Guidance note on scaling up social norm change

April 2019
The K4D Emerging Issues report series highlights research and emerging evidence to policymakers to help inform policies that are more resilient to the future. K4D staff researchers work with thematic experts and DFID to identify where new or emerging research can inform and influence policy. This report is based on 22 days of desk-based research (with additional expert input).

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Using this guidance
This note sets out key guiding questions and practical examples. Symbols are used to highlight different sections, including:

- Key guiding questions
- Case studies
- Invitation to collaborate
- Further reading and resources
This is a guidance note on how DFID can support the scale-up of inclusive approaches to complex social change for marginalised and vulnerable groups. It looks at how to scale up approaches to shift social norms that underpin behaviours preventing particularly women, girls and people with disabilities from participating and benefiting equally from development and development interventions. Achieving impact at scale on such harmful behaviours may come from extending the reach and/or improving the effectiveness of strategies focusing on social norms. Alongside this main note, four companion Briefs provide further information and practical examples on (1) concepts and resources; (2) types of scale-up; (3) resourcing and value for money of scale-up; and (4) risk management and monitoring.

This guidance is for DFID advisers and programme managers, including Senior Responsible Owners (SROs) who are developing:

- Business cases for programmes with significant social norm elements.
- Scale-up strategies for existing social norm interventions.

It will help DFID advisers to:

01. Assess the opportunities for scale-up in a given context/moment.
02. Develop a vision of successful scale-up impact on harmful behaviours underpinned by social norms, and a related scaling theory of change.
03. Plan new interventions supporting social norm shifts and plan how to take existing ones to scale.

This guidance is not...

- a comprehensive guide for designing successful social norm interventions. Rather it aims to help DFID staff support social norm shifts with scale in mind.
- a blueprint. It does not provide policy recommendations or a comprehensive checklist. Rather, it provides guiding questions and practical examples. The guiding questions will need to be interpreted and further developed for each case, to respond to specific aims and context.

An accompanying set of four Briefs provide further detail, cases and links to resources.

Resources:
DFID’s commitment to scale up inclusive approaches to complex social change for marginalised and vulnerable groups

Learning collaboration:
Invitation to trial the guidance
This guidance is presented as a draft for further development through practical testing and improvement.

DFID advisers are invited to collaborate in the learning exercise to trial and improve this guidance. The intent is to try out the guidance, applying it to practical experiences of planning the scale-up of social norm change, and to adjust the guidance in response to learning from this.

Any feedback from trialling the guidance should be sent to the Violence Against Women and Girls Team: VAWGTeam@DFID.gov.uk
Behaviours such as violence against women and girls, gender inequality, and exclusion of children and people with disabilities from schools and work, are often embedded in discriminatory social norms. To date interventions on social norms have tended to be small scale, with limited rigorous analysis of impact – for example as found by Alexander-Scott et al. (2016, p. 27) when looking at social norm interventions to prevent or respond to violence against women and girls. There are few documented experiences of scale-up, and fewer evaluations of the scale-up process and impact (although work on this is growing). This guidance draws mainly from the literature on shifting social norms that sustain gender-related harmful practices. However, it intends to be useful also for scaling up programming on other social norms for which there is less documented experience; for example, shifting social norms that perpetuate the exclusion of people with disabilities.

This guidance is the product of DFID’s learning journey designed to strengthen advisers’ understanding of how to scale inclusive approaches to complex social change for marginalised and vulnerable groups, led by the Violence Against Women and Girls team for a cross-cadre working group from the Inclusive Societies Department. It draws on an initial rapid literature review (Carter et al., 2018) and learning discussions within DFID. It has involved a collaborative expert input and review process involving DFID advisers, academics and programme designers. As this is a nascent field with a limited evidence base, the guidance deliberately incorporates first-hand practitioner and researcher reflections.

Perceptions of the terminology of “norm change” – and recommendation for nuanced, sensitive approach to build local ownership

This guidance note refers to social norm change. There is growing awareness of the need to be sensitive in the terminology used for these approaches, particularly when talking with communities and other stakeholders. There are possible negative connotations associated with the language of “social norm change”. The perception may be of “a negative judgement on communities’ ideals and ways of being” (Learning Collaborative, 2019, p. 2), or of inappropriate externally-driven action over locally-held values. Some development actors use terms such as “norms-focused”, “norms shifting”, and “norms influencing” instead, reflecting “a respect for the inherent strength of the values and norms of communities” (ibid.). A key recommendation is that all scale-up work in this area considers carefully the impact of terminology used, and what language will support a nuanced, sensitive approach that enables local ownership.

Resources:
This guidance draws on the evidence base identified by the rapid literature review by Carter et al. (2018), including the 2016 DFID guidance note on shifting social norms to tackle violence against women and girls (VAWG) produced by the DFID-funded VAWG Helpdesk (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). Further detail is provided in Brief 1, “Concepts and resources”. Three research networks have in particular been rich and useful sources of research and guidance:

- The Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change (henceforth referred to as the Learning Collaborative) co-convened by the Institute for Reproductive Health (IRH), Georgetown University and FHI 360, has a set of resources and tools on social norm theory, measurement and practice, including a focus on scaling. Their 2019 working paper sets out considerations for scaling up norms-shifting interventions for adolescent and youth sexual and reproductive health (Learning Collaborative, 2019).
- The Community for Understanding Scale Up (CUSP) working group – formed by Raising Voices (author of SASA!) and Salamander Trust (author of Stepping Stones) with other organisations – aims to enable learning and sharing on experiences of scale-up from the perspective of programme designers and implementers of social norms change initiatives for preventing violence against women and girls and improving sexual and reproductive health and rights (CUSP, 2017, 2018).
- ExpandNet, a global network of individuals from international organisations, NGOs, academic and research institutions, government ministries and projects, has published a series of resources for scaling up health service delivery. The approach is based on extensive experience of testing with ministries of health/reproductive health units in many countries. The approach has been used outside of health service delivery settings, including for scaling up social norm interventions (WHO & ExpandNet, 2009, 2010, 2011).
Key concepts and debates

Social norms

are “the informal, mostly unwritten, rules that define acceptable, appropriate, and obligatory actions in a given group or society” (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018, p. 2). They are “a rule of behaviour that people in a group conform to because they believe: (a) most other people in the group do conform to it; and (b) most other people in the group believe they ought to conform to it” (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016, p.6). Social norms “play a role in shaping women’s and men’s (often unequal) access to resources and freedoms”, thereby affecting “voice, agency and power” (Cislaghi et al., 2018, p. 7).

Social norm interventions support shifting social norms that sustain harmful practices such as intimate partner violence, child marriage, female genital mutilation/cutting and the exclusion of people with disabilities. These approaches tend to support community-level change and are concerned with power inequalities (Yaker, 2017). Social norms may be one focus of a multi-component intervention, as preventing harmful behaviours may require other engagement with individual attitudes and/or material and structural conditions (ibid.).

Types of scale-up

Scale-up is achieved by identifying, developing and stimulating movement along change pathways through which outcomes and impact are attained. There are multiple possible pathways for a programme to achieve impact at scale, and they can be applied in combination (WHO & ExpandNet, 2009, 2010). Often with social norm work the focus has been on how an existing community-based intervention – sometimes a new innovation (or approach) successfully trialled in a pilot – can be scaled up by rolling it out (with adaptations) to reach new people, often in new locations (commonly referred to as horizontal scale-up). However, there are other programmatic pathways to scale up impact.

Opportunities and challenges

With theory-based insights and growing intervention experience, there is increasing interest in the potential of social norm interventions to catalyse greater change (Cislaghi et al., 2018, p. 2; Cislaghi & Heise, 2018, p. 2). However, scaling up effectively remains difficult.

See Brief 1, “Concepts and resources” for further information, full references and links to resources.

Key challenges for scaling up social norm change:

- Limited evidence on how complex interventions can be scaled up (Gargani & McLean, 2017).
- The challenge of understanding how to scale up in new or changing contexts (ibid., p.34).
- Understanding how to maintain intervention quality and intensity while scaling up. Successful smaller social norm programmes often involve intensive relationship-building and committed activists, as well as nuanced contextual understanding of politics and power (Raising Voices, n.d.).
- Understanding how international external actors (including international organisations) can appropriately support change that involves politically and socially sensitive issues and affect very personal aspects of others’ lives (Harper et al., 2018, pp. 35–36).

Types of scale-up include:

- **Horizontal scale-up**: expanding an intervention’s beneficiary base in a given location or adapting and implementing the intervention in different places.
- **Vertical scale-up**: political, policy and legal influencing and engaging activities within programmes; state (or other) institutionalisation of an intervention.
- **Functional scale-up**: adding new components to existing programmes and services.
- **Organisational scale-up**: growing the role and capacity of an original organisation and/or creating new partnerships.
- **Evidence and learning scale-up**: investing in local, national and international learning and research.

This decision map sets out key guiding questions to planning whether and how to support scaling up social norm change.

Is there an opportunity to scale up social norm change?
Consider if there is a local, national, international “moment” for change. In particular, if there is community readiness, other support – political (government), broader civil society.

Yes

Set the foundation for scale up.
This could involve investing in research to build appetite and support for working on the issue at hand, in partnership with government, donors, programme designers, community stakeholders (including civil society, traditional and religious leaders, community members – women, men, girls and boys), implementing organisations. A next step could be to identify approaches and options to rigorously test and evaluate, taking an adaptive approach.

Does the available evidence allow an assessment of which programme pathways to scale up are relevant, in what combination, to achieve greater social norm impact?
- Horizontal (more people, more places)
- Vertical (institutionalisation)
- Functional (adding onto existing programme)
- Organisational (new/expanding capacity and partnerships)
- Evidence and learning (greater investment in research and communications)

Is there a social norm intervention – with a Theory of Change underpinned by strong evidence – that can achieve a greater impact by mobilising these scale up pathways?

Yes

Do you understand if the intervention is scalable?
- Assessing scalability
- Identifying core component(s)
- Understanding adaptation required

No

No

Yes

Develop your scaling up strategy

Source: Authors’ own, inspired by adaptive decision tree in Valters et al., 2018.
Identifying an opportunity for scale-up

A key principle the evidence points us to is that scaling up support to shift harmful social norms requires a locally grounded approach to ensure it is relevant, responding to local contexts and generating local ownership (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018, p.7). Consequently, a focus on affected communities’ and other stakeholders’ participation and agency should be the starting point (ibid.).

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<tr>
<th>Key guiding questions</th>
<th>Explanation and examples</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01. Is there an identified issue that requires a social norm approach?</td>
<td>It is important to check that the harmful behaviour is significantly driven by social norm(s) and a social norm approach is required.</td>
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<tr>
<td>02. Is there an existing/nascent movement to shift social norms that can be scaled?</td>
<td>There may be a window of opportunity for DFID support to an existing movement, including an international “moment” where support is growing for a change.</td>
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**Case study:**
**Momentum for change, Towards Ending FGM/C in Africa and Beyond programme**

The Business Case for the DFID GBP 35 million centrally funded programme to end female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) (planned to be delivered over five years starting 2013) identified a real momentum for change and leadership in Africa, with increasing numbers of communities, traditional and religious leaders, national policymakers and other high-profile champions working to end FGM/C. This was given “a new level of legitimacy” when the 2012 UN General Assembly resolution, led by the Africa Group, was passed, calling for a global ban. The Business Case identified that while UK support would not be sufficient alone, “UK leadership on this issue is likely to be catalytic in leveraging further commitment and funding”.

Source: DFID, 2013, p. 5.

**Key guiding questions:**
01. Is there an identified issue that requires a social norm approach?
02. Is there an existing/nascent movement to shift social norms that can be scaled?
03. Who are the stakeholders? Who will support and who will oppose scale-up? What will be your engagement strategy?
04. Does the affected community (or communities) support scale-up? How will community ownership be supported?
05. Is there (sufficient) political (government) support for scale-up?
06. Is there broader civil society support?
07. Which other social, economic and environmental contextual dimensions will support scale-up and which will constrain it?
08. What ethical dilemmas might be involved? What safeguarding is required?
09. What further information or analysis do you need before taking the decision to scale?

**Resources:**
The Social Norms Exploration Guide & Toolkit (SNET), developed by IRH with members from the Learning Collaborative to Advance Normative Change, is a rapid, participatory guide and set of tools that translate social norm theory into practical guidance to identify social norms and inform norms-shifting programming strategies.
Identifying an opportunity for scale-up

### Key guiding questions

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<th>Explanation and examples</th>
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<tr>
<td>03. Who are the stakeholders? Who will support and who will oppose scale-up? What will your engagement strategy be?</td>
<td>It is critical to involve people affected by the scale-up in both planning and implementation. Affected people and other stakeholders can include: groups affected by the harmful behaviour; whole communities in their diversity (including women and girls, men and boys, the most vulnerable and marginalised as identified by intersectional analysis of inequalities); community, religious and informal justice leaders; local rights organisations and other community organisations; service providers, legal authorities and government representatives; NGOs; the media; the research community; and the private sector. Stakeholders can be at the local, regional, national and international levels, and may include diaspora communities.</td>
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**Case Study: Consulting imams, Stepping Stones, the Gambia**

The Stepping Stones programme was “designed in the mid-1990s to address the prevention and spread of HIV&AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa and increase the care of people living with HIV&AIDS at the community level, through promoting communication and relationship skills” (Wallace, 2006, p. 6). When Stepping Stones was being rolled out in the Gambia, the programme coordinator knew that it was crucial for imams – highly respected leaders - to be on board with the programme. “Conteh, a trainer and film-maker, invited a group of imams to come and talk about condoms amongst themselves, in the context of the Quran. He filmed their discussion, which eventually led to an agreement that condoms in the context of prevention of STIs and HIV were to be welcomed and encouraged. The trainer then invited individual imams to go with him to meet village elders, so that they could show the film, and create space for the elders to discuss the issues raised in the film with the imam. In this way, the community elders grew to accept and promote the use of condoms in their communities” (Momadou Conteh interview, 2010, in Paxton, 2016, p.2). |

Source: Paxton, 2016; Wallace 2006.
Identifying an opportunity for scale-up

Key guiding questions

04. Does the affected community (or communities) support scale-up? How will community ownership be supported?

Because unsuccessful scale-up has tended to be externally driven (Fox, 2016; Walji, 2016), it is important to identify local drivers for change to work with. Successful scale-up involves identifying, supporting and generating ownership for change within participating communities (Burns & Worsley, 2015).

Initial assessment of the opportunity for scale-up should examine community support, and the readiness of communities to engage with social norm approaches. This involves exploring who identifies that the behaviour is a problem (i.e. what do the people affected and the wider communities think about the issue), and whether there is existing support for action to change.

A participatory rights-based approach – investing in people as “rights-holders” – can empower people to make “meaningful and sustainable change”, enabling them to play an active role against harmful behaviours such as violence against women and girls (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016, p. 19).

Case Study: Building up local and national ownership, 12+ programme, Rwanda

The DFID-funded 12+ programme (GBP 6.46 million, 2012–2017) was managed by the Government of Rwanda Ministry of Health (MoH) and implemented by the Imbuto Foundation, World Relief Rwanda and Caritas with technical assistance provided by Girl Effect Rwanda (DFID, 2018a, p. 1). In 2010 Girl Hub Rwanda started supporting the MoH to design and implement girl-friendly programmes and create a network of organisations working on gender issues (ICAI, 2012, p. 12). In 2010 Girl Hub Rwanda started supporting the MoH to design and implement girl-friendly programmes and create a network of organisations working on gender issues (ICAI, 2012, p. 12).

Following a successful six-month Nike Foundation-funded pilot to test peer-to-peer mentoring and information on life skills with 600 girls in 2011, the DFID-funded 12+ programme was scaled up to achieve substantial national results, “reaching 92,013 adolescent girls (through 1,603 young female mentors) through three successive cohorts in 133 Sectors across all 30 Districts” (ibid.; DFID, 2018a, p. 2).

Qualitative evidence “strongly suggests transformative change” amongst participating adolescent girls, with results including improved confidence as well as increased attendance at school and rates of saving (ibid.).

Girl Hub Rwanda played an important role in securing political buy-in and convening stakeholders “around the table to act on long-standing objectives to promote adolescent girls in Rwanda” (ICAI, 2012, p. 12). According to Population Services International Rwanda, a well-established international NGO and implementing partner for the 12+ pilot, “Girl Hub is more present than other donors... they share their ideas.... The organic growth is incredible. It is generating a lot of ownership” (ibid.).

The 12+ programme went on to build up engagement and support of local leaders in all 30 districts as the programme expanded through successive cohorts (DFID, 2018a, p. 2). Local communities and parents generally demonstrated a high level of support for the programme, with the 2018 project completion review reporting “a marked demand” for a further programme for girls and one for boys (ibid.).

The 12+ programme “successfully raised awareness within MoH and across other social cluster ministries on the issues faced by adolescent girls and boys”, leading to acceptance of a proposal “to establish a cross-government working group on gender and adolescence” (ibid.). However, there were challenges to secure central government ownership of the programme including limited overlap between the programme and MoH priorities, capacity constraints in the MoH, and possible over-reliance on technical assistance (particularly for monitoring and evaluation) (ibid., pp. 13–14).

Source: DFID, 2018a; ICAI, 2012.
## Identifying an opportunity for scale-up

### Key guiding questions

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<th>05. Is there (sufficient) political (government) support for scale-up?</th>
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<td><strong>Explanation and examples</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Government support can range from active buy-in, lack of interest and opposition. The scaling-up strategy will need to unpack political support (and barriers), and state and non-state actors’ legitimacy, reach and capacity at international, regional (and neighbouring countries), national, subnational, and local community levels. Understanding when there is sufficient support will need to be decided on a case-by-case basis. Making an informed decision on when there is sufficient support will likely involve:</td>
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<td>- Drawing on learning from previous experiences of (1) scale-up in other sectors in the district/region/country; (2) scale-up with similar levels and types of political support in other districts/regions/countries.</td>
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<td>- Considering in advance what function government will play in the scale-up, ranging from active involvement in implementation to technical engagement to inform scale-up strategy and implementation, to providing a supportive environment for the scale-up. Also considering the role of policy and legal reform in the scale-up process (see section “F. Developing a scaling strategy”). Understanding which part of government (national politicians, ministries and other institutions; subnational, local government officials, services, etc.) will be involved, at what point of scale-up, in what role.</td>
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<th>06. Is there broader civil society support?</th>
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<td>Broader ownership is also important including among civil society organisations. ExpandNet provides guidance on transferring/building capacity and ownership from initial resource teams to user organisations (which WHO &amp; ExpandNet, 2010, p. 13 defined as “from a health sector focus - “a public sector health organisation, an NGO or alliance of NGOs, a network of private providers or a combination of such institutions”).</td>
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### Case Study: Government involvement with GREAT, Uganda

The USAID-funded Gender Roles, Equality and Transformations (GREAT) project (2010–2015) in Uganda achieved government buy-in by involving line ministries’ representatives and district community development officers throughout the three-year research and pilot experience. Regular meetings ensured implementing organisations and district governments shared activity updates and lessons learned.

**Source:** IRH et al., 2017b; Lundgren, 2018, p. 2.

### Resources:

The Institute for Reproductive Health (IRH), Georgetown University, has developed an Organisational Capacity Assessment Tool (OCAT) to help assess the transfer of capacity during a scale-up process to other organisations, preferably local ones that remain in-country over the long term (http://irh.org(scale-up-mle-compendium-of-resources/ - see section “Evaluation Tools”).
### Key guiding questions

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<th>07. Which other social, economic and environmental contextual dimensions might support scale-up and which might constrain it? (WHO &amp; ExpandNet, 2009)</th>
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Religion, ethnicity, poverty level and intersecting inequalities shape individuals’ lives and community power dynamics, and can perpetuate harmful social norms. These will affect whether scale-up will be successful. For example:

- To be both gender and disability transformative, interventions should challenge stigma and discrimination related to both gender and disability identities (Dunkle et al., 2018).
- If an intervention worked well in one location because its radio programme was heard by a large proportion of the target population, scaling up in another area will have to consider whether the new target population has the same access to radio or if this is constrained by poverty levels (e.g. more households cannot afford a radio), or social norms (e.g. in the new location adolescent girls and boys are not allowed to choose which programme to listen to) (Marcus, 2015, p. 3).

Preparatory analysis can explore how inequalities intersect in a particular context to perpetuate harmful social norms (see Question 9, below, on undertaking analysis).

The scaling opportunity is also dependent on the wider contextual conditions (e.g. economic conditions, levels of fragility, conflict/post-conflict, other humanitarian contexts, geographic characteristics such as remote, scattered communities). In the diverse context of fragility the specific environment and needs will be important (Raising Voices, 2018). Some fragile contexts can exacerbate harmful practice and may block scale-up attempts. At other times, fragility can create conditions to support norm shifts, for example if gender norms are being challenged by the changing role of women. (*Continued p.12*)

### Case Study: Achieving change in challenging contexts, Voices for Change, Nigeria

The DFID-funded Voices for Change, Nigeria programme (2013–2017) found that in the most conservative area for gender equality, young women “consistently showed strong, positive responses” (Voices for Change, 2017, p. 5). The intervention crafted careful messaging to engage men and built on work by scholars supportive of gender equality: “This suggests that where the context appears challenging, getting messaging ‘right’ can unlock an even greater scope for change than in less challenging contexts” (ibid.).

*Source: Voices for Change, 2017.*
## Identifying an opportunity for scale-up

### Key guiding questions

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<th>07. Which other social, economic and environmental dimensions might support scale-up and which might constrain it? (WHO &amp; ExpandNet, 2009) (Continued)</th>
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<td>Emerging experiences show it is possible to introduce social norm interventions in fragile settings, but special considerations need to be taken and different expectations set with regard to outcomes and pace of the work. Planning in these contexts will need to undertake robust risk assessments (see section “J. Planning risk management”), understand the key cost drivers for the scale-up, and set out a robust equity element for value-for-money assessments (see section “I. Identifying resourcing and value-for-money approach”).</td>
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<th>08. What ethical dilemmas might be involved? What safeguarding is required?</th>
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<td><strong>Explanation and examples</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Supporting social norm shifts involves working on highly charged political and very personal social issues. Behaviour and norms arise from and are sustained by power structures within a society; social norm change necessarily involves power relations and issues of inequality (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016). Supporting norm shifts by an external actor requires a sensitive, locally grounded approach to navigate emergent ethical dilemmas, such as who has the authority to say what change is for the best and how that change should be supported (Learning Collaborative, 2019, pp. 17-21). The organisations involved in the scale-up have a safeguarding duty of care to beneficiaries, staff and volunteers, including children and vulnerable adults in the community who are not direct beneficiaries but may be vulnerable to abuse (DFID, 2018c).</td>
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### Resources:

**DFID safeguarding principles**

DFID’s [Enhanced due diligence – Safeguarding for external partners (2018c)](https://www.dfid.gov.uk/governance/standards/safeguarding/) sets out safeguarding principles to prevent and respond to harm caused by sexual exploitation, abuse, harassment or bullying, both for the people DFID is trying to help, and also people who are working in the sector. The principles are:

- “Everyone has responsibility for safeguarding.”
- “Do no harm”
- “Organisations have a safeguarding duty of care to beneficiaries, staff and volunteers, including where down-stream partners are part of delivery. This includes children and vulnerable adults in the community who are not direct beneficiaries but may be vulnerable to abuse”
- “Act with integrity, be transparent and accountable”
- “All activity is done in the best interests of the child/vulnerable person”
- “A child is defined as someone under the age of 18 regardless of the age of majority/consent in country.”
- “All children shall be treated equally, irrespective of race, gender, religion/none, sexual orientation or disability”
- “Organisations that work with children and vulnerable adults should apply a safeguarding lens to their promotional communications and fundraising activities.”

Source: DFID, 2018c, pp. 2–3.
### Identifying an opportunity for scale-up

#### Key guiding questions

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<th>09. What further information or analysis do you need before taking the decision to scale?</th>
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<tr>
<td>Preparatory, ongoing and participatory research is key to assessing the opportunity for scale-up. To understand the potential for scale-up, it is important to ask programme designers and a wide range of in-country stakeholders to explore what makes an existing intervention work (its core components, delivery mode, operating environment), and whether it is appropriate to scale up the intervention in a new context and how to do this (CUSP, 2018, p. 6). When the answers are not known, or there is limited or unclear evidence, this does not mean there is no opportunity, but rather, that it may be more appropriate to test various options and explore an experimental and adaptive approach to scale-up.</td>
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#### Key analyses to consider:

- A Political Economy Analysis (PEA) can explore potential barriers to scale-up, providing insight on how to overcome these. Local communities and other stakeholders are key resources for these analyses as local experts.
- Undertaking network and systems analysis will enable further in-depth exploration of a context's actors, their networks and linkages between them, and system dynamics underpinning social norms that may support or hinder change.

**Resources:**

See Brief 4, "Risk management and monitoring" for tools on stakeholder analysis, network mapping and others.

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### Case Study: Learning from local communities, EVA-BHN, Pakistan

The GBP 18.85 million Empowerment, Voice and Accountability for Better Health and Nutrition (EVA-BHN) project (2014–2019) in Pakistan (a component of the DFID Pakistan’s flagship maternal and child health Provincial Health and Nutrition Programme) benefited from doing regular PEAAs throughout implementation (in EVA’s case, bi-annual provincial and more frequent district-level analyses) and involving the intervention participants as local experts in these (Kirk, 2017, p. 26).

EVA undertook seven district-based consultations (DBCs) that it carried out to “take the pulse” of local communities in its first year. “With over 700 participants, each two-hour session gave ordinary citizens, journalists, civil society representatives and health professionals a chance to discuss their issues and frustrations... Early in its inception phase EVA had planned to do much of its advocacy through community FM radio stations. However, lessons from the DBCs and other analyses of secondary data were used to re-orientate the project towards opportunities for citizens to engage state authorities. Moreover, they were instrumental in EVA’s development of a social accountability model that communicates citizens’ voices upwards to higher authorities” (ibid., p. 23).

A strategy to achieve impact at scale requires careful consideration of evidence and assumptions about how scale-up will work.

### Key guiding questions

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Key guiding questions</th>
<th>Explanation and examples</th>
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</table>
| 01. What are the aims of scaling up? What is the vision of successful scale-up? (Cooley et al., 2016, p. 28) | Consider:  
- What social norm and associated behaviour will change (and then be sustained) – and how is this linked to the national agenda, achieving the Sustainable Development Goals and DFID strategic priorities, including leaving no one behind?  
- What reach is achievable and optimal? (Gargani & McLean, 2017). Who will be affected and how? (How many people, households, communities, districts, regions and/or countries will be involved in and impacted by the scale-up?)  
- What time frame is required for results?  
- What resources are needed? (See section “I. Identifying resourcing and value-for-money approach.”)  
- Who should be involved in these decisions? (See section “E. Identifying an opportunity for scale-up”)  
- How will the aims be monitored and evaluated? (See section “H. Embedding an experimental, learning and adaptive approach.”) |
| 02. What are the potential tensions and trade-offs between scale-up aims? (WHO & ExpandNet, 2009, p. 46) | Planning scale-up requires understanding what balance between reach (across and within population groups and locations), pace (and sequence), and resources is required to achieve the desired impact.  
**Tensions and trade-offs can include:**  
- Balancing scale-up, to ensure both technical operational capacity and locally grounded political awareness is maintained at the required standard and so as not to risk ethical breaches.  
- Potential tension between (donor-driven) organisational scale-up and longer-term national political ownership.  
- Potential tension between initial organisation/implementation mechanisms and others trying to adapt their model. A key concern is that any adaptation ensures an ethical approach at the required technical standard, with an appropriate approach and resourcing to support this. Within this benchmark, there will be space for compromise and change as new organisations adapt and test approaches. |

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Key guiding questions:

01. What are the aims of scaling up? What is the vision of successful scale-up?
02. What are the potential tensions and trade-offs between scale-up aims?
03. What types of scale-up (a programme’s scale-up pathways) are required, in what combination, sequence and phasing?
04. Is there significant confidence that the impact can be sustained?
05. Do you have a realistic plan recognising that social norm shifts cannot be easily predicted in advance?”
Developing a scaling strategy based on exploring assumptions

A closer look at reach
Social norm interventions have varied widely in terms of their reach and time frames. Each individual case should determine what reach is feasible, what is too ambitious, and what is required in order to reach a “tipping point” of population-level coverage required for norm shifts – and thus achieve optimal scale. Some community mobilisation initiatives may be best suited to “go deep” with their activities in a smaller number of settings (Heilman & Stich, 2016, p. 22). Recent work by Gargani and McLean (2017) sets out the need to be strategic about the level of impact reached for. They highlight that “solutions to social and environmental problems have an “optimal scale,” and rarely is it the maximum. There are trade-offs when scaling that typically make an intermediate level of scale the most desirable” (Gargani & McLean, 2017, p. 38).

Gargani & McLean’s (2017, p. 38) recommendations include considering:

- "What exactly impact at scale is and how it will be measured" (number of beneficiaries, reaching the marginalised, cost-efficiency gains, sustainability, satisfaction).
- Scaling effects – “As we increase our actions, the change in impact may be linear (additive) or nonlinear (multiplicative or exponential). It may also change qualitatively, becoming more desirable in type or nature. On the other hand, scaling may degrade positive impacts (diminishing returns), amplify negative impacts, and displace more effective alternatives. The way in which impacts change with scale – for better and worse, in linear and nonlinear ways, qualitatively and quantitatively – can mean the difference between success and failure”.
- What changes to the mechanisms that produce impact will occur as scale increases.

Examples of social norm scale-up reach
Some start at scale from the outset (Voices for Change, Nigeria) while others start from small pilots (GREAT, Uganda). Others have started in one area and then have been rolled out in multiple countries (SASA! started in Uganda and is being implemented by more than 60 organisations in 20 countries (Heilman & Stich, 2016, p. 10)). Some programmes have developed organically, taking years of development (e.g. Tostan), while others are conceived to test scale-up design and approach from the outset (e.g. GREAT) (O’Neil, 2016, p.16; IRH et al., 2017b).

Case Study: Starting at scale, Voices for Change, Nigeria
DFID-funded Voices for Change (V4C) programme (2013–2017) in Nigeria is an example of a programme that started at scale across four states, targeting 3 million young women and men (aged 16–25). It achieved this reach by using mass media communications combined with more intensive engagement to catalyse social change, while working at the level of the individual, formal institutions, and society at large.


Case Study: Slower roll-out, EVA-BHN, Pakistan
The DFID-funded Empowerment, Voice and Accountability for Better Health and Nutrition (EVA-BHN) project in Pakistan (GBP 18.85 million, 2014–2019, implemented by Palladium) resisted quick horizontal scaling in favour of “thickening” ground presence. Seeking to enhance communities’ understanding of their health rights and increasing their capacities to monitor service delivery and advocate for change, EVA-BHN facilitated 310 community groups, each with an average of 25 members, spread across nine districts in Punjab and KP, only moving to new districts once there was confidence that “its evolving model” was “transplantable”. A slower phased roll-out enabled EVA-BHN to keep abreast of local politics and reach as many citizens as possible within each locality, with signs of supporting more sustainable change. This required stakeholder support for a more limited size compared to costs.

A closer look at time frame
Each case will need to assess what length of time is required for social norms to shift and behaviours to change. This assessment should draw on previous experiences and consultation with relevant programme designers, implementing organisations and researchers. A scaling-up plan should:

- Consider the differences between immediate programme results, intermediate outcomes and long-term sustained behaviour changes, and how to assess and monitor for these – in particular when considering longer-term change beyond a programme lifetime. Be clear, detailed and realistic about what is achievable within a typical programme term of three years or so, and to understand how change will be sustained beyond a programme lifetime.
- Invest in a substantial inception period to prepare for scale-up (e.g. formative research, planning, field testing and adaptation).
- But also consider what the risk appetite is. If there is sufficient evidence of an opportunity for a scale-up pathway that requires less formative research (e.g. introducing vertical institutionalisation activities) then starting through an adaptive, flexible approach could allow the intervention to learn as it goes.

How long does it take for norms to shift and new behaviours to emerge and be sustained?
Some harmful practices and associated social norms have been around for thousands of years (e.g. FGM/C), underpinned by long-standing power (im)balances. Some social norm shifts have taken years, even decades (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016, p. 20).

At the same time, evidence-based approaches demonstrate change “can happen within programming cycles if done well, done with intensity, and led by communities” (CUSP, 2018, p. 5). For example, combining social norm and economic empowerment programming, the Zindagii Shoista (Living with Dignity) 18-month pilot in Tajikistan reported in 2018 a 50% reduction in the number of women experiencing violence (with a drop from 64% to 33%) (Abdulhaeva et al., 2018).

Meanwhile, experts warn of the risks of a push for even shorter time frames combined with greater coverage and fewer inputs. Reviews also highlight the detrimental effects of “cliff-edge” ends to programming, i.e. abrupt ends to activities and investment (a finding from the Voices for Change programme – Bishop & Parke, 2017, p. 16).

Case Studies:
Inception takes time
- The four-year (2014–2018) DFID GBP 3.99 million Indashyikirwa (Rwanda) programme had an inception period of over a year, longer than planned but considered critical to design a strong programme.
  Source: DFID, 2017; Stern et al., 2018, p. 66.
- The USAID GREAT project (2012–2017) took one year for stakeholder engagement and formative research and a subsequent year for intervention design, prior to a two-year implementation, monitoring and evaluation phase.
  Source: IRH et al., 2017b.
- “In one particularly challenging scenario, a donor withdrew funding just as IMAGE implementation was ready to begin because it felt the effort was taking too long to ‘get off the ground.’ However, IMAGE and its partner were conducting critical preparatory work to ensure success and sustainability.”
  Source: CUSP, 2018, p. 5.
Developing a scaling strategy based on exploring assumptions

Key guiding questions

<table>
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<th>Explanation and examples</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>03. What types of scale-up (a programme’s scale-up pathways) are required, in what combination, sequence and phasing?</strong></td>
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Draw on multiple forms of existing evidence (formal, practice-based and implementers’ own assumptions) to consider what programme pathways to scale-up will be used, in what combination and sequence, with what activities. Scale-up pathways are not mutually exclusive; they enable insight into the different dimensions of scale-up. (See section “C. Key concepts and debates.”) Scale-up pathways include: (drawing on WHO & ExpandNet 2009, 2010, 2011; Cooley et al., 2016; Uvin, 1995; Hartmann & Linn, 2008; Robinson et al., 2016)

- **Horizontal scale-up**: Expanding an intervention, achieving a wider (or deeper) coverage or adapting and implementing it in new contexts.
- **Vertical scale-up**: Engaging with the (formal) institutional framework (through policy, political, legal, regulatory, budgetary changes); institutionalisation of scale-up (WHO ExpandNet, 2010, p. 21).
- **Functional scale-up**: Adding new components to existing programmes and services. The aim is to “piggyback” on pre-existing reach and legitimacy, and for the interventions to benefit from synergies in aims and activities.
- **Organisational scale-up**: Growing the role and capacity of an original organisation, implementing scale-up through new organisations, and/or creating new partnerships (Hartmann & Linn, 2008).
- **Evidence and learning scale-up**: Investing in local, national and international learning and research to build the evidence base on how to scale effectively and learn from experience.

**Consider:**

- **Scale-up approaches tend to involve a strategic combination of programmatic pathways** – this may be the key to unlocking impact at scale (WHO & ExpandNet, 2009, 2010). Fox (2016) outlines how multi-level locally grounded strategic responses can address the multi-level nature of power structures and bottlenecks that may block change. There is evidence on how working across interconnected societal domains – family, community, formal institutions (legislative and political structures – in a coordinated way promotes behaviour change and establishes new social norms [Denny et al., 2017; Salamander Trust et al., 2017, p. 22]. There are positive experiences of implementing an integrated approach; for example, the Nigeria Voices for Change programme’s linking of “self” and “society” domains (Voices for Change, 2017, p. 26).

- **At the same time, scale-up needs to consider how not to overcomplicate programmes.** This tension needs to be assessed for each intervention, and will depend on the particular context. This decision will be informed by understanding (1) what the core elements of the intervention integral to the intervention’s success are (see section “G. Taking an existing intervention to scale”), and (2) what level of scale is possible from a technical, logistical and financial perspective, given the level of intensity of programmatic activity needed to support social norm shifts (see section “I. Identifying resourcing and value-for-money approach”).

(Continued p.18)
Developing a scaling strategy based on exploring assumptions

Key guiding questions | Explanation and examples
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03. What types of scale-up (a programme’s scale-up pathways) are required, in what combination, sequence and phasing? (Continued) | ● Scale-up tends to involve strategies to diffuse effects and encourage organic scaling, beyond the immediate participants of an intervention (WHO & ExpandNet, 2010; Cislaghi et al., 2019). This involves investing in relationships, network-building, personal transformation journeys, and local change agents (activists, role models, local leaders and outliers). Other strategies and tools include behavioural change communications (e.g. mass media campaigns), social marketing methods, and a behavioural insights focus on mindsets, decision-making frames, and the social environment (Carter et al., 2018).
● Policy and legal reform – while unlikely to be sufficient to shift social norms by itself – may be an important complementary approach to community-level work. Previous DFID guidance on shifting social norms to tackle violence against women and girls finds that while "shifts in legal systems alone are unlikely to shift social norms... shifts in social norms without shifts in legal systems/sanctions may be a barrier to changing norms at scale" (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016, p. 26).

Key points to consider when assessing opportunities for policy and legal reform are: (drawing on O’Neil, 2016, pp. 14–15)
● What aspects of national policy (including state budget) and law support the new behaviour and which do not? How long has the policy/law been in place? Is the policy/law vulnerable to changes in governments and/or government strategic priorities? What is the supportive environment (the legitimacy, reach and capacity of the state; the economic context; the rule of law)? (Heilman & Stich, 2016; WHO & ExpandNet, 2009).
● How well implemented is the policy or law? What monitoring data and analysis is available on the impact of the policy or law? What governmental bodies, actors and resources are committed to implementing the policy or law?
● Is the policy or law designed to be compatible with existing laws and informal norms? "Where women are economically dependent on their husbands, criminalisation of domestic violence alongside severe penalties for men found guilty can actually deter women from seeking redress, or force them to choose between their personal safety and their families’ economic security" (O’Neil, 2016, p. 15).
● What are the potential unintended effects of legal or policy change? Criminalising a behaviour may be counter-productive, driving it underground, making it harder to detect and prevent, or for victims to seek help. At other times, legislation may complement other reform strategies, creating an "enabling environment" supporting those who have or wish to abandon the practice (Shell-Duncan et al., 2013). This is a complex issue, requiring analysis of the behaviour, supporting norm system and other contextual variables. A starting point in each case is to look at the current status of the law, its operationalisation, and previous experiences of legislation reform.

Case Study: The role of diffusion, Voices for Change, Nigeria
The DFID Voices for Change (V4C) programme (2013–2017) catalysed young people to take action, promoting positive new norms across four states in Nigeria. Survey evidence suggests “each young woman or man who went through the physical safe space positively shifted the attitudes and behaviours of up to 6 others. Other data shows that people’s ability to influence in their personal and wider networks was at the core of the diffusion process, carrying change throughout and beyond V4C’s visible boundaries. This diffusion effect has implications for how to include moving towards action and influence in learning, as well as how to calculate cost-effectiveness when diffusion is being used” (Voices for Change, 2017, p. 4). This demonstrated that “a well-designed communications-led programme can shift social norms at scale – shown by the results on shifting norms around women’s leadership and women in decision-making – but the combination with more intensive engagement is critical” (Bishop & Parke, 2017, p. 14).

Developing a scaling strategy based on exploring assumptions

Key guiding questions |
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<td><strong>04.</strong> Is there significant confidence that the impact can be sustained?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Explanation and examples</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Consider these key questions:</strong></td>
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<td><strong>a)</strong> Will scaling up lead to a lasting effect? How will the norm shift and behaviour change be sustained?</td>
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<td><strong>b)</strong> Is an intervention phase-out process required? If the process of change continues after the lifetime of the scale-up intervention, what is the medium-term plan to continue support?</td>
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<td><strong>c)</strong> Is there a plan for state take-up of the initiative (e.g. mainstreaming in the public sector policy, budget and work plan)? What if national state support does not materialise/changes? For example, mainstreaming funding within a national budget may expose it to changing government priorities and funding decisions (Heilman &amp; Stich, 2016, p.16).</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>d)</strong> If the end goal is not state institutionalisation, what is the longer-term vision for maintaining the outcomes after the life of the scaling-up intervention? For example, will the work be taken forward by community activists, rights groups or civil society organisations? Will it be mainstreamed in another (larger) programme?</td>
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<td>Also consider how to monitor and evaluate behaviour changes throughout the scale-up, including by making sustainable impact an explicit, clearly defined objective of scale-up, and considering how to measure this (IRH &amp; Save the Children, 2016, pp. 25-26). This may include evaluating the extent of norm shifts – through measuring the perception of community norms – and resulting behaviour change beyond an intervention life cycle (ibid.). An ex post impact evaluation may be useful.</td>
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| **05.** Do you have a realistic plan recognising that social norm shifts cannot be easily predicted in advance? |
| From the start, the scaling-up vision should explore how scaling aims are likely not to be achieved in an orderly linear manner. Progress is likely to be uncertain at times, and require commitment and investment for the longer term. Also to bear in mind that at times opportunities may emerge to move faster at certain points. |

**Case Study: Challenges to scale up, GREAT, Uganda**

In Uganda “Local government structures successfully coordinated GREAT expansion, and national officials endorsed scale-up. However, meaningful support at the national level did not materialize, and scale-up was eventually blocked when local organizations planned to implement GREAT but were not allowed to due to broader national or donor priorities. Further, backlash to family life education programs resulted in a blanket ban in 2017 on all but one government-approved approach.”

Source: Lundgren, 2018, p. 5.

**Case Study: Challenges to adapting SASA!, Dadaab refugee camp**

The adaptation of SASA! by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) for the Dadaab refugee camp faced challenges that disrupted momentum:

- “High turnover of IRC staff, a common characteristic of humanitarian work in areas with active insecurity.
- Large and occasionally rapid influxes of refugees unacquainted with SASA!, particularly during renewed conflict in Somalia and following the closure of nearby camps...
- The government of Kenya’s Dadaab camp closure announcement in 2016, which intensified anxiety among the community and prompted more movement out of the camp.
- A small number of SASA! facilitators relative to Hagadera’s population, resulting in relatively low intensity of programming (e.g. infrequent visits to the same residential blocks).”

Source: Raising Voices & International Rescue Committee, 2018, p. 5.
Taking an existing intervention to scale

Often social norm interventions are piloted as small-scale trials. Understanding if and how a successful pilot can be scaled up can be challenging.

Scaling up pilots can involve adapting and rolling out the original small-scale intervention to reach new people in new locations (horizontal scale-up). However, pilots and their scale-up may involve other scale-up pathways:

- The pilot intervention may have tested a combination of scale-up pathways (e.g., it may be an intervention with vertical political/policy/legal influencing activities and/or it added a new social norm component to an existing programme).
- Taking a pilot to scale can be about adding new scale-up pathways – for example, adding institutionalisation activities to the pilot (vertical scale-up) or adding the pilot intervention to an existing programme or programmes (functional scale-up), as well as considering what scale-up of organisational capacity and evidence and learning strategies is required to take the pilot to scale (WHO & ExpandNet, 2010).

### Key guiding questions and explanation

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Explanation and examples</th>
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<tr>
<td>01. Have you assessed the intervention’s scalability?</td>
<td>ExpandNet – a global network of individuals from international organisations, NGOs, academic and research institutions, government ministries and projects – has drawn on decades of work, to identify that innovations (practices new in the local setting where they are being introduced) with “CORRECT” attributes are most likely to be successfully scaled up (WHO &amp; ExpandNet, 2010, p. 9). The approach is increasingly being used outside of health service delivery settings, including for community-based interventions such as the USAID-funded Gender Roles, Equality and Transformations (GREAT) project in Uganda and the family planning norm-shifting intervention “Tékponon Jikuagou” in Benin (IRH et al., 2017a, 2017b).</td>
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**ExpandNet attributes for scale-up:**

- “Credible in that they are based on sound evidence and/or advocated by respected persons or institutions
- Observable to ensure that potential users can see the results in practice
- Relevant for addressing persistent or sharply felt problems
- Relative advantage over existing practices so that potential users are convinced the costs of implementation are warranted by the benefits
- Easy to install and understand rather than complex and complicated
- Compatible with the potential users’ established values, norms and facilities; fit well into the practices of the national programme
- Testable so that potential users can see the intervention on a small scale prior to large-scale adoption”.


### Key guiding questions:

01. Have you assessed the intervention’s scalability?

02. Can you identify the core elements of the intervention integral to the intervention’s success?

03. Do you understand the balance required between fidelity to original model and adaptation?

If there is not an existing intervention, these questions can be used to guide planning a new intervention (WHO & ExpandNet, 2011).

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**Resources:**

For the guiding questions provided by ExpandNet to assess an intervention against these attributes, see Brief 1. “Concepts and resources” or original source – WHO & ExpandNet, 2010.
### Taking an existing intervention to scale

#### Key guiding questions

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<th>02. Can you identify the core elements of the intervention integral to the intervention’s success?</th>
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<tr>
<td>The core elements of an intervention are its active ingredients integral to its success, which should be maintained during scale-up. Careful analysis and testing is required to identify which elements are behind a programme’s success. Strategies include carrying out pilot/small studies, and conducting participatory workshops with stakeholders, implementers and participants to develop an evidence-based theory of change. Key challenges are:</td>
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<td><strong>01</strong> Scaling up may involve strategies that risk diluting core elements that drove success in smaller-scale community-based interventions. Will scaling up (e.g. by rolling out across a larger number of different communities, or by adding components to a larger programme) lead to less intense community engagement; a more top-down, directive approach; and a dilution in content? This could reach a point where quality and ethical programming is compromised, and vulnerable people are put at risk (Raising Voices, n.d.). To be alert and prepared for the possibility of this risk materialising, consider how to:</td>
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<td>- Invest in initial in-depth preparatory understanding of community perceptions and experiences, and use this knowledge to inform programme design. (See section “E. Identifying an opportunity for scale-up”.)</td>
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<td>- Put robust monitoring, learning and evaluation processes in place from the beginning that produce data and reflect on the information (at all levels) in a timely manner, so the direct and indirect effects of the intervention are known in real time, and build in flexibility in the programme design so people can take corrective action. (See sections “H. Embedding an experimental, learning and adaptive approach” and “J. Planning risk management”.)</td>
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<td>- Incentivise programme staff to identify and manage risk; avoid a culture that penalises going off course for programme implementation; fostering a culture of openness, learning and accountability. (See section “J. Planning risk management”.)</td>
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<td><strong>02</strong> Understanding the role of implementation processes and tools in contributing to an intervention’s success. Asking “What were the activities necessary to put the innovation into place?” helps identify all relevant activities (WHO &amp; ExpandNet, 2010, p. 9). An assessment needs to be made of appropriate support and resources during scale-up to maintain the quality of technical inputs, adherence to ethical standards, and local governance knowledge and expertise. For community-based social norm interventions, one essential element highlighted by programme developers and implementing organisations is ensuring staff and facilitators have adequate time and support to internalise issues faced by different community members, to understand how to design an intervention to address these issues while not alienating those with existing power. This involves a process of in-depth training and ongoing mentoring and supervision (CUSP, 2018, p. 4).</td>
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#### Case Study: The BRAC school approach

“While BRAC schools incorporate a country’s national educational curriculum into its program, the classrooms look and feel remarkably similar across the various countries, as diverse as Afghanistan, South Sudan, and Philippines. BRAC’s core components include hiring female teachers from the local community and supporting them with regular training. Low-income children, girls, and other marginalized youth are given priority, and many steps are taken to minimize the formal and informal costs of attendance. Parents are engaged regularly.”

Source: Robinson et al., 2016, p. 70.

#### Case Study: Effects of diluting critical intervention components during scale-up, Stepping Stones

“In one project in Africa, for example, resource pressure (and limited understanding) led to inadequate facilitation training for Stepping Stones implementers. Among other negative activities and outcomes, young women reported reduced violence against them because facilitators had taught them how to be more submissive to partners, contradicting the original methodology, which promotes violence reduction through the transformation of gender norms and encourages mutually respectful relationships.”

Source: CUSP, 2018, p. 4.
### Taking an existing intervention to scale

#### Key guiding questions

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<td>When supporting social norm shifts, interventions cannot be simply replicated in new locations to reach different people, and when taking on new functions and activities. An intervention will require adaptation to scale it across different contexts and new population groups, as well as when integrating with existing programmes, working with new organisations, and undertaking new vertical institutionalisation activities. Understanding what needs to be adapted – and refining the scale-up approach and materials – will be an ongoing process. When an intervention has not been scaled up before, and/or there is limited evidence on the effectiveness of its theory of change – including the identification of its core elements – then an experimental, adaptive, flexible approach to scale-up is one way to &quot;learn as you go&quot; (see section “H. Embedding an experimental, learning and adaptive approach”). Some community-based programmes have developed guidance on adaptation/fidelity to the core approach (e.g. Raising Voices, 2017b, for SASA!).</td>
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#### Unpacking adaptation

**Sources of adaptation:**
- Core components, cultural adaptations, mode of delivery, target audience, service settings.
- What may need to be adapted:
  - Aims.
  - Modes of engagement (how the intervention is delivered).

**Activities and materials (the content of the intervention).**

**Monitoring and evaluation.**

**Risk management.**

**Source:** Stirman et al. (2013) and Chambers & Norton (2016) who have developed detailed taxonomies of adaptations from research on health interventions.

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**Case Study Successful adaptive programming – USAID-funded programme Tékponon Jikuagou, Benin (2010–2016).**

The programme aimed to dismantle social barriers to family planning use through guiding communities to shift social norms. The Institute for Reproductive Health, Georgetown University, in consortium with CARE International and Plan International, find the experience shows the difference that small intervention adjustments can make: “Tékponon Jikuagou’s scale-up phase and pilot phase were both accompanied by an effectiveness study. Between the two studies, we made a limited set of changes to the package, based on evidence from research, monitoring, and reflection, with an eye to increasing exposure and effectiveness, ease of use, and scalability… A comparison of the results of the two phases highlights how small, evidence-based adjustments made a substantial difference in reaching 50 percent of the population – our hypothetical tipping point needed for sustained change – as well as improving effectiveness.”

**Source:** IRH et al., 2017a, p. 2.

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**Case Study Successful adaptive programming – DFID-funded 12+ programme, Rwanda (2012–2017)**

“Examples include the decision not to construct additional ‘safe spaces’ but to repurpose existing community spaces thereby improving the cost-effectiveness and VFM of the programme: the decision to respond to targeting challenges in the first year by adapting the approach to make it simpler and more inclusive by reaching all eleven-year old girls in a given sector rather than attempting to identify (only) the most vulnerable, resulting in much clearer targeting procedures for Cohort 2 and 3; and the decision to scale up the number of District Supervisors in the second and third year.”

**Source:** DFID, 2018a, p. 2.

**Case Study Achieving the optimal point between “wholesale replication and costly customisation” (Robinson et al., 2016, p. 69).** The Uganda GREAT intervention found that having “low-cost, entertaining, and simple materials designed from the beginning with scale in mind facilitate adaptation and scale-up. Ready-made tools and implementation guides made it possible for new user organizations to implement GREAT with modest support”.

**Source:** Robinson et al., 2016; Lundgren, 2018.

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**Source:** Robinson et al., 2016; Lundgren, 2018.
SECTION – H

Embedding an experimental, learning and adaptive approach

Understanding how social change happens as a result of scaling is important to (1) minimise the risk of doing harm (see the ethics and safeguarding guidance in section “E. Identifying an opportunity for scale-up” and section “J. Planning risk management”); (2) sustain and further scale; (3) understand the effectiveness of scale-up; (4) provide feedback to adapt implementation, and inform adaptation to new contexts; (5) generate key stakeholder demand and political support; and (6) generate evidence-based learning to inform future scale-up.

When an approach to scaling up social norm programming has a limited evidence base and/or will involve working in new contexts with new beneficiaries, other stakeholders and institutions, an iterative experimental, adaptive approach should be considered. This will include testing implementation models and embedding learning feedback loops and scheduled times to take stock and monitor progress. This will allow understanding of emergent change as it unfolds as well as whether the expected results are on track, and what course corrections are needed.

A key resource is the draft 2018 report by Valters et al. on how DFID can design and manage adaptive programming. This section draws heavily on that report (in particular for guiding points 2–3) summarising some of the tips Valters et al. suggest for embedding an experimental, adaptive, learning approach.

**Key guiding questions:**

01. What resources does an adaptive approach require?

An adaptive approach requires investment (financial, human resources, time) in an adequate pre-inception and inception phase; internalisation of core components by staff; and continuous support to staff [CUSP, 2018]. Planning phases should identify what intermediate outcomes can be monitored and build this data collection into programme budgets.

02. Is there scope in delivery process and/or contract and funding to course correct?

The process has to be flexible to allow programmatic adjustments based on monitoring data and implementation lessons. This includes flexibility in main deliverables, milestones and funding, and appropriate contracting to enable this. (See Valters et al. (2018) for further guidance.)

**Case study: Success criteria for successful adaptive programming, Indashyikirwa, Rwanda**

Indashyikirwa (agents of change) – a DFID-funded GBP 3.99 million four-year programme (2014–2018) to prevent gender-based violence in rural communities in seven districts in Rwanda (DFID, 2017, p. 5) – found adaptation required dedicated leadership, programme stakeholder coordination and investment in time and resources. It was critical to stay open and respond to emerging findings – applying a flexible budget, work plan, timing and logframe. Also important was regular evaluative research and involvement of Rwandan programme partners and beneficiaries to interpret and validate findings, ensuring the adaptation was culturally relevant and sustainable (Stern et al., 2018, p. 66).

Source: DFID, 2017; Stern et al., 2018.
### Embedding an experimental, learning and adaptive approach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key guiding questions</th>
<th>Explanation and examples</th>
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</table>
| **03. How will the core components and implementation model be identified and tested?** | **Consider:** (taken from Valters et al., 2018, see in particular pp. 27–33)  
- Which elements need to be adaptive and which are more predictable.  
- Whether the programme will learn iteratively across time or by comparing parallel interventions (noting many programmes will use a combination of both). Learning across time requires using feedback mechanisms to understand how activities are functioning and making adjustments: “this may require relatively short-cycle activities, frequent reflection points and scope to adjust future activities (to ‘learn by doing’)” (ibid., p. 28).  
- How the use of within-project design variations “can serve as their own counterfactuals” (to make judgements about causality), increasing “the direct usefulness of evaluation to the implementer and allows for course corrections” (ibid., p. 29).  
- Using rapid cycle evaluation or more real-time data can be useful to provide the crucial timely and accurate performance information (p. 28).  
- Whether delivering a range of interventions at the same time is useful – Valters et al. (2018, p. 28) suggest this “is particularly useful when there is limited evidence on how a programme can achieve its goals, and a number of possible different routes”. |
| **04. How will the scale-up process be continuously monitored and evaluated to support learning?** | **Consider:**  
- How monitoring can cover: (1) impact; (2) implementation effects; and (3) implementation drivers and constraints.  
- How monitoring can unpack: (1) Which components of the process are having what impact, how and on whom; and (2) how the process of scale-up is affecting different population groups, and in particular the most marginalised.  
- Which indicators and methods will be used to measure the social norm(s) and their change during scale-up. In-country stakeholders should be involved in interpreting the findings and understanding whether and how change is happening. Rapid studies and mini-evaluations throughout the scale-up process, with a rapid, regular beneficiary feedback and accountability mechanism, are key tools.  
- What mix of quantitative and qualitative monitoring and evaluation approaches and tools is appropriate.  
- How learning will be fed back into strengthening programme design and implementation (completing the cycle). |
| **05. What investment will there be in learning and research partnerships and communication strategies?** | **Consider:**  
- How to invest in creating an organisational mindset focused on learning within the implementing organisation (IRH & Save the Children, 2016; CUSP, 2018).  
- What the appropriate learning and research activities are at local, national and international levels and maximising connections between them.  
- How to create operationally relevant synergies between a research component of an intervention and other scale-up pathways. |

**Resources:**
Institute of Reproductive Health, Georgetown University has developed an online resource summarising knowledge and tools for scale-up monitoring, learning and evaluation. These tools have been developed and used by IRH to provide stakeholders timely monitoring information to inform scale-up decisions, learn throughout the process, and evaluate achievements.
Identifying resourcing and value-for-money approach

It is important to understand costs in detail when planning scale-up. Understanding the value of scaling impact is important to guide strategic decisions on investment in scaling and to inform development of the scaling vision and scale-up programmatic pathways. Getting resourcing right is critical for ensuring technical rigour during scale-up.

There is little available evidence on the costing and value for money of scaling-up approaches to support social norm shifts. Looking at interventions to prevent violence against women and girls, few have been rigorously evaluated to determine their effectiveness and cost-effectiveness (Ferrari et al., 2018, p. 7).

Landmark studies highlighted in the literature are the evaluations of IMAGE (Pronyk et al., 2006; Jan et al., 2011) and SASA! (Abramsky et al., 2014; Michaels-Igbokwe et al., 2016), both of which performed an economic evaluation alongside a randomised controlled trial (RCT). However, RCTs are not always the ideal instrument for measuring and understanding the complexity of social norms programming.

What constitutes evidence of intervention effectiveness is an ongoing debate, and in particular how to measure the value for money of adaptive emergent approaches without curtailing the space (and funds) for innovation (CUSP, 2017, p. 8). Most approaches to measuring value for money focus on quantitative methods and monetary valuation, “the financial and tangible elements of an intervention” (D’Emidio et al., 2017, p.10). Qualitative participatory value-for-money assessments (as developed by ActionAid) set out how to judge the value of a programme based on “how much social change it has generated”, with the communities themselves seen as best placed to assess this (D’Emidio et al., 2017, p. 4).

Some key findings on costs of scaling up social norm interventions:

- With high initial development costs, some interventions can become more efficient if delivered at larger scale (Remme et al., 2015, pp. 35-36).
- Planning and investing in human resource is key to successful scale-up:
  - A critical risk factor when scaling up is the availability of human resources (ibid., p. 39).
- Using local facilitators can be cost-effective – but requires investment in training and support (Jan et al., 2011).
- Simple low-cost materials and activities might be able to move to a more cost-effective platform (Lundgren, 2018, pp. 3-4).
- Choosing the right scale-up programme pathway(s) depends on the resource needs and available resources or resource constraints:
  - Effective diffusion of ideas, information and change can reduce unit costs (DFID Inclusive Societies, 2017).
- There will be an optimal scale of operation for one organisation to cover (Remme et al., 2015).
- There can be opportunities to build on locally established formal and informal institutions and existing state services (Jan et al., 2011, p. 371).

See Brief 3, “Resourcing and value for money” for more detail on these.

Pointers on developing a scaling-up costing and value-for-money approach:

01 Identify costs for each activity in order to understand how an activity/the intervention can be adapted to a different context and a different scale (IRH & FHI 360, 2016, p. 26).

02 Identify cost drivers – how unit costs are expected to evolve with scale. Assess what costs will stay the same and what will need to change during scale-up. Identify changes required in (1) types, (2) quantity, and (3) source of resources during each stage of the scale-up process (ibid., Homan, 2016). In particular, the organisational and human resource capacity required during scaling needs careful planning (Remme et al., 2015).

03 Determine which activities can be used for low cost with greatest impact. Consider which activities might be able to move to a more cost-effective platform (e.g. instead of community dramas, can a radio drama be produced and broadcast across a larger area?). Identify the limits of geographic or population expansion vis-à-vis achieving required intervention intensity and quality.

04 Plan what monitoring and evaluation is required. What data collection systems are needed and how will these be linked to activity monitoring systems? Understanding the value for money of scaling approaches to support social norm shifts will likely require a mix of quantitative and qualitative monitoring and evaluation data, appropriate financial and economic analysis, and qualitative case studies and participatory research to provide evidence of the impact on people’s lives (Valters et al., 2018; Ferrari et al., 2018; D’Emidio et al., 2017).

05 Take a long, broad view to understand overall value for money of sustainable social change impact. When working with social norms and reaching the most marginalised, narrow efficiency focused interpretations of how to assess value for money are inappropriate. Scaling-up approaches to shift harmful social norms and reach the most marginalised groups may cost more but may be the only way to catalyse social change, include the hardest-to-reach – thereby “leaving no one behind” – and achieve the desired impact at scale (Loryman & Meeks, 2016). Consider whether it will be more cost-effective in the long term to do deep, sustainable programming than consecutive programming year after year in the same communities.

Resources:

- What Works to Prevent Violence against Women and Girls Guidelines for conducting cost analyses of interventions to prevent violence against women and girls in low- and middle-income settings (Ferrari et al., 2018).
- IRH primer on costing social norm interventions. Primer on social norms costing approaches (Homan, 2016). See February 2019 blog with links to relevant resources:
  - Value for money in ActionAid: Creating an alternative (D’Emidio et al., 2017).
All approaches to supporting social norm shifts and scale-up involve risk.

**Key guiding questions**

| 01. Should we scale (based on the level of risk)? |
|-------------------------------------------------

Risks primarily impact on (1) survivors and those at risk of the harmful behaviour; (2) other people affected by the scale-up; (3) social change agents and other frontline workers. They are the ones who “will suffer if the scale-up fails to produce intended positive impacts or unintentionally produces negative ones” (Gargani & McLean, 2017, p. 37). A participatory approach is needed that involves beneficiaries and other stakeholders to decide the acceptable level of risk to take on when scaling (ibid.).

For fragile settings, there will be specific considerations to take into account when deciding whether and how to scale a social norm intervention. For example, Raising Voices has developed a brief to guide decisions on implementing SASA! in humanitarian settings, identifying specific considerations for emergency, stabilisation and recovery phases of conflict (see opposite).

The acceptable level of risk will be informed by the scale-up approach to ethics and safeguarding of beneficiaries, staff and volunteers, including children and vulnerable adults in the community who are not direct beneficiaries but may be vulnerable to abuse (see section “E. Identifying an opportunity for scale-up” for more details from DFID’s Enhanced due diligence – Safeguarding for external partners (DFID, 2018c)).
### Key guiding questions

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<th>02. Do we understand the potential risks?</th>
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There are various risks associated with scaling up support to shift social norms, as it involves working on socially and politically sensitive issues, power structures and experimental scale-up pathways. Risks may arise at community, regional, national and international levels, depending on the scale-up pathways and activities. Potential risks could include:

- Not enough resources/time/commitment to sustain the programme to reach tipping point, causing disillusionment, negative consequences, curtailed processes, etc., and impact not achieved (CUSP, 2018).
- Resistance and backlash (in particular from men in the case of programming to shift harmful gender norms) (McLean & Devereux, 2018, p. 2).
- Moving to scale results in an ethical breach as the programme quality is compromised by challenges of implementing at scale.
- A core element proves “unscaleable”, for example, there is an unforeseen culture clash in a new location, or an unanticipated factor in individuals’, communities’ or societies’ system of beliefs results in a “roadblock” (Cislaghi et al., 2018, p. 20).
- Dynamic political environments and shifting national funding priorities affect support for scale-up (Heilman & Stich, 2016, p. 21; also see CUSP, 2018, p. 7).
- Those challenging norms in the early stages of change (“early adopters”) may be at risk from stigma and discrimination from family and community (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016, p. 19; McLean & Devereux, 2018, p. 4).
- Scaling-up may inadvertently reinforce other non-desirable norms, or shift violence into private spaces or “more insidious and less perceptible forms of abuse” (ibid., p. 3).
- Scaling-up may push practices underground (e.g. through criminalising the activity or increasing public focus), making it harder for victims to seek help and access response services, and making the behaviour harder to detect (O’Neil, 2016, p. 15).
- The intervention is subverted or co-opted (such as reframing phrases used in trainings to harm women; co-opting resources) (McLean & Devereux, 2018, p. 2).
- Scaling-up aggravates “tensions, exclusion and marginalisation”, when “harder-to-reach” groups are excluded either by implementers (to save cost) or other community members attempting to monopolise intervention benefits (ibid., p. 3).
- It increases the burden of labour on women: “Some violence prevention programs aim to empower women economically, to reduce their financial dependency on men. However, unless a program secures men’s commitment to greater equity in the household, such programs often result in an increased burden on women” (ibid., p. 3).
- Low capacity services are unable to respond to demand increases (Alexander-Scott et al., 2016, p. 19; McLean & Devereux, 2018, p. 3).
- Programme team is not resourced to cope with an unanticipated high level of attention (from national/international media, diaspora communities) due to sensitivity of issues involved (as found by the DFID centrally funded FGM/C programme) (DFID, 2014, p. 11).
- A combination of new and original activities (when a social norm component is added to an existing programme) could have (unanticipated) contradictions or trade-offs (Hargreaves et al., 2010).

### Resources: Adaptive programming: Addressing unintended consequences, to prevent violence against women

A useful resource for community-level risks in particular is the Practice Brief from the Prevention Collaborative’s Programming to Prevent Violence Against Women, entitled “Adaptive Programming: Addressing Unintended Consequences” (McLean & Devereux, 2018).
Planning risk management

Key guiding questions | Explanation and examples
---|---
03. How do we identify and address risk? | At the start of planning scale-up consider how to:
- Embed “do no harm” as key guiding principle. Plan how the scale-up strategy will ensure ethical practice (ensuring the basic human rights of individuals and groups with whom the intervention interacts are protected), with appropriate safeguarding.
- Develop an intervention position on risks and how (local, regional, national, international) risks will be mitigated. Embed programme flexibility to course-correct when issues arise (see section “H. Embedding an experimental, learning and adaptive approach”). Set up partnerships for effective coordination on risks between all organisations involved in scale-up.
- Invest sufficient resources and time for effective scale-up.
- Support a locally grounded, participatory approach involving local stakeholders – including people affected by the harmful behaviour – from the outset. Work with state stakeholders at scale-up design stage (IRH et al., 2017b).
- Undertake thorough preparatory work to understand the community, issues therein, how the harmful behaviour is managed, how risky it is to talk about it, the possible consequences of scale-up for the most marginalised and vulnerable (e.g. women and girls suffering or at risk of violence; children and adults with disabilities) as well as for the whole communities involved. Analyse – with local stakeholders – potential flash points for backlash during scale-up.
- Undertake regular participatory analysis to keep abreast of (1) political context (local, national, international); and (2) diaspora communities (as relevant).
- Embed a rapid, regular affected community and frontline worker feedback and accountability mechanism (and programme flexibility to respond and course correct) (Cooley et al., 2016).
- Assess existing response services and likely impact of scale-up on service demand. Ensure availability of decent quality basic care and support services.
- Ensure staff, activists (or whoever is leading community activities) are well trained and prepared for the challenges that will emerge. Develop safety plans for staff/activists and a referral network. Encourage (not penalise) staff/activists when programming goes wrong. Invest in relationships not based solely on delivery of results.
- Set out tangible milestones, strategic communications for sharing results with stakeholders, and an explicit strategy for maintaining commitment and resources (Cooley et al., 2016, p. 25).

Case Study:
Avoiding backlash for early adopters, SASA!
“SASA! uses volunteers to engage communities to think critically about men’s power over women and act to prevent VAW. Early in the process, trainee volunteers are often enthusiastic to take action immediately, but this can have unintended negative consequences. For example, if they begin awareness-raising activities before local leaders are equipped to cope with more women seeking help, leaders may feel exposed and react negatively. To avoid this, staff ensure there are activities that volunteers can channel their energy into straight away, such as talking to their neighbors or engaging in discussions in support groups. They are also encouraged to first build social connections, develop relationship skills, and foster critical thought within the community.”

## Planning risk management

### Resources: Critical issues in ethical SASA! implementation

Raising Voices (2017a) have developed a programme brief on critical issues in ethical implementation of SASA! This resource is intended to be used by organisations who are planning for or currently implementing SASA!, or by donors to assess ethical implications of grant applications or grantee reports of SASA! implementation.

### Pitfalls and recommendations in Raising Voices, 2017a:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Pitfalls</th>
<th>Selected summary of some of the recommendations in the Raising Voices report</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short-term programming and/or funding</td>
<td>Commit to 3–5 years of programming and invest in fundraising.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of accountability to women, women’s priorities and VAW prevention</td>
<td>Include mechanisms to stay accountable to women (female leadership, strong support and referral mechanisms for women, and periodic check-ins with female community activists).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of quality training and technical support</td>
<td>Regular training and ongoing support to staff as they internalise issues, discover and rethink their own attitudes and behaviours. Staff spend adequate, meaningful time in the community supporting each community activist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing select activities without working with core process or principles</td>
<td>Understand ‘essentials’ before beginning programming.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of community relationships and feedback</td>
<td>Cultivate trusting relationships, regular opportunities to share feedback and experiences, and report grievances. Hold timely strategic discussions. Role model respect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of referrals to response services</td>
<td>Create and regularly update a referral list of formal and informal people and services for women experiencing violence against women and/or HIV; train staff and community activists to use the list; provide basic training to service providers.</td>
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### Case Study: Effective partnerships for risk management, 12+ programme, Rwanda

“DFID Rwanda maintained a live risk register for the 12+ programme that was regularly updated to reflect changes in risks. However, the DFID internal audit carried out in 2015 drew attention to the fact that partners... did not have the same understanding of risk as DFID, nor a robust process for identifying and managing these risks. In 2016 a training workshop was organised by DFID Rwanda for all partners... to share tools and methods for managing risks and to encourage them to develop their own risk matrices. In addition, regular monthly ‘Technical Oversight Team’ meetings were held between all key stakeholders to catch up on progress and discuss any challenges arising, including risks to programme implementation.”

Source: DFID, 2018a, p. 19.
References


References

**References**

- Raising Voices (n.d.). *What does it take to prevent violence against women at scale?* (unpublished draft).
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Website www.ids.ac.uk/k4d