“My motivation is the sentence - it is forbidden to surrender”: A qualitative study of gender norm change and adolescent empowerment in Colombia

Kelsey Lynn Barrett

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Public Health

University of Washington

2018

Committee:

Bettina Shell-Duncan

Beniamino Cislaghi

Mary Kay Gugerty

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Global Health

University of Washington

Abstract

"My motivation is the sentence - it is forbidden to surrender": A qualitative study of gender norm change and adolescent empowerment in Colombia

Kelsey Lynn Barrett

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Bettina Shell-Duncan PhD

Department of Anthropology and Department of Global Health

Recent scholarship has focused on how to shift harmful social norms to catalyze improvements in the well-being of women and girls globally. Since adolescent is a formative period for internalizing gender norms, many programs have targeted youth during this period. This research presents a secondary analysis of a set of qualitative interviews with adolescent girls and boys in Colombia on the barriers and enablers of gender norm change. Specific aims were to identify the primary factors influencing the transmission, enforcement, and contestation of gender norms and provide recommendations for future interventions. Key findings included the primacy of parents in gender norm transmission and enforcement and the need to include broader community stakeholders in gender equality programming. A further recommendation is the need for increased awareness-raising and enforcement of recently introduced gender discrimination and violence protection laws. Lacking trust in the police and legal system is limiting the ability of women and girls to benefit from new programs and should be the focus of further research.

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Adolescence has gained increasing attention as a transformative period in the life course, where opportunities and constraints faced have a lasting impact on future well-being (Patton et al., 2016; van Eerdewijk et al., 2017) . Recent reports following the 2016 *Lancet* commission on adolescent health and well-being have made the case that coordinated investments in the health and education of young people during adolescence provide high economic and social returns and "are among the best investments that can be made by the human community to achieve the UN's Sustainable Development Goals and the Global Strategy for Women's, Children's, and Adolescents' Health" (Sheehan et al., 2017). In particular, there are widespread calls for increased programming targeting adolescent girls in low-income countries, who are prevented from realizing their full potential due to entrenched gender inequalities (Ki-moon, 2016; Patton et al., 2016).

Political, economic and social institutions that reinforce gender inequality are deeply rooted in societal values and practices (John et al., 2017). Addressing the roots of gender inequality requires understanding the beliefs and social norms that give rise to discrimination and unequal life chances on the basis of the gender in specific sociocultural contexts. Social norms are unwritten rules that stem from beliefs about what constitutes typical and appropriate behaviors in a group (Vaitla, Taylor, Van Horn, & Cislaghi, 2017). Gender norms are a specific type of social norm related to gender difference and what it means to be a man or women in a society. Gender norms define what is appropriate behavior for men and women in different social arenas—at home, in the community, in school or the workplace, and in interpersonal relationships. These different behaviors uphold ideals of masculinity and femininity within the specific cultural context. Discriminatory gender norms limit girls' access to power within their families and communities, reduce their educational and economic opportunities, and alter their own aspiration and ambitions for their lives.

One of the most harmful manifestations of discriminatory gender norms is gender-based violence. A recent analysis of global Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) data found that an estimated 28 percent of adolescents 15-19 years old have reported lifetime physical or sexual intimate partner violence (IPV) (Decker et al., 2015). This is a serious public health and human rights issue that is perpetuated by inequitable gender norms that promote acceptance of violence against adolescents as normal and justified (Lundgren & Amin, 2015).

Since adolescence is a formative period for internalizing gender norms, many social norm change interventions have chosen to target youth during this period. Much recent scholarship has focused on how to shift harmful social norms to catalyze improvements in girls' well-being (Haylock, Cornelius, Malunga, & Mbandazayo, 2016; Keleher & Franklin, 2008; Marcus, Page, Calder, & Foley, 2014; Vaitla et al., 2017). Identifying what works in norm change interventions and measuring the progress towards and outcomes of norm change is a growing area of research.

A closely linked concept to gender norm change is the process of women's and girls' empowerment. Empowerment is similarly a process of change in which the "transformation of power relations occurs through women and girls exercising agency and taking action, through the redistribution of resources…and through shifting the institutional structures that shape women and girls' choice and voice, and ultimately their lives and futures" (van Eerdewijk et al., 2017). Reducing gender inequality requires social change in behaviors and perceptions at the individual level as well as in macro-level social structures. A core tenant of empowerment theory is the primacy of girls and women in driving this change process (van Eerdewijk et al., 2017). This research aims to deepen understanding of the empowerment and social norm change process through the secondary analysis of a set of interviews with adolescent girls and boys in Colombia on their experiences critically assessing gender roles and advocating for gender inequality in their communities.

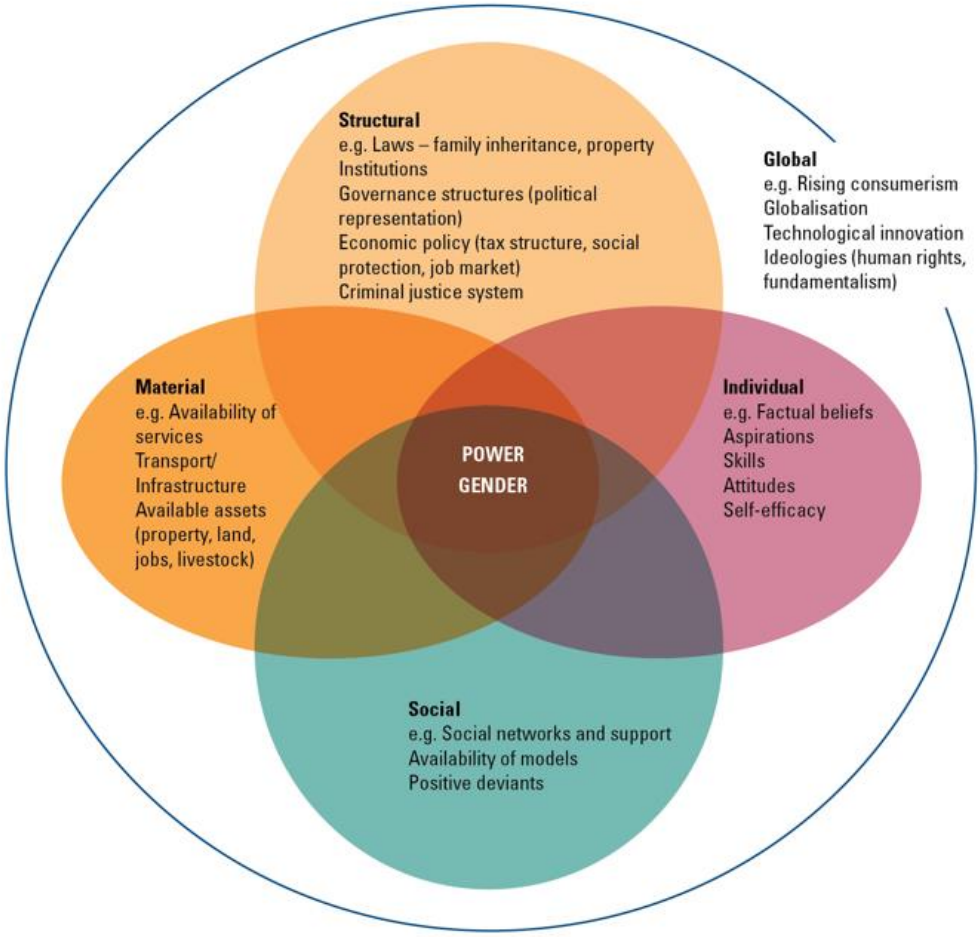
Theoretical Background

Across the social sciences, nearly all disciplines contain a body of work on social norms theory (Vaitla et al., 2017). While there is diversity in perspectives, most disciplines agree that social norms define what is "typical" and "appropriate" behavior in a given context (Bicchieri, 2006; Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990; Elster, 2007; J. P. Gibbs, 1965; Lapinski & Rimal, n.d.; Vaitla et al., 2017). People are motivated to comply with social norms because they anticipate a social reward or punishment for compliance and noncompliance, respectively (Bicchieri, 2006; Elster, 2007). Norms are defined in relation to a group of people or reference group that wield social influence through positive and negative sanctioning (Bicchieri, 2006; Mackie & LeJeune, 2009). In the health sciences, however, the focus on normative approaches arose through models of health behavior that looked beyond more narrowly defined biomedical approaches that overemphasized individual choice and personal responsibility and to the social influences on action that are context-specific (Short & Mollborn, 2015). Among the most widely used

approaches is the social determinants of health (SDOH) model, which seeks to understand how social forces shape people's health. The model distinguishes between "upstream" and "downstream" influences on health behavior, with upstream influences originating from social structures at the macro-level—like public policies and social values—to downstream factors at the individual level—such as psychosocial and biological factors (Short & Mollborn, 2015). The structural determinants frame the social, economic, and political context in which a person lives, which defines their socio-economic position. An individual's material, psychosocial and biological circumstances effect their likelihood of exposure to disease or injury. There is interaction among the different levels of the model which often reinforce health disparities and social inequities. For example, an adolescent girl who becomes ill due to poor sanitation in her community, may struggle to pay for health services, incurring debt and further reducing her socioeconomic position and making her more vulnerable to disease or other economic or social hardship.

Social norms exist at all levels of the SDOH model. Norms shape the national level political and economic opportunities available to women to create social policies and define the structures that promote health (Viner et al., n.d.). At the level of the family and the community, norms shape access to education and employment opportunities as well as define expectations for one's position in society. This research takes a social determinants approach to identifying the factors that influence how gender norms are internalized during adolescents (John et al., 2017). This understanding is essential to being able to design effective interventions that influence and shift harmful norms and the behaviors they inspire. Equally important is understanding what forces sustain these norms. This study uses one primary theoretical model to investigate the factors that perpetuate discriminatory norms and identify which among them is or could be leveraged to facilitate change. This model is called the Dynamic Framework for Social Change (*Figure 1*) and was developed by Cislaghi and Heise (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018). The model represents an adaption of the ecological framework, where four domains of influence intersect. The objective of the framework is to help practitioners diagnose the most influential factors maintaining social norms and design strategies to address them (Cislaghi & Heise, 2016). This framework allows for an intersectional analysis of the themes arising in the adolescent interviews to help identify which factors are most influential in shaping, maintaining, and contesting harmful gender norms**.**

Figure 1. The Dynamic Framework for Social Change (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018))



The concept of "intersectionality" was popularized in 1991 in a seminal piece by Kimberlé Crenshaw entitled, "*Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Color*." Crenshaw posited that solutions to violence could not be found by treating women as a uniform entity defined solely by gender (Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). Instead, violence against black women should be understood through interlocking and mutually reinforcing domains of identity, including race, gender, class, and sexuality (Crenshaw, 1991). The Dynamic Framework for Social Change is an ideal model for applying an intersectional analysis because it interrogates gender and power dynamics across interlocking domains of social influence that shape beliefs and behaviors that lead to violence and inequality.

The intersecting identities and domains of influence impacting adolescent wellbeing in Colombia are inextricably linked to the context. As such, an analysis of the social factors shaping gender relations must begin with a brief introduction on Colombia's recent history.

Study Population - A History of Violence

After 52 years of armed conflict, the Colombian government's recent peace agreement with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) holds promise for ushering in a new era of peace and inclusive development. However, the violence that perpetuated this conflict is rooted in entrenched patterns of social inequality and discrimination based on ethnicity, class, and political affiliation (Domingo, Menocal, & Hinestroza, 2015). Research indicates that armed conflict and its aftermath is highly gendered. This is true of the Colombian civil conflict, where violence and displacement experiences varied across several different social dimensions.

Numerous reports attest to the scale of the violence against women and girls. A national survey for the period 2001-2009 estimated that 489,697 women experienced direct forms of sexual violence (Domingo et al., 2015; Sánchez, Lopez Vivas, Rubriche Cardenas, & Rengifo Cano, 2011). The perennial underreporting of gender-based violence makes it difficult to obtain accurate estimates. A review of forensic examinations between 2009-2014 found that 107,698 girls, adolescents, and women underwent exams associated with alleged sexual offenses and 84% of the total cases were girls and adolescents (UNICEF, 2017). A 2013 report by Diaz and Martin emphasized the degree to which violence against women varied based on ethnicity and educational attainment (Díaz & Marin, 2013). Since 1985, estimates from the state's Victims' Unit place the number of displaced persons at over seven million (Amnesty International, 2017). Illiteracy rates among internally displaced persons (29.5%) was found to far exceed the rate in the general population (6.9%) (Díaz & Marin, 2013; Domingo et al., 2015). Among women who registered sexual violence claims with a prosecutor, 30.5% never attended school and 44.9% attended only primary school (Díaz & Marin, 2013; Domingo et al., 2015). Afro-Colombians and indigenous women similarly experienced higher rates of violence and were found to be less likely to report crimes due to their geographic isolation and lacking access to the criminal justice system (Domingo et al., 2015; Oxfam, 2009).

Today, Colombia remains one of the most unequal countries in the world. According to the World Bank's GINI index, Colombia is Latin America's second most unequal country after Honduras (51.7 in 2016). As of December 2016, the state reports 268,000 lives lost in the conflict since 1985 (Amnesty International, 2017). Recent reports continue to point to a fragile peace situation, with many citizens unhappy with the peace deal, seeing it as too lenient towards the FARC (Mitchell, 2017). Others within Colombia are ready to embrace the reconciliation

process as is much of the international community, from Pope Francis to the Norwegian Nobel Committee, who presented President Juan Manuel Santos with the Nobel Peace Prize in 2016. President Santos has expressed his wish that "youth will lead the construction of peace" (Velez, 2017). As the effort to dismantle structural legacies of inequality gains momentum, there are recent signs of progress.

Status of Women and Girls in Colombia

The status of women in Colombia is undergoing rapid changes. Progress is apparent in several key areas known to be drivers of gender norm change. A literature review identified the most critical drivers to be "education, economic change, exposure to new ideas and political and social mobilization" (Marcus, Page, Calder, & Foley, 2014). Drawing on data on from 2015 Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) report, women have closed the gender gap in average years of education (7.6 years for men and 8 years for women) and literacy rates are comparable. Fertility rates have dropped consistently since the 1960s, reaching 1.9 births per women in 2015. Economic liberalization policies have increased women's participation in the workforce, but significant gaps in income earnings remain and there is evidence of gender segregation in the labor market (Méndez, 2015). The participation of women in the labor market is 57.9 % compared to 79.8 % for men (UNDP HDI 2016). The adolescent pregnancy rate fell between the 2010 and 2015 DHS from 19.5% to 17.4%, however, the rate grew among adolescents 10-14 years old. Women's participation in politics is also on the rise. In 2000, the government passed Act 581 known as the "quota law" which aims for 30% of high-level public positions to be held by women. The government has a National Policy for Gender Equality for Women and has indicated that this effort is a priority (Méndez, 2015). However, high prevalent social norms reinforcing gender inequality and violence against women appeared strongly in the 2015 DHS findings. For example, 60.1% of women and 61.8% of men agree with the statement that "women who follow their partners after being beaten do it because they like it." Patriarchal power structures feature prominently in DHS results, with 39.4% of women and 41.3% of men agreeing that "real men are able to control their partners." An average of 31.9% of women report having suffered physical violence from their partners (Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social y Profamilia, 2017). These data show that violence against women is considered legitimate for a significant portion of the population. However, in comparison to the 2010 DHS, rates of

physical, sexual, economic and psychological violence decreased and the percentage of women who thought of separating because of marital violence increased.

II. METHODS:

This study is a secondary analysis of a set of semi-structured qualitative interviews collected by a research team commissioned by Plan International, a development and humanitarian organization based in the United Kingdom. Primary analysis of this data was presented in the Plan International report, *"Voices of hope: Adolescent girls and boys contributing to individual and collective change to advance gender equality in Colombia,"* published in October 2017 (Casey & Rodway, 2017). This secondary analysis will focus on how the interlocking factors in the Dynamic Framework for Social Change (*Figure 1*) produce and perpetuate gender norms across the individual, social, material and structural domains of the model. In total, 39 semi-structured interviews were conducted in May 2017 with adolescent boys and girls in the Cartagena region of Colombia. The interview questions focused on identifying

Table 1. Demographics of interview participants. Age range 13-16 years old.

Study site	**Girl**	**Boy**	**Mean age (yrs)**	**Location**
Arjona	4	0	14	rural
Clemencia	5	5	13.8	rural
Nelson Mandela	4	3	14.6	urban
Sincerin	5	4	15.1	rural
Villanueva	5	4	14.6	rural
Total	**23**	**16**	**14.4**	**4/5 rural**

perceptions of how positive change in reducing gender discrimination takes place and what barriers and enablers of change affect access to and realization of girls' rights (Casey & Rodway, 2017). The age of the adolescents interviewed ranged from 13 to 16 years old, with an average age of 14. *Table 1* above highlights key demographic information about the participants. Interview participants were recruited in five study sites, including a mix of urban and rural locations. *Figure 2* below highlights the geographic location of the study sites. Ethical review of the study was performed by the research department of Plan International. The study was designed in adherence with Plan International's Research Policy and Standards. Informed consent was obtained from participants and their parents in alignment with guidelines prepared by the World Health Organization (Casey & Rodway, 2017). A purposive sampling method was used to select the participants. The selection criteria included prior participation in Plan International's Champions of Change program, which engages adolescents in discussions of

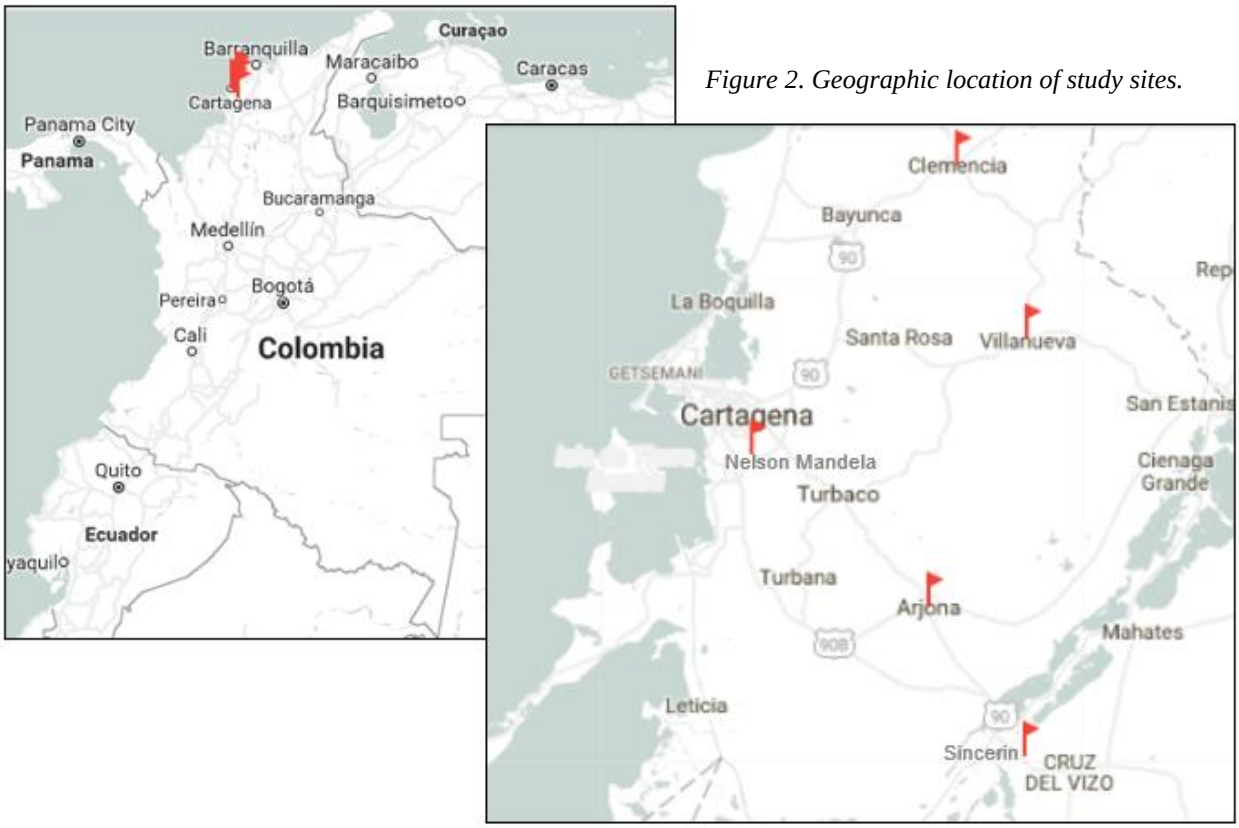


Figure 2. Geographic location of study sites.

gender equality aimed at initiating a youth-led social movement to challenge harmful social norms and increase societal support for gender equality and girls' rights (Casey & Rodway, 2017). These individuals were seen as ideal participants due to their familiarity with and knowledge of gender discrimination, power relations and socials norms. They were well prepared to describe their experiences and efforts to lead social change. Champions of Change uses soccer as a mechanism for teaching adolescents about gender norms, gender-based violence and the power of collective work (Casey & Rodway, 2017; Plan International, 2016).

This secondary research employs an intersectional analysis method. It is termed intersectional because it understands the organization of power within societies as being shaped not by a single category of social divisions but by several, which interact to influence complex societal dynamics (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). The interviews were analyzed in Atlas ti to identify key themes. An initial code list drawn from the components of the Dynamic Framework for Social Change was used and expanded upon through inductive coding. The specific aims of the analysis were to identify which factors are most influential in shaping, maintaining, and contesting harmful gender norms and what lessons can be learned for future interventions seeking to work alongside adolescents to advance gender equality.

III. RESULTS

In the process of analysis, factors influencing the transmission, enforcement and contestation of social norms were grouped across the domains of the framework. Overall, the factors that featured most prominently arose in the *individual* and *social* domains, with some discussion of *structural* influences and a limited focus on the *material* domain. In this section, the findings are presented across the lifecycle of engagement with discriminatory social norms from how they are transmitted to the sanctions that enforce their adherence and the challenges posed by disputing their validity. This format reflects the narrative of the semi-structured interviews and introduces key learnings for future norm change interventions.

Transmission of Social Norms

Parents were consistently identified as the most influential actor shaping the *transmission* of unequal gender norms. The three primary mechanisms whereby parents socialize adolescents into their gender role are through (1) expectation setting, (2) differential treatment, and (3) modeling appropriate behavior. Parents set expectations for gender-specific behavior within the home, at school, and in choice of professions. In their differential treatment, they imbue confidence and trust in sons while daughters are told they are weak and less valuable to society. A 16-year-old girl from Sincerin illustrates this well:

> *"Since you are born your parents inculcate your values and tell you what to do. For example, what they always say to boys, since they are very young, is "the only thing you are going to do is work, study, choose the sport you like and make that women respect you." On the other hand, they say to girls that they were born to wash dishes, look after the children, sweep and study…He [her brother] was brought to the world as a trophy that is cleaned and taken care of and it makes me feel bad. How is it possible that I have to do everything and also have to wash his clothes?" (Girl, Sincerin)*

It was universally reported by study participants that the social expectation for a girls' role in the household is to complete domestic chores and take care of siblings. Girls frequently expressed outrage at the inequality in expectations for house work and parental favoring of sons over daughters. Many girls described how they felt devalued by their parents and this was harmful to their self-esteem. The most commonly mentioned normative description for girls, appearing in the interviews, was "weak" and "useless."

In contrast, the participants reported that boys were expected to be strong and never show emotions like fear or weakness. Sons must command respect from their peers, be a leader and decision-maker, and excel at sports. Parents are much less controlling of the behaviors of sons,

allowing them to go out in the streets, meet friends, and play games. The participants explain that boys are granted this freedom because parents believe this is part of their maturation process and have confidence in their ability to protect themselves. In comparison, the freedom of girls outside the home is sharply curtailed. The participants report that parents do this to protect their daughters from sexual predation but also to avoid the shameful stereotype that girls who spend time in the streets and go to parties are promiscuous and labeled "whores" and "bitches." Girls frequently mentioned that these parental restrictions and accusations left them feeling unsupported, untrusted, and undervalued.

A further area of differential parental treatment is in regards to adolescent sexuality. The participants describe parents as acutely concerned about protecting the virginity of their daughters, while they encourage their sons to explore sexually. For girls, losing their virginity is seen as an affront to the family; a dishonorable action that carries shame. Girls describe parents as believing that any time a girl wants to go out, it is to see or find a boyfriend and they use this as an excuse to keep them in the home. On the other hand, boys describe fathers as encouraging "boys to go out, to have fun, even to have several girlfriends at the same time because they are men" (Boy, Villanueva). The decision to have sex is viewed as the choice of the girl, underscored by the cultural refrain: "the man proposes and the woman decides" (Girl, Arjona). If a pregnancy occurs, the blame is placed almost entirely on the girl, while the boy is congratulated. Some girls suggest that the reason girls are drawn to starting relationships with boys is that they do not feel trusted or supported by their parents:

> *"There are many girls who get pregnant at early age and I think the main reason, aside from not having a clear life project, being insecure and having many fears, is that they believe that finding a husband is the solution to their problems. I think that since their parents mistrust them, they seek refuge in other people. They ask their friends or the boy they like and he says "let's have sex", "this is the moment", "give me a proof of your love", and they don't know what to do and don't have the confidence to talk about it to their mother" (Girl, Clemencia).*

The third mechanism through which parents transfer gender norms is how they model appropriate behavior within the home and towards a spouse. This behavior includes domestic responsibilities ascribed to wives and husbands as well as verbal and physical violence. The participants frequently describe situations of domestic violence within the home. Children observe the power dynamics within the household and these experiences shape what they view as normal behavior. The participants state that youth imitate the behavior of their parents in their

future relationships and this produces a harmful cycle of violence. This quote from a boy in Villanueva describes it best:

> *"It affects everyone because if the boy sees his father telling his mother that she is useless, that she can't work and that she is only there to be abused and do the house chores, the boy would also learn to abuse women." (Boy, Villanueva)*

Many of the participants described how witnessing and experiencing this violence was harmful to their wellbeing:

> "*I felt bad for my mom and because I saw her suffering with bruises on her face and as I could not do anything for her at that time I felt a lot of anger and pain." (Boy, Clemencia)*

Social norms theory tells us that a central operation to how social norms are sustained is through social sanctions. It is to this issue which we turn next.

Enforcement of Social Norms

Social norms gain their strength in shaping behavior because the individual knows that nonconformity to the norm will result in social sanctioning. Several social sanctions appeared repeatedly in the interviews and are enforced most prominently by parents and peers. Common sanctions included name-calling, violence or threats of violence, and social ostracization.

For boys, not conforming to male gender norms results in being called "gay" or a "fag." A girl from Clemencia summarizes this succinctly:

> *"In the case of our society, people act like this: when a boy does not behave as they suppose a boy should act, they say he is gay and do not hang out with him and tell other boys he is a bad influence and that they should stay away from him." (Girl, Clemencia)*

Common actions that were described as being "gay" include wearing pink, crying or showing emotion, helping with house chores, and being without a girlfriend. Parents are fearful of their sons being labeled "gay" so they punish behaviors that could cause their sexuality to be questioned. Parents also warn their sons that if they engage in stereotypical girl activities or play with girls, they will become gay. It is common for a father to threaten sons that "if they become gay, he will beat them," or disallow them from going outside (Boy, Clemencia). The harshest description came from another boy in Clemencia who said that: "if over the years the boy becomes homosexual, the father…would not love him anymore." Threats of violence and withheld affection are the norm for parental sanctioning.

Peer sanctioning for violating male gender norms involves bullying and social isolation. Rumors get spread about boys who are suspected of being gay and other boys lead the bullying.

Name calling is the most frequent sanction, but there are also descriptions of boys getting their butts grabbed and being told to fight to prove their sexuality. A boy in Sincerin shared an example of how peer bullying enforces male gender norms:

> "*For example, when I was in 8th year of school there was a boy who was very shy and liked to hang out with girls, so others called him gay but he was not, he was quiet and they bullied him until someone advised him to change and behave like a macho. He changed his attitude and now he is even worse than them." (Boy, Sincerin).*

Boys also face pressure from others boys to have girlfriends. A girl in Villanueva describes this expectation: "Here they have something like a law: when a boy is 13 he must have a girlfriend or he is gay" (Girl, Villanueva). Boys who have not yet had girlfriends are aggressively teased. Boys are also pressured by their male peers to have sex. Once a boy has had sex, his peers say: "he is a real man because he slept with a woman." (Girl, Nelson Mandela) In one situation, a boy who was regularly called "gay" and humiliated "tried to kill himself and his parents decided to leave the community because his life was at risk" (Girl, Clemencia).

Girls face sanctions for not conforming to gender norms from parents, peers, and the broader community as well. Name calling is similarly a sanction for girls who go against conventional behaviors. For example, girls who play soccer are called "machorras" or butch. Most parents do not approve of their daughters playing soccer and female peers tell girls who play that "they look like a man." Girls who break the norm of staying in the home and spend time in the streets with boys are criticized as "sluts" or "whores." If daughters are labeled in this way, it is shameful for parents, so they further restrict their freedom. Among peers, the "slut" label results in social isolation and poor treatment. Here a participant describes not wanting to be associated with a girl who has been labeled in this way:

> *"There are some boys who have told me that she has sex with all of them and she is just going to turn 16, I do not hang out much with her because, as they say out there, "birds of a feather flock together" and since she has a damaged resume I don't want them to speak badly of me." (Girl, Nelson Mandela)*

The phrase "damaged resume" is used to describe one's reputation. The participants highlighted the importance of having a social group and being accepted. Girls describe how popularity is linked to material possessions like fashionable clothing and being well known socially. Peers will say: "you have to wear this, or these shoes that are fashionable because if you don't you are not my friend" (Girl, Nelson Mandela). Loss of friendship or rejection from a social group are sanctions against girl who do not conform to norms that dictate popularity.

Contestation of Social Norms

The participants shared their strategies and experiences challenging gender norms in their communities. The most frequently described approach was through open dialogue to make others conscious of the injustice caused by harmful norms. Participants suggest that gender equality education programs be targeted at the whole community, including their parents, peers, teachers, and neighbors. In the following quote, a participant highlights the challenge of contesting social norms without support from adults:

> *"It is not only about working with young people because when we go home or speak about what they have learned we don't receive any support. It is important that adults support us to get ahead because I implement what I am learning in the neighborhood, or when I am in school, but when I am at home it is the opposite… Adults are fundamental in the construction of our lives and personalities. If there are adults who think and act with gender equality, adults that gradually change those thoughts, young people will feel more confident." (Girl, Clemencia)*

A key theme in the participant's descriptions of efforts to contest norms is the centrality of parents to the success or failure of their efforts. Parents appear to be the adolescents' greatest barrier or greatest asset. Male participants describe verbal and physical abuse from parents when they are seen washing dishes or sweeping. Boys who voice support for gender equality are labeled gay. A girl shared a story of trying to convince her father that the notion that a boy would become gay if he completed house chores was nonsensical:

> *"One day I was doing the house chores and ask him [her cousin] to help me. He was sweeping outside the house and my dad came and hit him. At that moment I would have preferred that he had hit me and I said "daddy that is irrelevant, besides sometimes I see you sweeping because my mom asks you to" and he said "but I decided to sweep so she did not get mad at me", so I said "Oh daddy, then you are also going to become queer", he said that I should respect him and fought with my mother, then he hit her." (Girl, Nelson Mandela).*

Girls that try to change their parents views often face strong negative reactions. Participants frequently report being silenced by their parents and belittled:

> *"There are many parents who say "you are useless, you will not get anywhere". Sometimes they call me stupid when I give my opinion about a woman's issue, they also call me indiscreet and I don't understand why because there is no reason, I am only explaining what I know and what I understand because there are things that women should be able to do." (Girl, Clemencia)*

Participants state that these negative reactions can be damaging to their self-esteem. There are descriptions of mental health issues, following conflict with parents, and verbal and physical abuse.

In contrast, when participants have the support of their parents, this inspires confidence and encourages them to spearhead broader gender equality efforts outside the home. For example, the participant quoted below contributes to a radio program. She says:

> *"I believe my parents are proud of what I am accomplishing. Every time I raise my voice on my radio programme I can expand my knowledge and make it possible that other people open their eyes and see that is not a dream where a 'prince charming' comes and rescues you. No one can rescue you, but you can rescue your own inner power that has been lost in those stereotypes, inequalities and sexism in which we live." (Girl, Clemencia).*

Participants describe succeeding in convincing parents that housework should be shared. They also note changes in their parent's behavior: "Now my dad thinks before saying something, he reflects more." (Girl, Clemencia) The participants believe that their parents have the capacity to learn and change their opinions through education and dialogue on gender equality.

A further theme in the interviews was recognition that changing social norms is an internal and an external process. So far, we have discussed how the participants approached norm change externally, but descriptions of the internal process appeared as well. The participants reflected aloud on their own journey towards accepting gender equality and becoming an advocate. This process generally fell into five steps: (1) discovery, (2) self-efficacy, (3) commitment, (4) helping others, and (5) taking action in the home and in the broader community. The steps in this process are mutually-reinforcing and steps four and five are not necessarily sequential or separate.

The discovery phase is where education on gender equality is internalized and recognition of the validity of gender equality as a human right occurs. A girl from Clemencia describes this well:

> *"When you learn about gender equality things change. Gender equality is like a step but has several things behind. It teaches you something and you get to know yourself and learn new things, such as how to speak assertively or how to make our own decisions. This gives us the motivation to fight against inequalities and discrimination." (Girl, Clemencia)*

Once the individual believes in the justice of gender equality and need for advancement, then they must feel they have the tools to take up this fight. Girls characterize "having the tools" as finding their voice and feeling confident to speak up. Girls describe this challenge as breaking the silence: "sometimes we as women let the noise of other people's opinions silence our inner voice" (Girl, Nelson Mandela). Learning to listen to your inner voice and believing that you have

the power to make change are key steps towards self-efficacy. Another factor that facilitates building confidence is seeing role models who are taking action successfully. Examples that were highlighted in the interviews included seeing female politicians speak up for women and getting to meet a woman BMX star during the Champions of Change program.

The importance of making a commitment to advance more equitable gender norms was identified by several participants. Making a commitment involves overcoming the fear of other people's judgement and it is described as a turning point in an individual's journey. A girl from Clemencia portrays this process as an inner decision. After learning about gender equality, a girl must come to a resolution to:

> *"Take the initiative, get empowered and say "no, enough, I am not going to continue being like this, I want to change what they are doing to me, try new things and take risks"" (Girl, Clemencia).*

Others emphasized that making this commitment is a personal struggle and concerns over judgment often limit social action:

> *"People who want to make a change have to make a decision and really do it. When we left the project [Champions of Change program] we were talking about it in a corner and we said that we have to change this. Many said they were not able, they said "I am not able of being a leader, other people could judge me"" (Boy, Sincerin).*

Individuals who have been able to overcome the fear of judgement often help their more hesitant peers. This is the fourth step in the process. Helping friends confront challenging situations like negotiating house responsibilities with parents, are described as confidence-building. These efforts reinforce solidarity among the adolescents aiming to drive norm change. Girls report gaining satisfaction and feeling useful and listened to when they assist friends in contesting norms. One girl in Sincerin describes a situation in which she helped another girl who was being bullied and her parents had disallowed her from joining Plan's Champions of Change program (i.e. "soccer school").

> *"I had already started my participation in the Plan project and I said to myself: 'If I have the tools, why not?' So, I sat her down and I told her: 'I am your friend, you are a young girl like me so we can understand each other' and she told me everything. So I used the tools, for example I learned to be assertive, communicative and strong, to do things by myself so I gave her the tools. It was a little hard as she was reluctant. About five days later I went to her house and saw her talking to her parents. Later she came to my house and said: 'I already talked to my parents and they say they are going to enrol me in the soccer school, I also talked to the boys and told them I had the same rights as*

men, that the soccer field was not theirs, but of the community. Now all of us play together. At school I don't let boys bully me, I know how to defend myself, I have the tools.' Then I said: 'if you have friends with the same problems, now you have the tools to help them"" (Girl, Sincerin).

This concept of passing on the tools to challenge social norms demonstrates how change at the individual level can spur collective action. Many of the factors that make up the internal process we have described align with features of the *individual* domain of the framework. These features include *factual beliefs, aspirations, skills, attitudes, and self-efficacy.* Learning that you have the right to gender equality, as a *factual belief,* changes your *attitudes* and *aspirations* for the future. In order to gain confidence to lead change, individuals must feel they have the tools or *skills* to act against harmful norms. Gaining confidence or that sense of *self-efficacy* to challenge norms, involves stepping into the area of overlap between the *individual* and *social* domain of the framework. Exposure to role models or *positive deviants* who have successfully navigated and transformed unequal gender relationships inspires confidence and helps others to overcome the fear of social rejection and commit to driving forward social change. Helping others in your *social network* lead change through sharing knowledge and skills is confidence-building for all involved and reaffirms a shared commitment to act.

Taking action is the fifth stage in the process. Examples above highlighted how participants have contested norms at the family-level and with peers. Social change efforts at the broader community level were also described, including the launch of a radio station hosted by adolescents. A girl from Clemencia explains how hearing girls' voices on the radio station can facilitate change at the community-level and build support for gender equality:

"A father listening to a girl talking on the radio says "It is a girl who is speaking". I think that having girls speaking in a radio station is a very important advance and a motivation for them because if that girl is empowered I can also do it and that is what we want, that just like us, all the town of Clemencia takes ownership of the organization" (Girl, Clemencia).

She goes on to say that she gains strength from her mother's support: "I had no obstacles because my mother has always supported me. My motivation is the sentence - "it is forbidden to surrender."" The participants also mentioned the development of adolescent-led organizations to create a safe space to discuss gender norm change efforts. Overall, however, the change efforts beyond the home were described more often as ideas for actions that could be taken, rather than concrete efforts that were underway. Here are a few examples:

"*I would create a council of children and adolescents to disseminate what they have learned in their communities" (Boy, Clemencia).*

"First I would go to the communities; I would listen to what they told me. Then I would make campaigns, walks, conferences, and would provide guidelines on how to get out of societies like this, training women to become leaders and organizing conferences also for men, as well as recreational activities to build strengths and communication" (Girl, Arjona).

"I would start with projects that the community can assimilate very fast, like a cinema. I would make the decision to make a community film so they see equality in that film. It would be a short film showing certain things and teaching others" (Boy, Sincerin).

"I would like to do many things, but first I would give a lecture or a workshop for parents because if you transmit this information to parents, they transmit it to their children. Then I would make workshops, lectures and recreational activities with children, where boys would play the roles of girls and girls play the roles of boys to see how it feels, sharing the ideas and knowledge they learned in the activity" (Girl, Nelson Mandela).

The need to engage parents in gender equality programming is a key theme across the interviews. The home was the primary setting where participants experimented with contesting social norms and experienced acceptance and rejection from family members. Inspiring change within the home may be the first step towards facilitating change at the broader societal level. With the support of their parents, adolescents may feel more confident spearheading the many initiatives they have proposed.

Normalization of Gender-Based Violence

Thus far, we have reported how violence is normalized in the home and how it is used to sanction children for acting against gender expectations. Violence against women is seen as justified due to salient norms that characterize women as "weak", "useless" and "unable to defend themselves." Violence is also a sanction used by husbands to discipline wives who they view as not fulfilling their gender role as homemaker. Participants report violence against wives when children misbehave, as poor behavior is seen as the result of poor childrearing, which is a mother's responsibility. Similarly, others shared that it is considered justified for a husband to beat his wife if dinner is not ready when he returns home from work. In the same way, men can also lash out in violence when they feel they are falling short of their own role as "man of the house." One participant frames this issue as husbands feeling insecure in their masculinity. This can be an issue in situations where individuals are contesting norms, as men can react angrily when they feel their power is threatened.

At the community-level, gender-based violence occurs in the form of frequent catcalling and sexual harassment. Numerous participants report feeling fearful of sexual violence when they are in the street. Participants shared stories of cases of rape in the community, kidnapping, and the sale of girls into prostitution. Rape is also commonly reported on the news, which adds to its pervasive feeling. A girl from Villanueva conveys the emotional toll of living in this environment of insecurity:

> *"The obstacles that girls have in Villanueva are because of men because it is unsafe to be here. There are many rapes, many older men saying dirty things to women and girls. It feels horrible because they have even approached me and it is disgusting, they say 'oh baby, I want to have you, come to live with me'. It is horrible and uncomfortable; they are about 40 or 50 years old. Fortunately, I have always trusted my father, he has always helped and advised me, he has always been there defending me" (Girl, Villanueva).*

In some cases, parents can provide a sense of security to adolescent girls when these relationships are based on trust and mutual respect.

The standard response to gender-based violence at the community-level and in the home is silence. Speaking out is thought to increase the likelihood of future abuse. Women and girls are also blamed when abuse happens: "she asked for it", "she was not careful." Choice of clothing and being on the streets at night are seen as the cause of violence inflicted upon a girl, both of which are her fault. Many community members also see domestic violence as a personal issue where it is inappropriate to intervene.

Many of the solutions that participants propose for reducing gender-based violence operate at the *structural* level framework. The participants emphasize that laws fail to enforce the illegality of violence against women. The dominant belief is that police will ignore reports of violence against women and girls. Colombia's recent violent history has shaped the relationship between communities and the police force. Participants report that police can be afraid to make arrests for violence crimes because they are fearful of retribution against themselves or their families, particularly when it comes to gang violence. In general, the police are seen as ineffectual in domestic violence situations and the participants recommend that efforts be made to change this perception. They see the solution as two-fold: firstly, there is lacking public recognition that violence against women is illegal, and secondly, these laws should be enforced. Several participants recommend a communication campaign to build awareness that gender-

based violence is a crime that should be reported. They suggest that men need to know and see that they can be punished for being abusive.

IV. DISCUSSION

The intersectional analysis methodology used in this study provided a powerful tool for identifying the social factors that underlie and interact to influence the transmission, enforcement, and contestation of harmful gender norms. This research identified two main themes with implications for future social norm change interventions. The first theme is the primacy of parents in gender norm transmission and enforcement as well as their centrality to the success or failure of adolescent efforts to contest harmful norms. The second theme is related to the normalization of violence against women and girls and the need for legal enforcement and awareness-raising on domestic violence laws. Understanding these themes in the context of the existing literature is helpful in furthering lessons learned.

While the primacy of parents in the gender socialization process is well documented (Fagot, Rodgers, & Leinbach, 2000; John et al., 2017; Kågesten et al., 2016; Leaper & Friedman, 2006), these findings draw attention to the prominence of traditional gender roles in Colombia and how these roles are reinforced within a hierarchical familial environment. The gender roles transmitted and enforced by parents are reflective of traditional Latino/a cultural notions of *machismo* and *marianismo* (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010). Marianismo is a term first introduced by political scientist Evelyn Stevens to describe the feminine ideal in Latino/a culture—a women who is humble, submissive, virginal, and self-sacrificing for the sake of the family (Castillo et al., 2010). Similarly, machismo is a term representing the expected behaviors and archetypal roles of Latino men. Many of these characteristics embody a hypermasculinity and chauvinism, including the control and domination of women and aggressive or violent behaviors (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008). In addition to these cultural concepts, which featured strongly in the participant's descriptions of parental expectations and behaviors, the enforcement mechanisms similarly showed alignment with cultural values reported in the literature.

Scholars have identified a set of Latino/a cultural values that are relevant to gender norms and their enforcement (Castillo et al., 2010; Gil & Vasquez, 1996; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). These values are termed *familismo, respeto, simpati'a.* The *familismo* value highlights the strong attachment and sense of responsibility that individuals feel towards family and the expectation

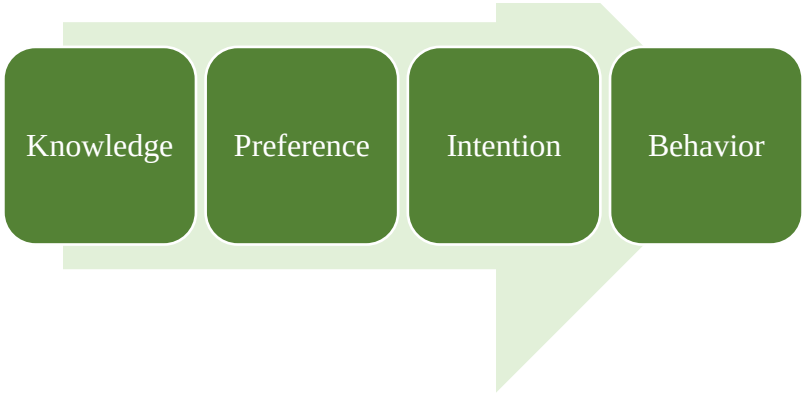
that individuals make self-sacrifices for the group. Castillo et al. describe adherence to *familismo* as conformity with gender role expectations. Men shows adherence to *familismo* by providing for the family economically and being willing to defend their family's honor, while women support their family through home and childcare support (Arciniega et al., 2008). The *respeto* value represents "the obedience, duty, and deference of an individual's position within a hierarchical structure" (Castillo et al., 2010). Scholars highlight a "Latino golden rule" as the phrase "no faltarle el respeto" which means "one must not talk back or assert themselves to those higher on the hierarchical family structure" (Castillo et al., 2010; Santiago-Rivera, Arrendondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002). This cultural expectation illustrates a context-specific challenge to efforts at gender norm change. Reducing gender equality requires a transfer of power and changing traditional patriarchal social structures. The resistance that the adolescent participants faced contesting social norms makes their trepidation understandable and their bravery remarkable. *Simpati'a* is a value that emphasizes the importance of courteous behaviors, especially among women. A person should avoid disagreeing or being critical of others for the sake of collective harmony (Castillo et al., 2010). Breaking this social expectation is a sign of disrespect to the family. Similar to the *respeto* value, *simpati'a* creates heightened resistance to the efforts described by adolescents, identifying inequalities within the home and questioning parents as authority figures.

Research has shown that the most effective norm change interventions are those that are grounded in context-specific cultural values (Cislaghi, Gillespie, & Mackie, 2016; Haylock, Cornelius, Malunga, & Mbandazayo, 2016; Read-Hamilton & Marsh, 2016; Vaitla et al., 2017). While cultural values in this context do contribute to the perpetuation of harmful gender norms, they can also be an effective starting point for intervention design. For example, there have been effective efforts to reframe masculinity away from sexism and domination towards more flexible gender roles, and balanced power in intimate relationships (A. Gibbs, Vaughan, & Aggleton, 2015; Namy et al., 2015). The importance of the collectivist worldview in Latino/a communities also has implications for intervention design. It was clear from the interviews that social sanctions used to enforce gender norms were wielded by many members of the adolescent's social world, including parents, peers, and community members. A relevant critique of the Champions of Change is that it centered its programming on the adolescents themselves, rather

than engaging other influential stakeholders. In the field of health behavior, this error is called the "individualist fallacy" (Davies, 1992; Shell-Duncan, Moreau, Smith, & Shakya, 2018).

The individualist fallacy is the incorrect assumption that the individual has sole control over their behavior, while overlooking the social context in which decisions are made (Shell-Duncan & Herniund, 2006). *Figure 3* below highlights this model of behavior change, which contends that when individuals are informed about health risks, their preferences and intentions change, and they are able to adapt their behavior. The experiences shared by the participants contesting gender norms clearly highlight that efforts to change their behavior—such as a boy's decision to start helping with house chores—do not happen in isolation. Particularly in collectivist societies, decisions affecting health are rarely made independently (Aubel, 2012; Davies, 1992; Shell-Duncan & Herniund, 2006; Yoder, 2001). Understanding who has influence in decision-making and creating an intervention that engages all relevant stakeholders is the most likely to succeed (Amin, Kågesten, Adebayo, & Chandra-Mouli, 2018; Cislaghi et al., 2016; Haylock et al., 2016). This research has identified parents as central to the adolescent's success or failure in leading norm change. A second iteration of the Champions of Change program could incorporate activities to engage parents as the participants clearly suggest.

Figure 3. Individual-Centered Model of Behavior



Similarly, the behavior of parents should not be viewed in isolation either. Parents are aware of social expectations for their children and want to protect them from the harmful judgements that come from nonconformity. They also are fearful of the judgement from peer parents in their community. Literature on parental enforcement of other harmful gender norms has identified a fundamental moral norm which is that "parents love their children and ultimately want to do what is best for them" (Mackie & LeJeune, 2009). Mackie and LeJeune define moral norms as norms representing internalized values of right and wrong (Mackie & LeJeune, 2009). Parents feel that they are acting morally when they sanction their children for gender nonconforming behavior. A participant from Arjona highlights this parental perspective:

"My father has never hit me, but he hurts me with his words, although he says he does all of that because he loves me." (Girl, Arjona)

In order for parental behaviors to change, interventions need to target the community stakeholders that influence parental decision-making. Community-wide gender equality programming may be the most effective strategy for gender norm change, as individuals creating change alone would face heightened social scrutiny, but if the full community is involved and norms are questioned collectively, then the penalty for nonconformity is reduced and individuals can feel greater freedom to experiment with new gender beliefs (Amin & Chandra-Mouli, 2014; Cislaghi et al., 2016).

The second theme that represents a lesson learned for interventions in Colombia relates to the legal enforcement of gender-based violence. The participants clearly articulated a gap in public knowledge around the illegality of violence against women. In the last 15 years, Colombia has made significant progress institutionalizing gender equality and violence protection. In 2008, Law 1257 issued regulations to "raise awareness, prevent and punish forms of violence and discrimination against women" and Law 1719 in 2014 included measures to guarantee access to justice to victims of sexual violence (Essayag, 2017; UN Women, 2018). While Colombia's legal framework is strong, the participants perspectives on law enforcement point to low social confidence and trust in these laws and the police. This can be characterized as a disconnect between legal and social norms. Legal norms are those which are enforced by government sanctions formally stated in laws, such as through imprisonment or fines (Mackie & LeJeune, 2009). Social norms have not yet caught up with new legal norms. There is also an enforcement gap in legal norms that requires more research. It is unclear whether lacking trust in law enforcement to act on gender violence claims is due to a shortage of resources to process claims effectively or if women lack the knowledge that these services exist. Male compliance with legal norms forbidding violence against women is a further area for research. Laws can be a mechanism for social change, but only when they are understood and enforced. Similarly, policies that guarantee support services for victims of abuse are not effective if they are not accessible or well-resourced. By investing in further research in this area, programs could be designed to address this disconnect and support legal mechanisms of gender equality protection.

V. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, as Colombia enters a new era of peace and stability, there is great potential for advancing gender equality and the rights of women and girls. Programs like Champions of

Change have helped to build a supportive environment for adolescents to reflect on gender norms and take ownership of the movement to advance gender equality. Their bravery and commitment to this cause is captured in the title quote: “My motivation is the sentence - it is forbidden to surrender.” However, contesting harmful norms is not without risks to mental and physical health. A key recommendation of this analysis is to target programming at other stakeholders that enforce these norms. Parents, in particular, were identified as the most influential actor in gender socialization and the adolescents’ own greatest barrier or asset in their efforts at social change. Focusing solely on adolescents without engaging other influential actors is an example of the “individualist fallacy.” Changing the behavioral expectations encoded in norms is not an individual decision but one that is made and upheld by the community. The most effective norm change programs are grounded in relevant cultural values and inclusive of all stakeholders. The second key recommendation is to focus additional research and programming on the legal mechanisms that advance and protect women’s rights. There is an enforcement gap in new laws meant to protect women against violence. Efforts to build trust in the police and legal system are needed if women are going to take advantage of new support programs and report crimes. Both of these recommendations originated from the study participants themselves. Through capturing these recommendations as lessons learned for future interventions, our goal is to amplify the adolescent voice in program design and follow their leadership in social norm change.

VI. REFERENCES

Amin, A., & Chandra-Mouli, V. (2014). Empowering adolescent girls: developing egalitarian gender norms and relations to end violence. *Reproductive Health*, *11*, 75. https://doi.org/10.1186/1742-4755-11-75

Amin, A., Kågesten, A., Adebayo, E., & Chandra-Mouli, V. (2018). Addressing Gender Socialization and Masculinity Norms Among Adolescent Boys: Policy and Programmatic Implications. *The Journal of Adolescent Health*, *62*(3 Suppl), S3–S5. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2017.06.022

Amnesty International. (2017). *Amnesty International Report 2016/2017: The State of the World's Human Rights* (pp. 123–128). Amnesty International. Retrieved from https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/americas/colombia/report-colombia/

Arciniega, G. M., Anderson, T. C., Tovar-Blank, Z. G., & Tracey, T. J. G. (2008). Toward a fuller conception of Machismo: Development of a traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *55*(1), 19–33. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.55.1.19

Aubel, J. (2012). The role and influence of grandmothers on child nutrition: culturally designated advisors and caregivers. *Maternal & Child Nutrition*, *8*(1), 19–35. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1740-8709.2011.00333.x

Bicchieri, C. (2006). *The Grammar of Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Casey, J., & Rodway, F. (2017). *Voices of hope: Adolescent girls and boys contributing to individual and collective change to advance gender equality in Cartagena, Colombia* (International Day of the Girl Research 2017). Plan International.

Castillo, L. G., Perez, F. V., Castillo, R., & Ghosheh, M. R. (2010). Construction and initial validation of the Marianismo Beliefs Scale. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, *23*(2), 163–175. https://doi.org/10.1080/09515071003776036

Cialdini, R. B., Reno, R. R., & Kallgren, C. A. (1990). A focus theory of normative conduct: Recycling the concept of norms to reduce littering in public places. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *58*(6), 1015–1026. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.58.6.1015

Cislaghi, B., Gillespie, D., & Mackie, G. (2016). *Values Deliberation and Collective Action - Community Empowerment in Rural Senegal*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from //www.palgrave.com/us/book/9783319337555

Cislaghi, B., & Heise, L. (2016). *Measuring Gender-related Social Norms: Report of a Meeting*. Baltimore, Maryland: Learning Group on Social Norms and Gender-based Violence of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Retrieved from http://strive.lshtm.ac.uk/system/files/attachments/Baltimore%20norms%20meeting%20report.pdf

Cislaghi, B., & Heise, L. (2018). Using social norms theory for health promotion in low-income countries. *Health Promotion International*. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/day017

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241–1299. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Davies, P. (1992). On relapse: Recidivism or rational response? In *AIDS: Rights, Risk and Reason* (pp. 133–141). Washington, D.C.: Falmer Press.

Decker, M. R., Latimore, A. D., Yasutake, S., Haviland, M., Ahmed, S., Blum, R. W., … Astone, N. M. (2015). Gender-Based Violence Against Adolescent and Young Adult Women in Low- and Middle-Income Countries. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *56*(2), 188–196. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2014.09.003

Díaz, C., & Marin, I. (2013). Reparations in Colombia: Advancing the women's rights agenda. In *Women and Transitional Justice: The Experience of Women as Participants* (in Yarwood, L. (ed.)). Abingdon: Routledge.

Domingo, P., Menocal, A. R., & Hinestroza, V. (2015). *Progress despite adversity: women's empowerment and conflict in Colombia*. Overseas Development Institute (ODI). Retrieved from https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9743.pdf

Elster, J. (2007). *Explaining Social Behaviour, More Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Essayag, S. (2017). *From Commitment to Action: Policies to End Violence Against Women in Latin America and the Caribbean: Regional Analysis Document* (No. ISBN 978-9962-688-38-9). Panama: UN Women, UNDP. Retrieved from http://lac.unwomen.org/en/digiteca/publicaciones/2017/11/politicas-para-erradicar-la-violencia-contra-las-mujeres-america-latina-y-el-caribe

Fagot, B., Rodgers, C., & Leinbach, M. (2000). Theories of Gender Socialization. In *The Developmental Social Psychology of Gender* (1st ed., pp. 65–89). New York: Psychology Press.

Gibbs, A., Vaughan, C., & Aggleton, P. (2015). Beyond 'working with men and boys': (re)defining, challenging and transforming masculinities in sexuality and health programmes and policy. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *17*(sup2), 85–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1092260

Gibbs, J. P. (1965). Norms: The Problem of Definition and Classification. *American Journal of Sociology*, *70*(5), 586–594.

Gil, R. M., & Vasquez, C. I. (1996). *The Maria Paradox: How Latinas Can Merge Old World Traditions with New World Self-Esteem*. New York: Perigree Books.

Haylock, L., Cornelius, R., Malunga, A., & Mbandazayo, K. (2016). Shifting negative social norms rooted in unequal gender and power relationships to prevent violence against women and girls. *Gender & Development*, *24*(2), 231–244. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2016.1194020

Hill Collins, P., & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality*. Oxford, UNITED KINGDOM: Polity Press. Retrieved from http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/washington/detail.action?docID=4698012

John, N. A., Stoebenau, K., Ritter, S., Edmeades, J., Balvin, N., & Unicef. (2017). Gender Socialization during Adolescence in Low-and Middle-Income Countries: Conceptualization, influences and outcomes.

Kågesten, A., Gibbs, S., Blum, R. W., Moreau, C., Chandra-Mouli, V., Herbert, A., & Amin, A. (2016). Understanding Factors that Shape Gender Attitudes in Early Adolescence Globally: A Mixed-Methods Systematic Review. *PLOS ONE*, *11*(6), e0157805. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0157805

Ki-moon, B. (2016). Sustainability—engaging future generations now. *The Lancet*, *387*(10036), 2356–2358. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/ S0140-6736(16)30271-9

Lapinski, M. K., & Rimal, R. N. (n.d.). An Explication of Social Norms. *Communication Theory*, *15*(2), 127–147. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2005.tb00329.x

Leaper, C., & Friedman, C. (2006). The Socialization of Gender. In *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research* (pp. 561–587). New York: Guilford Press.

Lundgren, R., & Amin, A. (2015). Addressing Intimate Partner Violence and Sexual Violence Among Adolescents: Emerging Evidence of Effectiveness. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *56*(1), S42–S50. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2014.08.012

Mackie, G., & LeJeune, J. (2009). *Social Dynamics of Abandonment of Harmful Practices: A New Look at the Theory. Innocenti Working Paper* (Special Series on Social Norms and Harmful Practices No. IWP-2009-06). FLorence: UNICEF - Innocenti Research Centre.

Marcus, R., Page, E., Calder, R., & Foley, C. (2014). *Drivers of change in gender norms: an annotated bibliography*. Overseas Development Institute (ODI). Retrieved from https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9184.pdf

Méndez, D. (2015). The impact of economic liberalization on gender equality in Colombia. *Julius-Maximilians University*, (15), 142–171.

Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social y Profamilia. (2017). *Colombia Encuesta Nacional de Demografía y Salud 2015* (No. FR334). Bogotá,Colombia: Profamilia/Colombia. Retrieved from http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR334/FR334.pdf

Mitchell, C. (2017, October 2). Colombia: Fragile peace a year after FARC referendum. *Aljazeera*. Retrieved from http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/10/colombia-fragile-peace-year-farc-referendum-171002065629390.html

Namy, S., Heilman, B., Stich, S., Crownover, J., Leka, B., & Edmeades, J. (2015). Changing what it means to 'become a man': participants' reflections on a school-based programme to redefine masculinity in the Balkans. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *17*(sup2), 206–222. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1070434

Oxfam. (2009). *Sexual violence in Colombia* (Oxfam Briefing Paper). Oxford: Oxfam GB. Retrieved from https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bp-sexual-violence-colombia.pdf

Patton, G. C., Sawyer, S. M., Santelli, J. S., Ross, D. A., Afifi, R., Allen, N. B., … Viner, R. M. (2016). Our future: a Lancet commission on adolescent health and wellbeing. *The Lancet*, *387*(10036), 2423–2478. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(16)00579-1

Plan International. (2016). *Champions of Change for Gender Equality and Women's Rights: Process Description* (Internal Briefing) (pp. 1–19). Plan International. Retrieved from http://www.plan-academy.org/pluginfile.php/20448/mod_data/content/3965/Champions%20of%20Change_Process%20Description_FINAL.pdf

Raffaelli, M., & Ontai, L. L. (2004). Gender Socialization in Latino/a Families: Results from Two Retrospective Studies. *Sex Roles*, *50*(5–6), 287–299. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000018886.58945.06

Read-Hamilton, S., & Marsh, M. (2016). The Communities Care programme: changing social norms to end violence against women and girls in conflict-affected communities. *Gender & Development*, *24*(2), 261–276. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2016.1195579

Sánchez, O. A., Lopez Vivas, J. N., Rubriche Cardenas, J. D., & Rengifo Cano, M. P. (2011). *Campaign Rape and other Violence: Leave my Body Out of War. Sexual Violence against Women in the context of the Colombian armed conflict 2001–2009. First Survey of Prevalence – Executive Summary*. Bogota: Asociación Mujeres y Madres Abriendo Caminos, Asociación Santa Rita para la Educación y Promoción-FUNSAREP, Casa de la Mujer, Centro Promoción y Cultura-CPC, Colectivo de Abogados José Alvear Restrepo, Corporación Vamos Mujer, Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres, Sisma Mujer.

Santiago-Rivera, A. L., Arrendondo, P., & Gallardo-Cooper, M. (2002). *Counseling Latinos and la familia: A Practical Guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Sheehan, P., Sweeny, K., Rasmussen, B., Wils, A., Friedman, H. S., Mahon, J., … Symons, J. (2017). Building the foundations for sustainable development: a case for global investment in the capabilities of adolescents. *The Lancet*.

Shell-Duncan, B., & Herniund, Y. (2006). Are there "stages of change" in the practice of female genital cutting?: Qualitative research findings from Senegal and The Gambia. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, *10*(2), 57–71.

Shell-Duncan, B., Moreau, A., Smith, S., & Shakya, H. (2018). Women's Business? A social network study of the influence of men on decision-making regarding female genital mutilation/cutting in Senegal. In *Data Sharing and Experiences, Improving Collaboration*. Montréal, Québec.

Short, S. E., & Mollborn, S. (2015). Social determinants and health behaviors: conceptual frames and empirical advances. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *5*, 78–84. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2015.05.002

UN Women. (2018). Colombia: Status of women's rights in Colombia. Retrieved from http://lac.unwomen.org/en/donde-estamos/colombia

UNICEF. (2017). *UNICEF Colombia Annual Report 2016* (No. 978-92-806-4893–5) (p. 80). Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/publications/index_96412.html

Vaitla, B., Taylor, A., Van Horn, J., & Cislaghi, B. (2017). *Social Norms and Girl's Well-Being: Linking Theory and Practice*. Washington, DC.: Data 2X. Retrieved from http://data2x.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Social-Norms.pdf

van Eerdewijk, A., Wong, F., Vaast, C., Newton, J., Tyszler, M., & Pennington, A. (2017). *White Paper: A Conceptual Model of Women and Girls' Empowerment*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute (KIT). Retrieved from https://www.kit.nl/gender/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2017/03/BMGF_KIT_WhitePaper_web-1.pdf

Velez, G. (2017, October 17). "A grain of sand": youth education, and peacebuilding in Colombia. *Sustainable Security: Addressing the Underlying Drivers of Global Insecurity*. Retrieved from https://sustainablesecurity.org/2017/10/17/a-grain-of-sand-youth-education-and-peace-building-in-colombia/

Viner, R. M., Ozer, E. M., Denny, S., Marmot, M., Resnick, M., Fatusi, A., & Currie, C. (n.d.). Adolescence and the social determinants of health. *The Lancet*, *379*(9826), 1641–1652. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(12)60149-4

Yoder, P. S. (2001). From sexual behavior to sexual encounters: Issues in AIDS prevention research. *Reviews in Anthropology*, (30), 225–241.