violence prevention
the evidence

Changing cultural and social norms that support violence

Series of briefings on violence prevention

This briefing for advocates, programme designers and implementers and others is one of a seven-part series on the evidence for interventions to prevent interpersonal and self-directed violence. The other six briefings look at reducing access to lethal means; increasing safe, stable and nurturing relationships between children and their parents and caregivers; developing life skills in children and adolescents; reducing availability and misuse of alcohol; promoting gender equality; and victim identification, care and support.

For a searchable evidence base on interventions to prevent violence, please go to: www.preventviolence.info

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Overview

Cultural and social norms can encourage violence.

Rules or expectations of behaviour – norms – within a cultural or social group can encourage violence. Interventions that challenge cultural and social norms supportive of violence can prevent acts of violence and have been widely used. This briefing describes how cultural and social norms can support violence, gives examples of interventions that aim to alter such norms and identifies the main challenges to rigorously evaluating such interventions.

Interventions often target intimate partner and youth violence.

Some aim to reduce dating violence and sexual abuse among teenagers and young adults by challenging attitudes and norms related to gender that, for instance, allow men control over women. Many work with male peer groups, acknowledging the strong influence that young adults can have on each others' behaviour. A common approach aims to correct misperceptions that people may have of the attitudes and behaviour of others. Mass media campaigns, including education through entertainment (*edutainment*), have also been used to challenge norms supportive of violence.

Laws and policies can assist in altering norms linked to violence.

Laws and policies that make violent behaviour an offence send a message to society that it is not acceptable. While nearly all governments around the world have laws against most forms of homicide, recently more governments have begun to enact and implement laws against non-lethal intimate partner violence.

More rigorous evaluations of interventions that address social norms are needed.

Studies that evaluate the effectiveness of interventions that challenge norms supportive of violence are rare. Rigorous evaluations of such interventions are feasible, but they face a number of challenges, including clearly isolating the effects of the interventions from possible confounding factors and poor understanding of the mechanisms underlying changes in cultural and social norms.

1. Introduction

Cultural and social norms are highly influential in shaping individual behaviour, including the use of violence. Norms can protect against violence, but they can also support and encourage the use of it. For instance, cultural acceptance of violence, either as a normal method of resolving conflict or as a usual part of rearing a child, is a risk factor for all types of interpersonal violence (*1*). It may also help explain why countries experiencing high levels of one type of violence also experience increased levels of other types (*2*). Social tolerance of violent behaviour is likely learned in childhood, through the use of corporal punishment (*2*) or witnessing violence in the family (*3,4*), in the media (*5*) or in other settings.

Interventions that challenge cultural and social norms supportive of violence can help reduce and prevent violent behaviour. Although widely used, they have rarely been evaluated. Given the current weak evidence base, it is premature to review their effectiveness. The aim of this briefing, therefore, is to encourage increased efforts to implement and evaluate well-designed interventions that challenge cultural and social norms which support violence. Accordingly, this briefing:

- Defines cultural and social norms and illustrates how they support violence;
- Provides examples of interventions that seek to alter these norms; and
- Identifies the main challenges faced by evaluations of the effectiveness of such interventions.

2. Cultural and social norms that support violence

Cultural and social norms are rules or expectations of behaviour within a specific cultural or social group. Often unspoken, these norms offer social standards of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, governing what is (and is not) acceptable and co-ordinating our interactions with others (6). Cultural and social norms persist within society because of individuals' preference to conform, given the expectation that others will also conform (7). A variety of external and internal pressures are thought to maintain cultural and social norms (6). Thus, individuals are discouraged from violating norms by the threat of social disapproval or punishment and feelings of guilt and shame that result from the internalization of norms.

Cultural and social norms do not necessarily correspond with an individual's attitudes (positive or negative feelings towards an object or idea) and beliefs (perceptions that certain premises are true), although they may influence these attitudes and beliefs if norms becomes internalized. Cultural and social norms also vary widely; so, behaviour acceptable to one social group, gang or culture may not be tolerated in another.

Different cultural and social norms support different types of violence, as illustrated in **Box 1**. For instance, traditional beliefs that men have a right to control or discipline women through physical means makes women vulnerable to violence by intimate partners (8,9) and places girls at risk of sexual abuse (10). Equally, cultural acceptance of violence, including sexual violence, as a private affair hinders outside intervention and prevents those affected from speaking out and gaining support (11). In many societies, victims of sexual violence also feel stigmatized, which inhibits reporting (12).

Additionally, strong evidence of an association between alcohol consumption and violent behaviour means that cultural and social norms around alcohol use and its expected effects can also encourage and justify violent acts. In a number of countries, harmful alcohol use is estimated to be responsible for 26% of male and 16% of female disability-adjusted life-years (DALYs[1]) lost as a result of homicide (13). Societies that tolerate higher rates of acute alcohol intoxication report stronger relationships between alcohol use and violence than those where drinking occurs more moderately (14). Furthermore, alcohol-related violence is considered more likely in cultures where many believe that alcohol plays a positive role by helping people to shed their inhibitions (15). Here, alcohol can be used as a justification for violent behaviour, or consumed to fuel the courage needed to commit violent crimes. Interventions that tackle the cultural and social norms underlying risky drinking behaviour and social expectations surrounding alcohol can help in preventing violence (16,17). For more information on the relationship between alcohol and violence, see the briefing in this series on preventing violence by reducing the availability and harmful use of alcohol.

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[1]   A DALY is a measure of the impact of illness, disability and mortality on population health.

BOX 1

Cultural and social norms supporting different types of violence

Child maltreatment

■ Female children are valued less in society than males (e.g. Peru [18], where female children are considered to have less social and economic potential).

■ Children have a low status in society and within the family (e.g. Guatemala [19]).

■ Physical punishment is an acceptable or normal part of rearing a child (e.g. Turkey [20], Ethiopia [21]).

■ Communities adhere to harmful traditional cultural practices such as genital mutilation (e.g. Nigeria [22], Sudan [23]) or child marriage (24).

Intimate partner violence

■ A man has a right to assert power over a woman and is socially superior (e.g. India [8], Nigeria [9], Ghana [25]).

■ A man has a right to "correct" or discipline female behaviour (e.g. India [26], Nigeria [27], China [28]).

■ A woman's freedom should be restricted (e.g. Pakistan [29]).

■ Physical violence is an acceptable way to resolve conflicts within a relationship (e.g. South Africa [30], China [28]).

■ A woman is responsible for making a marriage work (e.g. Israel [31]).

■ Intimate partner violence is a taboo subject (e.g. South Africa [32]) and reporting abuse is disrespectful (Nigeria [9]).

■ Divorce is shameful (e.g. Pakistan [11]).

■ When a dowry (financial payment from the bride's family to the husband) or bridewealth (financial payment from the husband to the bride's family) is an expected part of marriage (e.g. Nigeria [27], India [33]), violence can occur either because financial demands are not met, or because bridewealth becomes synonymous with purchasing and thus owning a wife.

■ A man's honour is linked to a woman's sexual behaviour. Here, any deviation from sexual norms disgraces the entire family, which can then lead to honour killings (e.g. Jordan [34,35]).

Suicide and self-harm

■ Mental health problems are embarrassing and shameful, deterring individuals from seeking help (e.g. Australia [36], Brazil [37]).

■ Individuals in different social groups within society are not tolerated – e.g. homosexuals (Japan [38]).

Sexual violence

■ Sex is a man's right in marriage (e.g. Pakistan [11]).

■ Girls are responsible for controlling a man's sexual urges (e.g. South Africa [10,39]).

■ Sexual violence is an acceptable way of putting women in their place or punishing them (e.g. South Africa [10]).

■ Sexual activity (including rape) is a marker of masculinity (e.g. South Africa [39]).

■ Sex and sexuality are taboo subjects (e.g. Pakistan [11]).

■ Sexual violence such as rape is shameful for the victim, which prevents disclosure (e.g. the United States [12]).

Youth violence

■ Reporting youth violence or bullying is unacceptable (e.g. the United Kingdom [40]).

■ Violence is an acceptable way of resolving conflict (e.g. the United States of America [41]).

Community violence

■ Cultural intolerance, intense dislike and stereotyping of "different" groups within society (e.g. nationalities, ethnicities, homosexuals) can contribute to violent or aggressive behaviour towards them (e.g. xenophobic or racist violence [42] and homophobic violence [43]).

3. Challenging norms supportive of violence: examples of interventions

Interventions that challenge cultural and social norms supportive of violence are often integrated with other approaches. The examples described here, however, are limited to those interventions which exclusively or primarily aim to change cultural and social norms to prevent violence. Although not all of them have been evaluated, these examples are presented to help gain a better understanding of this approach to violence prevention. **Box 2** sets out the concepts behind the *social norms approach*, one of the more prominent frameworks for such interventions. A particular challenge for any intervention addressing cultural or social norms is accommodating groups with different norms from the broader population. Interventions often need to be tailored to these sub-groups, rather than addressing the population as a whole.

3.1 Intimate partner and sexual violence

In the United States and other developed countries, initiatives have been developed to reduce dating violence and sexual abuse among teenagers and young adults that incorporate components to change cultural and social norms. These norms include gender stereotypes, beliefs about masculinity and aggression or violence and ideas that violence within an intimate or dating relationship is normal. Some initiatives deal specifically with male peer groups, for example, Men of Strength clubs (*44*); others target both men and women, for example, Men Against Violence (*45*) and Mentors in Violence Prevention (*46*). Such programmes acknowledge the strong influence that young adults can have on each others' behaviour and the social pressures of masculinity that equate male power and status with violence. By raising awareness of dating violence and reinforcing shared norms supportive of non-violent behaviour, they encourage the role of young adults as allies or protectors of their peers against dating and sexual violence. Furthermore, it is assumed that by challenging and intervening in violent acts, young people will indicate to their peers that such behaviour

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BOX 2

Social norms approach

The social norms approach to health promotion assumes that people have mistaken perceptions of the attitudes and behaviour of others. Prevalence of risky behaviour (e.g. heavy alcohol use and tolerance of violent behaviour) is usually overestimated, while protective behaviours are normally underestimated. This affects individual behaviour in two ways: by justifying and increasing the prevalence of risky behaviour, and by increasing the likelihood of an individual remaining silent about any discomfort caused by such behaviour (thereby reinforcing social tolerance of it). The social norms approach seeks to correct these misperceptions by giving people a more realistic sense of actual behavioural norms, thereby reducing risky behaviour. The theory has been applied widely in the United States to reduce excessive drinking among college students and has been associated with decreased alcohol misuse and smoking (*47,48*). Social norms approaches have also reported some success in changing the attitudes of male peer groups towards risky sexual behaviours (see section on intimate partner and sexual violence). Misperceptions about attitudes towards violent behaviour have also been documented for bullying (*49*), suggesting that social norms approaches could reduce this form of violence.

is unacceptable. Unfortunately, the effectiveness of these programmes for preventing violent behaviour has yet to be well evaluated.

The social norms approach, described in **Box 2**, has been used to address sexual violence among college students in the United States. Among these students, men are thought to underestimate the importance that most men and women place on sexual consent, and the willingness of most men to intervene against sexual assault (*50*). Although evidence is limited, some positive results have been reported. For instance, in one university, a project named A Man Respects a Woman aimed to reduce sexual assaults against women, increase accurate perceptions of non-coercive sexual behaviour norms and reduce self-reported coercive behaviours by men. The project used a social norms marketing campaign targeting men, a theatre presentation addressing socialization and male peer-to-peer education to convey the following positive findings of a student survey:

- A man respects a woman: nine out of ten men stop the first time their date says "no" to sexual activity;
- A man always prevents manipulation: three out of four men think it is not acceptable to pressure a date to drink alcohol to improve their chances of getting their date to have sex;
- A man talks before romance: most men believe talking about sex does not ruin the romance of the moment, and it can confirm that you have consent.

For the social marketing campaign, posters and flyers were designed by and pre-tested with students at the university, to ensure the messages would receive positive responses. Evaluation of the campaign two years after implementation found that men had become more accurate in their perceptions of other men's behaviour and reported more positive behaviour and attitudes themselves. For instance, proportionately fewer men believed that the average male student has sex when his partner is intoxicated; will not stop sexual activity when asked to if he is already sexually aroused; and, when wanting to touch someone sexually, tries and sees how his date reacts. The evaluation found, however, an increase in the proportion of men indicating they have sex when their partner is intoxicated (*51*).

University campaigns in the United States have also highlighted the role of bystanders in preventing sexually abusive acts – an alternative to tar-

geting perpetrators or victims of violence. These campaigns address norms that support or tolerate coercion within relationships and encourage both males and females to speak out against sexual abuse and to help those in trouble. For instance, a poster campaign at one university used this message: "Know your power. Step in, speak up. You can make a difference". A series of posters was widely displayed for four weeks on campus and nearby, depicting different scenarios: for instance, a man leading a drunk woman upstairs at a house party. Each poster also showed safe bystander behaviour to intervene and prevent sexual abuse: for instance, friends planning to stop the man from taking the woman upstairs. Although there was no baseline test for comparison, an evaluation of the campaign reported that participants who saw the posters exhibited greater awareness of sexual assault, and greater willingness to participate in actions aimed at reducing sexual violence, compared to those who did not see the posters (*52*).

In Western Australia, the Freedom from Fear campaign targeted male perpetrators (and potential perpetrators) of domestic violence. Preliminary research with male perpetrators found that campaign messages such as "real men don't hit women" and "your mates will reject you", or those highlighting the consequences of domestic violence on their partner, would be ineffective. However, those that conveyed the damaging effect that intimate partner violence had on their children were found to be powerful, and were consequently given prominence in the campaign. The messages called upon men to accept responsibility for their behaviour and take action to end the abuse (*53*). It used television, radio and other media, and was accompanied by a helpline for men to receive counselling, advice and information. Evaluation of the campaign five years after implementation found a smaller proportion of men reporting emotional abuse of their partners than before the campaign. Furthermore, there was a significant reduction in the proportion of women who reported "being yelled at" and "being threatened with being hit" (*54*).

Another promising campaign, Choose Respect, is a national initiative developed by the United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to address cultural and social norms governing relationships and partner violence. It aims to motivate adolescents to challenge harmful beliefs about dating abuse and take steps to form healthy, respectful relationships and prevent dating abuse before it starts. Research to inform the initiative showed

most adolescents have positive, healthy attitudes about their relationships with others. Choose Respect seeks to reinforce and sustain these positive attitudes among adolescents as they get older and begin to enter dating relationships by:

- Encouraging adolescents, parents, caregivers and teachers to choose to treat themselves and others with respect;
- Creating opportunities for adolescents and parents to learn positive forms of behaviour for relationships;
- Increasing adolescents' ability to recognize and prevent unhealthy, violent relationships; and
- Promoting ways for a variety of audiences to get information and other tools to prevent dating abuse.

Choose Respect targets 11 to 14-years-olds, an age group whose members are still forming attitudes and beliefs that will affect how they are treated and treat others. The initiative also engages parents, teachers, youth leaders and other caregivers who influence the lives of young teens. Its messages are disseminated via materials such as electronic postcards (eCards), posters, bookmarks, pocket guides, online games and quizzes, television and radio spots and activities that encourage youth to choose respect. Launched nationally in May 2006, Choose Respect was implemented as an integrated communications effort in ten major cities in the United States (55).

To highlight social issues, including intimate partner violence, date rape and sexual harassment, Soul City in South Africa used television (through a soap opera series), radio and printed materials (i.e. edutainment, see **Box 3**). The series was accompanied by information booklets that were distributed nationally. An evaluation of the fourth series, which focused on intimate partner violence, used a random sample of the national population and conducted interviews before and after the intervention (eight month interval). Participants reported a decrease in their acceptance of intimate partner violence and an increase in the belief that communities can play a role in preventing intimate partner violence following the series. For instance, there was an increase from baseline to evaluation eight months later in the belief that "my community feels that violence between a man and a woman is not a private affair". The intervention was thought to facilitate community co-operation, public discussion and action on intimate partner violence. While the evaluation did not include measurements of violent behaviour, there were some positive changes in attitudes towards intimate partner violence. For instance, the number of people *agreeing* with the statement "no woman ever deserves to be beaten" increased, as did the percentage *disagreeing* with the assertion "women who are abused are expected to put up with it" (56). While it is not known whether these changes would have occurred without the intervention (there was no comparison group), higher exposure to the intervention was associated with more positive attitudinal changes.

Another programme that used *edutainment* is Nicaragua's *Somos Diferentes, Somos Iguales* (We are Different, We are Equal), which aimed primarily to prevent HIV infection. The programme also addressed related topics such as gender-based violence, aiming to empower women and young people and to promote women's rights and gender equality. It used a national weekly soap opera television series (*Sexto Sentido* [Sixth Sense]); a nightly radio talk show, in which callers could discuss the issues raised by the television series; and community-based activities such as youth leadership training. An evaluation of the project used a sample of 13 to 24-year-old Nicaraguan youths and surveyed them over a period of two years. Although there was no comparison group, exposure to the programme was associated with greater acceptance of gender equality as a social norm (57). The study did not measure changes in violent behaviour.

3.2   Youth violence

In the United States, an anti-violence intervention called Resolve It, Solve It consisted of a community media campaign for youths from small towns, led by high-school students who served as peer models (58). Students helped develop campaign media such as professionally printed materials and radio and television advertisements with three key themes: respect for individual differences, conflict resolution and prevention of bullying. The campaign ran for a year and included presentations to school children in classrooms and assemblies, and inclusion of a wider audience via community events. A randomized controlled trial of the campaign conducted in communities in five different states showed mixed results. A few months after the intervention, students reported a greater decline in their use of physical violence compared to controls, but there were no differences in their use of verbal aggression. Additionally, compared to controls, participants reported a larger decline in

Mass media interventions

Mass media campaigns convey messages about healthy behaviour to broad populations via television, radio, the Internet, newspapers, magazines and other printed materials. They increase the amount of information available on a topic and may reduce undesirable behaviour. Media campaigns use different strategies to change cultural and social norms. For instance, they can provide information to correct misperceptions about norms (social norms approach, **Box 2**), or attach a social stigma to unwanted behaviour. While campaigns usually focus on the negative consequences of violence, they may also make positive appeals – for example, promoting parenting styles that contribute to a happier family life (*59*).

Mass media approaches help to keep health issues on social and political agendas, legitimize community interventions and act as a catalyst for other initiatives (*60*). While they intend to modify individual behaviour directly through informative messages, media campaigns can also affect behaviour indirectly by stimulating changes in perceptions of social or cultural norms through social interaction (*60*). Here, a change in perception of norms provides additional motivation for a change in individual behaviour (*61*). Some mass media approaches use education entertainment methods (*edutainment*), which seek to impart knowledge and bring about social change through television soap operas and other popular forms of entertainment. By achieving strong audience identification with television characters who are positive role models, edutainment can contribute to help improve cultural and social norms.

Mass media campaigns have been successfully employed to address a wide range of health attitudes and behaviour (*62*), such as eating healthily and exercising (*63*), stopping smoking (*64*), practising safe sex (*65*), reducing alcohol consumption (*66*) and reducing drink-driving (*67*). A meta-analysis of 48 health-behaviour campaigns reported that on average, 9% more people exhibited a healthy form of behaviour following a campaign than before (*62*). Mass media campaigns have also been used to address violence. Few studies, however, have evaluated their effectiveness at reducing violence. By contrast, many studies have examined the effectiveness of other campaigns to promote healthy behaviour.

Among the factors that seem to contribute to the success of mass media campaigns are messages about legal penalties for non-compliant behaviour, fresh information (i.e. a new recommended behaviour to solve a health problem) and reaching a large proportion of the intended audience (*62*). In addition, success is more likely if messages are tailored to audiences using social marketing principles and creating a supportive environment that enables the intended audience to make changes – e.g. by mobilizing communities in support of the campaign (*68*). To develop effective campaigns, it is also important to use research, such as interviews with key stakeholders and focus groups with members of the target audience, to determine existing attitudes and beliefs and ways of motivating people to change their behaviour (*69*). Campaign messages should also be pre-tested among target audiences to ensure they are understood correctly and to minimize any unintended negative effects on other audiences (*69*).

being verbally, but not physically victimized. However, effects differed by sex (*58*).

3.3   Laws and policies

Legislation can be a key tool in changing behaviour and perceptions of cultural and social norms. Laws and policies that make violent behaviour an offence send a message to society that it is not acceptable. Countries differ in the laws applied to violent behaviour. While nearly all countries have laws that criminalize most forms of homicide, only some countries have laws in place to protect women from intimate partner violence, or children from caregiver maltreatment. However, there has been a recent move internationally towards the enactment and implementation of such laws; particu-

larly for intimate partner violence where there has been increased international activity to promote women's rights. For example, laws on domestic violence have recently been implemented in Brazil (2006), Ghana (2007), India (2006) and Zimbabwe (2006). Confounding factors make it difficult to evaluate the effects of laws and policies on cultural and social norms and violent behaviour (but see **Box 4**). Furthermore, the introduction of legislation that makes violent behaviour a criminal offence increases rates of reported violence, making trends from official statistics difficult to interpret. Finally, although the implementation of laws may have an effect on behaviour through fear of punishment, changes in deeply held beliefs that justify such behaviour may take far longer to occur.

BOX 4

Banning corporal punishment

In 1979, Sweden introduced legislation to abolish all physical punishment of children by caregivers. The ban aimed, in part, to challenge a common attitude that corporal punishment was a normal part of rearing a child and establish a new social norm: that physical punishment was unacceptable. While the direct impact of the ban is difficult to determine, a variety of evidence suggests that attitudes towards corporal punishment and levels of physical violence towards children changed following its implementation (*70,71*). For instance, a study conducted 30 years after the ban came into effect revealed that public support for corporal punishment declined from 53% in 1965 to 11% in 1994 (*70*). Of Swedish children born in the 1950s, nearly all were struck by their mothers before the age of four. However, among those born in the late 1980s, only 14% had ever been struck by their mothers (*71*). Furthermore, in 1965, half of the Swedish population believed physical punishment was necessary in rearing a child, but in the mid-1990s, only 11% of the population were "positively inclined" towards even mild forms of physical punishment (*71*). Reports of assaults against children did increase between 1981 and 1996, but this may have reflected the public's greater willingness to report less severe forms of violence (*72*). It remains unclear, however, how much of the shift in norms and behaviour can be attributed to the legislation. Some observers note that Swedish attitudes towards corporal punishment had been steadily changing for years before the ban was introduced and may have prompted the change in legislation (*73*).

4. Challenges of evaluating effectiveness

Although interventions to alter cultural and social norms are among the most visible violence prevention strategies, they are seldom rigorously evaluated. By contrast, interventions to alter norms related to other public health issues such as smoking, drink-driving and alcohol abuse have been subject to many thorough evaluations, including meta-analyses.

Rigorous evaluations of interventions to change cultural and social norms supportive of violence are, however, feasible – as indicated by the examples described in this briefing – but they face the following challenges:

- *Confounding factors:* Often cultural and social norms interventions are integrated with other strategies, such as training in conflict resolution skills, role modelling or community-based activities (e.g. micro-loans). This makes it difficult to isolate the independent effects of interventions for changing norms related to violence.

- *Actual violence is rarely used as an outcome measure:* Even where evaluations have been undertaken, these frequently measure changes in attitudes and norms rather than violent behaviours. Future evaluations of cultural and social norm interventions aimed at preventing violence should use actual violence as an outcome measure.

- *Difficulty selecting equivalent comparison groups:* When evaluating norms interventions that target large groups or whole populations – mass media campaigns, for example – it is often difficult, or impossible, to have a control group that is equivalent in all important respects to the group receiving the intervention. This limits the certainty with which evaluators can attribute changes in levels of violence to the intervention.

- *Mechanisms not understood:* How such interventions work remains poorly understood with few studies exploring the underlying mechanisms through which altering social and cultural norms changes behaviour. Even definitions of key terms such as *cultural, social, norms, beliefs*, and *attitudes* still require clarification and consensus.

5. Summary

Violent behaviour is strongly influenced by cultural and social norms; so efforts to prevent violence must consider how social pressures and expectations influence individual behaviour. Interventions that attempt to alter cultural and social norms to prevent violence are among the most widespread and prominent. Rarely, however, are they thoroughly evaluated, making it currently difficult to assess their effectiveness. Rigorous scientific evaluations of interventions that address norms supportive of violence present particular, but surmountable, challenges, which partly explain their scarcity. Nevertheless, a number of positive results have been reported.

Although the effect of mass media interventions, aimed at whole societies, on levels of violent behaviour have seldom been evaluated, their success in addressing other public health issues (smoking and drink-driving, for instance) suggests they have a critical role to play in the prevention of violence. Furthermore, *edutainment* initiatives, such as Soul City in South Africa, have shown promise in changing cultural and social norms and attitudes associated with violent behaviour. While it is difficult to ascertain the effectiveness of laws and policies in changing social attitudes, legislation that is enforced can send clear messages to society that violent behaviour is not acceptable.

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