive governance: inclusivity, transparently, responsiveness and accountability. Research assessed beliefs and behaviors at local (micro), regional (meso), national (macro), and systemic (chrono) levels that influence norms and practices through three perspectives: internal (PA centric), external (experts, implementers and trainers), and literature (factors from the research). Each level is broken down as follows:

- Local level includes family and community, public authorities and other power holders at the local level
- Regional level includes public authorities and other power holders at the sub-national level
- National level focuses on public authorities and other power holders at the national level
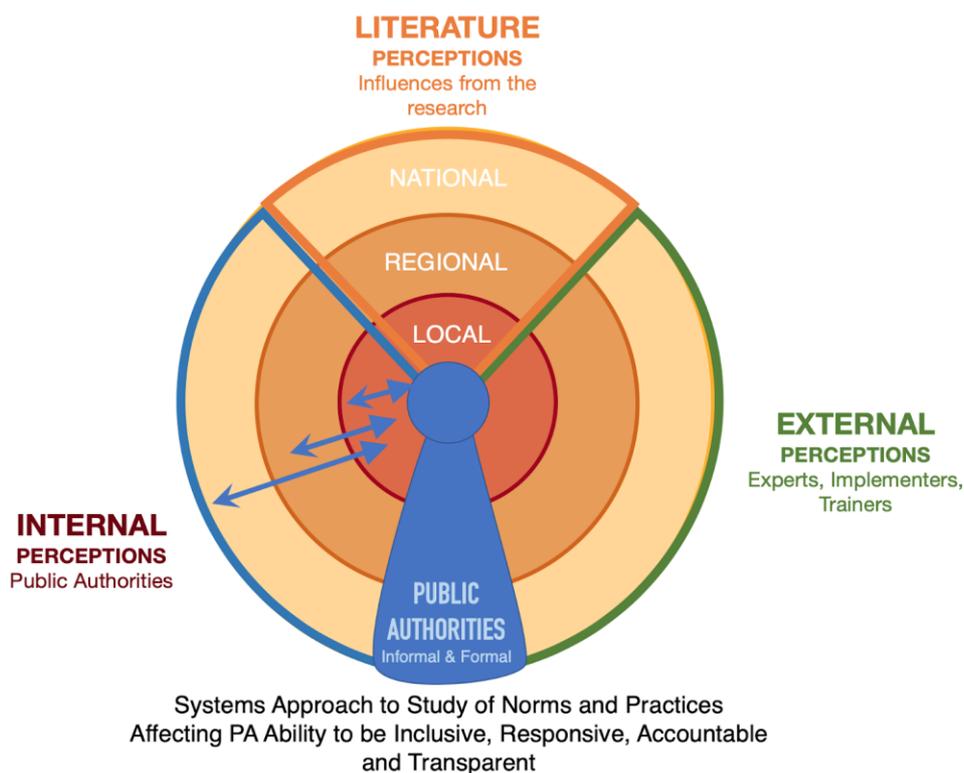
Figure 1. Systems Model Guiding Study

Research Scope

Following the 'funnel' of norms exploration and measurement (Cislaghi and Heise 2016) model, the review methodology was exploratory in nature. Meaning, the study represents the *first step* toward investigating existing norms and practices and designing appropriate interventions if needed. Research on norms and practices was bound under the specific criteria. Data collected applied to:

- The perspective of public authorities
- The six FCAS countries, potentially drawing from other countries/context if there is perceived similarity and value
- Norms and practices linked to the four elements of inclusive governance: inclusivity, transparency, responsiveness and accountability
- The impact of the four elements of inclusive governance on women and youth
- The proposed drivers (enabling and disabling factors) of public authorities' behavior

Meta-analysis

Existing literature was used to investigate the research questions within the scope of the study. Data sources included peer-reviewed and non-peer-reviewed literature, including surveys, white papers, CARE specific documents, amongst others. This research was conducted in two parts:

Part I. The first section of the literature review was completed to inform the development of the data collection tools. It focused specifically on norms and practices in public authorities FCAS and complementary contexts, drivers of public authorities' behaviors and norm change literature. Research was also be completed to identify legal frameworks (laws, policies, guidelines) in target countries that may need to be accounted for in data collection.

Part II. The second section of the literature review formed the theoretical basis of study, with more background on inclusive governance, the work done by CARE International and CNL connected to inclusive governance, social norm theory and approaches to understand norms.

Primary Data Collection

Primary data was collected in three countries to generate further insight on social norms and practices within public authorities that relate to inclusive governance programs: . The findings from Burundi and another country were only incorporated into the overall report, whereas Somalia also created a stand-alone case study with the findings.

Data was collected through two approaches: key informant interviews (KIIs) and focus groups (FGDs). FGDs ran from 1-2 hours, with 2-6 participants. Interviews ran for one hour. Prior to the implementation of data collection events, a briefing discussion occurred between the consultant, CNL, and the data collectors to run through data collection tools. The CO was responsible for arranging the KIIs/FGDs, arranging a notetaker, and other necessary logistics.

The study consultant and CNL performed remote and in-person data collection of subject-matter content expert KIIs. A trainer for The Hague Academy and a consultant in Somalia performed in-country data collection through KIIs and FGDs with public authorities (technical, political) and KIIs with CARE staff, implementing partners, and country experts. The table below provides a detailed depiction of the data collected by THA/consultant, CNL, and the consultant by country.

Primary qualitative data collection. The CARE Country Office teams identified and selected the EVC areas to serve as reference studies for closer examination of existing norms and practices. Qualitative data in the form of KIIs and FGDs was collected from public authorities, local experts, CSO representatives, and CARE and implementing partner program staff. The data collectors in each country utilized the data collection tools developed by the global study consultant and customized as necessary to the country context.

1. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs): The FGDs were held with public authorities across different strata. Both the technical and political arms of government authorities, including administrators, policymakers, and politicians—as well as clan leaders in the case of Somalia—were included. The FGDs utilized scenarios in the data collection.
2. Key Informant Interviews (KIIs): The KIIs were held with CARE Country Office staff, implementing partner(s) staff, and experts from knowledge institutes or INGOs/NGOs. In Somalia, a select number of KIIs were also held with public authorities.

Sampling

In all countries, the CO helped to identify the most appropriate people to interview and assisted with arranging interviews and FGDs. The pool of research participants was selected through three sampling approaches. First, purposeful sampling was used to isolate participants for in-country and remote engagement in the study. Specific criteria (indicated below) was used to establish the initial target population:

- They must be from and/or have worked with the three EVC countries identified as case studies in this research or similar contexts; and/or
- They facilitate or implement, have participated in, been affected by, or have been trained on inclusive governance programs in one or more of the three case study countries as part of the EVC program; or
- They have studied/researched inclusive governance programs in the EVC countries or similar contexts.

A stratified approach was used to narrow this population. Stratification consists of dividing a larger population into distinct subgroups relevant to research goals, so that similarities and differences can be compared between groups. Specific to this study, these sub-groups are established in congruence with the systems approach to study to enable the analysis between different roles at different levels of a system. As well, stratification assisted with custom tailoring data collection tools by group. This study looked at three roles linked to the purpose of this study. The table below lists and describes roles evaluated in the research. Organizations that makeup these roles include CARE Country Offices (CCOs) (sometimes also referred to as COs in the CARE context) and other civil society organizations (CSOs), which include implementing partners, knowledge institutes (organizations that do research or something similar), among others.

ROLES	DESCRIPTION	INCLUDES	CLASSIFICATIONS
Public Authorities (PAs)	General term for individuals with the formal *decision-making* power to develop and implement laws and policies, or the operational mandate to deliver inclusive governance programming at the local, regional and national level.	Formal authorities (government)	At the local, regional and national level: **PA-Technical** - administrators, policy makers **PA-Political** - politically elected individuals
Experts (outside of public authorities)	Individuals with deep understanding of governance norms and practices in the countries of our study or in similar contexts, local and remote.	Knowledge institutes, INGO/NGO staff, CSO staff, academics, among others.	**Country Experts** - experts at the local level with deep insight on the three countries used for multiple case study **Subject Matter Experts (SMEs)** - experts on the content of study e.g. inclusive governance in FCAS, public authorities and norms, etc.
Implementers	Individuals implementing governance programs in the countries of study, e.g. local partners of CARE that are implementing EVC interventions.	This group includes staff from CARE Country Offices (CCOs), e.g. CARE Burundi, and primary implementing partners.	**CARE-Implementers -** CARE staff implementing EVC or others on staff with knowledge of governance processes in-country; this may include CARE trainers, i.e. CARE staff that have received ToT training from THA **Partner-Implementers -** 1st or 2nd tier NGO/CSO partners supporting EVC implementation

For PAs, additional criteria was used to identify individual participants of study. All PAs were solicited to participate by the CCOs. The CCO created an invitation letter to go to the government office requesting an interview. The government office chose interviewees.

The following selection criteria for PA interviewees were used as a guide:
- Equal gender representation
- Job Classification (i.e. they possess a technical or political role within government, at the local, regional, national level; they play authoritative role with no formal job classification linked to inclusive governance development)

As above, *convenience sampling* (access-based recruitment) and *snowball sampling* (referral-based recruitment) were also be used to identify specific individuals to engage in the research in order to build a larger body of research participants and enable condensed research in a short time frame.

Table 1. Data Collected in Burundi, Somalia, and a third country

Data Collection Activity	Burundi			Country X		Somalia		
	Gitega	Kirundo	Muyinga	Sub-national level Y	Sub-national level Z	Baidoa	Badhan	Garowe
FGDs with PAs								
Technicians	1 (3 people)	1 (3 people)	1 (3 people)	1 (2 people)	2 (5 people)	1 (5 people)	1 (6 people)	1 (4 people)
Political	0	1 (2 people)	1 (2 people)	0	1 (2 people)	0	0	1 (5 people)
Mixed technicians and political	0	0	0	1 (5 people)	0	0	0	0
Total	**1 (3 people)**	**2 (5 people)**	**2 (5 people)**	**2 (7 people)**	**3 (7 people)**	**1 (5 people)**	**1 (6 people)**	**2 (9 people)**
KIIs with PAs								
Technicians	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	1
Political	1	0	0	1	0	1	2	1
Clan elders	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	0	2
Total	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**4**
General, in-country KIIs								
CARE Country Office staff		1		2		1		
Implementing partner staff		1		2 (one shared with a country expert)		1		
Country experts		2		2 (one shared with an implementing partner)		3		
Total	**4**			**5**		**5**		
Content subject-matter experts KIIs								
Content experts	7							
TOTAL	50 data collection activities (83 people in total participated)							

Data Analysis

Data analysis aimed to identify findings that enable, disable or further describe the four elements of inclusive governance: inclusivity, responsiveness, accountability and transparency in FCAS. Data collected from interviews and focus groups was coded and themes were identified that related to these elements. The data for Burundi and Somalia, along with the international SMEs, was analyzed by one analyst through the qualitative analysis tool, Dedoose. The data from Somalia was analyzed by the Somalia consultant. Both analysts used deductive coding methods based on a coding framework designed by the consultant.

Participant findings were triangulated with the meta-analysis component of study to identify overlaps and distinctions from the literature. Part of this work involved comparison with country-level specific literature, policies and legal frameworks, and other key documents. Also, data received from CCOs linked to previous research, was included and compared with findings, to enrich the quality of analysis. The systems lens was used to guide analysis and generate recommendations for changing norms and practices.

Annex 3: Every Voice Counts

The Every Voice Counts (EVC) from CARE Netherlands program strives to assist with building effective and inclusive governance efforts and processes in six Fragile and (Post) Conflict Settings (FCAS) including Rwanda, Burundi, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia and Sudan. This program primarily targets the increased engagement and inclusion of women and youth. As realities, challenges and opportunities associated with inclusive governance vary by country, the focus of the EVC is contextualized by country:

- EVC Afghanistan aims to increase women's participation in Community Development Councils (CDCs) and to improve the availability, accessibility and quality of education and health services.
- EVC Burundi advocates for application of the 30% quota for women's participation at community level, aims for inclusion of women/girls in community development planning and advocates for the completion and implementation of the Gender Based Violence (GBV) law.
- EVC Pakistan aims to improve the implementation of the GBV law and advocates for the inclusion of women in local governance processes.
- EVC Rwanda focuses on the engagement of grassroots women and girls in Imihigo planning and budgeting processes, to ensure the inclusion of GBV response and prevention in district plans and budgets.
- EVC Somalia advocates for the approval and implementation of the Youth Policy in Puntland and ISWA (Interim South West Administration) and aims to increase youth participation during the 2020 general elections.
- EVC Sudan aims to increase the participation of women and youth in Village Development Councils (VDCs) and local-level decision-making bodies; and to increase women and youth's inclusion in financial and market services

To achieve the established goals, the EVC Theory of Change (TOC) (figure 1) provides a roadmap to guide inclusive governance programming. The TOC identifies four domains of change that must be achieved including:

1. Empowered members of excluded groups
2. Capable civil society organizations
3. Responsive public authorities and other power holders
4. Effective spaces for dialogue negotiation

Although these domains appear bounded, in reality domains are overlapping, interdependent and dynamic. They are mutually constitutive, and a change in one can trigger change in another. To achieve inclusivity and effectiveness of governance processes, each of these domains must be addressed in isolation and in relation to one another.
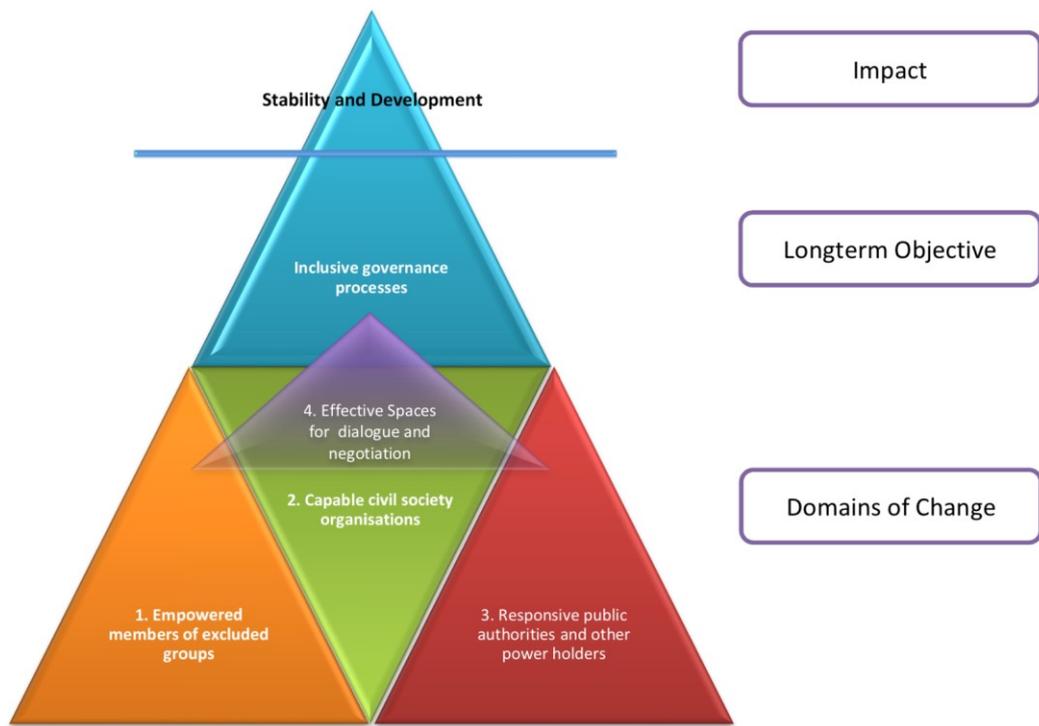
Figure 1. EVC Theory of Change[114]

[114] CARE Nederland. (2018). Every Voice Counts Programme: Theory of Change. CARE International.

Annex 4: Considerations in Social Norm Change Interventions

The literature on social norm change is vast and the interventions that have addressed the topic are varied. Extensive research exists on the best practices in social norm change, and most typically agrees that social norm change is highly dependent on context and topic. CARE has defined eight principles for engaging with social norm change, which include the following:[115]

1. **Find early adopters:** Often, people are already living their lives in positive ways that support girls' choices and opportunities. Find them.
2. **Build support groups of early adopters:** It can be hard to embody positive, rights-based change alone. Groups help individuals support, encourage and trouble-shoot.
3. **Use future-oriented positive messages:** Help people imagine positive alternatives. Change is possible.
4. **Open space for dialogue:** Get people talking to each other about new ideas. Challenge the implicit assumptions that everyone holds the same views, experiences and preferences.
5. **Facilitate public debate:** Engage publicly with community members to debate on what is OK in this context.
6. **Expect by-stander action:** Move from envisioning possibilities of justice to action. This involves building community and accountability, so that people show up for women and girls' rights in their words and actions.
7. **Show examples of positive behavior in public:** Demonstrate that the positive shift we hope for already exists. And it is totally normal.
8. **Map allies and ask for their support:** Identify the resources and networks we need to support positive change for individuals, families and communities.

The literature also suggests the following tips and strategies to consider when approaching changing social norms.

Tips for changing social norms:

- Framing is important to create linkages between existing and emerging social norms; the links are often not obvious so appropriately framing a norm change will assist with assimilation.[116]
- Grafting is another approach to social norm change where social norm influences may incrementally adjust social norms over time.[117]
- Recognizing the innate heterogeneity of community members necessary to understand behaviors, propensity to engage in social norm change, and likelihood to participate in inclusive governance interventions. Some people are more or less act within social norms or challenge the government in public or private. Often, interventions assume homogeneity in target populations and do not customize interventions based on the perspectives of different individuals.[118]
- Focus on changing normative expectations first, then change can occur on what is actually done.[119] [120]
- Increasing exposure of people to different groups who have different social norms helps to shift social norms, even if exposure comes in the form of television.[121] [122] [123]

[115] CARE (2019) *Social norms change.* CARE Insights. Retrieved from: https://insights.careinternational.org.uk/in-practice/social-norms-change

[116] van Ham, P. (2010). *Social Power in International Politics.* London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

[117] van Ham, P. (2010). *Social Power in International Politics.* London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

[118] Kabeer, N., Khan, A., & Adlparvar, N. (2011). *Afghan Values or Women's Rights? Gendered Narratives about Continuity and Change in Urban Afghanistan.* Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

[119] Paluck, E., Ball, E., Poynton, C., & Siedloff, S. (2010). *Social Norms Marketing Aimed at Gender-Based Violence: A Literature Review and Critical Assessment.* New York: International Rescue Committee.

[120] Raymond, L., Weldon, L., Kelly, D., Arriaga, X., & Clark, A. (2013). Norm-Based Strategies for Institutional Change to Address Intractable Problems. *Political Research Quarterly, 67*, 197-211.

[121] Raymond, L., Weldon, L., Kelly, D., Arriaga, X., & Clark, A. (2013). Norm-Based Strategies for Institutional Change to Address Intractable Problems. *Political Research Quarterly, 67*, 197-211.

[122] Kabeer, N., Khan, A., & Adlparvar, N. (2011). *Afghan Values or Women's Rights? Gendered Narratives about Continuity and Change in Urban Afghanistan.* Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

[123] Plan International. (2010). *Because I'm a Girl. Digital and Urban Frontiers: Girls in a Changing Landscape.* Plan International.

- If implementing a law that goes against a social norm, especially a foundational norm, people are going to be more likely to view the law as illegitimate, and therefore ineffective with little sway over practices. Laws must be aligned with social norms, and if a law is desired that is against current social norms, citizens must engage in the law-making process to generate buy-in. When laws are against norms – or are aimed at the slow change of a norm – penalties for violating the laws should be milder to generate more acceptance of the law and condemnation of the norm.[124] [125]
- Foster the idea that it is possible for both equitable and inequitable gender norms to co-exist. For example, a study in Nicaragua found that after an intervention including education and social media campaigning, some specific negative norms about women diminished while others, even those closely related to those that changed, continued to remain the same.[126]
- No correlation has been found directly between NGO projects or preferential allocation of government resources and the quality of local institutions following a civil war. Rather, an organic, bottom-up process on fostering quality is more effective.[127]

Strategies to change social norms

Before designing any social norm change strategies, determining the underlying causes for why a social norm persists is essential. For example, a social norm that is closely related to a deeply held cultural value or plays a significant role in maintaining social order will require a quite different norm change strategy than a norm that persists due to mistaken beliefs.[128] Some strategies, as raised in the literature, for changing social norms include the following:

- Leadership (i.e., government, authorities, religious, traditional) must model the behavior desired in order to effect overall change at the citizen level; leaders must serve as examples and inspiration.[129] [130]
- Engage in educational media campaigns (e.g., social media, television, radio):[131] [132] [133]
  - Messaging of media campaigns should be highly tailored and focused to specific communities and target populations.
  - Lean on powerful local leaders (i.e., traditional, religious, community) to spread the message.
  - Showcase and empower trendsetters who are willing to disregard negative social norms. Trendsetters may be real or fictional.
  - Overturn false beliefs by using messaging that highlights how people actually think about social norms rather than what most perceive that others think.
  - Raise awareness of problematic local practices that persist due to negative norms.
  - Encourage the adoption of new or existing, but more positive, norms to replace harmful norms through legislation, policy change, and community dialogue.

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[124] Biccheri, C., & Mercier, H. (2014). Norms and Beliefs: How Change Occurs. *The Jerusalem Philosophical Quarterly, 63*, 60-82.
[125] Raymond, L., Weldon, L., Kelly, D., Arriaga, X., & Clark, A. (2013). Norm-Based Strategies for Institutional Change to Address Intractable Problems. *Political Research Quarterly, 67*, 197-211.
[126] Pulerwitz, J., Michaelis, A., Verma, R., & Weiss, E. (2010). Addressing Gender Dynamics and Engaging Men in HIV Programs. Lessons Learnt from Horizons Research. *Public Health Reports, 125*, 282-292.
[127] Voors, M. J., & Bulte, E. H. (2014). Conflict and the evolution of institutions: Unbundling institutions at the local level in Burundi. *Journal of Peace Research, 51*(4), 455-469.
[128] ODI (2015). *Social norms, gender norms and adolescent girls: a brief guide.* London: Overseas Development Institute. Retrieved from: https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9818.pdf.
[129] Koni Hoffmann, L., & Navanit Patel, R. (May 2017). *Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions.* London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs.
[130] ODI (2015). *Social norms, gender norms and adolescent girls: a brief guide.* London: Overseas Development Institute. Retrieved from: https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9818.pdf.
[131] Koni Hoffmann, L., & Navanit Patel, R. (May 2017). *Collective Action on Corruption in Nigeria A Social Norms Approach to Connecting Society and Institutions.* London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs.
[132] Paluck, E., Ball, E., Poynton, C., & Siedloff, S. (2010). *Social Norms Marketing Aimed at Gender-Based Violence: A Literature Review and Critical Assessment.* New York: International Rescue Committee.
[133] ODI (2015). *Social norms, gender norms and adolescent girls: a brief guide.* London: Overseas Development Institute. Retrieved from: https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9818.pdf.

- Hold community discussions with people who are members of the same group to discuss social norms that sustain harmful practices and raise awareness with these groups on discriminatory practices upheld by harmful norms.[134] [135]
  - These discussions could or should involve a critical mass and be part of a community mobilization strategy that consists of systemic and long-term programming and fostering alternative social norms.
  - It should be complex and multi-faceted and foster activism in the community by stimulating critical thinking, being holistic, inclusive, beliefs-based, integrative, organic, and community led.[136]
- Utilize a combination of both external (social mobilization) and internal (thoughtful dialogue and deliberation) motivations.[137]
- Identify instances where normative expectations are already weak and provide more information to people to combat the misinformation about people's true beliefs.[138]
- Identify instances where a new norm aligns with existing cultural values or can manifest in a way that allows values to remain intact.[139] Alternatively, promote positive, existing norms that directly conflict with harmful norms and promote replacing the harmful norms with them.
- Provide access to information communication technology (ICT). With ICT, more people have access to campaign and communicate about issues with the public and with their governments.[140]
- Capitalize on key actors to drive social change including schools, NGOs, and VSLAs. Schools have a strong influence on behavior of girls in particular.[141]
- Engage in "organized diffusion" whereby community members/program participants participate in the sharing of knowledge with others in their network in order to generate the social movement needed to overturn harmful norms. If engaging in this approach, participants must be with both knowledge and skills to be able to have effective and transformative conversations.[142]

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[134] Cislaghi, B., Denny, E.K., Cissé, M. et al. (2019). Changing Social Norms: the Importance of "Organized Diffusion" for Scaling Up Community Health Promotion and Women Empowerment Interventions. Prevention Science, 20, 936–946.

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Annex 5: Social Norm Analysis

The report emphasized that social norms manifest differently across different contexts. Thus, understanding *how* and *why* the social norm identified exists in each context is essential. In order to minimize the generalization of social norms, asking these questions may support a more accurate understanding of the social norm at play in a given context.

Thus, this intended users of this tool are primarily practitioners designing social norm change interventions, but the tool may also be of use to researchers studying such interventions. The tool may also be useful to researchers and practitioners conducting context analyses to inform program design. It is recommended that users of the tool have at least a minimum level of theoretical understanding of social norms and social norm change.

The following list of questions is not comprehensive, and it may not apply in every context or situation, so users are encouraged to customize this list as needed. The following questions are listed in random order.

CHECK WHEN COMPLETE	QUESTION	RESPONSE OPTIONS	RESPONSE DETAILS
☐	**What is the social norm?**	INSERT SOCIAL NORM HERE.	
☐	**What theme does the social norm fall within?**	INSERT BROAD SOCIAL NORM THEME HERE (E.G., CORRUPTION, GENDER, TRUSTWORTHINESS, ETC.). [IDENTIFYING A THEME THAT THE SOCIAL NORM MAY FALL WITHIN IS USEFUL WHEN USERS ARE COMPLETING THE TOOL FOR MULTIPLE SOCIAL NORMS AND WOULD LIKE TO CATEGORIZE THE NORMS INTO A GROUPING FOR ANALYSIS LATER.]	
☐	**How do you know the social norm exists?**	☐ Research using evidence-based norm identification tool ☐ Research using untested norm identification tool ☐ Deduced through analysis of non-norms specific qualitative research ☐ Deduced through analysis of non-norms specific quantitative research ☐ Informed by (insert number) of CSO (insert CSO name) staff members ☐ Informed by (insert number) of community members ☐ Assumption based on personal knowledge ☐ Assumption based on norm's presence in similar contexts ☐ Other:	INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "USED SNAP FRAMEWORK WITH 10 COMMUNITIES AND 300 PARTICIPANTS OVER THE COURSE OF 3 YEARS")
IMPACT OF RESPONSE	• If the norm was identified by utilizing a tool or methodology grounded in a strong evidence base, it is likely safe to confirm the presence of the norm. It is best practice to also triangulate the findings with trusted, local staff or community members to see if they identify with the presence of the norm. • If the tool used to identify the norm has not been widely tested and validated, consider the limitations of the tool and analytically triangulate with other evidence-based data (e.g., focus groups) and trusted sources before confirming the norm. • If the norm was identified more informally (e.g., through conversation), try to identify and utilize a validated tool or methodology to confirm the presence of the norm first before confirming it or undertaking any norm change interventions.		

CHECK WHEN COMPLETE	QUESTION	RESPONSE OPTIONS	RESPONSE DETAILS
☐	**What is the strength of the social norm?**	☐ Very Weak (practiced by many but not all, and those that practice the norm do not place a high value on it) ☐ Weak (practiced by many but not all, and those that practice the norm place some value on it) ☐ Slightly Weak (practiced by many but not all, and those that practice the norm place important value on it) ☐ Slightly Strong (practiced by most or all, and those that practice the norm place some value on it) ☐ Strong (practiced by most or all, and those that practice the norm place important value on it) ☐ Strong (practiced by most or all, and those that practice the norm place very high value on it) ☐ Uncertain	INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "EVERYONE IN THE COMMUNITY PRACTICES THE NORM AND IT IS TIED TO A CORE ASPECT OF THEIR VALUES")
IMPACT OF RESPONSE	• The type of norm change intervention will vary based on the strength of the norm. Stronger norms will likely be harder to change and require a longer timeframe.		
☐	**How widespread is the social norm?**	☐ Localized subgroup (norm is only apparent in a specific subgroup(s) (e.g., school) in a small number of communities) ☐ Localized (norm is only apparent in a small number of communities, with the majority of people in that community) ☐ Regional subgroup (norm is only apparent in a specific subgroup(s) (e.g., clan) in many communities in the sub-region) ☐ Regional (norm is practiced in many communities in the sub-region) ☐ Wide-spread subgroup (norm is prevalent in many areas throughout the country/region within a specific subgroup (e.g., teens)) ☐ Wide-spread (norm is prevalent in many areas throughout the country/region)	INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "NORM IS PRESENT IN ONLY A FEW, VERY RURAL COMMUNITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY")
IMPACT OF RESPONSE	• The geographic reach and number and type of people practicing the norm will determine the type of intervention. • Localized norms will likely require a more customized intervention to the local context (e.g., face-to-face), whereas widespread norms will likely require interventions that are more mainstreamed (e.g., national media campaigns, organized diffusion).		

CHECK WHEN COMPLETE	QUESTION	RESPONSE OPTIONS	RESPONSE DETAILS
☐	**How long has the social norm been in existence?**	☐ Briefly (norm has only been around for one generation or less) ☐ Medium-term (norm has been around for 1-2 generations) ☐ Long-term (norm has been around for multiple generations, but a time when the norm was not present can be remembered) ☐ Indefinite (norm has been present for as long as anyone can remember) ☐ Uncertain	INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "NORM HAS BEEN AROUND FOR A LONG TIME, BUT PEOPLE TELL STORIES ABOUT A TIME WHEN IT WAS DIFFERENT")
IMPACT OF RESPONSE	• Longer-term norms are likely more ingrained in the values and fabric of the society, but if people can reference a time when the norm did not exist as it does today – and if they reference it with a high value – the interventions may differ than if no one can imagine a society without the norm or do not remember the time without the norm fondly.		
☐	**Has the social norm been changing?**	☐ No, not at all (no norm change interventions have ever occurred and no changes to the norm in history can be identified) ☐ Naturally, very little (norm has been slightly changing over time due to natural progression in society) ☐ With intervention, very little (norm has slightly changed due to an intervention) ☐ Naturally, somewhat (norm has noticeably changed, but not diminished, over time due to natural progression in society) ☐ With intervention, somewhat (norm has noticeably changed, but not diminished, due to an intervention) ☐ Naturally, a lot (norm has significantly changed, but not diminished, over time due to natural progression in society) ☐ With intervention, a lot (norm has significantly changed, but not diminished, due to an intervention) ☐ Uncertain	INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "NORM HAS CHANGED SOMEWHAT DUE TO AN INTERVENTION FROM CARE, BUT ONLY WITHIN A SMALL SUBSET OF PEOPLE (MOSTLY GIRLS)")
IMPACT OF RESPONSE	• Knowing whether there has been any change in the norm over time, and why the change occurred, helps with understanding the norm itself and its role in the society. • Indirect norms may evolve over time, so interventions should account for how recently and quickly a norm has been changing to determine if it is possible to capitalize on organic momentum or if the norm has experienced little to no change over a long period of time.		

CHECK WHEN COMPLETE	QUESTION	RESPONSE OPTIONS	RESPONSE DETAILS
☐	**Why does the social norm persist?**	☐ Coordinating action (norm acts as a way to coordinate the behaviors of the community) ☐ Expression of local beliefs (norm is the manifestation of local beliefs) ☐ Expression of cultural values (norm is the manifestation of cultural values) ☐ Means of upholding unequal social order (norm is a means of encouraging behaviors that maintain social order) ☐ Uncertain	INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "NORM HELPS COORDINATE THE EFFORT OF GETTING EVERYONE TO USE TOILETS RATHER THAN DEFECATE OUTSIDE")
IMPACT OF RESPONSE	• Knowing why the norm persists helps inform what function the norm plays in society and the strategy that should be employed, and considerations that must be given, in initiating norm change interventions.		
☐	**What are the sanctions for breaking the social norm?**	☐ Very Weak (received by many but not all, and the sanction is not a significant deterrent for breaking the norm) ☐ Weak (received by many but not all, and the sanction is a slight deterrent for breaking the norm) ☐ Slightly Weak (received by many but not all, but the sanction is a deterrent for breaking the norm) ☐ Slightly Strong (received by most or all, and the sanction is a slight deterrent for breaking the norm) ☐ Strong (received by most or all, and the sanction is an important deterrent for breaking the norm) ☐ Strong (received by most or all, and the sanction is a major deterrent for breaking the norm) ☐ Uncertain	INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "IF SOMEONE BREAKS THE NORM, HE/SHE IS FIRED FROM THEIR JOB AND BANNED FROM WORKING IN GOVERNMENT AGAIN, WHICH STOPS ALMOST EVERYONE FROM BREAKING THE NORM")

CHECK WHEN COMPLETE	QUESTION	RESPONSE OPTIONS	RESPONSE DETAILS
☐	**Are the sanctions positive or negative?**	☐ Positive (sanction is a positive outcome for adhering to the norm) ☐ Negative (sanction is a negative outcome for breaking the norm) ☐ Mixed (the sanction may be positive or negative depending on the reference group and the characteristics of the person who is breaking the norm) ☐ Uncertain	INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "IF A MAN BREAKS THE NORM, HE/SHE RECEIVES RESPECT FROM THE COMMUNITY")
IMPACT OF RESPONSE	• At times, sanctions can be positive when norms are followed (e.g., approval, respect). When sanctions are positive, promoting norm change may be more difficult because people seek the positive approval. • Alternatively, there are negative consequences for breaking a norm. In this case, it is important to be mindful of dangers, and build in the time necessary for change, when designing interventions. • Occasionally, the sanctions may be positive or negative depending on the reference group. It may be the case that some subgroups of people are even viewed positively for breaking the norm while others are negatively sanctioned. Understanding the impact of the norm change for different subsets of people will be needed to design a safe intervention.		

☐	**Who are the reference groups for the social norm?**	☐ Peers/colleagues
		☐ Supervisors
		☐ National-level government
		☐ Family
		  ☐ Husbands
		  ☐ Wives
		  ☐ Fathers
		  ☐ Mothers
		  ☐ Fathers-in-law
		  ☐ Mothers-in-law
		  ☐ Other: ....
		  ....
		☐ Non-colleague community members
		☐ Religion/religious leaders
		☐ Traditional/opinion leaders
		☐ Media
		☐ Other: ....
		....
			INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "ALL MEN IN THE FAMILY (FATHERS, HUSBANDS, UNCLES, ETC. ACT AS REFERENCE GROUPS")

CHECK WHEN COMPLETE	QUESTION	RESPONSE OPTIONS	RESPONSE DETAILS
IMPACT OF RESPONSE	• Who is the reference group for the norm will likely impact how the norm manifests in the local context and how likely the norm will be to change. • Knowing the reference group is critical for shaping norm change interventions.		
☐	**Are there any people in the community who can get away with not adhering to the social norm?**	☐ None or nearly none (no one or almost no one can break the norm or escape sanctions from the norm) ☐ Some (some people may be able to break the norm and escape sanctions) ☐ Many (many people may be able to break the norm and escape sanctions) ☐ Uncertain	INSERT NOTES ABOUT YOUR RESPONSE (E.G., "WEALTHY WOMEN WITH POWERFUL HUSBANDS CAN BREAK THE NORM WITHOUT SANCTIONS")
IMPACT OF RESPONSE	• An understanding of who may receive exceptions to the sanctions for breaking the norm and why those exceptions are present will help identify the strength of the norm and how it manifests in local society.		
IMPLICATIONS OF THE NORM	Based on the answers to the questions above, write the implications for the norm identified here that must be considered for the purpose of completing this tool (e.g., future norm change interventions, context analysis). In other words, what did you learn from the analysis of this social norm that must be considered in the program?		

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