

PROJECT BREAK!  
DESIGNING  
INTERVENTION:

MAPPING STATE OF ART,  
COLLECTING GOOD PRACTICES AND  
DEVELOPING INDICATORS

RASI toimetised nr. 6

RASI

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TALLINNA  
ÜLIKOOL

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Oktoober 2019

*The preparation of this material was funded by the European Union's **Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme (2014-2020)**. The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of Tallinn University and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the European Commission.*



Funded by the Rights Equality  
And Citizenship programme of the  
European Union 2014-2020

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This report is prepared as part of project BREAK! See <http://bre-ak.eu>

Roosalu, T., Raudsepp, M., Kruusvall, J., Aavik, K., & Taru, M. (2019). *Project BREAK! Designing intervention: mapping state of art, collecting good practices and developing indicators*. RASI toimetised nr 6. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool.

Other publications include:

Roosalu, T., Raudsepp, M., Kruusvall, J., Aavik, K., & Taru, M. (2019). *Project BREAK! Recommendations for media intervention and educational materials for all target groups in a variety of contexts*. RASI toimetised nr 7. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool.

Raudsepp, M., Roosalu, T., Kruusvall, J., Aavik, K., & Taru, M. (2019). *Project BREAK! Evaluating outcomes and assessing impact. Empirical insight*. RASI toimetised nr 8. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool.

Roosalu, T., Raudsepp, M., Kruusvall, J., Aavik, K., & Taru, M. (2019). *Project BREAK! Guidelines for planning the media intervention: lessons from the project*. RASI toimetised nr 9. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool.

ISSN 2613-733X  
ISBN 978-9949-29-484-8 (pdf)

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## Preface

The aim of the BREAK! cross-media project is to influence the audience in the direction of open-mindedness regarding gender role stereotypes - to empower (young) people and help them to overcome stereotype based barriers concerning occupational choices. In order to produce change – promoting desirable dispositions and practices and hindering undesirable dispositions and practices among the target groups (young people and those who can most directly influence their career choices – teachers, parents, career advisors, employers) – a cross-media intervention has been designed.

The tasks of the methodological strand of the project are to

- a) propose intervention methods that have proved to be effective in previous interventions,
- b) to measure and *describe* the effects of cross-media intervention, and
- c) to *explain* the observed effects by reference to theoretical frames.

The project is ideologically loaded: it stands for egalitarianism, equal opportunities, social (gender) equality, respecting human rights and human dignity in everyone. This ‘bias’ is necessarily guiding project activities and provides us with framework for designing and assessing the relevance of the intervention. We need to acknowledge that in current context of rising right-wing populism with anti-feminist bias, spreading inconsiderate rhetoric in the public sphere across Europe (Kovats, 2018) such focus may become sensitive in itself. However, acknowledging the two main virtues behind the project – providing best opportunities for every individual to explore and activate their individual strengths and interests also in the labour market without facing barriers by stereotypes; and promoting acceptance also of non-traditional occupational choices and thus reach the more inclusive as well as more productive labour force – the project is inherently relevant across times and ideologies.

On behalf of the project team, we hope you find the approaches taken in this project inspiring and the experiences of the project team insightful.

We have divided the message into three papers: report outlining the requirements, choices and experiences of designing the intervention; report on recommendations on what to consider when planning such an intervention; and report on measuring and understanding outcomes of the project.

Further information is available from project website <http://bre-ak.eu>

## Core concepts

- **Gender equality** means equal ease of access to resources and opportunities regardless of gender, including economic participation and decision-making; and the state of valuing different behaviours, aspirations and needs equally, regardless of gender. Gender equality does not require that girls and boys, or women and men, be the same, or that they be treated exactly alike. Opposite to gender equality is gender inequality, not elimination of gender differences, as it is often falsely understood. Gender equality is a component of social equality. The project is to promote the idea of flexibility of gender roles, to decrease the power of gender norms and stereotypes, especially in the field of work and occupations.
- **Gender (role) stereotypes** are relatively fixed and wide-spread beliefs about characteristics, modes of behaviour and roles that are considered as appropriate for men and women. Traditional gender role stereotypes include gender hierarchy and strict separation of gender roles in family, public life and in labour market (differentiation of occupations according to gender – care-centred occupations are considered to be suitable for women, and instrumental occupations or leading roles are considered suitable for men). In modern liberal societies traditional gender stereotypes may restrict individual's freedom of choice according to one's preferences and abilities, thus hindering full realization of everyone's potential and societal development. Gender stereotypes are related to wide-spread beliefs, attitudes, values, norms and prejudices. They function to maintain certain power relations in society and to guide people to choose socially appropriate life strategies, modes of behaviour and relationships. Gender stereotypes may be specific to certain domains: public sphere (job market, politics), family roles, education of children, sexual behaviour.
- **Occupational stereotypes** are fixed and wide-spread sets of beliefs about certain professions and occupations, including their relative status in society, as well as beliefs about special skills, knowledge or personal characteristics required for that profession or about their suitability only for certain groups (only men or women can be successful performing this job). For example, cleaning, care-giving and teaching tasks tend to be related to women, and dealing with machines, driving vehicles or supervising personnel tend to be related to men. Career choices of young people are strongly influenced by occupational stereotypes which are wide spread.
- **Stereotypical forms of thinking and acting** are restrictive when they start to limit desirable choices and strategies of individuals or groups.

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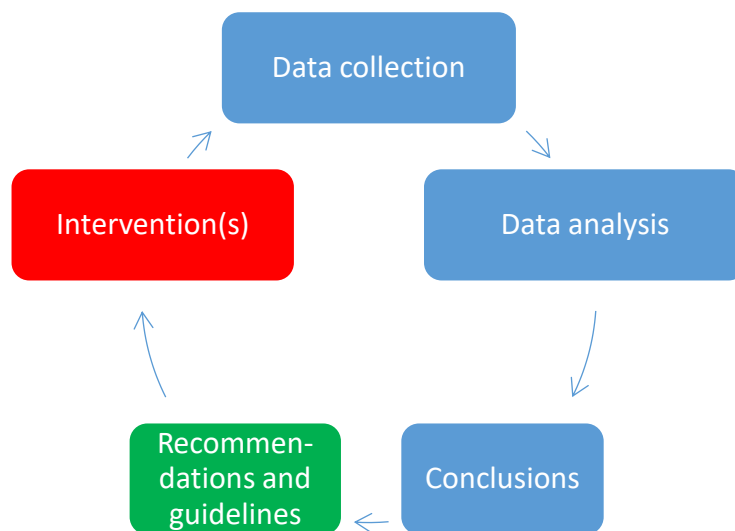
# 1 PROJECT IN A NUTSHELL

Project in a nutshell can be presented in four core aspects:

1. the multi-layered **conceptual model** for understanding gender stereotypes related to occupational choices
2. data collection and analysis to design the proposals for cross-media **intervention**
3. data collection and **evaluation** of the outcomes of the intervention
4. proposing **recommendations** for future interventions

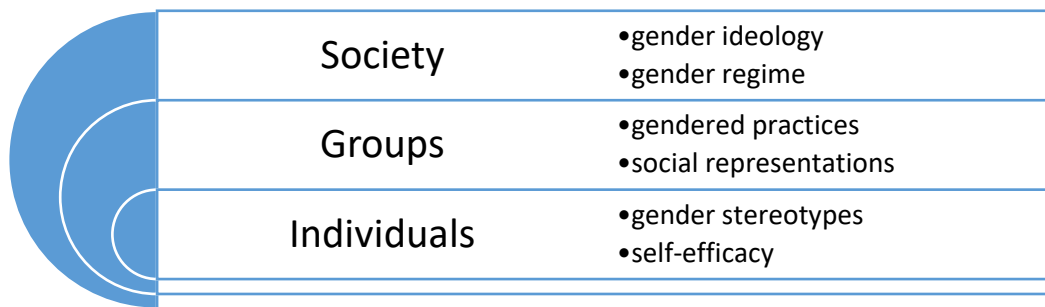
The project activities should be seen as a circular, ideally never-ending continuous process, whereby each future step is analysed and assessed before next steps are taken.

*Figure 1 Role of analytical approach within the intervention project*



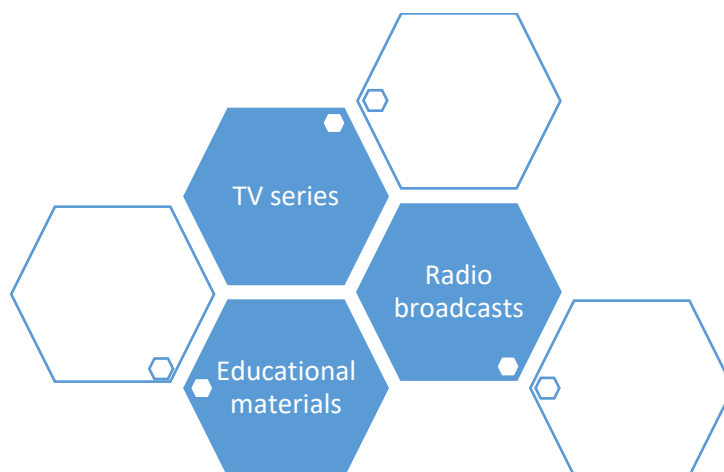
The whole project relies on multi-layered model of gender role stereotypes, acknowledging the macro level role of social processes at large and meso level role of group norms, practices and processes in shaping micro-level stereotypical choices and self-affirming or self-harming practices of individuals.

*Figure 2 Multi-layered model of gender role stereotypes that affect occupational choices*



Based on this multilevel understanding, the cross-media intervention is recommended to combine entertainment and education, in the anticipation that such an edutainment-project can most likely reach different layers and different targets in the society.

*Figure 3 Model of proposed cross-media intervention combining fully educational aspects with mainly entertaining contents*

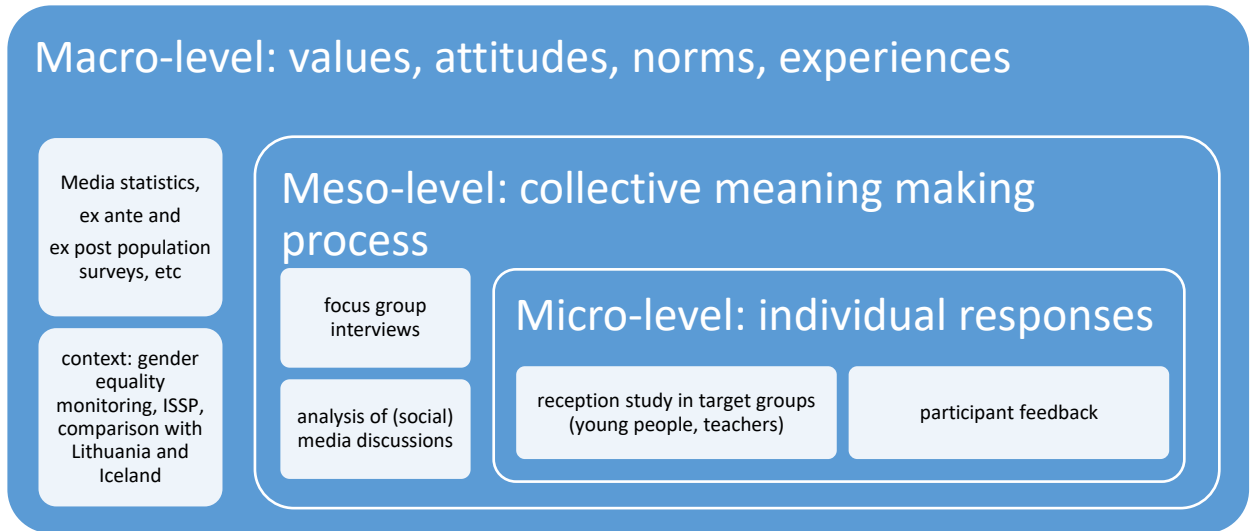


After the intervention is carried out, data is again collected at all the levels of intervention to **assess the outcome** relative to plans and **analyse the reception** of the activities across the target audiences. This comprises the following steps:

1. description of outcomes on different levels (macro-, meso and micro level)
2. explaining outcomes by reference to relevant theories (social learning theory, social representations theory, social practice theory)



Figure 4 Model for evaluating the intervention: data collection modes and methods on three levels of intervention



# 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 2.1 Multi-layered model

We are departing from the understanding that gender stereotyping is a multi-layered phenomenon: on the most general level it is rooted in the processes on the socio/cultural **macro level** – formal and informal gendered norms and beliefs or gender ideology (Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Grunow et al., 2018) and corresponding gendered practices (e.g. occupational gender segregation, gendered division of labour, work-family system of gender roles). These ideas and practices form gender regime (or gender culture) in a society - culturally defined set of economic, social and political roles, responsibilities, rights, entitlements, obligations and power relations associated with being female and male. A comprehensive overview of contemporary gender stereotypes in the European countries as perceived by men and women demonstrates how omnipresent gender stereotypes appear to be and how impactful they are on people's lives, in a wide range of spheres. The stories of people from all countries of Europe illustrate how the different dimensions of gender stereotypes (in relation to personality traits, appearance, behaviour, societal roles) are interrelated and function as mechanisms: stereotypical assumptions in one respect will affect individual's situation in another respect (185)(EIGE, 2013). Stereotypical (unequal) gender attitudes and norms prevail among adolescent young people throughout the world (Kågesten et al., 2016).

On the **meso-level** stereotypes are maintained or opposed through communication and interaction in different groups – families, friends, schoolmates, colleagues, people with similar interests, etc., where group-specific meanings, norms and practices (generally - social representations) are formed. A person necessarily belongs to different contact groups and sometimes group norms differ or even contradict each other. Stereotypes held by peer groups function as powerful norms (Crandall & Stangor, 2005). Gender stereotypes function as elements of systemic phenomena – social representations and social practices.

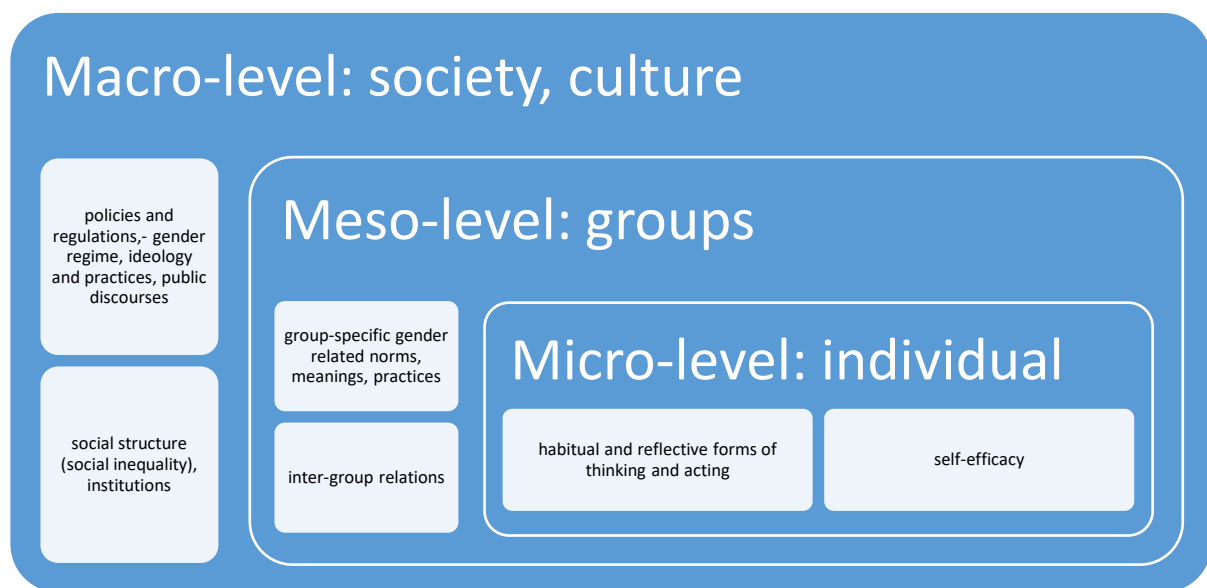
On the **micro-level**, individuals have personal values, beliefs and habits, which may rely on stereotypical forms of thinking and acting, approved by society or particular groups. Understanding stereotype as an individual phenomenon is characteristic to behavioural approach (Kahnemann, 2014) where stereotypes are conceptualized as universal non-conscious cognitive biases. Becoming aware of these biases helps to liberate a person from unnecessary limitations. On the micro-level an individual may position oneself in relation to perceived social norms, either accepting or opposing them.

In the context of occupational choices fixed beliefs concerning the self are also important – self-concept (incl. ideal self), and perception of own abilities. In goal-directed activities self-efficacy or individual's belief in their ability to achieve goals or perform certain tasks (incl. related to a profession or occupation) (Bandura, 1982) plays a crucial role. Individuals who have high self-

efficacy will exert sufficient effort that, if well executed, leads to successful outcomes, whereas those with low self-efficacy are likely to cease effort early and fail. Although it seems to be characteristic of an individual, self-efficacy is closely related to interpersonal relations and macro-level processes, e.g. gender stereotypes in a society and social expectations and norms related to them. Gender gap in self-efficacy is considered an important factor that influences different career choices by men and women.

These levels are interconnected and influence mutually each other by enabling or hindering certain processes. Yet there are different **mechanisms of change and stability** that interact with intentional interventions on each level.

*Figure 5 Multi-layer model for systemic analysis of gender role stereotypes*



Habitual forms of thinking and acting, maintained by social and cultural **macro-level processes** (cultural traditions, power relations in society) are most stable and slowly changing. Many gender role stereotypes are rooted in such processes. Constant reproduction of hegemonic gender stereotypes in mass media (Pilvre et al., 2004; Pilvre, 2011) or cultural products (Roots, 2017) make them resistant to change.

Two theoretical approaches – social representations theory (Moscovici, 1976) and social practice theory are suitable for describing and explaining intervention related **processes on the meso-level**. Group-level social regulators (social representations) are dynamic, they are more easily changed through communication and interaction. Bringing gender role stereotypes into the sphere of public discussions may open the door to the desired changes – promoting the existing representations of gender equality and overcoming resistance by the opposing (polemical) representations. Specificity of meso-level processes can be explained also with the help of social practice approach (Schatzki et al., 2001; Shove et al., 2012), which analyses practices as enduring patterns of collective activities, consisting of certain key elements – 1) knowledge/shared meanings/rules/values, 2) technological and environmental structure, 3) skills and habits. All these elements are integrated by relations and communication. Visible pattern of human activities are like a tip of an iceberg – they are only indicators of a more wide underlying system

of social practice. Interventions are usually targeted at changing certain habitual behaviours, routine habits. As elements of a system of social practice, these cannot be changed in isolation, the whole system should be taken into consideration: meanings, physical environments, skills (Vihalemm et al., 2015). Gender stereotypes may be thus be conceptualized as part of a multiplicity of intersecting practices that imply, afford and maintain these stereotypes. Interventions aimed at a change should address whole practices and support necessary elements of a modified practice (e.g. infrastructural support to non-stereotypical activities and beliefs).

On the **micro level** individual beliefs and modes of activity form a system that is functional in the particular life context. Changing one element in this system (like gender beliefs and attitudes) implies changes in other belief systems, relations, activities. Appropriate model for explaining intervention mechanisms on this level is social learning theory (Bandura, 1986). Appropriate models for explaining intervention mechanisms on this level are social learning theory (Bandura, 1986) and social role theory (Eagly, 1987). As gender stereotypes are derived from the observation of men and women in their typical social roles according to division of labour in a society, exposure to counter-stereotypical role models may change individual gender stereotypes. Four main routes to change self-related beliefs by increasing self-efficacy are 1) mastery experiences of success and overcoming obstacles, 2) vicarious experiences of observing other people succeed by their sustained effort, 3) verbal persuasion by influential people (parents, teachers), 4) regulating emotional and physiological states (positive emotions, lack of stress) (Bandura, 1997).

## 2.2 Applying the model in the context of occupational choices<sup>1</sup>

A multi-layered model of occupational choice (Kindsiko et al., 2015, p. 8) considers relevant factors that influence women's career choices: cultural beliefs, occupational and gender stereotypes, gender pay gap (macro-level); scarcity of appropriate role models, attitudes towards ICT domain among parents, teachers and the school (meso-level). Among individual level factors the model considers interests and hobbies, (low) self-confidence, risk aversion, fear of social disapproval.

A theory of career development (Gottfredson, 1981) depicts the development of occupational aspirations as a process of successive circumscription of occupational alternatives that are considered acceptable. With the increasing age the number of choices decreases. At the beginning of this process at the age of 6 those occupations that are considered unsuitable for one's gender are eliminated from the choice list first, so the restricting power of gender and occupational stereotypes appear in an early age.

*Social cognitive career model* (Lent, Brown & Hackett, 1994) is based on the following basic elements:

1. *self-efficacy* (Bandura, 1986) – being aware of one's abilities (skills, knowledge) that enable to realize tasks in certain domain;
2. *outcome expectation* – expected results of an activity, e.g. salary, satisfaction with oneself, social implications.

These two constructs influence interests, goals and intentions, activity selection and practice. High self-efficacy supports high outcome expectations and respective career choices. A person chooses particular career domain if she believes that she has necessary abilities and believes that she will attain good results in this field. Decision to choose particular field depends also on external factors – social support and social barriers (information provided, encouragement by teachers etc.). For example, a young man with high interests in helping others and in medical fields may not go into nursing because of his perception that nursing is not an appropriate occupation for a man. He may further perceive weak support from others to enter that occupation, support that might have helped him to overcome that barrier. Similarly, a young woman who has parental and teacher support to achieve in math courses may choose to major in engineering.

Social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) is applicable to development of interventions targeted at increasing individuals' self-efficacy in a variety of areas, for example, promoting aspirations and interests in children and adolescents, expanding career choice options, fostering positive and realistic outcome expectations, setting specific goals, coping with barriers and building supports, and increasing coping self-efficacy and strong performance skills (Lent, 2013). Interventions may

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<sup>1</sup> Further discussion is available in the educational materials of the BREAK! project for teachers and career counsellors (Ümarik, 2018), especially see chapter *Gender inequality, discrimination and gender stereotypes in occupational choices of young people*

be targeted at expanding vocational interests, at increasing decision-making skills and exploratory behaviour, at helping clients explore various (including non-traditional) careers.

In this project the focus is first of all on the gender related barriers to occupational choices (see figure).

*Figure 6 Conceptual model to understand restricted opportunities for self-realization in the world of work, on individual level*



Prejudices and harmful stereotypes are external barriers and gender related low self-efficacy – an internal barrier to optimal career choice. Stereotypes impact the choice of study fields or occupations that women and men take by driving interest towards specific subjects that are deemed ‘appropriate’ and acceptable in a given society. Boys and girls seem to be differently affected by societal expectations: there is evidence that gender expectations are stricter for boys than girls and that cross-gendered pathways are currently more acceptable for girls than for boys. Stereotypes can also make it challenging for individuals to remain in their chosen career pathway. Students who differ from what is considered normal within their field experience more challenges in being academically and socially accepted as well as in developing an identity of belonging to the discipline. Likewise, in the labour market deviation from the ‘norm’ is not tolerated. Stereotypes can drive recruitment and employment practices. They also shape country-level policies or institutional frameworks such as policies supporting the combination of work and family life, which in turn have an impact on gender segregation in education systems and labour markets (EIGE, 2017).

# 3 GENDER STEREOTYPES IN THE ESTONIAN CONTEXT: CORE DIMENSIONS FOR THE INTERVENTION

## 3.1 Gender system and gender ideologies in the audience

### 3.1.1 Data and analytical focus

A clear picture of the audience is necessary for any media intervention to be effective and lead to the desired outcomes. The aim of our project is to 1) reach out to youth and generate change in gender role attitudes of young people aged 13-30 through a cross-media campaign and 2) to adapt the use of these media activities in classes and in career guidance, by producing educational materials aimed at teachers and guidelines aimed at career orientation. Counsellors, helping them to better work on challenging the stereotypical assumptions about the roles of men and women. Beside these direct priority audiences (young people), who are expected to be most affected by the intervention, there are more indirect influencing audiences who can (and do) support or hinder the expected changes in understandings and behaviour of young people (family members – parents, grandparents, teachers, career counsellors, employers). Therefore the description of not only the target group but of the whole population as a potential audience of cross-media campaign in terms of relevant characteristics - knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours in relation to gender roles and gender equality - is necessary here. The full range of the existing beliefs and practices among the population should be taken into account.

Representative population surveys on gender ideology and practices enable us to characterize different groups of potential audience and changes in their attitudes. More specific (qualitative) studies enable us to understand the audiences more thoroughly, in particular to find out key influencers, specific facilitators and barriers to the desired changes. Combination of quantitative and qualitative data helps us to find out relevant subgroups (segments) of the audience who experience the media intervention differently.

The aim of the secondary analysis of regular Estonian Gender equality monitors 2005, 2009, 2013, 2016<sup>2</sup> (see further elaboration in Kruusvall, 2018) is to describe and compare priority target groups of the BREAK! project in terms of dynamics of the gender role attitudes, and to differentiate relevant segments of the population for the cross-media interventions. The analysis of distribution of answers helped us to choose particular questions for ex ante and ex post surveys and to give recommendations to script writers for choosing relevant topics for the drama series.

### 3.1.2 Gender equality also beneficial to men?

First, it has to be noted that there is a general agreement that gender equality is also beneficial to men. Searching the age differences based on the 2013 survey the general trend is: if any differences exist, they might refer to younger (up to 30 years old) being less accepting towards gender equality. They are more likely to agree that men should participate more in childrearing, or that women should participate in politics more; on the other hand, they appear somewhat less positive when considering the need for more women to take managerial roles or to engaging men more in the field of health and social welfare.

***Suggestion for the intervention:*** attention should be paid to women's role in managing organisations as well as to men's role in caring and social welfare (main target group: up to 30)

### 3.1.3 Children to conform or to believe in one's potential?

Talves and Kalmus (2015) comment on a study by Tulviste et al. (2012) that compared the socialization values of Estonian and Swedish mothers and found that Estonian mothers' values can be characterized by a struggle between authoritarian and liberal parenting paradigms, while Swedish mothers steadily value a liberal style. Estonians seem to put a lot of emphasis on children's conformity and obedience as well as on being trustworthy and hardworking, while Swedes stress the importance of believing in one's own abilities and self-direction. The authors argue that although the current socioeconomic situation in Estonia has become more stable, traditional socialization values have not made way to liberal endeavours in socialization, instead, the co-existence and mixture of different values are about to prevail. (Talves & Kalmus 2015)

***The suggestion for the intervention:*** address the parenting stress among mothers and allow for discussions about the struggle they have in switching between and attempting to combine liberal and authoritarian parenting styles

There is general understanding that bystanders should step in a case of domestic violence, but based on the gender monitor in 2013, while there is widespread disagreement with physical

<sup>2</sup> Derman, N., Hansson, L., Heinla, E., Helemäe, J., Järve, M., Laidmäe, V.-I., Taru, M., Vetik, R., & Vöörmann, R. (2006). *Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse monitooring 2005*. Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool, Rahvusvaheliste ja Sotsiaaluuringute Instituut.

Vainu, V., Järviste, L., & Biin, H. (2009). *Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse monitooring 2009*. Uuringuraport, Sotsiaalministeerium.

Roosalu, T. (Ed.) (2014). *Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse monitooring 2013*. Sotsiaalministeeriumi toimetised 3/2014. Tallinn: Sotsiaalministeerium.

Soolise võrdõiguslikkuse monitooring 2016 (2017). *Elanikkonna küsitlusuuringu raport*. Tellija: EV Sotsiaalministeerium. Turu-uuringute AS.



punishment of one's spouse, it seems that especially those beyond 30 years of age are somewhat more likely to accept physical punishment of children. Respondents, especially those beyond 30 years, also seem to think that the current trend for TV shapes children's understanding of sexuality should be decreased.

***The suggestion for the intervention:*** address the physical punishment of children as something not tolerated; consider how to replace or enrich current portrayal of sexuality, having in mind its potential impact on children.

### 3.1.4 Gendered socialization?

The data also allows some insight to gendered parenting and skills education attitudes. Only 21% of Estonians think that boys and girls should acquire similar attributes and skills when growing up (Aavik & Uusma, 2014), and the most important and gender-neutral socialization outcome is financial literacy: 45% of respondents considered it relevant for boys and 44% for girls. Other attributes are more or less gender specific, reflecting strongly traditional views on male and female roles in society, thus, Estonians tend to uphold gender stereotypes in socialization quite persistently, and the worlds of boys and girls are still largely distinguished as two separate realities. (cit. Talves & Kalmus, 2015). Considering the importance of symmetrical education and development of boys and girls, it might be worthwhile to also have a look at the largest gaps in preferred skills to be developed in boys and girls:

- Cooking (33 percentage points more mentioned for girls)
- Technical skills (32 percentage points more mentioned for boys)
- Driving (25 percentage points more mentioned for boys)
- Taking care of one's looks (21 percentage points more mentioned for girls)
- Cleaning house (19 percentage points more mentioned for girls)
- Entrepreneurial spirit (19 percentage points more mentioned for boys).

***The suggestion for the intervention:*** consider specifically these kinds of skills, for example, downplay the learning or mastering of these skills in case of the gender that is more likely the target for these skills and instead emphasise the need to learn or mastery of these skills for the opposite gender. For example, portray girls (and women) as entrepreneurial, being good at driving, and showing or needing technical skills, while also show boys (and men) routinely engaged in cooking or cleaning the house and worried about their looks; also consider possibilities to show girls and boys (women and men) to be directed to engage in the traditional practices (e.g. girls into cooking tasks) and voice critical concerns about it (e.g., arrange discussion and invite also boys into cooking).

### 3.1.5 Parents actually more likely to emphasise social skills in socializing?

It appears that parents are a little more likely than those without children to regard the situation of women in labour market less favourable. Parents also see more importance in women's independence, while those without children value men's role in breadwinning for family. However, in this important aspect parents of young kids do not differ from others: more than half in both groups think girls and boys should be taught different subjects (including crafts and physical education) in similar ways, and two thirds see it fit to encourage girls and boys to choose their subjects according to their personal interests and capabilities. Parents of young kids are

more likely than those without children to prefer boys would get support in developing their entrepreneurial skills and skills to express themselves in interaction situations, but less likely to emphasise boys' needs to develop their technical and technology-related skills. To girls, parents would be more likely than those without young kids to teach skills to behave and to express themselves in interaction with others, but less likely the skills to clean one's house, to cook, and to manage budgets. So, it appears, that parents are more consistently to emphasise needs for social skills, while those without young kids are more likely to support teaching more instrumental and gender-traditional skills.

***The suggestion for the intervention:*** considering the growing importance of social skills for one's success in society at large, recognise the parental expertise in supporting this aspect is important; alternatively, address the results in discussion among the characters commenting on trust/doubts in someone else's parental expertise. On the other hand, considering the perceived importance of instrumental skills in the labour markets (for both girls and boys), address the importance of specific skills and short time it takes to acquire them, especially in the process, sounding as simple enough not to warrant too much attention according to parents

## 3.2 Relevant segments of the audience

### 3.2.1 Segmentation of audience: language, media use, and other subjects

One aspect relevant for Estonian context is the fact Estonian audience is split into two relatively isolated information spheres: people with different domestic language (Estonian or Russian) follow different media channels (see Jõesaar, 2015). There is a general trend of increasing differentiation of media use (Vihalemm & Kõuts, 2017): in addition to home language and education, age has become a new differentiating factor, thus leading to polarization of media generations. Media use patterns are starting to reflect individual preferences, which may not be related to sociodemographic categorization. Slight decrease in general amount of time dedicated to radio listening, time devoted to TV has remained stable. Among young people (20-29 years old) TV watching time has decreased more than twice. Share of young people watching TV has also decreased (especially among Russian speakers). Media content preferences have changed among young people towards preferring entertainment. Available media channels have multiplied, young people watch increasingly English language global channels (87% -96% of young people aged 15-19), especially films and serials, and as the result the media audience is fragmented. It has been even suggested (Vihalemm & Kõuts, 2017) that there increasing amount of people who do not watch TV – in 2014 ca 1/10 of total population, 20% among the youth, along with increase in the use of internet (60% in 2015) and social media (in 2015 more than 50 per cent of population and 90% of young people), whereas some subgroups of young people avoid any contacts with media content. These tendencies will limit the reach of the intervention, and will also make it difficult to predict who will be affected.

However, in addition to these difficulties in planning the reach, although the target audience of the project's intervention is defined in demographic and occupational terms, it is necessary to know how it is divided according to orientations to gender equality and stereotypes, as change in the proportion of respective types after intervention is one of the indicators of impact.

Gender orientation typologies differ in their conceptual basis, empirical material and method of segmentation. Generally speaking they can be one-dimensional or multi-dimensional (Grunow et al., 2018). An example of one-dimensional division according to general attitude to gender issues is from a 2011 Saar Poll survey of teachers (Papp, 2013): 35% of teachers want to learn more about gender issues, for 33% gender issues are among relevant values, for 23% the topic is personally relevant, and 33% are not interested in the topic. A multi-dimensional typology was constructed on the data of 2013 Gender equality monitoring (Roosalu, 2014). Six types based on various indicators (gendered attitudes to work, politics, family life, sexual minorities) were differentiated: 1) support gender equality in public and private spheres (22%), 2) support gender equality only in private sphere (29%), 3) support gender equality only in public sphere (21%), 4) support gender differences and hegemonic masculinity (10%), 5) support gender differences, focusing on the role of women (9%), 6) support gender differences and doubt in gender equality (9%).

### 3.2.2 Representational profiles by domains: theoretical typology

Analysis executed in the framework of this project departed from a theoretical typology of orientations to gender equality and gender stereotypes by combining the dimension of traditionalism-egalitarianism (conservatism-liberalism) with attitudes to gender equality in different domains (see Table). This approach is based on the conception of representational profiles (Sibley & Liu, 2013), which are anchored in a domain-specific way.

Relevant domains and examples of domain-specific indicators (pertaining to practices, values, attitudes, beliefs) of representational profiles can be listed as follows:

- Politics – voting behaviour, participation in voluntary organizations, (conservative or emancipatory) movements, gendered beliefs about politicians
- Work – (non)traditionality of occupation, leading position. attitude to gender pay gap
- Family/partnership – familial gender roles and division of labour, economic (in)dependency
- Education of children – (non)traditional skills taught to children, (non)gendered expectations to children

*Table 1 Theoretical segmentation of the intervention audience on the traditionalism-egalitarianism dimension*

	<i>segments of population</i>	<i>existing practices</i>	<i>knowledge, attitudes, perceptions</i>
<b>liberal segments</b>	<b>all</b>	strive to gender equality and equal opportunities	egalitarian gender ideology, individualistic values
	moderate subset	expand the scope of gender roles	consider gender equality important
	committed subset	challenge social and symbolic boundaries	gender topic is personally relevant, it matters a lot

	<i>segments of population</i>	<i>existing practices</i>	<i>knowledge, attitudes, perceptions</i>
<b>ambivalent (inconsistent) segments</b>	<b>all</b>	inconsistent: partly maintain gender hierarchies (either in public or private spheres)	transitional gender ideology
	Indifferent subset		believe that gender equality is not a relevant issue
	curious subset		interested in the topics of gender equality
<b>gender conservative segments</b>	<b>all</b>		traditional gender ideology
	passionate subset	rhetorical resistance to feminism	resistant to the principle of equal opportunities, doubt in gender equality
	moderate subset	prefer to maintain traditional gender roles, gender differentiation and hierarchy	believe in traditional gender ideology, collectivistic values

### 3.2.3 Empirical types and age differences

Secondary analysis of the data of gender equality monitoring (2016) (conducted by Jüri Krusvall) revealed the following gender orientation segments in Estonian population:

1. **Consistent egalitarians** (liberal attitudes in all domains) – **20%** of the population (22% of young people below 30, so no significant age difference), characterised by prevalence of women, Estonian speakers and more educated persons
2. **Consistent traditionalists** (conservative attitudes in all domains) – **12%** of the population (13% of young people, so no significant age difference), characterised by prevalence of men, non-Estonians and less educated persons
3. **Ambivalent segment – inconsistent attitudes** – **68%** of the population; the latter segment can be further divided into the following sub segments:
  - 3.1. **18% - liberally leaning in private sphere:** liberal in the domains of family and educating children (neither conservative nor liberal in domains of work, less accepting women's greater participation in politics) – 27% of persons under 30 belong to this group, and only 15% of those beyond 30 years of age
  - 3.2. **13% - liberally leaning in public, conservative leaning in private sphere:** liberal in the domain of work, conservative in the domain of family (neither conservative nor liberal in domain of educating children, accepting women's greater participation in politics) – 10% among young people, and 14% among those beyond 30, so not very large age difference
  - 3.3. **10% - liberally leaning in public, conservative leaning in private life:** liberal in the domain of work, conservative in children's education (neither conservative nor liberal in family,

accepting women's greater political participation) – only 3% among young people, but 12% among those beyond 30

- 3.4. **13% - conservative leaning, but liberal in child raising:** liberal in children's education, conservative in the domains of work and family, less accepting women's political participation – 14% among young people belong to this segment, indicating no significant age difference
- 3.5. **15% - conservative leaning:** conservative in the domains of work and children education (neither conservative nor liberal in regard to family, less accepting women's political participation) – 12% of persons under 30, so no significant age difference

While in most aspects there is not much difference between those under 30 and those above 30 years of age, there are certain aspects where there is rather systematic difference. Namely, among those with ambivalent views, younger seem somewhat more likely to be liberally leaning in private sphere, independent of their views regarding women's participation in domains of work and politics – see groups 3.1, where the younger are heavily overrepresented, and 3.3., where the young are significantly underrepresented, However, one should be careful in interpreting these results. To some extent, such leanings can be (and have been in earlier research) explained by the relative lack of experience in this regard and thus dependent on the life course stage. The prediction here is that the young will turn to more traditional attitudes over the life course, partly because of their practical inability to follow their own more liberal ideals in their own family life; this is found to hold for both young men and young women<sup>3</sup>. Upon these results, it is not clear if the different preferences of the young – that we find in our data - would indicate general value shift in this cohort, or situationally-bound age differences. However, the fall-back strategies upon the inability of their preferred future vision have been found in US<sup>4</sup> to differ by gender and education: women without any college education largely prefer either the self-reliant or primary breadwinner option while their male counterparts overwhelmingly prefer a neotraditional arrangement, and compared to them, college track women were somewhat more likely, and men less likely, to fall back on neotraditional arrangements. On the other hand, the same survey found, reducing institutional constraints through policies that are supportive of dual-earner/dual-caregiver arrangements lead women to be more likely to opt for an egalitarian preferences and less likely for a neotraditional preferences, but this is not the case for men.

Be it as it may in regard to the stability of these shifts over time, it could be suggested that the implications for the immediate reception of the intervention by our project would vary across the groups based on their value preferences. Also, depending on the particular domain-specific profile, different intervention elements could draw attention of the audience.

We can suppose that the greatest segment with ambivalent gender attitudes could be most affected by the cross-media intervention. On the other hand, it is possible that 32% of the population, namely consistent egalitarians (with liberal attitudes across the domains) and consistent traditionalists (with conservative attitudes in all domains) would not be significantly

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Gerson, Kathleen (2010a). *The Unfinished Revolution: How a New Generation is Reshaping Family, Work, and Gender in America*. Oxford University Press; Oxford, U.K; Gerson Kathleen (2010b). Falling Back on Plan B: The Children of the Gender Revolution Face Uncharted Territory. In: Risman B, editor. *Families as They Really Are*. Norton; New York: 2010b. pp. 379–392.

<sup>4</sup> Pedulla, D. S., & Thébaud, S. (2015). Can We Finish the Revolution? Gender, Work-Family Ideals, and Institutional Constraint. *American sociological review*, 80(1), 116–139.

positively affected by the planned intervention. The egalitarians might find support to their attitudes, but might also offer meaningful criticism to the way the issues they care about are presented. On the other hand, the traditionalists might find the intervention as an attack to their beliefs, or might use the presented ideas as additional source for making fun of those with values diverging from them.

In addition, it is important to have in mind that there are different macro-level barriers to change. Of these the most prominent at the moment of the intervention would probably be the intensified ideological polarization in society and emerging negative public discourse against feminism and egalitarian ideas, e.g. claiming that gender equality ideas have been imposed from abroad rather than incrementally part of the local society. These limitations would probably have a larger effect for the ambivalent groups, but could support the existing beliefs among those committed to their egalitarian or traditional views.

# 4 COMPARATIVE CONTEXTS

## ESTONIA, ICELAND AND LITHUANIA REVISITED

### 4.1 Aim of the comparative analysis

The aim of the comparison of these countries is to provide a basis for guidelines and policy recommendations for using the cross-media campaign/TV serial with the aim of influencing young people in the direction of gender equality in different social and cultural contexts and to estimate the needs for culturally sensitive approach with such a universal topic.

These three countries give an opportunity to compare national contexts according to different dimensions – Iceland belongs to the group of Nordic countries with specific welfare model (Pedersen & Kuhnle, 2017), Estonia and Lithuania are East European post-socialist countries with the neoliberal path of development (Bohle & Greskovits, 2012). Relevant aspects of the context can be found on different levels from earlier publications providing insight for the countries. Macro-level structural characteristics are such as level of occupational gender segregation, gender pay gap, religiosity of population, share of cultural minorities with various traditions of gender roles, etc. Meso-level characteristics include gendered social practices in particular institutions, arrangement of work-life balance.

*Table 2 Gendered contexts: comparison of Estonia, Lithuania and Iceland*

	Estonia	Lithuania	Iceland	Sources
<b>Socioeconomic context</b>				
type of welfare regime	post socialist (embedded neoliberal)		social democratic	Pedersen & Kuhnle 2017; Bohle & Greskovits 2012 <sup>5</sup>
gender equality indexes	M	M	H	World Economy Forum GGGR 2018
level of occupational segregation	H	H	H	Olafsdottir 2018, Burchell et al 2014 <sup>6</sup>
gender wage gap	H	M	M	OECD 2018
NEET youth (%)	M	M	L	Eurostat 2018
<b>Cultural context</b>				
cultural minorities	30 %	16%	7 %	
dominant religions	14% Lutheran, 13% Orthodox	77% Roman catholic	72% Lutherans	Altnurme 2018 Kasearu 2015

5 Bohle D, Greskovits B. Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery. New York: Cornell University Press; 2012  
6 [https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/150119\\_segregation\\_report\\_web\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/150119_segregation_report_web_en.pdf)

	Estonia	Lithuania	Iceland	Sources
parenting practices mediating internet	passive parenting strategies predominant		N/A	Kalmus & Roosalu 2011
norm tightness-looseness score	2,6 (tightness score)		6,4	Realo Gelfand et al 2011
<b>Gender ideologies and practices</b>				
?	?	?	?	Current report

*Note: H - high, M - middle, L - low*

A review of studies on gender stereotypes and gender segregation in Estonia and other project countries allows to compare the countries. On this contextual knowledge, the insight from our comparative approach on gendered norms and practices will be built.

## 4.2 Data and approach

There are several earlier comparative studies available where the gender role attitudes in general population could be explored across countries. One rich source of such data is Eurobarometer surveys<sup>7</sup>, covering Estonia as well as Lithuania, however, these do not contain data on Iceland; another is European Social Survey<sup>8</sup>, where Iceland fielded module on family, work and wellbeing on 2004 only, when Estonia was part of the survey but not Lithuania; and International Social Survey Programme (ISSP)<sup>9</sup>, which provides data for Iceland (collected 2013/14) and Lithuania (collected 2013) for ISSP 2012 survey “Family and gender roles”, that was also conducted in Estonia in 2015.

Relying on this most recent available comparative dataset, comparative cross-country analysis of the data from this ISSP 2012 “Family and gender roles” module is thus used to indicate the dominant types of respondents’ awareness and attitudinal beliefs and their extent by various socio-demographic groups. In what follows we provide a comparative analysis of the Estonian, Icelandic and Lithuanian data based on this representative population survey on the selected dimensions that we consider key when attempting to understand the context for gendered occupational stereotypes. In doing this, we focus on attitudes and beliefs related to gender equality.

<sup>7</sup> Eurobarometer (2009) 72.2 Sooline võrdõiguslikkus EL-is aastal 2009: Eesti tulemused. [Gender Equality in EU in 2009; Estonia] [ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs\\_326\\_fact\\_ee\\_ee.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_326_fact_ee_ee.pdf)

Eurobarometer 2012 The gender inequalities in the EU

Eurobarometer 2015 special survey no 437 Discrimination in the EU

Eurobarometer 2016 special survey no 452 Media pluralism and democracy

Eurobarometer 2017 special survey no 465 Gender equality, stereotypes and women in politics

Eurobarometer 2018 flash Eurobarometer 470 Work life balance

<sup>8</sup> [www.europeansocialsurvey.org](http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org), especially modules on Family, work and well being (ESS2 2004, ESS5 2010)

<sup>9</sup> [www.issp.org](http://www.issp.org), especially modules on Family and gender roles (ISSP 1988, 1994, 2002 and 2012)



## 4.3 Gendered attitudes: dimensions

### 4.3.1 Perceived problems with working women

What does women's work mean to the woman, to her family, and to her children across the three countries? We measured this with the respondents' agreement or disagreement with five items from the survey, and it appears that in terms of attitudes towards working women, Estonian and Lithuanian population are statistically similar (the average responses to all the items were similar, ranging between 2,5-3,0 on 5-points scale where 1 means full agreement and 5 full disagreement). Icelandic respondents seem to be somewhat different in terms of four items of the five, believing more likely than Estonians and Lithuanians that working mother can establish just as warm relationship with their children as non-working mother and at the same time significantly less likely that a preschool child would suffer from their mother's work, that family life would suffer from it, and that altogether what women really want is home and kids. **Still, Iceland, Estonia and Lithuania are similar to the extent that they believe that being a housewife is as fulfilling as working for pay.**

The three countries also seem to agree that both spouses should contribute to household income, however, in Iceland people tend to be less likely than in Estonia and in Lithuania to agree with the claim that before anything else, men's job is to earn money and women's job to look after home. Still, **across the three countries, support for gendered division of work is higher than support to both spouses' equal contribution to family budget.**

**Suggestion:** for the intervention to have similar contextual bearing across countries, the attention to equal contribution to family budget as well as shifts from gendered division of work would be meaningful to similar extent. The countries do similarly see homemaking and paid work as equally fulfilling to women. These aspects, when highlighted during the intervention, would have highest chances to be universally understood.

### 4.3.2 What about cohabitation, marriage, divorce?

This is where the countries differ more, so there is less clear pattern. Icelandic public opinion seems to be the least likely to agree that married folks are more happy than singles; that those who plan to have children should marry; and see no harm in cohabitation even if there are no plans for marriage. Lithuanian public opinion seems to be the most likely to consider married more happy; see marriage inevitable when kids are planned; and see cohabitation without engagement problematic. Estonia is clearly in between the more traditional Lithuania and more liberal Iceland in this regard. Interestingly, the average level of agreement with the idea that divorce is best solution with marriage problems is very similar across countries (and the support ranges from 2,4-2,7, so it is not very strong).

**Recommendation:** since the attitudes towards these items vary across countries, sensitivity is necessary when discussing these aspects in the intervention and perhaps these should be not emphasized as a theme to be considered.

### 4.3.3 Attitudes towards minority parents

We had a chance to see if single parents and same sex couples are seen as equally prepared to raise child compared to a heterosexual couple. Clear across country differences are proposed here: there is much higher level of acceptance to such minority parents in Iceland, compared to Lithuania and Estonia. In Iceland, same sex couple is seen even as slightly better equipped to raise a child than a single parent. In both Estonia and Lithuania the acceptance of single parenthood is significantly lower than in Iceland (and in Lithuania single parents are seen as somewhat more capable than in Estonia), but still much higher than the acceptance to same sex men and women. In fact, in Lithuania acceptance of same sex couple child raising is the lowest, even significantly lower than in Estonia, and much lower than in Iceland, and there seems to be no difference as to if this were a same sex male couple or same sex female couple – they are seen as equally less prepared than a heterosexual couple.

**Conclusions:** the topic of single parenting could be proposed for consideration during the intervention: it is not that controversial, but would benefit a discussion of sorts. Idea of presenting same sex parents might be too controversial for Estonian and Lithuanian audience, but introducing those minorities to the intervention it at least some way has a potential to further normalize them.

### 4.3.4 Patterns in supporting choice in work and in marriage

To carry out further analysis of the wider phenomenon, a factor analysis was performed, concluding with three factors: accepting choice to marry (i.e., freedom to choose whether to marry or not); accepting women's choice to have a job (i.e., engage in paid employment on top of raising kids and family); and prioritising orientation to homemaking (i.e., accepting women's core role to be a mother and homemaker). Apparently, **support to choice – both to marry as well as to work – is strong in the case of Iceland, and weakest in Lithuania, with Estonia somewhere between these two.** Meanwhile, no statistical differences could be determined across countries concerning the average support to **homemaking orientation** in the population. It also appeared from the analysis, though, that the level of support to women's choice to work is in almost linear correlation to one's satisfaction with their own family life – the stronger the support for choice, the more happy the respondent, and similar tendency (but a little more like a reversed U-shape) can be traced for the support to choice to marry or cohabit, but support to homemaking orientation had no statistical connection to satisfaction with family life. The most happy with their family life, though, are those who show lowest support to the choice to (not) marry or to work – so they seem to value those aspects that they are oriented towards, or their value priorities have equipped them with what is needed to build a more satisfying family life. Those who tend to support freedom to work and to marry are themselves at average level of satisfaction with their family life. Those least happy about their own family life tend to support the choice to work, but value marriage clearly more than cohabitation, signalling either how individual life courses are shaped according to one's values (whereas satisfaction with family life is less prioritised than success at work), or that their lack of success in family life drives them to show support to freedom to work, but also to support more traditional marriage. Whatever might be in the core, there emerges a clear correlation.

Looking at the inhabitants of the three countries, it emerges that those under 30 years of age are somewhat more likely to support freedom to marry or not, but the age differences disappear

when considering support towards homemaking, or towards supporting women's choice to work. Looking at Estonian sample, the younger seem also supporting freedom to choose to work more than average, but show less support for homemaking and for traditional gendered division of paid and domestic work. In Iceland, instead, the younger show slightly less support to freedom to choose to work than those over 30 years (in the context of higher general support for this in Iceland, compared to other countries), and this seems to come from the higher acceptance of the premise that being housewife may be as fulfilling for a woman as working for pay, this might point to a novel combination of accepting choice actively in either way; on the other hand, the young in Iceland seem to agree more than those over 30 years that both partners should contribute to the household income. In Lithuania, younger do not differ from the others in terms of choice to work and in terms of domestic orientation, but they are more open towards freedom to marry, while they seem to be much less likely to agree that family life suffers from a woman's fulltime work.

In terms of support to marriage, young seem less traditional than those over 30, except that in Estonia and Iceland they are less likely to accept divorce as the best solution with marriage problems, seeming to have higher hopes that problems can be solved, while in Lithuania they accept divorce slightly more than those over 30.

In terms of support to non-traditional parents, youth in all three countries seems more accepting than those above 30.

**Recommendation:** support for the gendered work division and women's dedication to **homemaking**, while similar across countries, might be something universally tackled during the intervention. Discussion of **legal marriage** as a more stereotypical path would potentially raise various reactions and be generally accepted very differently across countries, therefore it should be carefully considered. As those most supportive of traditional marriage are happy with their own family life, so they are likely to be rather committed to those traditional values, this might lead one to stay with the intervention to the discussion of **model nuclear family**, as this provides some anchor also for those among the audience, who would be more ambivalent with the idea of non-stereotypical occupational choices. Acceptance of **women's freedom to engage in paid work** seems more like a universally agreed non-topic for Icelandic audiences, but might be relevant to echo for Estonian and Lithuanian ones, especially in the light where this seems to be somewhat connected to the empowerment to make non-traditional choices and be satisfied with these.

#### 4.3.5 Lived realities – and subjective satisfaction

Apart from these attitudes and perceived values, the data enables us to have a look at the lived norms, or, the gendered realities of the daily lives in Estonian, Icelandic and Lithuanian populations.

##### FAMILY BUDGET

Those who live with a partner report a man's income to be higher than the woman's more likely in Iceland (about 2/3 of the respondents), then in Estonia (more than a half of the respondents) and in Lithuania (about half the respondents). In Iceland, in about 80% families pool all or some of their incomes and use them jointly, while about 15% keep them separate; in Lithuania, about 65% pool their incomes, 10% keep them separate, whereas in 10% it is a man who decides and

in 17% the woman; and in Estonia, about half the families pool their incomes, 30% keep them separated, in 10% families a woman decides and in 10% a man decides. So the countries differ quite substantially in the extent to which a family is also a joint economic enterprise, ranging from 50% to 80%.

#### DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD WORK

On average, women find that they contribute slightly more than their fair share of household work and men feel they contribute somewhat less than their fair share, and this holds across countries. Look at specific activities shows that in **preparing meals**, Icelandic men's share is larger than their perceived fair share (and women's is smaller) compared to the Estonian men, followed by that of Lithuanian men. It seems to indicate that in the cultural notion of norm in this sense, women see themselves as failing to follow through and men seem to feel somewhat overinvested. In **household cleaning**, doing **laundry** and **caring for sick** family members, of men, Lithuanians, and of women, Icelandic feel to be the least invested, but the pattern of women doing more than their fair share is universal, as in **grocery shopping**, where women feel somewhat more involved than men across countries – perhaps showing the expectation that in these activities, women's role is not irreplaceable. Interestingly, in **small repairs**, men feel they are generally more engaged than women, and interestingly, in Lithuania both men and women see that they do less than their fair share, indicating that perhaps both feel that more small repairs should be done for fair contributions – maybe a result of there being less small repairs around, or the result of outsourcing these more regularly.

#### CUMULATIVE PATTERNS

Applying cumulative approach, based on the complex **patterns in gendered division of domestic work** across households, several general types of households could be distinguished: shared domestic work households, with chores divided in relatively gender balanced ways (on average across these, four of seven tasks listed were carried out together or shared equally); households where women were mostly responsible for domestic work (on average, five of seven tasks were mostly carried out by the woman in the household); households with men responsible for domestic work (on average across these, 3,5 of the 7 were mostly carried out by the man)<sup>10</sup>. **According to this analysis, Lithuania stands out, while Estonian distribution of households is more similar to that in Iceland. The households where women are doing most domestic work dominate in all countries, but they are most frequent in Lithuania (and much less so in Estonia and in Iceland); across countries, Estonia has the most households that share domestic work, Lithuania – the least; Iceland has the highest share of households where men are the mostly responsible for domestic chores, and Lithuania - the least.** While women are more likely than men to do the domestic work, in two thirds of Lithuanian households mainly women are perceived to do domestic work (66%), but just slightly more than half of households in Estonia and Lithuania. In Lithuania, 28% households appear sharing domestic work, but in other countries above one third do (38% in

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<sup>10</sup> 5% of the respondents across pooled dataset across countries had not answered these questions, on variety of reasons, and the latter are not included in the analysis presenting further conclusions.

Estonia and 35% in Iceland). 5% of households in Lithuania, 8% in Estonia, and 14% in Iceland rely mostly on men's contribution in getting domestic work taken care of.

**Suggestion:** intervention could be explicit about the gendered division of housework and show that some of the stereotypes here do not hold at all, and even as they do hold, they do not hold for all. Specific attention could be paid to **further normalise men's contribution** (e.g. in preparing meals), perhaps even **empowering men and women to engage more in** these, or otherwise **normalising not doing these** (e.g. in doing small repairs). In cases where an activity seems to be already perceived as suitable for men, so women feel unfairly involved, the **new norm needs to be confirmed** (e.g. grocery shopping), and the same holds for other cases where gender stereotypical approach seems to be generally more prominent (e.g. doing laundry, cleaning, and caring for the sick). The question of possibly opting out of certain household chores at a couple level (see small repairs, grocery shopping, preparing meals, laundry and cleaning) and outsourcing these to outside services (including platform based such as e-shopping, courier services, etc.) should be treated also carefully, e.g. the ones who do those tasks should be presented also as carried out by **non-gender-stereotypical personages** (e.g., male cleaning personnel, female specialist carrying out small repairs) and **with dignity** (to empower such choices and demonstrate that household chores done at home for free turn into expensive personalised services).

#### HOW DO WE NEGOTIATE AND DECIDE?

It is likely that decision-making mechanisms at home have an effect on negotiation processes at the workplace setting. So, who takes decisions around home regarding how to spend leisure time and how to raise kids?

About half the couples decide jointly what to do over the weekend, whereas in Iceland and Lithuania women are more likely than men to feel decisions being taken jointly and in Estonia men tend to be more convinced than women that decisions are taken together. In a third of families spouses take turns in decision-making (the least in Lithuania, where less than 30% say so) and in Iceland it is more likely that men than women to admit this pattern, while in Estonia – women are more likely than men to say sometimes it is them, sometimes their spouse. Those two kinds of patterns taken together, balanced decision-making at home, which speaks of balanced power relations (or distorted interpretation of reality, or tendency to over report such a balance in surveys, in line with the desirability effect), describe 83% of Estonian couples, 84% of Icelandic couples, and 75% of Lithuanian couples according to men (and 82%, 85%, and 79% of women, respectively), so in about 17% in Estonia, 16% in Iceland, and 24% in Lithuania have either one of the spouses take most of the decisions. **These opinions are very similar across men and women within a country, and quite similar across countries**, with Lithuanian families somewhat more likely than Estonian or Icelandic seem to have a woman or a man to consistently decide over leisure activities, so that slightly more power imbalance can be witnessed there.

Women are more likely than men to feel they are the ones to take most of the decisions, well in line with the more traditional argument of women taking care of the house. In Lithuania and in Iceland the extent to which men and women think it is up to women to decide the joint leisure activities is about equal (14% of men say and 15% of women in Lithuania and 11% of men and 12% of women Iceland say so). In Estonia, men are slightly more likely than women to suggest it is up to women (in Estonia, 10% of men and 13% women say it is up to women). Only 7% of men

and 5% of women in Estonia claim it is men themselves that choose the weekend activities, compared to 5% of men in and 3% of women in Iceland, and 10% of men and 7% of women in Lithuania who report this. Overall, these numbers are **fairly similar across men and women within one country, as well as surprisingly consistent across countries**, so there is at least common understanding of the level of imbalances.

There is clear connection between the decision-making mechanisms at satisfaction with one's family life. **Deciding jointly over the weekend plans correlates with higher level of satisfaction.** In Iceland and in Lithuania, men and women are less satisfied with their family life when they see themselves as taking these decisions, while in Estonia satisfaction with family life is lower when the spouse is determining the plans. Across the countries and genders, then, the pattern seems to exist whereby codecision is more likely to be used (or to be claimed) in highly rewarding couples where supposedly more is at stake for the partners – or that joint decision-making can lead to more satisfying family life.

Cumulative analysis of complex patterns regarding decision-making systems across households show that in households with women doing most of the domestic work (that was two thirds of households in Lithuania, and about half in Iceland and Estonia), women also are more likely to take most decisions in at least one domain in Lithuania (in 54% of such cases, so about a third of all households), and somewhat less likely in Estonia and Iceland (about 40% of such households rely on women's decisions, so about one fifth of all households are like this). This indicates the strategy that leaves private domain and housekeeping under the guidance of women, suggesting sharp gender based division of work but perhaps relative autonomy and power of women to arrange domestic life.

On the other hand, in some of the households where women do most of the domestic work, it is men who take the most of the decisions: this is the case for 17% of such households in Lithuania (11% of all households), 12% in Estonia (about 6% of all households), and just about 7% in Iceland (about 3% of all households). This could be some indirect indication of women being dominated by their patronising spouses, as codecision mechanisms are not used while chores are cared for by women.

In households where most of domestic work was carried out by men (this concerns only 5% of households in Lithuania, 8% in Estonia, and 14% in Iceland) decisions are predominantly taken by women in about a third of cases across all the countries and taken by men in a third of cases in Lithuania, a quarter of the cases in Estonia, and only 7% of cases in Iceland. Shared decision-making is characteristic to about a third of such households in Lithuania (just between 1-2% of all households), about 45% in Estonia (just under 4% of all households), and two thirds in Iceland (about 10% of all households). So, the higher participation of men in domestic work does not have clear relation to their being in dominant position, or in their not being in dominant position, as there are different patterns available. Especially in Iceland, but also in Estonia, this practice seems to be negotiated and agreed upon between the partners in joint decision-making.

In cases with more balanced division of domestic chores, women take most of the decisions in 30% of Lithuanian, 25% of Estonian and 20% of Icelandic households, and men decide in any considerable measure only in Estonia (about 12%), while most such households have joint decision-making.

In terms of one's satisfaction with their family life, across the three countries, men are most satisfied in the households with more equal contribution to domestic work, then in female-housework-dominated households, and the least satisfied with those households relying on men's contribution most of the time.

Women also appear most satisfied with their family life in the households with shared contribution to domestic chores, then with those households where men take care of the chores, and the least satisfied in cases where women take care of most of the chores.

To conclude, the least satisfied with their family life are those who take upon them the main slack of housework, but if liberating one's partner from domestic work might seem a quick path to increase their satisfaction with family life, this is not so straightforward after all, since it is the households with shared domestic work and joint decision-making practices that have the most satisfied partners. Or, alternatively: spouses with most enjoyable family lives are more likely to share the household chores, while those the least happy with their family life tend to take upon them all the domestic work, perhaps without the feeling they could discuss, negotiate or bargain with their partner without complicating the otherwise already too problematic family balance.

**Suggestions:** Across the countries, some codecision mechanisms seem to be at work in about half of the families, gendered division of domestic work can be recognised in almost another half. For the intervention it makes sense to reflect on the fact that the more negotiations and co-decisions, regardless of the efforts it requires, or perhaps because of these, the happier the spouses are with their family life. The co-decision strategies, constructive ways for negotiations and bargaining within a couple, inevitably part of the experience for half of families, should be demonstrated also within the intervention, so the more inclusive and healthy codecision processes could be introduced and their experiences validated and possibly improved. On the other hand, either with the lack of patience for such bargaining, time constraints to engage in negotiations, or because of taste for more independent decision-making, a third of couples have decided in favour of taking turns in choosing weekend activities, and such a pattern could also be demonstrated as a legitimate and widespread choice. Families with even more clearly traditional paternalistic decision-making pattern are a minority across countries (between 5% and 10%), while also traditional women-centred domestic decision-making pattern is a minority, albeit slightly larger (ranging from 10% to 15% across countries). To affirm the choices but breaking the stereotypical approach, it could be discussed during the intervention how these choices (male-dominated, woman-dominated, or alternating decision making pattern) come about and how they work, showing also how or why this could lead to lower satisfaction with family life, and how to compensate these processes.

# 5 INTERVENTIONS TO COMBAT HARMFUL STEREOTYPES

## 5.1 Modes and levels of intervention

A short overview of various forms of intervention that are targeted at reducing stereotypical and prejudiced thinking or practices at different levels of regulation. In what follows we provide the background for designing the intervention.

### 5.1.1 Interventions on the individual level

On this level prejudice reduction or stereotype modification proceeds through influencing cognitive or emotional processes of an individual (Paluck & Green, 2009), and we will explore the interventions through emotional; cognitive; and behavioural approaches.

#### A) EMOTIONAL APPROACHES

- **Perspective taking** – perceiving a situation from an alternative point of view (that of another individual or group) evokes feelings of similarity and closeness, thus reducing stereotyping (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000)
- **Promoting empathy** towards stigmatized groups leads to prejudice reduction and greater readiness for contacts (Esses & Dovidio, 2002).
- **Fear reduction.** The topic of gender neutrality may evoke fear among some people. Mass media tends to treat the topic of gender neutrality as sensational, thus provoking fears of losing gender differences and raising up ‘sexless’ children. Correctness in the use of gender related terms might be useful or even crucial in this level

#### B) COGNITIVE APPROACHES

- **Counter-stereotypical information** in different forms, even in imagination. Matheus (2010) asked people to imagine in details a strong and successful woman who supervises a construction site. As the result of such intervention, gender occupational stereotypes were reduced. Long-term exposure to counter-stereotypical role models that challenge existing gender stereotypes (like mothers in non-traditional work, female politicians), as well as explicit encouragement may enhance young people’s aspiration towards non-stereotypical roles (Olsson & Martiny, 2018).
- **Being aware of stereotypes, their replacement with knowledge.** Gender stereotypes are often justified by referring to profound biological differences between the sexes and



hence lower intellectual abilities of women. Critical analysis of previous studies (Saini, 2017) enables to argue that psychological differences between men and women are not great and cannot explain social inequality.

- **Change of subjective norms.** Stereotypes and prejudices can be effectively changed when subjective norms (perceived social pressure) about appropriate and inappropriate behaviour or way of thinking are changed. If a person is told that a particular stereotype is not normative in his group, individual stereotype disappears. Prejudices and discrimination are preserved only with the support of social norms. Norms can be changed through education or new formal regulations.
- **Awareness and accountability.** Stereotypes can be weakened if a person has to provide concrete reasons for his prejudices or he becomes aware of inconsistency between his beliefs and behaviour.
- **Self-affirmation.** People are less likely to endorse prejudiced beliefs when their own self-worth is affirmed.

#### C) BEHAVIORAL APPROACHES

- **Nudging** - Interventions through designing environmental affordances or barriers (nudges) to channel behaviour in a certain direction. Nudging is focused on influencing automatic system of behaviour regulation, differently from argumentative persuasion that is focused on conscious deliberative regulation system (Kahnemann, 2014). A nudge is any aspect of the choice architecture that alters people's behaviour in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their economic incentives. To count as a mere nudge, the intervention must be easy and cheap to avoid (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). There are numerous behavioural levers that can affect non-conscious decision making (e.g. Halpern, 2015; Dolan et al., 2010) – framing the message, emotional or rational arguments, simplicity, humour, etc.

### 5.1.2 Interventions on the interpersonal and group level

Group level interventions against stereotypes can use the following approaches:

#### A) CREATING MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCY

Creating mutual interdependency, cooperation and division of tasks in the process of solving common problems (Deutsch, 1949) is a method often used in school class contexts where group learning has been effective in negative stereotype reduction towards members of stigmatized groups.

#### B) PROMOTING OPTIMAL INTER-GROUP CONTACTS

One strategy is promoting optimal inter-group contacts, where the partners have equal status, have common goals, and their cooperation is supported by authorities (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Such conditions lead to the reduction of negative prejudices as it is repeatedly demonstrated (e.g. Cook, 1971). Arranging positive contacts with representatives of another

group are effective methods for neutralizing stereotypes as simplified and false beliefs about this group. If a person gets information that question validity of a stereotype, he may abandon this stereotype.

C) CREATING COMMON GROUP IDENTITY

Creating **common group identity** (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) could be useful. One method in this direction is decategorisation or individualization – giving up group based definition of a person and focusing on her individual attributes. Another way is re-categorization, finding a common overarching category into which members of different groups belong (being a human being). Common group identity can be formed in the conditions of cooperative relationships and pursuing a common goal.

D) PROMOTING GROUP DISCUSSIONS

(Social) marketing efforts to influence the audience's attitudes or behaviour are more effective if the topics are discussed in small groups, so that norms become explicit (Lewin, 1958). Prejudices and stereotypes as social representations can be changed through group processes.

E) BYSTANDER INVOLVEMENT

Bystander involvement is an action taken by a person who witnesses incidents of norm violation (like racist or discriminative practices) with the aim of stopping the incident or reducing the risk of its escalation. The power of bystander involvement lies in the fact that it happens in social contexts and therefore has the potential to influence social norms (Nelson et al., 2010).

### 5.1.3 Interventions on the community and societal level

A) INTERVENTIONS THROUGH MASS MEDIA

The principles of **social learning theory** (Bandura, 1977) have been widely applied in mass media social campaigns worldwide that aim to influence social behaviours, particularly behaviours that are complex or involve interactions with other people. Social (or observational) learning theory stipulates that people can learn new behaviours by observing others. The principles of social learning can be applied to almost any social and behaviour change communication (SBCC) program that aims to influence social behaviours, particularly behaviours that are complex or involve interactions with other people. It may be especially useful when a particular behaviour is difficult to describe, but can be explained through demonstration or modelling. Also, when adopting or practicing a particular behaviour requires overcoming barriers or challenges, social learning principles can be used to demonstrate how a person can overcome those challenges and succeed. Finally, because people tend to adopt and practice behaviours they see others doing, social learning principles can be used to change perceptions of the social environment, making behaviours seem more common and providing social support to people who are considering a behaviour change.

The most important concepts of social learning theory are **modelling**, **efficacy** and **parasocial interaction**.

- **Modelling** in an SBCC program refers to the use of messages that show someone (a real person or an actor) performing a desirable behaviour. **Models** can be positive (doing the right thing and being rewarded) or negative (doing the wrong thing and suffering the consequences), however research shows that negative models are less likely than positive models to motivate behaviour change.
- **Efficacy** describes a feeling of personal empowerment or confidence in one's ability to perform a particular behaviour. Efficacy increases with experience, either direct personal experience or vicarious experience. Vicarious experience can be gained by observing the success or failure of real people or by becoming cognitively and emotionally involved with fictional characters or models who succeed.
- **Parasocial interaction** takes place when people begin to identify with and think of fictional characters as if they were real people. Social learning theory can help program designers identify the types of characters that most attract the audience, the benefits of a behaviour that people value, and the types of stories that give people increased confidence in their ability to perform a behaviour and achieve those benefits. (Health Communication Capacity Collaborative, 2016)

Central components in TV series with social aims based on sociocognitive theory (Bandura, 2006) are characters representing different segments of the population, adopting beneficial attitudes and behaviour patterns, thus functioning as models for different segments of the audience. Seeing people similar to themselves changing their lives for the better not only helps to create emotional involvement and conveys strategies how to do it, but also raises viewers' sense of efficacy that they can also overcome obstacles and succeed. Three types of contrasting models are used: positive models, negative models and transitional models who are shown to change their adverse type of attitudes or behaviour into beneficial ones. The plot contains various obstacles and effective ways of overcoming them. The viewers are shown how to be resilient in spite of setbacks and where to find social support for personal change. With these means an edutainment TV series can inform, enable, motivate and guide the audience in the socially desired direction, and assists people in their efforts to change their lives by referring to supportive communities and beneficial social institutions.

## B) CHANGING SOCIAL PRACTICES

Interventions that target the change of social practices as dynamic systems of **meanings** (social norms, rules, understandings, ideologies), **skills and competencies**, and supporting **infrastructure** (material environment, formal regulations), are context-sensitive and specific. They include involvement of the target group into co-creation process and coalition building (Vihalemm et al., 2015).

## 5.2 Overview of good practices

### 5.2.1 Mass media interventions: entertainment education strategy (E-E)

There are several (partly overlapping) concepts for domains of media production with the aim of contributing to social change: social impact entertainment (SIE), entertainment education (E-E), social behaviour change communication (SBCC), educational entertainment (edutainment), communication for development (C4D).

Entertainment education strategies are widely used throughout the world, using serialized dramas on radio and television, in which characters provide role models for the audience for positive behaviour change. Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs (SBCC programmatic resources, 2019<sup>11</sup>), together with international non-profit organizations PCI Media<sup>12</sup> and PMC Population Media Center<sup>13</sup>, have issued toolkits and guidelines for designing mass media communication strategies targeted to promote relevant cultural and social change through changing norms, attitudes and beliefs. Successful and viable social campaigns produced by these organizations are based on three pillars (Bandura, 2004):

1. theoretical model relies on theory of social learning by Albert Bandura, explaining the mechanism of psychosocial change with a dual path of influence: direct exposure to media models and indirect social learning through interpersonal discussions.
2. implementation model, which translates the theory into practice – the so-called Sabido entertainment-education methodology (named after a Mexican social drama pioneer Miguel Sabido) is a methodology for designing and producing serialized dramas on radio and television.
3. social diffusion model – adaptation the model to diverse contexts (David Poindexter) providing guidance to create serial dramas tailored to the particular cultural milieus.

Fictional narratives resonate particularly well with audience members when they perceive the stories to be realistic and can identify with the characters on the basis of existing similarities or desirable attributes. The so called Sabido method uses three main types of characters:

1. The negative role model, who does the wrong thing and is punished as a result of their actions
2. The positive role model, who does the right thing and is rewarded as a result of their actions.
3. The most relatable group of characters, the "transitional" characters.

Some of them may fall to the wrong side, or grow to adopt the lessons. All these characters, and their character growths, help the audience learn all the possible paths their own life choices can take them down. The audience doesn't just see one path of change, they see various paths, negative and positive. Important constituent is the depiction of the process of overcoming

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11 [www.healthcommcapacity.org](http://www.healthcommcapacity.org), [www.thecompassforsbcc.org/sbcc-tools/sbcc-online-capacity-building-center](http://www.thecompassforsbcc.org/sbcc-tools/sbcc-online-capacity-building-center)

12 [www.pcimedia.org](http://www.pcimedia.org)

13 [www.populationmedia.org](http://www.populationmedia.org)

setbacks and obstacles with perseverance and effort, showing how to recover from failures. At the end of each episode, a narrator (often a celebrity) summarizes what just happened and gives phone numbers or addresses to specific resources in the community that can provide people with continuing support and guidance.

### 5.2.2 Examples of successful mass-media campaigns

Some examples of successful education entertainment projects using these approaches come from USA ('East Los High'), South Africa ('Intersexions'), Rwanda and Burundi (post-conflict media campaigns), and we will elaborate on these examples below.

#### „INTERSEXTIONS“ (SOUTH AFRICA)

As a recognised success-story for E-E model, the case of *Intersexions* can be described as follows<sup>14</sup>: „*Intersexions* was a South African entertainment-education television series about sex, love, and relationships, and how secrets within those relationships can place individuals at risk for HIV infection. The first season aired in 2010 and was viewed by over 4 million South Africans, won multiple entertainment awards and quickly became the most watched drama series in the country. Observational learning from the series was enhanced through discussions on ten radio stations, a blog featuring weekly updates on the story and its characters, and social networking through Facebook and Twitter. In 2011, the Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation (CADRE), conducted an evaluation of the impact of the series on viewer's lives and health outcomes. The evaluation found, among other things, that viewers felt that *Intersexions* represented true-to-life situations, that viewers identified strongly with specific characters and storylines, and that the show promoted discussion among families and friends. Respondents to the evaluation reported taking concrete steps to change or modify their behaviour in line with what they had seen characters do on the show, particularly when it came to consistent condom usage and undergoing HIV testing and counselling. An evaluation of the impact of the show's 23,000 Facebook fans and 2,300 Twitter followers found that use of these platforms extended dialogue about the series among viewers, contributing to the diffusion of the ideas and behaviours promoted by the show. A second season of *Intersexions* aired in 2013 to continue promoting important models of HIV risk-reduction behaviour through entertainment-education to viewers in South Africa“

The likely factors contributing to the success of the interventions:

- observational learning from the TV was enhanced through discussions on radio, blog, and social network presence
- feel of authenticity or „true-to-life“-quality of the situations that allowed viewers to strongly identify with characters and spark discussions with family and friends and change own practices

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.healthcommcapacity.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/SocialLearningTheory.pdf>

„EAST LOS HIGH“ (USA)

An example of a successful transmedia edutainment program in USA *East Los High* was targeted at young Latino Americans to promote sexual and reproductive health (Wang & Singhal, 2016). The program embedded educational messages in entertainment narratives across digital platforms in a culturally sensitive way - it is the first English-language edutainment program in the United States made for Latina/os that uses exclusively Latina/o creators, writers, and cast members. It was designed to subvert the stereotypes of Latina/o characters. At the end of each episode, viewers were nudged to the *East Los High* Web site ([eastloshigh.com](http://eastloshigh.com)), where they could access 9 transmedia narrative extensions. They could also access main character's vlogs. For program evaluation a mixed methods approach was used: (1) analytics tracking to assess audience reach, which monitored Web traffic to the Web site and to NGO partners' Web sites and widgets; (2) a viewer survey to assess narrative engagement and intended outcomes; and (3) a laboratory experiment with non-viewers of *East Los High* to compare the effect of transmedia edutainment with other forms of narrative presentation. Complementary methods included (1) social network analysis and content analysis to understand the social dynamics, message framing, and user-generated content on *East Los High's* social media presence and (2) participant observation and in-depth interviews with young Latino couples to reveal *East Los High's* influence on their sexual decision-making. It was found that *East Los High* had a wide audience reach, strong viewer engagement, and a positive cognitive, emotional, and social impact on sexual and reproductive health communication and education (Wang & Singhal, 2016).

The likely factors contributing to the success of the interventions:

- educational messages were inserted into entertainment narratives in a **culturally sensitive way** - the first English-language edutainment program in the United States made for Latina/os that used exclusively Latina/o creators, writers, and cast members, to enable the viewers easier to find characters relatable and identify with them.
- it was designed to explicitly subvert the stereotypes of Latina/o characters, helping audience to find the storyline emotionally appealing
- going beyond the TV presence, as at the end of each episode, viewers were nudged to the website, where they could access transmedia narrative extensions and main character's vlogs related to the recent episode

POST-CONFLICT MEDIA CAMPAIGNS (RWANDA, BURUNDI)

Media campaigns have been successful in post-conflict countries in changing perceived social norms (Paluck & Green, 2008; 2009). Extensive media campaigns which were designed as social experiments in Rwanda (Paluck, 2009) and Burundi (Bilali, 2014; Bilali & Staub, 2017) were targeted at the whole population, aiming at healing post-conflict trauma and improve intergroup relations. A radio soap opera script was written in collaboration with local experts and psychologists, it was tested on different target groups (which met regularly to provide feedback during the program). A weekly radio serial depicted the process of conflict development between two fictional communities, with the outcomes of the conflict and the paths of reconciliation. Various wide-spread beliefs were presented in the story. The program aimed to change beliefs using didactic messages and to influence perceived norms through realistic radio characters who could speak to audience experiences. The audience reached 80% of the population. Periodical

impact assessment was made. A study after the first season of broadcasting (Paluck, 2009) found the radio program affected listeners' perceptions of social norms and their behaviours with respect to intermarriage, open dissent, cooperation, and trauma healing, but did little to change listeners' personal beliefs. The program also encouraged greater empathy.

Likely aspects to guarantee a wide success:

- A script to the entertaining radio series was written in collaboration with local experts and psychologists
- Before running it was tested on different target groups, which continued to meet regularly during the program's running to provide feedback
- Two fictional communities were depicted over a process of conflict development, into the outcomes of the conflict and paths of reconciliation
- Various wide-spread beliefs were presented in the story. The program aimed to change beliefs using didactic messages and to influence perceived norms through realistic radio characters who could speak to audience experiences.

## 5.3 Gender role stereotypes related social interventions

### 5.3.1 Fighting gender stereotypes in advertisements

Some recent initiatives in the advertisement sector provide good examples on targeting gender stereotyping of the contents, such as the global-scale *The Unstereotype Alliance*<sup>15</sup>

THE UNSTEREOTYPE ALLIANCE (GLOBAL)

The Unstereotype Alliance, launched by UN Women with the support of multiple global brands, is an action platform that seeks to eradicate harmful gender-based stereotypes in all media and advertising content and foster an unstereotyped culture. Its *Code of principles* includes depicting people as empowered actors, refraining from objectifying people, directly addressing unconscious bias, diversity and inclusion through training as a standard across the industry. In 2018 a founding member of Unstereotype Alliance, World Federation of Advertisers (WFA) launched a guide to progressive gender portrayals in advertising (WFA, 2018). It covers both the issue of women's portrayal in advertising as well as the stereotypes that can equally exist around the depiction of men in ads, with the hope that intentionally changing those images has huge potential to positively transform our culture towards equality and inclusiveness.

Lessons for future interventions:

- Depict people as empowered actors and refrain from objectifying them
- Directly addressing unconscious bias, diversity and inclusion through training
- Pay attention to eradicating stereotypes regarding both women and men

<sup>15</sup> [www.unstereotypealliance.org/en](http://www.unstereotypealliance.org/en) (2018)

### 5.3.2 Fighting occupational stereotypes directly in educational setting

Several intervention programs directly address gender occupational stereotypes in education, for example, online/media content is used also for the across-EU initiative *Boys in Care* in EU (especially in Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, and Slovenia )<sup>16</sup>, and Estonian initiatives on national scale, such as *Gender Stereotype - stereotyp.ee*<sup>17</sup>, *GOAL - Integrating Gender Into Teacher Education And Training*<sup>18</sup>, *Mainstreaming Gender Equality into General and Higher Education*<sup>19</sup>, and *Educational materials on relationship violence*<sup>20</sup>

#### BOYS IN CARE (BIC) CARING MASCULINITIES (EU)

*Boys in Care (BiC)* (Gärtner et al., 2018) is an EU co-funded project, which aims to tackle gender stereotypes in education and career choices focusing on boys in care occupations, to challenge gender stereotypes surrounding men in caring professions and make good examples of men in care occupations more visible, to question traditional care-less concepts of masculinities and broadening the range of career paths for boys and men. BiC's target groups are teachers, vocational counsellors and policy makers in the field of schooling and labour market. Main beneficiaries are boys who need gender sensitive vocational support to pursue education and careers in care professions. The project maps concrete measures aiming at men in feminized and/or women in masculinized occupations, used in Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, and Slovenia. An example from Germany is *berooobi* ([www.berooobi.de](http://www.berooobi.de)), an online tool developed by the Cologne Institute of Economic Research, focusing on information about occupations. It also presents some care occupations (kindergarten educator, nurse for elderly people, social care worker – professionals working with people with intellectual disabilities). The profiles present information as text and videos, each occupation presenting one young person employed it and talking about their job, but also providing information about how to make a career in these fields which may include studying. Some men are represented in care occupations (kindergarten teacher, elder care nurse). The videos focus on strengths and interests without gendering them, e.g. by showing both men and women doing certain activities. The online tool is visually appealing and interactive (as opposed to information presented merely as a pdf-file with lots of text) and is accompanied by the reports analysing similar earlier interventions across the project countries to reveal what images of men in care are prominent across the countries studied.

#### Lessons for future interventions:

- Pay attention to eradicating stereotypes regarding men's occupational choices
- In doing so, focus on individual strengths and interests, without gendering them

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.boys-in-care.eu/> (2017-2019)

<sup>17</sup> <http://stereotyp.ee/soolise-vordoigluslikkuse-teavituskampaania.1.html> (2012-2013),

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.enu.ee/haridus-ja-sugu/index.php?keel=1&id=526>, main outcome

<http://www.haridusjasugu.ee>, see overview in English - <https://eeagrants.org/News/2016/Putting-gender-equality-on-the-agenda-in-Estonian-schools> (2013-2016)

<sup>19</sup> [http://www.praxis.ee/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Project\\_Summary\\_ENG.pdf](http://www.praxis.ee/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Project_Summary_ENG.pdf) (2013-2016)

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.tstk.ee/sisu-valjaanded>



- Make available good examples of individuals who have taken up non-stereotypical occupational choices (in visually appealing, interactive way)

#### STEREOTYYP.EE (ESTONIA)

In 2013, the Estonian Ministry of Social Affairs began an awareness campaign to combat sexist stereotypes and demonstrate their negative effects on employment and on career decisions. The main activities comprised youth employment days and seven short video clips with popular Estonian actors (stereotyp.ee), as well as online test to reveal one's own stereotypical attitudes with the help of survey questions. During the employment days, boys and girls were invited to explore in vocational education setting programmes that were breaking gender stereotypes. For example, boys were offered the chance to familiarise themselves with occupations traditionally regarded as women's work (nurse, teacher, e.g.), while girls were offered insight to jobs traditionally regarded as being for men (engineer, soldier, miner), in order to deconstruct the images associated with those occupations. The video clips, two of which dealt directly with media treatment of women, approach the topic of gendered occupational stereotypes, bringing awareness about the difficulties that men and women with a-stereotypical occupational choice meet from others, including the bystanders, and promote reconsidering the way stereotypes are at work by inviting the viewer, in the end of the video, to join in the efforts of changing the stereotypes. The videos, as part of campaign, were shown on public broadcasting programme ETV, and integrated in the website Tööelu.ee managed by Estonian occupational health and safety board<sup>21</sup>. The project website, as well as videos are available in Estonian only, thus limiting access by segments of youth (and their teachers). However, the videos have been made available on YouTube (while subject to criticism in regard to inefficient use of web-marketing<sup>22</sup>) and more recently also with Russian subtitles. Also, the project was supported by Facebook page (with 1746 followers, mostly active during project lifetime).

#### Lessons for future interventions:

- Visual content (videos) appealing when popular actors play the part, this also legitimises the issues at hand
- Making the visual content (videos) available through different media (e.g. website, TV, YouTube, linking to other websites, etc.)
- Use various approaches simultaneously: website, videos, special interventions with high school students, involvement of vocational schools and engagement of their teachers

#### GOAL - INTEGRATING GENDER INTO TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING (ESTONIA)

The Project, supported by the EEA Norway Grant, lasted from 2013-2016 and promoted gender equality via the inclusion of the gender aspect in the training and in-service training of teachers and via creation of a sustainable support system. Curricula was developed, expert knowledge and the best experience from Norway provided, in-service training for the lecturers training teachers and those already working in the field was conducted, and a virtual competence centre was

<sup>21</sup> [https://tooele.ee/et/Kasulikku/Videod/category\\_id/1](https://tooele.ee/et/Kasulikku/Videod/category_id/1)

<sup>22</sup> <http://videoturundus.ee/sooline-stereotyp-youtubes/>

created to support teachers and educators to proceed with gender mainstreaming. The virtual competence centre, accessible online [www.haridusjasugu.ee](http://www.haridusjasugu.ee) has a variety of tools available for professionals in the field to understand and promote gender equality and combat gender stereotypes. The virtual competence centre, while rather rich in Estonian, had also sections available in Russian language, however, its Russian-language content is not comparable to that in Estonian. It should be noted here that Estonian education system there are public schools with mediation in Estonian as well as in Russian, while there is often lack of symmetry in the extent to which training as well as supporting teaching materials are available in Estonian or in Russian.

#### Lessons for future interventions:

- Provide guidelines and support materials for teachers and make them available online via competence centre
- Pay attention to inclusive approach e.g. provide material in widely spoken languages for easier access; also attempt for similar (or adjusted, but not omitted) content
- Use various approaches simultaneously: provide analytical materials; develop specific guidelines; organise training for the teachers and those educating teachers

#### MAINSTREAMING GENDER EQUALITY INTO GENERAL AND HIGHER EDUCATION (ESTONIA)

The project 'Mainstreaming Gender Equality into General and Higher Education' lasted from December 2013 to January 2016. The project activities included a subject course 'Gender and Education', in-service teacher training course 'Gender-Awareness in School – What and Why?' a roundtable discussion 'Gender-Awareness in School – What and Why?' a seminar 'From School to Work: Choices and Missed Opportunities of the New Generation'. Information about project activities was published on the website and Facebook page and in the blog of Praxis. To reach the target groups and stakeholders of the project, the newsletter 'Gender Mainstreaming in Education' was created, and information was also distributed via various mailing lists. Outcome evaluation was done via participants' feedback (Praxis, 2015).

#### Lessons for future interventions:

- Develop ways to integrate gender equality in higher education and general education curricula
- Make information available in variety of channels and use various approaches simultaneously: course for students; roundtable discussion and seminar for target groups and stakeholders; electronic newsletter
- Participants' feedback to be collected for evaluating outcomes

#### EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS ON RELATIONSHIP VIOLENCE (ESTONIA)

In 2017 the project was aimed at adapting educational materials „Expect Respect: Teen Abuse toolkit“ on relationship violence for use in school classes (intended for youth age 13-18 years). Educational material for students and teachers „Healthy and safe relationships“ was adapted to Estonian context and translated to Estonian and to Russian (and made available online). An

educational film „Spiral“ was subtitled to Estonian and Russian and made available on a website<sup>23</sup>. In addition, several teacher training courses were organized. Project outcome assessment was carried out in 15 schools where 3 trial lessons were taught on stereotypical gender roles and dating violence. 420 students participated in classes and took a pre- and post-test. Expected changes in gender role attitudes and knowledge were revealed after the intervention (Soo et al., 2016): attitudes shifted towards less tolerance to violence and more support to equality (and girls' more than boys'), especially regarding men's and women's roles at home and at work and regarding girls obligation to respond to the boy who treated them on a date, meaning of consent, and recognising violence in one's attempts to control their partner. On the other hand, also the level of knowledge increased, as to how to get support and help when encountering date violence and who to contact in the case of such problems, and majority of students felt they got new knowledge out of these lessons, while also claiming the learning was interesting and closer to real life than they had become used to at school.

#### Lessons for future interventions:

- Consider ways to translate and adapt content and teaching material across cultures and languages
- Prepare educational materials and teacher workbooks alongside more entertaining audio-visual content so that the learning would be more efficient
- Provide guidance via teacher training courses and pilot the trainings in intended, real life settings e.g. schools
- Participants' feedback to be collected for evaluating outcomes, e.g. testing the knowledge and level of awareness as well as considering learners' satisfaction with the learning process
- The relevance of perceived authenticity in successful learning among adolescents, thus consider ways to relate by bringing examples close to reality

## 5.4 The use of humour

Humour may be helpful for delivering socially relevant content. A recent study (Chattoo & Feldman, 2017) compared the audience response after watching two documentaries with the same content (global poverty), one humorous *Stand Up Planet*, the other serious *The End Game*. A pretest–posttest experimental design was used to examine shifts in the audience engagement with the topic. Both documentaries increased awareness of global poverty, support for government aid, knowledge, and intended actions. However, the humorous film produced significantly larger gains in awareness, knowledge, and actions; these effects were mediated by the narrative's relatability, positive emotions, and entertainment value. People learned more about the global development issues by watching the traditional documentary, but their emotional response was more intense watching the humorous documentary. Emotional response is necessary for audience engagement. The authors propose a mixed-message approach - comedy can function as an opening gateway to serious social issues, complemented by more serious and informative messages.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.tstk.ee/sisu-valjaanded>

Lessons for future interventions:

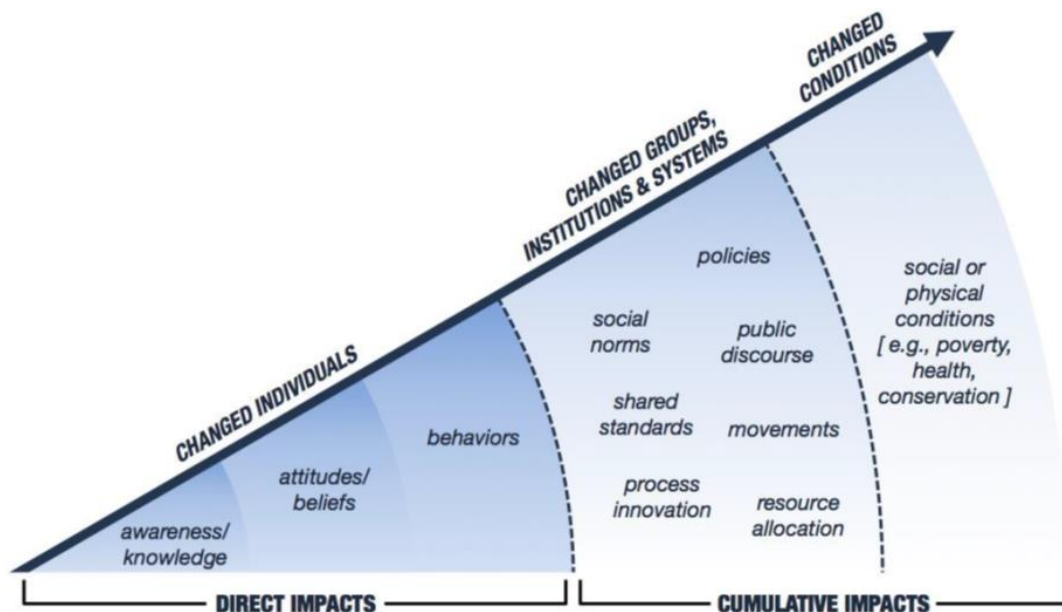
- While humorous and serious content may bring about increase in awareness and knowledge, humorous is more likely to produce larger gains and also engage the audience emotionally, thus securing future commitment to actions more likely
- Considering relevance of emotional response and its intensity in humorous approach, the more serious informative message might be complemented by humour or comedy

# 6 ASSESSING THE OUTCOMES OF INTERVENTIONS

## 6.1 Cumulative effects and development of indicators to measure outcomes

Interventions, regardless at what level they may have been designed – macro, meso, or micro level - may affect processes on micro-, meso- and macro levels, and they may have short-term and long-term outcomes.

*Figure 7 Creating impact through media interventions*



*Source: Deepening engagement (2013 p. 7)*

Short-term outcomes of a social intervention may be change in understandings or certain ways of simple behaving of individuals, much longer time it will take to change norms, policies or shared practices. Because of the complex nature of social contexts it is problematic to determine simple causal links between the intervention and outcomes: 'Real life processes involve many more contributing factors than laboratory tests or random trials. Thus, at best, it is the programme's positive contribution (but rarely a single causality) that can be shown through these measurements' (Vihalemm et al., 2015, p. 140).

Defining social impact of a media intervention depends on the position of the issue in the public consciousness and in the whole social issues landscape. For some issues, social impact may mean moving an issue to public awareness, for other issues where key publics are well informed and policy solutions are clear, impact may mean mobilizing the target groups to take specific individual and collective action (Chattoo et al., 2014).

Program evaluation of edutainment programs in the 1980s and 1990s relied primarily on audience surveys (Singhal et al., 2004). Recently, more methods are being used, including studies that employ experimental design to assess the effect of various narrative persuasion mechanisms. Telephone hotlines have tracked viewer response to an edutainment program. Participant observation and in-depth interviews have provided deeper insights into the viewer's experience.

## 6.2 Core aspects of the intervention

### 6.2.1 Target groups of the intervention

The core purpose of measuring impact is to create feedback needed to know what did and did not work during the intervention (Deepening engagement, 2013).

The project is targeted at young people (13-30 years old), but the impact will be traced also in the general population, particularly among teachers, parents and career counsellors, and employers.

### 6.2.2 Objectives of the intervention

The aims of the interventions are, simultaneously:

- raising **awareness**, promote critical attitude to harmful group norms and stereotypes
- increase sense of individual and group **efficacy**
- transformation of **career counselling** from gender blind to gender sensitive

On the individual level, gender stereotype awareness and meanings given to this are expected to stem from the supportive (or hindering) social environment, and depending on the level of awareness and meanings given, relevant skills will be developed (see figure).

Figure 8 Conceptual model for developing skills enabling gender equal practices on the individual level



The same logic is at work on the level of individual labour market entrants and participants (in this project, young people choosing their career tracks), who need knowledge and skills for this that are supported by the career counsellors; as well as on the level of career counsellors, who need enhanced gender awareness to develop and employ the skills to offer best support for the main target group.

### 6.2.3 Dimensions of expected outcome

As gender equality is a broad, „diffuse” social issue with a variety of solutions, therefore a broad approach to the construction of indicators and using multiple assessment methods is appropriate. The main dimensions of the expected outcome of the project are:

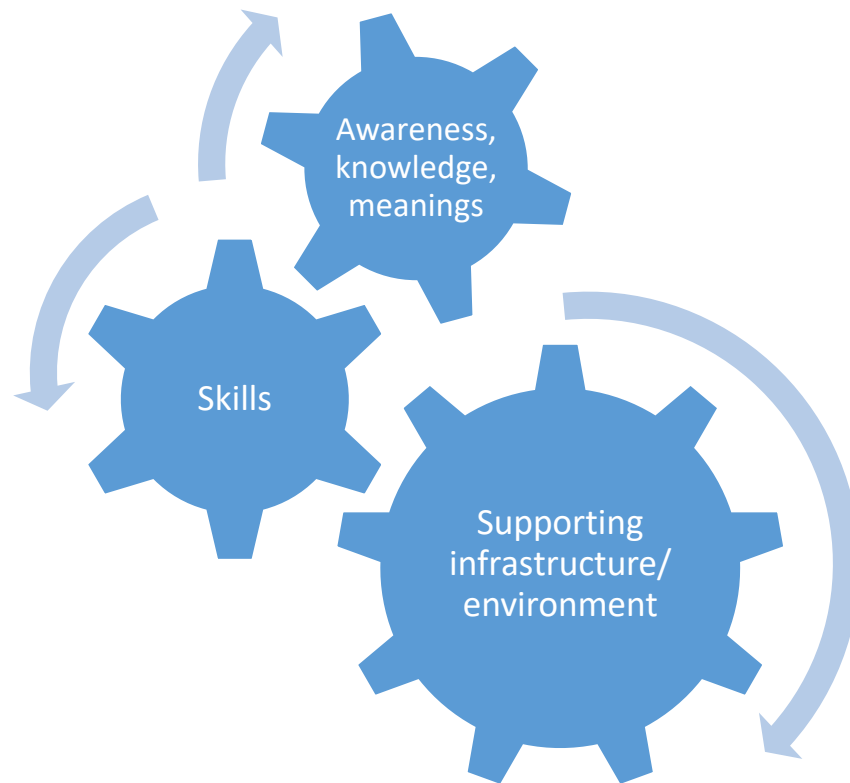
1. public awareness – amount and content of attention that the intervention products gain from press and social media (whether the campaign reached the target groups and how it was assessed and understood - *raising awareness about gender roles, critical attitude to harmful group norms and stereotypes, increase in egalitarian gender attitudes*)
2. whether the campaign empowers young people to stand against restrictive gender stereotypes – measured by increased sense of individual and collective self-efficacy, intention to oppose injustice and inequality, readiness to make non-traditional career choices
3. whether adults influencing young people (teachers, parents, career advisors) get supportive tools for gender sensitive approach in their work

### 6.2.4 Key messages and intervention model

Key messages are framed in a way that do not reinforce harmful gender norms and stereotypes and strive for gender role transformation, providing empowering models for young people.

In the framework of social practice theory (Vihalemm et al., 2015) the cross-media intervention addresses all the key elements, aspiring to shape (1) awareness, knowledge, meanings; (2) skills; (3) supporting infrastructure and environment, that are linked and enforce or hinder each other (see figure).

*Figure 9 Elements of social practice to be addressed by the intervention*



In the planned intervention, following the project proposal, TV series, radio broadcasts and educational materials inform the audience and provide new frameworks for **meaning** construction against restrictive stereotypes. TV series characters and photo exhibition provide role models for self-efficacy and non-traditional choices, teaching thus necessary **skills**. Teacher trainings, educational materials, informative radio broadcasts give **supportive infrastructure** for pursuits of gender equality. For the intervention, both fictional and informative tools will be used.

## 6.3 Project pathway model and types of evaluation

### 6.3.1 Main contexts for the project to explore

The project could ideally address the three main aspects at the core of limiting gender stereotypical occupational choices:

- gender bias originating in and stemming from the educational and occupational segregation;
- early school leaving due to uninformed or mistaken career choices;
- gender blind career counselling and no access to gender neutral, individually targeted career counselling

These main aspects could be seen as interlinked: gender bias due to educational and occupational segregation may encourage the gender blind career counselling to follow the stereotypical



approaches and might thus end up with stereotypical suggestions for educational and career choice, while the accidental, stereotypical choices might lead to early school leaving or low satisfaction at work.

Table 3

Problematic context	Levels of communication	Channels of communication	Immediate outcomes	expected sustainable outcomes
<p>gender bias:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- educational and occupational segregation</li> <li>- gender blind career counselling</li> <li>- early school leaving because of wrong career choices</li> </ul> <p>take-home-lessons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- inability to assess the possibilities for intervention</li> </ul>	<p>macro level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- society at large</li> </ul> <p>meso level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- community level</li> <li>- family and peer networks</li> </ul> <p>micro level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- individual level</li> </ul> <p>meta level:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- research and practitioner community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cross-media campaign (TV, radio, web media, visits, talks, group discussions, etc.)</li> <li>- guidelines and trainings for teachers and career counsellors</li> </ul>	<p>Penetration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- reach, attention</li> </ul> <p>Reception:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- positive reception by target groups</li> <li>- Reflection; public discussions</li> </ul> <p>Awareness:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- increase in critical understanding of harmful gender stereotypes and norms</li> </ul> <p>Empowerment;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- increase in the sense of self-efficacy</li> </ul>	<p>Societal:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- raised awareness</li> <li>- more professional gender sensitive approach by teachers and career counsellors</li> <li>- less school drop-out based on wrong career choices, leading to higher degrees of employability of young people, increased diversity of labour market and increased satisfaction</li> </ul> <p>Academic:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- understanding and methodology for work against gender bias in education and labour market that is transferrable to other European countries</li> </ul>

Source: Own description

### 6.3.2 Process evaluation

Process evaluation monitors the implementation of campaign activities. For process evaluation during the campaign, usual media attendance metrics (exposure, reach) is used. In addition, comments in social media in response to campaign activities are monitored.

### 6.3.3 Formative evaluation

Formative evaluation is designed to assess strengths and weaknesses in pilot programs, and to maximize the opportunities for success in the future. The tools we use for formative evaluation are reflective feedback from the project participants and analysis of the project process as a case study with the aim to explain to others how to implement a similar project and to avoid our mistakes.

### 6.3.4 Outcome evaluation

Outcome evaluations document short-term results of the project. Our project outcome assessment proceeds on three different levels, using both quantitative and qualitative methods.

#### MACRO-LEVEL ASSESSMENT

Assessment of the reach of the cross-media campaign among the whole population and the target groups is carried out by representative panel surveys *ex ante* and *ex post*. This enables describing how the campaign was noticed, understood and assessed by different groups of population, and to explore, for example, how the level of interest in and loyalty to the series (e.g. reflected in watching all the episodes) related to the gender equality type in the selected group. *Ex ante* and *ex post* design in principle enables to measure the change of gender related attitudes and beliefs (one group pretest/post-test design), although the changes of such scale are impossible to relate to specific impact of the exposure to the intervention.

Baseline measurement of gender ideology, attitudes and gendered practices among Estonian population in Gender equality monitoring in 2013 and 2016 helps to understand long-term tendencies of change in gender ideology and gender roles in Estonia. Applying time series design, we can see trends of change before the campaign takes place and select appropriate indicators for outcome evaluation.

#### MESO-LEVEL RECEPTION ANALYSIS

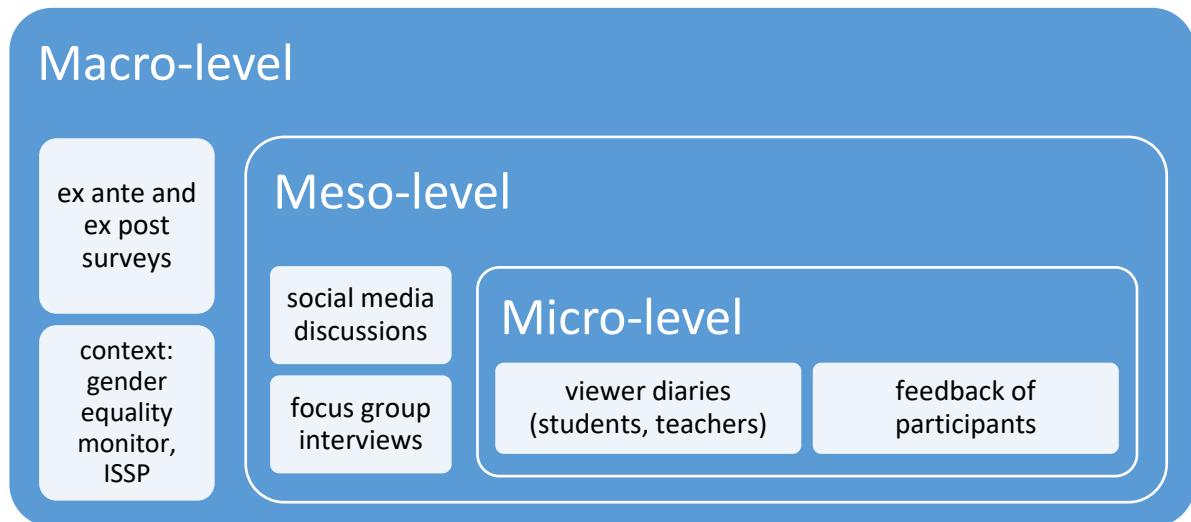
Reactions of target groups in circumstances close to their natural environments – schools, universities, youth centres, social media – are explored through

1. focus group discussions in schools and youth centers
2. analysis of (social) media comments and discussions
3. analysis of the feedback from participants in the practice-oriented training

MICRO-LEVEL RECEPTION ANALYSIS

Using audience diaries methodology during the entire TV series enables describing the process of reception on the individual level and in different target groups (high school and university students, teachers, youth workers). Feedback analysis of the participants of training sessions allows us to trace the learning process of increasing knowledge during an intervention.

*Figure 10 Data collection model based on project conceptual approach*



**In sum** – we apply a multimethod approach that helps us to describe target groups’ reactions and analyse the effects of cross-media intervention from different aspects.

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