Soap Operas for Social Change to Prevent HIV/AIDS:

A Training Guide for Journalists and Media Personnel

Population Media Center

UNFPA

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Edited by Kriss Barker and Miguel Sabido

Executive Summary

This guide is designed to be used by journalists and media personnel to plan and execute the production and broadcast of Sabido-style entertainment-education serial dramas for HIV/AIDS prevention, especially among women and girls. This is part of UNFPA's strategy to reinforce the capacities of journalists at the country level to prepare them to be informed agents of gender- and culturally-sensitive HIV prevention programs.

Ideally, the guide will serve as a reference tool during training workshops for journalists and media personnel organized by Population Media Center (PMC), and other institutions interested in reinforcing the capacities of journalists to convey effective messages on HIV/AIDS prevention.

Thus, the guide seeks to familiarize journalists and media personnel with the Sabido methodology for social change using entertainment-education format serial dramas broadcast over mass media channels (such as radio and television).

Preface by Mari Simonen
Director, Technical Support Division
United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

In 1994, at the landmark International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo, the delegates recognized the importance of communication – including entertainment-education – as a strategy required to achieve the goals set during the Conference. Indeed, the ICPD Programme of Action states in article 11.23:

> *Governments, non-governmental organizations and the private sector should make greater and more effective use of the entertainment media, including **radio and television soap operas and drama**, folk theatre and other traditional media to encourage public discussion of important but sometimes sensitive topics related to the implementation of the present Programme of Action. When the entertainment media – especially dramas – are used for advocacy purposes or to promote particular lifestyles, the public should be so informed, and in each case the identity of sponsors should be indicated in an appropriate manner.*

UNFPA has sponsored several programs that use entertainment-education strategies very successfully to bring about meaningful change with regard to use of reproductive health services, avoidance of infection with the HIV virus, and elevation of the status of women and girls. These UNFPA-sponsored programs include immensely popular serial dramas on Radio Tanzania and Radio Ethiopia that used the Sabido methodology of entertainment-education. Those programs and their results are summarized in this training guide.

UNFPA is proud to have made possible the publication of this training guide. We encourage journalists and media practitioners worldwide to use this guide to bring about meaningful change to help realize the goals of the ICPD Programme of Action and to enhance human welfare.

Preface by William N. Ryerson
President, Population Media Center

Many of the world's most pressing problems, including the devastating AIDS epidemic, cannot be solved without behavior change by individuals. In fact, behavior change is the most important element in preventing further spread of the epidemic. How to bring about such change has been a major challenge facing every country of the world. It is not as simple as informing people of the modes of transmission and the means of prevention.

Many resolutions have been adopted at U.N. conferences and in the boardrooms of the world regarding AIDS, the status of women and girls, reproductive health and other key issues facing the world community. But getting from the boardroom to individual behavior has been very difficult.

The world community came together in Cairo in 1994 to recognize not only the importance of bringing population into balance with the world's resources, but also that, to be successful, the world should use a holistic, human-rights approach, addressing the reproductive health needs of women and men in the context of human dignity. This involves, among other things, informing people of the options available to them so that they can make informed decisions with regard to family life, family planning, and enhancement of reproductive health.

To make such information accessible to the world's people, Miguel Sabido developed a strategy involving a unique form of entertainment broadcasting that has been successful in reaching large numbers of people and in bringing about behavior change. The Sabido methodology of entertainment-education is perhaps the most effective – and cost-effective – strategy to bring about widespread behavior change in societies.

While provision of health services is critically important to address the AIDS crisis and other reproductive health needs, data from Demographic and Health Surveys worldwide make it clear that non-use of such services as family planning clinics and HIV testing facilities is not primarily the result of lack of access to these services. Rather, the leading reasons people cite for non-use of available services are cultural and informational in nature. For example, of the 600,000 women and girls who die worldwide every year from pregnancy and childbirth, many die within reach of medical facilities because of relatives refusing to allow women to be treated by male doctors, or through lack of understanding how to access health services. These cultural and informational barriers can only be addressed through communication strategies, such as those described in this training guide. To be most effective, communication programs must use role modeling to show people new ways of relating to one another.

This guide describes a methodology, which if applied, can bring about a major reduction in the level of human suffering. Population Media Center hopes that this guide will find widespread use, and we stand ready to help with its application worldwide.

Preface by Miguel Sabido
President, World Association of Producers
of Entertainment-Education

This training guide is a detailed explanation of the Sabido methodology of "entertainment with proven social benefit." It is focused on the social-content (educational) portion of an entertainment-education program. This is as it should be, since the guide is written for use by professional journalists and media practitioners who wish to address serious social and health issues.

Having said that, it is important for the practitioner of behavior change communication to recognize that the most important element of entertainment-education is entertainment. Without entertainment, the program will have little or no audience – nor the emotional bonding by audience members with characters that leads to meaningful behavior change.

The entertainment element should account for about 70 percent of the story. The methodology I created (which has become known as the "Sabido methodology") uses two of three sub-plots in a long-running serial drama to create entertainment – through changes of fortune, use of a range of human emotions, cliffhangers, compellingly well-written drama, strong acting, realistic productions, and the appropriate "tone" of the drama. The story can be boy-meets-girl, or rags-to-riches (or whatever the producer and the scriptwriters agree upon).

The other 30 percent should be devoted to the "third plot" with the social content and the role models for the behavior we are trying to teach/reinforce. This training guide is intended to focus on this part of a program's design.

The guide is based on the assumption that the writers know what they are doing – i.e., that they have received previous training in drama and have experience in writing melodrama. Writing is important, but so is professional directing and production, acting, use of music, sound effects and lighting, and other elements that go into making a program interesting to the audience. The audience has to be captivated through a very intensive and emotional tone.

Writers and producers do need training in the application of the Sabido methodology to their particular cultural setting and set of issues to be addressed. This training guide is intended to be a supplement to such training. I am proud of the creative people of the world who will use this training guide – and the Sabido methodology – to improve the human condition.
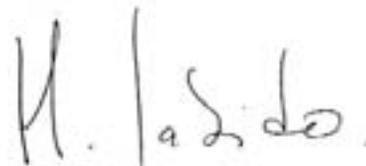
Table of Contents

Chapter 1:
Introduction

The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD)

The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) was held in Cairo, Egypt in September 1994. Delegations from 179 countries took part in negotiations to finalize a Programme of Action on population and development for the next 20 years. The 115-page document, adopted by acclamation on 13 September, endorses a new strategy that emphasizes the numerous linkages between population and development and focuses on meeting the needs of individual women and men rather than on achieving demographic targets.

The ICPD Programme of Action defines reproductive health as a "state of complete physical, mental and social well-being in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes."[i] It implies that people have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when, and how often to do so. Key to the approach is empowering women and expanding their access to education, health care and employment.

The Programme of Action also addresses HIV/AIDS. Its main objectives related to HIV/AIDS are to prevent, reduce the spread of, and minimize the impact of HIV infection, and to ensure that HIV-infected individuals have adequate medical care and are not discriminated against. A third objective is to intensify research on methods to control the HIV/AIDS pandemic and to find an effective treatment for the disease.

Section 11.23 of the ICPD Programme of Action states that: "Governments, non-governmental organizations and the private sector should make greater and more effective use of the entertainment media, including radio and television soap operas and drama, folk theatre and other traditional media to encourage public discussion of important but sometimes sensitive topics related to the implementation of the present Programme of Action."[ii] This training guide represents one of UNFPA's many contributions to the global HIV prevention effort, especially among women and girls, by building national capacities of journalists and media personnel to deliver relevant messages through serial dramas (which are one of the most popular communication channels).

UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund)

UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) is the key UN agency in charge of promoting the ICPD agenda on reproductive health. UNFPA is an active member of the Global Coalition on Women and AIDS, launched in a February 2004 gathering of UN agencies, the public sector, NGOs, networks of women living with HIV, and prominent figures involved in AIDS-related campaigns.

Population Media Center (PMC)

Population Media Center, Inc. (PMC) is a non-profit, non-governmental organization with the mission of working worldwide to enlist the broadcast and print media to educate people about the personal benefits of family planning, encourage the use of effective measures to prevent transmission of HIV and other STDs, promote general reproductive health, elevate women's status and promote gender equity.

PMC was founded in 1998 with the intention of using the extensive experience of its key personnel to spread the application of the Sabido methodology in addressing population and reproductive health issues in countries that had not benefited from use of the Sabido methodology. In addition, the organization is pioneering the use of new methodologies for informing people about reproductive health issues and promoting behavior change.

Gender Issues and HIV/AIDS

Action against HIV/AIDS that does not confront gender inequality is doomed to failure.[iii]

The global pandemic of HIV/AIDS has now entered its third decade. Since the onset of the pandemic, more than 60 million people have been infected with HIV. Initially, HIV was thought to only affect men who have sex with men. However, the first woman diagnosed with AIDS was recorded as early as 1982.[iv]

Women now constitute nearly half of all people infected with HIV. Of the estimated 39.4 million people living with HIV/AIDS at the end of 2004, 17.6 million – or about 45 percent – were women.[v]

The situation is even more alarming in sub-Saharan Africa, where 57 percent of adults with HIV are women, and 76 percent of young people (aged 15 to 24 years) living with HIV are female.[vi] Despite this

alarming trend, women know less than men about how HIV/AIDS is transmitted and how to prevent infection, and what little they do know is often rendered useless by the discrimination and violence they face.[vii]

In the HIV/AIDS pandemic, gender – defined as the array of societal beliefs, norms, customs and practices that define 'masculine' and 'feminine' attributes and behaviors – plays an integral role in determining an individual's vulnerability to infection, his or her ability to access care, support or treatment, and the ability to cope when infected or affected.[viii]

"...gender equality and the empowerment of women are fundamental elements in the reduction of the vulnerability of women and girls to HIV/AIDS." [ix]

Epidemiological and biomedical research has long established a link between an individual's sex and his or her risk of HIV infection. It is well known, for example, that physiological factors account for the more efficient transmission of infection from an infected man to a woman than from an infected woman to a man.[x] More recently however, research has also identified the role that gender relations play in determining individual risk and vulnerability in the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Socio-cultural norms about masculinity and femininity, and the unequal power relations between men and women that arise from those norms, conspire with biological and physiological factors to compound individuals' risk of infection, resulting in epidemics of significant size and proportion in different parts of the world.[xi]

Research conducted over the past decade has revealed that gender roles and relations directly and indirectly influence the level of an individual's risk and vulnerability to HIV infection. Gender is also a factor in determining the level and quality of care, treatment, and support that HIV-positive men and women receive.[xii]

In summary, gender-related factors increase women's economic vulnerability and dependency, which in turn increases their vulnerability to being infected, restricts their access to much-needed information and services, and exposes them to severe consequences when infected or affected by HIV/AIDS.[xiii]

For men, gender-related norms and economic need force them to migrate without their families in search of work, creating situations that foster multiple sexual relationships that may lead to HIV infection. Overall, poverty greatly exacerbates both women's and men's vulnerability by restricting access to information and services and making it more difficult to cope with the impact of the epidemic.[xiv]

"The ABC approach – Abstain, Be faithful, use Condoms – is not a sufficient means of prevention for women and adolescent girls" says UNFPA Executive Director Thoraya Ahamed Obaid. "Abstinence is meaningless to women who are coerced into sex. Faithfulness offers little protection to wives whose husbands have several partners or were infected before marriage. And condoms require the cooperation of men." [xv]

For Girls and Young Women, It Is Not as Simple as ABC[xvi]

HIV/AIDS has become a disease of young people, with young adults aged 15-24 accounting for half of the some 5 millions new cases of HIV infection worldwide each year. For reasons of gender discrimination, inequitable cultural norms and biological vulnerability, females are more susceptible than males to HIV infection. Thus an estimated 7.3 million young women are living with HIV/AIDS compared to 4.5 million young men. Two thirds of newly infected youth aged 15-19 in Sub-Saharan Africa are female. Among women, the peak age for HIV prevalence tends to be around age 25 – almost 10 to 15 years younger than the peak age for men.

In 2001, the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) endorsed the ABC approach to preventing HIV infection. The ABC approach for behavior change gives three clear messages for preventing the transmission of HIV: **A**bstain from having sexual relations or, for youth delay having sex; **B**e faithful to one uninfected partner; and use **C**ondoms consistently and correctly. For girls and young women, though, "ABC" has turned out not to be that effective and does not offer much protection to girls and young women as growing evidence shows they are susceptible to coerced sexual activity.

Even in countries young where girls are married off in their teens in the hope of protecting them from sexual promiscuity and out-of-marriage pregnancy, the men they marry tend to be older and sexually experienced, and more likely to already carry the infection. Recent studies in Africa support the finding that young married women are at higher risk of HIV infection than their unmarried counterparts. A study in Kisumu, Kenya, found that as many as half of the married women whose husbands were 10 or more years older were infected with HIV, and 32.9 percent of married girls were HIV positive, compared to 22.3 percent of unmarried girls. Clearly, marriage confers little or no protection on young women. Even when they know about the infidelity of their older husband, young wives are often unable to refuse sex or require use of condoms because to do so would indicate a lack of trust, and undermine the desire to have children.

Socio-economic crises such as poverty and war force increasing numbers of girls and young women to exchange sex for survival. In such circumstances, they are attached to "sugar daddies," much older, relatively well-off (usually married) men who support them in exchange for sex. Once in these relationships, girls have little power to negotiate the use of condoms for fear of being replaced by another, and thus losing a livelihood for themselves and frequently for their families who rely on them. Men often seek younger sexual partners who are unlikely to be infected with HIV, sometimes with the added belief that sex with a virgin can cure them of AIDS if they are already infected; further endangering young girls who fall prey to forced or coerced sexual relations.

Because sex is a taboo topic in many countries, large numbers of young people, particularly girls, have insufficient information or skills to refuse sex or negotiate safer sex practices. While most young people have heard about HIV/AIDS, few know enough to protect themselves against infection. For example, in the Ukraine, while 100 percent of adolescent females know about AIDS, only 21 percent know three methods of prevention. In Somalia, only 26 percent of adolescent females have heard about AIDS and only 1 percent know how to protect themselves. Studies of young people's knowledge, attitudes and practices found that as they emerge from

puberty, young people, especially girls, are very often concerned about accidental pregnancy and about HIV/AIDS but they find it very hard to inform themselves because in many cultures, they could be labeled as 'promiscuous' merely for asking a question about such issues.

Unequal gender norms and socialization reduce young women's ability to make informed choices about their own sexuality. Many have been told since childhood not to discuss or even think about sex, so they are unprepared, fatally in the case of HIV, to negotiate sexual activity. Young girls are also generally more eager to please their partner than boys. In a study of young people in Tallinn, Estonia, when young men and young women were asked why they might have sex without a condom, the women were over three times more likely then men to suggest that condoms spoil the pleasure for the man.

Furthermore, violence against women and girls severely undermines their power to negotiate safer sex such as condom use, destroys theirs self-confidence and increases their chances of getting STIs, including HIV. In South Africa, 30 percent of young women indicate that their first sexual encounter was coerced. It is estimated that 4 million women and girls worldwide are coerced into marriage and trafficked into slavery or prostitution. Half of all victims of sexual abuse are under the age of 15. Conflict makes women and girls disproportionately vulnerable to HIV infection: they are exposed to mass rape, sexual abuse or sexual slavery at a time when there is little or no access to health care or protection. The situation is worse for those kept as sexual slaves in combatants' camps.

In **sub-Saharan Africa**, about 25.4million adults aged 15 to 49 are infected, with 57 percent – about 14.5 million – of them women.[xvii] Since 1985, there has been an increasingly disproportionate impact on women in this region. In 1985, roughly half a million women and half a million men were living with HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. Since then, the number of women living with HIV/AIDS relative to men has increased every year; particularly affecting young women aged 15 to 24, who are now more than three times more likely to be infected than young men.[xviii]

According to UNAIDS, **South and South-East Asia**, where more than 7 million people are living with HIV/AIDS,[xix] could become the epicenter of the global AIDS pandemic in the next decade, with China and India – the world's two most populous nations – facing a potential AIDS catastrophe. In East Asia, 22 percent of adults living with HIV/AIDS are women, as are 28 percent of young people aged 15 to 24. In South and South-East Asia more than a quarter of adults and 40 percent of young people living with HIV/AIDS are women.[xx]

Overall, women account for 33 percent of people living with HIV/AIDS in **Eastern Europe and Central Asia**, and young women account for 28 percent. Evidence suggests that their rates are increasing compared to men's.
For example, in 2002 in the Russian Federation, 33 percent of newly diagnosed infections were among women, compared to 24 percent a year earlier.[xxi]

Some 2.14 million people between the ages of 15 and 49 are living with HIV/AIDS in **Latin America and the Caribbean**,[xxii] with 36 percent women in Latin America, and virtually half (49 percent) in the Caribbean. Young women are 2.5 times more likely to be infected than young men in the Caribbean.[xxiii]

HIV prevalence in the **Middle East and North Africa** is still very low. The exception is southern Sudan. Already, young women aged 15 to 24 are more than twice as likely to be living with HIV/AIDS than young men, although this figure is somewhat skewed due to the high levels of infection in young women in southern Sudan.[xxiv]

Adolescent Girls and HIV/AIDS[xxv]

Younger women are particularly at risk for HIV infection. Gender norms and power dynamics often limit young women's control over their sexual and reproductive lives. Adolescent girls are especially vulnerable in the area of sexual and reproductive health. Biologically, women's risk of acquiring sexually transmitted infections during unprotected sexual relations is two to four times that of men. Younger women are at even greater risk because their reproductive tracts are still maturing. In some countries, adolescent girls are being infected with HIV at a rate five or more times higher than boys.

Social expectations often put pressure on girls to marry and begin bearing children before they are ready. Despite a shift toward later marriage in many parts of the world, 82 million girls in developing countries who are now between the ages of 10 and 17 will be married before their 18th birthday. Early marriage jeopardizes the health and limits the opportunities afforded to women, usually disrupts their education and often violates their human rights. Married adolescent girls often find it difficult to access reproductive health services.

Adolescent girls are also exposed to various forms of gender-based violence from harmful traditional practices, such as early marriage and female genital cutting, to the growing problem of sexual trafficking. The first sexual experience for many adolescent girls is by force, often by people they know, including family members. This can lead to long-term physical and psychological damage. Dire poverty may result in young girls being "sold" to traffickers or being forced into commercial sex to survive.

Prevention is key, but many women and adolescent girls do not have the knowledge or means to prevent HIV infection. Girls and women are highly susceptible to HIV infection, both biologically and as a result of gender inequality and discrimination. Globally, more than 80 percent of young women do not have sufficient knowledge about HIV/AIDS. The silence surrounding issues of sexuality, the realities of gender inequality and the lack of education about sexual and reproductive health are putting girls and women at risk.

Even when girls have knowledge about HIV transmission, gender power relations make it difficult for them to act on this knowledge. It is not sufficient for girls to have information – they also need to have more power to act and more options, just as men and boys need to be willing to change and to discuss and negotiate rather than coerce and rely on superior power.

Without strategies that specifically focus on women, there can be no global progress in fighting HIV/AIDS. We must break the chains of poverty and gender inequality that help the disease to spread. All over the world, greater efforts are required to address the concrete needs of women and girls and to increase the roles and responsibilities of boys and men. It is critical at this point in the global pandemic that efforts focus simultaneously on individual behavior change and on wider social, cultural and economic change. Realistic strategies must be found that address the triple challenge of poverty, gender inequality and HIV/AIDS.[xxvi]

Changing behavior is a key element in this strategy. And information is a pre-cursor to behavior change. However, although UNFPA surveys in Africa show that up to 80 percent of men have some knowledge of how AIDS is contracted, they are not altering their sexual behavior.[xxvii]

Failure to change behavior is aggravated by the conspiracy of silence that has surrounded AIDS. Because infection carries such tremendous social stigma, many people who are HIV positive do not go in for testing and counseling, and the progression of the disease continues to take its toll.[xxviii]

This guide is intended to provide journalists and media personnel with effective strategies that can lead to significant changes in behavior, thus breaking the chain of ignorance and stigmatization that has surrounded HIV/AIDS since the epidemic began over 20 years ago.

Role of Journalists and Media Personnel in Preventing HIV/AIDS[xxix]

In a world where the HIV/AIDS epidemic is still affecting millions of lives, a critical lack of locally relevant information, coupled with the stigmas and taboos that surround HIV, continue to impede the best prevention efforts of governments and communities. Mass media have the potential to improve general awareness and understanding of the epidemic and to set meaningful agendas for public discussion and policy making on AIDS. The media can foster a changed social environment where people can talk openly about HIV/AIDS and the practice of safer sex – an environment that is supportive of AIDS prevention, care and treatment efforts. They can also significantly contribute to increased awareness of the population about the gender dimension of the infection and its fuelling factors,

such as gender-based violence, women's disempowerment, non-involvement of men in HIV prevention programs and women's rights promotion activities.

By interweaving AIDS messages into a variety of popular programs – especially in entertainment programs – media can have cross-cutting impacts that fundamentally improve public awareness and dialogue.

Yet journalists in many countries face formidable obstacles to covering the epidemic effectively, such as lack of access to accurate information, the reluctance of media managers to cover AIDS, lack of skills, and limited resources for investigating stories. The result is superficial, often sensationalistic or misleading reporting on AIDS that fuels misconceptions and promotes the stigmatization of those living with HIV.

The large body of "knowledge" that the general public has on HIV/AIDS has come from the media. Not many people read medical journals, attend HIV/AIDS workshops and seminars, or even have long informal chats with medical practitioners or scientists to become informed about HIV/AIDS.

The mass media is the medium through which facts, figures, myths and messages on HIV/AIDS are transmitted to the general public.

The awareness that this is so places a heavy responsibility on the journalists and media personnel who cover HIV/AIDS. What may have started out as just the coverage of another "health" story when reporting first began on HIV/AIDS some 20 years ago, has now become a major media challenge.

HIV/AIDS is one of the greatest social, economic and health crises of modern times. The virus has many allies. Silence and denial have fueled its transmission, while cultural and religious taboos have inhibited open discussion about sexual practices and preferences, including the use of contraceptives. Shame and guilt surround the virus.

The media, therefore, can no longer just approach the coverage of HIV/AIDS through the prisms of health and medicine alone. A journalist or media practitioner must now have ample knowledge of:

- gender and development issues
- reproductive and sexual health rights
- a span of development issues related to the

provision of health care, access to treatment, medical advances concerning ongoing research and treatment approaches

- universal human rights, which must be protected and guaranteed for all, as a key component of any prevention strategies to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS

The journalist or media practitioner must take this knowledge and produce a good story. A journalist is required to produce a story that is balanced, accurate, raises awareness and gives information, and perhaps evokes a compelling need for change.

The gender dimension is one of many factors contributing to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. There is a relationship between HIV infection and poverty, inequality, social disruption, illiteracy, human rights violations and many other factors contributing to society's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. There are also inter-relationships between each of these factors – between, for example, gender relations, poverty, illiteracy, and human rights violations – which heighten vulnerabilities for individuals in society. For instance, the majority of the poor are women, who are also more likely in consequence to be non-literate and lacking information, and, as women, they are most likely to experience domestic violence (a human rights violation). All of which make their situation more vulnerable to HIV infection and the development of AIDS.

By understanding the wider context of the pandemic, the media begins to view HIV/AIDS as a political, economic, labor, gender, development, educational, health, and so forth, story. Mainstreaming HIV/AIDS into all coverage areas also begins to break the barrier of those living with HIV/AIDS and those who are uninfected, raising awareness and public debate to a level where HIV/AIDS is everyone's issue.

"Whether or not they actively seek to do so, the media either fuel the epidemic through sensationalism and poor unethical reporting, or help to restrain it by promoting information, understanding and behavior change."xxx

In understanding the complexities of the pandemic, it is important for journalists to have a firm understanding of reproductive health rights and the link between these rights and HIV/AIDS.

Sexual and reproductive health rights encompass both the right to reproductive health care and the right to self-determination, and include:

- the right to life, liberty and security
- the right not to be subjected to torture
- the right to be free from gender discrimination
- the right to modify customs and to change practices that discriminate against women
- the right to privacy
- the right to choose a marriage partner
- the right to marry and to found a family
- the right to decide the number and spacing of children
- the right to be free from sexual assault and exploitation
- the right to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress

The absence of any of these rights places women, in particular, and also men, at a greater risk of contracting HIV/AIDS.

Media practitioners' gender prejudices and biases are one of the major blocks to the diverse portrayals of women, and to their voices in the media. This leads to a news approach that focuses on women as isolated members of society with specific needs and interests. While this is true because of women's subordinate status in societies across the globe, this approach marginalizes women's voices and limits portrayals of women in the media into stereotypical roles. The media reports on so-called "women's issues" as not being connected to the issues of society in general, and it fails to make visible the inter-relationships between gender roles and relations, access to resources, and power.

This guide will help journalists to understand the attitudes, prejudices, biases and socialization that often come in media messages and to recognize and analyze the imbalance of women's voices, as compared to men's in the media; and will provide skills and techniques to journalists and other media personnel to analyze facts, issues and data from a gender perspective.

"In the world seen through the lens of the media, social and occupational roles are almost completely divided along gender lines. When women appear at all – and numerous studies around the world document their dramatic under-representation in almost all kinds of media content – they tend to be depicted within the home and are rarely portrayed as rational, active or decisive."xxxi

Research clearly shows that the mass media's relationship to women transcends class, cultural, national and regional boundaries. The way women are portrayed in the media in Africa has more similarities than differences to the way women are portrayed in the media in Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America and the Caribbean. Throughout the world, in terms of gender relations, the media acts as a cultural force, which subtly and indirectly, helps to shape, rather than merely reflect, men's and women's social reality.

The biases and prejudices internalized by journalists and editors through their socialization within the societies they write about have a greater influence on the media product than they realize. Journalists and media personnel should become more aware of how their own internal biases and prejudices influence their coverage just as much as external factors, such as government censorship. As is stressed in this manual, the Sabido methodology reverses usual media production practice in order to achieve its effects.

Research has shown that media messages and images constitute a powerful social, cultural and political force, and that there is a link between media output and social consciousness.

The mass media are the main forms of communication used to reach a large number of people at any time. The media is well-placed to influence society's opinions, beliefs, attitudes and standards, as well as our notion of self, so that our idea of who we are as male and female is influenced by value-laden messages.

Communication is defined as the conveying of a message from one party to another through a medium. The media is a vehicle through which communication reaches the audience.

Facts and figures are the main components of a journalist's diet for producing and writing news, news analyses and feature stories. Editors and journalists often believe that the putting together of facts and figures, with a few voices, is an exercise in objective reporting.

What media people often fail to grasp is their role as communicators. The media has largely viewed its role as providers of information, education and entertainment. But a gender analysis of the media shows that a great deal more takes place as the media seeks to meet these three overarching objectives.

In training, most journalists are told that one of the profession's principles is to be objective. Journalists are to report on events as they are, and to not let their opinions or biases become part of the reportage.

But it has become increasingly clear that the gender biases of journalists and editors creep into the way they gather information, interview sources and report on news and issues.

Thus, journalists and media personnel must be trained to be aware of the gender biases inherent in their work and in the final media product, and to work towards the objective of being balanced in their coverage of news and issues.

This balance is obtained by:
- including more than one perspective or one voice in a story
- including more than just the views of men, and the views of only men and women who are in positions of power or formal authority
- seeking the "missing" voices
- being conscious of language that reinforces stereotypes
- being aware of the "tagging" of women and men according to traditional gender roles
- thorough research to understand the myriad aspects of the issue
- including the gender perspective in coverage of all issues

Communicating gender requires journalists and other media practitioners to observe the ways that people may be marginalized because of their gender (their defined role in society) as well as race/ethnicity, class/caste, age and other such factors.

To assist journalists and media personnel to better understand how gender issues affect their ability to objectively report the news, this guide includes "gender text boxes" with useful information to help you make your reporting more gender-sensitive.

In the following chapters, we will look at one very successful media strategy for providing information on HIV/AIDS to audiences in a way that captures the audience's attention and leads them to change behavior to avoid infection.

The Difference between Sex and Gender[xxxii]

Sex: the biological differences between men and women. Sex differences are concerned with women and men's physiology. These differences are natural because they are given from birth.

Gender: the economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being female and male. The social definitions of what it means to be female or male vary across cultures and change over time. Gender is a socio-cultural expression of particular characteristics and roles that are associated with certain groups of people with reference to their sex and sexuality. In other words, gender is how we are shaped after we are born into society.

While biological attributes can sometimes be altered, biological sex is essentially fixed. In contrast, gender definitions are in a constant state of flux in response to changing social and economic conditions. Because gender is constructed by society and not fixed, stereotypical constructed notions of male and female roles can be challenged. When we say that men and women are not the same, we refer not only to their biological sex differences, but also to the different gender roles that have been created by society.

Gender Equity: is the process of giving equal chances and opportunities to women and men to address gender disparities and discrimination. To ensure fairness, measures must be available to compensate for historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from operating on a level playing field. Gender equity strategies are used to eventually attain gender equality. Equity is the means; equality is the result.

Gender Roles and Identities: vary across cultures and change over time. Women and men often differ in the activities they undertake, in access to and control of resources, in participation in decision-making, and in the power they have to manage their lives. The social positions ascribed to women and men are defined relative to one another. In most societies, women have less access than men do to resources, opportunities, and decision-making. The social, political, and economic institutions of society – family, schools, industries, religious organizations, and government – are also gendered. They tend to incorporate and reinforce the unequal gender relations and values of a society. However, gender roles and identities have the capacity to undergo significant change.

Gender, by definition, is a social construct, not an absolute "truth," and can be changed. To talk of gender, or to consistently bring the gender perspective into stories is a way of challenging the conventional wisdom on men's and women's roles, while a constant scrutiny of gender relations in issues reported is a way to challenge inequality. When a journalist also understands how gender infuses the HIV/AIDS pandemic, then he or she will begin to ask different questions about the information at hand and produce "new" stories.

Mainstreaming Gender and HIV/AIDS into the News[xxxiii]

A story does not have to be specifically about HIV/AIDS or about gender relations between men and women to have an element of both. For instance, if a journalist does a story on the UN Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, an interesting angle would be to look at whether the Fund supported projects that contribute to reduce women's and girls' vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

Another example of how HIV/AIDS and gender can be mainstreamed into issues that dominate the news is the issue of conflict. How has the conflict interrupted ongoing HIV/AIDS programs? How has the conflict affected the spread of HIV? Do women, girls and young boys become more vulnerable and at risk of infection during conflict? Why?

There is a gender dimension in every HIV/AIDS story, and by making this link, the media can play a greater role in not only educating the public, but raising the level of public awareness on key critical factors which increase women's and girls' vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

Some Useful HIV/AIDS Terminology[xxxiv,xxxv]

Incidence: 'HIV incidence' is the number of new HIV infections in the population during a certain time period. People who were already infected before that time period are not included in the total - not even if they are still alive and HIV+. Due to limited data-collection, incidence data for many resource-poor areas, and some rich ones, is difficult to find, but one example is that USAID said that in one site in Uganda, Masaka, HIV incidence fell from 7.6 per thousand per year in 1990 to 3.2 per thousand per year by 1998. National estimates of HIV incidence are usually produced by computer models and are based on estimates of HIV prevalence. Such models apply a set of assumptions such as the survival time of those infected with HIV and the mother-to-child transmission rate.

Prevalence: 'HIV prevalence' is given as a percentage of a population. If a thousand truck drivers, for example, are tested for HIV and 30 of them are found to be positive, then the results of a study might say that HIV prevalence amongst truck drivers is 3 percent. For the purpose of producing a national or international HIV prevalence figure, researchers include all people with HIV infection who are alive at a given point in time, whether or not they have developed specific symptoms of AIDS. Unless otherwise stated, the terms 'HIV+' or 'HIV positive' are used where a number or statistic refers to anyone who is known to have, or is presumed to have, HIV infection - whatever their AIDS status. HIV prevalence cannot be accurately determined from reports because so many cases are unknown or unreported. The best estimates are mainly based on the results of surveys, in which large groups of people are used to represent the wider HIV-positive population.

Palliative Care: This is treatment that does not address the disease itself but improves the quality of life of the infected person, and includes good nutrition.

Home-Based Care: This term is widely used, often in a positive light, but there is insufficient questioning about who does the caring or whether there is any care at all for the patient. Home-based care, in the face of stigma, lack of nursing skills and other financial and social priorities, sometimes becomes a form of neglect. "Care" is used as a euphemism to cover care and support, which can be done in the home under the right conditions, and, for treatment, which properly belongs in hospitals or clinics.

Mother to Child Transmission: Transmission can occur from an infected mother to her child during pregnancy, delivery and through breastfeeding. This term places the onus of spreading the disease on a woman, ignoring that the woman is only the last link in a chain. A preferred term is parent to child transmission.

Transmission: This word tends to be used to mask the fact that what is being talked about is sex because many people and journalists are uncomfortable talking about sex. Also, HIV can be transmitted by needle-sharing among intravenous drug users, and from parent to child.

Sero Status: Simply means whether an individual is HIV positive (infected) or HIV negative.

Cost of Treatment: The direct cost of treatment for HIV/AIDS includes: doctors' fees, test fees (for the HIV antibody test, tuberculosis tests, etc.), hospital fees, fees for drugs and other forms of treatment and fees for home and hospice care.

Anti (retro) viral: Having the property of attacking retro viruses.

HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus): HIV is a retrovirus which enters CD4 blood cells, where it converts its RNA into DNA by using an enzyme known as reverse transcriptase. This allows the virus to replicate itself. It also disables the body's immune system and eventually leads to the development of AIDS.

CD4 Cells: A type of blood cell, also known as T-helper cells or T-cells. When the immune system is functioning normally, CD4 cells protect the body by recognizing and destroying viruses and bacteria.

DNA: Deoxyribonucleic acid. The genetic material of most living organisms.

Viral load: The quantity of the virus in the bloodstream, which is measured by sensitive tests.

Window Period: It takes the immune system up to three (3) months (note: some studies report 6 months) to produce antibodies to HIV that can be measured in the HIV antibody test. During this window period, an infected individual tests negative for the virus but is nevertheless capable of transmitting it to others.

Guidelines on Language for HIV/AIDS Reporting[xxxvi]

- Use language that is culturally sensitive and inclusive.
- Do not use language that is drawn from the context of war (such as "fighting the virus").
- Use language that is value neutral, gender sensitive and empowers, rather than disempowers.) For example avoid the term "victims" and instead use "survivors." The same refers to women, men, girls and boys who face gender violence. A good quote to stick in one's mind is that of Charlene Smith, a South African journalist who has reported on her experience of being raped by a man who may have been HIV-positive: "We are only victims if we are dead."
- Use descriptive terms which are preferred by the persons themselves who are often referred to in reporting on HIV/AIDS (for example, sex workers instead of prostitutes).
- Do not use words like "body fluids" in relation to HIV transmission because some fluids like saliva, sweat, tears, do not transmit HIV. It is better to specify the fluids that can transmit the virus such as blood, semen, vaginal fluid, breast milk.
- Use the word "patient" when referring to an individual who is in hospital or when the story focuses on their medical treatment.
- "Having more than one sexual partner" is preferable to "promiscuous," which has a negative meaning and attaches a stigma.
- Avoid the host of acronyms that have crept into the language of HIV/AIDS such as PLWHA (People Living with HIV/AIDS). "People living with HIV or with AIDS" is better so that individuals are not reduced to letters.

11

Positive and Negative Language for HIV/AIDS[xxxvii]

Avoid	Because	Use Instead
HIV/AIDS "carrier"	No one "carries" the virus or disease	"HIV-positive person" or "man or woman living with HIV/AIDS"
AIDS "virus"	The virus exists whether or not the individual has developed AIDS	HIV, the virus which causes AIDS
AIDS "test"	The test does not confirm whether an individual has developed symptoms of AIDS	HIV (antibody) test
"Catch" AIDS	It is impossible to "catch" AIDS	"Contract HIV" or "become HIV positive"
"Full-blown" AIDS	There is no "partly blown" AIDS	AIDS
HIV "and" AIDS; HIV "or" AIDS	They are not two diseases; also, remember that AIDS by definition is a syndrome HIV/AIDS	HIV/AIDS
"Innocent"	No one chooses to contract HIV	Do not use the word
"Scourge," "Plague," "Killer Disease"	The words are sensationalist, create alarm and inadvertently stigmatize those with the disease	"Disease," "Epidemic," "Illness"

i United Nations Population Information Network. UN Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, with support from the UN Population Fund. 30 September 1994. *Report of the International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 513 September 1994*. Section 7.2, page 40.

ii IBID. Section 11.23, page 81.

iii http://www.unfpa.org/news/news.cfm?ID=475. 14 July 2004. *UNFPA: News. Action Against AIDS Must Address Epidemic's Increasing Impact on Women, Says UN Report.*

iv Tallis, V. September 2002. *Bridge: Development – Gender. Gender and HIV/AIDS: Overview Report.* Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

v UNAIDS and WHO. *AIDS Epidemic Update: December 2004.*

vi IBID.

vii UNAIDS, UNFPA and UNIFEM. 2004. *Women and HIV/AIDS: Confronting the Crisis.*

viii WHO. 2003. *Integrating Gender into HIV/AIDS Programmes.* Geneva: WHO.

ix United Nations. 2001. *Article 14, Declaration of Commitment of HIV/AIDS, UN General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS, June 2001.*

x UNFPA, UNAIDS and UNIFEM. 2001. *Women: Meeting the Challenges of HIV/AIDS.*

xi WHO. 2003. *Integrating Gender into HIV/AIDS Programmes.* Geneva: WHO.

xii IBID.

xiii IBID.

xiv IBID.

xv UNAIDS, UNFPA and UNIFEM. 2004. *Women and HIV/AIDS: Confronting the Crisis.*

xvi Touré, A. n.d. *For Girls and Young Women, It Is Not Simple as ABC.*

xvii UNAIDS and WHO. *AIDS Epidemic Update: December 2004.*

xviii UNAIDS, UNFPA and UNIFEM. 2004. *Women and HIV/AIDS: Confronting the Crisis.*

xix UNAIDS and WHO. *AIDS Epidemic Update: December 2004.*

xx IBID.

xxi IBID.

xxii UNAIDS and WHO. *AIDS Epidemic Update: December 2004.*

xxiii IBID.

xxiv IBID.

xxv http://www.unfpa.org/adolescents/gender.htm *UNFPA: POPULATION ISSUES: SUPPORTING ADOLESCENTS & YOUTH: Gender Equality. Overcoming Gender Disparities.*

xxvi UNAIDS, UNFPA and UNIFEM. 2004. *Women and HIV/AIDS: Confronting the Crisis.*

xxvii IBID.

xxviii IBID.

xxix Adapted from: IPS Inter Press Service International Association. 2002. *Gender, HIV/AIDS and Rights: A Training Manual for the Media.* Rome: IPS.

xxx Foreman, M. 2000. *An Ethical Guide to Reporting HIV/AIDS. In: Media and HIV/AIDS in East and Southern Africa: A Resource Book.* UNESCO. p 25.

xxxi Gallagher, M. March 1995. *Women and the Media.* UN International Author Series, UN Department of Public Information.

xxxii IPS Inter Press Service International Association. 2002. *Gender, HIV/AIDS and Rights: A Training Manual for the Media.* Rome: IPS. page 22.

xxxiii IBID. Page 42.

xxxiv IBID. Page 62.

xxxv http://www.avert.org/statistics.htm

xxxvi IPS Inter Press Service International Association. 2002. *Gender, HIV/AIDS and Rights: A Training Manual for the Media.* Rome: IPS. page 64.

xxxvii IBID. Page 65.

Chapter 2:
How the Sabido Methodology Differs from other forms of Entertainment-Education

The Sabido methodology is an approach to development of mass-media serial dramas. However, unlike typical "soap operas," Sabido-style serial dramas are not used to sell sex or soap, but rather, social change.

In this chapter we explore the Sabido methodology and the reasons why this theory-based approach to behavior change communication has been so successful. How do Sabido-style serial dramas differ from "soaps" and how does the Sabido methodology differ from other entertainment-education approaches? Why do audiences from the Philippines, to India, from Tanzania to Ethiopia, and from Mexico to Bolivia find these dramas irresistible and much more than merely educating in an entertaining way? And what does the future hold for the application of the Sabido methodology to rethinking the very foundation of comprehensive behavior change communication programs?

Miguel Sabido: Entertainment with Proven Social Benefit

Miguel Sabido was Vice President for Research at *Televisa* (Mexican television) during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. While at *Televisa*, Sabido developed a theoretical model for eliciting prosocial attitudinal, informational, and behavioral change through commercial television programming. He called this model "entertainment with proven social benefit."

Between 1973 and 1981, Miguel Sabido produced six social content serial dramas in Mexico.[i] During the decade 1977 to 1986, when many of these Mexican soap operas were on the air, the country underwent a 34 percent decline in its population growth rate. As a result, in May 1986, the United Nations Population Prize was presented to Mexico as the foremost population success story in the world.

Thomas Donnelly, then with USAID in Mexico, wrote, "Throughout Mexico, wherever one travels, when people are asked where they heard about family planning, or what made them decide to practice family planning, the response is universally attributed to one of the soap operas that *Televisa* has done. ... The *Televisa* family planning soap operas have made the single most powerful contribution to the Mexican population success story."
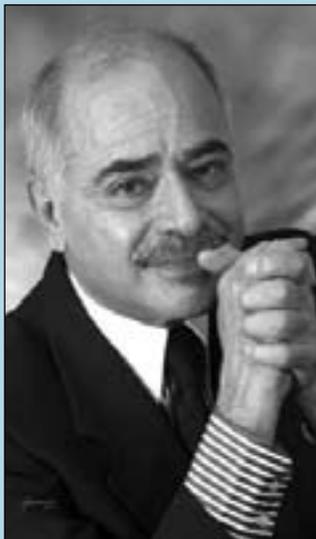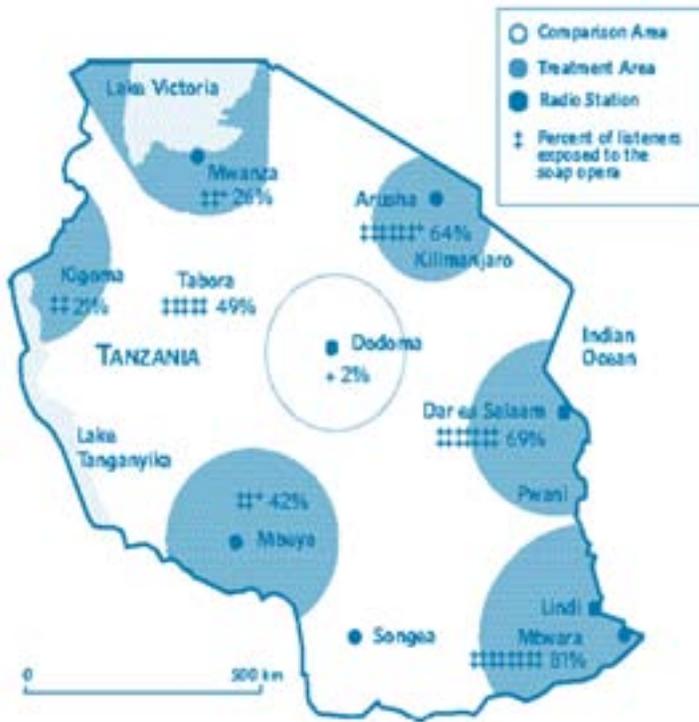
Mkwaju is a truck driver along the national routes in Tanzania. Although Mkwaju is married, he has many 'girlfriends' along his route – he is quite the sexual athlete. Tunu, Mkwaju's subservient wife, stays at home to care for their children. She is becoming more and more frustrated with her husband's antics, especially the way he squanders his earnings on women and alcohol. She finally decides to take things into her own hands, and starts her own small business, selling vegetables in the market. The business does well, thus giving Tunu the self-confidence to leave Mkwaju. Mkwaju contracts HIV as a result of his high-risk lifestyle, and eventually develops symptoms of AIDS. In an act of compassion, Tunu cares for him until he dies. But, his legacy lives on through his son, Kibuyu, who is beginning to follow in his father's footsteps. He regularly smokes marijuana with his friends on the outskirts of the city, and steals money from unsuspecting passers-by. Will Kibuyu suffer the same fate as his father? Or, will he learn from his mother how to succeed in life?[ii]

The above excerpt from *Twende na Wakati* ("Let's Go with the Times"), a radio serial drama broadcast twice weekly over Radio Tanzania, demonstrates the power of the Sabido methodology. The program was evaluated using an experimental design, pre- and post-intervention measurements of dependent variables, and measurement triangulation using an independent data source to provide more definitive evidence of the effects of the strategy on behavior change.[iii] It was the first evaluation of an entertainment-education program to apply all three of these evaluation measures on a national level.

Results of *Twende na Wakati*

Beginning in July 1993, Radio Tanzania broadcast *Twende na Wakati* twice weekly during prime time (at 6:30 pm) for 30 minutes. The radio station at Dodoma, however, did not broadcast this program, and instead broadcast locally produced programs at this time, thus serving as the comparison area in the field experiment (see Figure 2.1). However, the Dodoma area received all other elements of the national family planning program, including several other radio programs. Then, in September 1995, after two years of broadcasts, Radio Tanzania began broadcasting *Twende na Wakati* in the Dodoma area, starting with the first episode.[iv]

Figure 2.1: Map of Tanzania showing broadcast and non-broadcast areas for Twende na Wakati

Legend:
- ○ Comparison Area
- ◑ Treatment Area
- ● Radio Station
- ‡ Percent of listeners exposed to the soap opera

Lake Victoria
Mwanza ‡‡* 26%
Arusha ‡‡‡‡‡‡* 64%
Kilimanjaro
Kigoma ‡‡* 25%
Tabora ‡‡‡‡‡ 49%
TANZANIA
Dodoma • 2%
Indian Ocean
Lake Tanganyika
‡‡* 42%
Mbeya
Dar es Salaam ‡‡‡‡‡‡ 69%
Pwani
Songea
Lindi
Mtwara ‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡ 81%
0   500 km

By the end of 1993 *Twende na Wakati* was the most popular radio program in Tanzania, with 57 percent of the radio population listening. Independent research by the University of New Mexico and the Population Family Life Education Programme of the Government of Tanzania measured the effects caused by the program with regard to such issues as AIDS prevention behavior, ideal age of marriage for women, and use of family planning.[iii, iv] Though the population of the Dodoma comparison area was more urban than the rest of the country, a multiple regression analysis eliminated the influence such differences might have accounted for (such as increased access to information and services, higher income or educational levels, etc.). Nationwide random sample surveys of 2,750 people were conducted before, during and after the broadcast of the program. Data were also collected from the AIDS Control Programme of the government, the Ministry of Health, and the Demographic and Health Survey, all of which reinforced the findings of significant impacts on attitudes and behavior.[iii, iv]

Among the findings were a significant increase in the percentage of the population who perceive that they may be at risk of HIV infection; an increase in people's belief that they can take effective action to prevent HIV/AIDS; an increase in interpersonal communication about HIV/AIDS; an increase in the belief that individuals, rather than their deity or fate, can determine how many children they will have; an increase in the belief that children in small families have better lives than children in large families; and an increase in the percentage of respondents who approve of family planning.[iv, v]

The study also provided evidence that the Tanzanian radio serial stimulated important behavioral changes. Of the listeners surveyed, 82 percent said the program had caused them to change their own behavior to avoid HIV infection, through limiting the number of sexual partners and through condom use. Independent data from the AIDS Control Programme of the government of Tanzania showed a 153 percent increase in condom distribution in the broadcast areas during the first year of the serial drama, while condom distribution in the Dodoma non-broadcast area increased only 16 percent in the same time period.[iv, v] (See Figure 2.2)

Figure 2.2: Twende na Wakati (Tanzania) Increase in Condom Use in Broadcast and non-Broadcast Areas
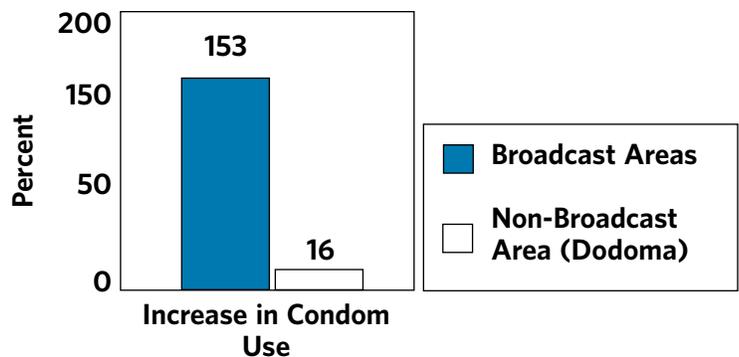
Legend:
- Broadcast Areas: 153
- Non-Broadcast Area (Dodoma): 16

Increase in Condom Use

The program was also effective in promoting family planning. There was a strong positive relationship between listenership levels by district and the change in the percentage of men and women who were currently using any family planning method. The research also showed an increase in the percentage of Tanzanians in the areas of the broadcast who discussed family planning with their spouses. The program also had a significant effect in raising the ideal age of marriage for women and the ideal age of first pregnancy.[iii]

Because of its experimental design, the evaluation results were able to disaggregate the effects of the radio serial drama from other family planning promotion and HIV/AIDS prevention programs being implemented throughout Tanzania. In regions where *Twende na Wakati* was broadcast, the percentage of married women who were currently using a family planning method increased 10 percentage points in the first two years of the program, while that percentage stayed flat in the Dodoma non-broadcast area during the time the program was not broadcast there. Then, when the program was broadcast in Dodoma, the contraceptive prevalence rate there increased 16 percentage points. In regions where the program was broadcast, the average number of new family planning adopters per clinic, in a sample of 21 clinics, increased by 32 percent from June 1993 (the month before the show began airing) to December 1994. Over the same period, the average number of new adopters at clinics in the Dodoma area remained essentially flat.[iii, vi] (See Figure 2.3)

Figure 2.3: Twende na Wakati (Tanzania) Increases in Contraceptive Prevalence Rate and Increase in Number of New Adopters of Family Planning in Broadcast and Non-Broadcast Areas
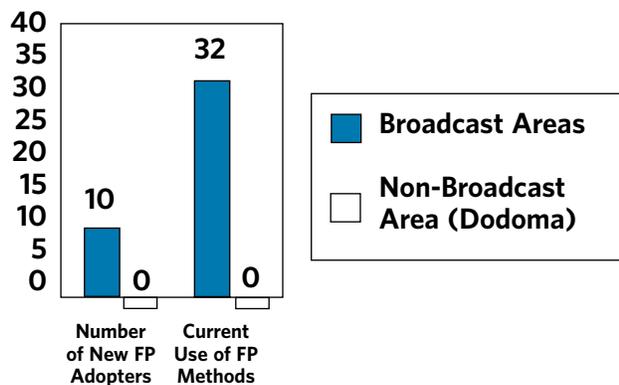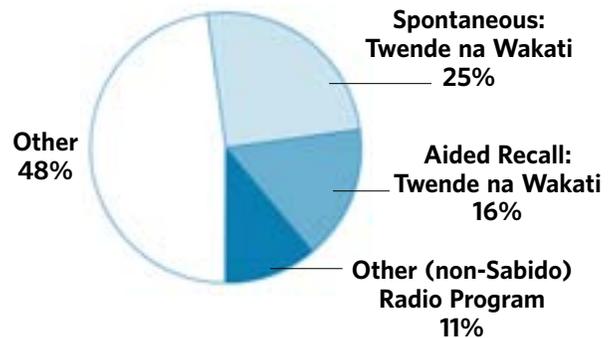

Source: Rogers EM, Vaughan PW, Swalehe RMA, Rao N, Svenkerud P, Sood S. Effects of an entertainment-education soap opera on family planning in Tanzania. *Studies in Family Planning.* 1999; 30(3): 193-211.

Independent data from Ministry of Health clinics showed that 41 percent of new adopters of family planning methods were influenced by the serial drama to seek family planning. This percentage included 25 percent who cited the serial drama by name when asked why they had come to the clinic, and another 16 percent who cited "something on the radio" and then identified the serial drama when shown a list of programs currently on the air. Another family planning serial drama using a different methodology that was broadcast nationwide by Radio Tanzania at the same time was cited by just 11 percent of new family planning adopters at the same Ministry of Health clinics.[iii, vi] (See Figure 2.4)

Figure 2.4: Twende na Wakati (Tanzania) Percent of New Adopters of Family Planning and Reasons Motivating Use

Source: Rogers EM, Vaughan PW, Swalehe RMA, Rao N, Svenkerud P, Sood S. Effects of an entertainment-education soap opera on family planning in Tanzania. *Studies in Family Planning.* 1999; 30(3): 193-211.

Counting all the costs of the radio serial, the cost per new adopter of family planning was just under 80 cents (U.S.). The cost per person who changed behavior to avoid HIV/AIDS was 8 cents (U.S.).

Results of *Yeken Kignit* (Ethiopia)

More recently, Population Media Center (PMC) produced a radio serial drama in Ethiopia using the Sabido methodology for behavior change communication. The program, *Yeken Kignit* ("Looking Over One's Daily Life") was broadcast in the Amharic language over Radio Ethiopia in 257 episodes between June 2, 2002 and November 27, 2004.

Yeken Kignit addressed issues of reproductive health and women's status, including HIV/AIDS, family planning, marriage by abduction, education of daughters, spousal communication and related issues.

To monitor results of the program during broadcast, PMC conducted 3 rounds of facility assessments (client exit interviews) in 48 health clinics during 2003 and 2004. The first facility assessment was completed in February 2003 and consisted of interviews with 4,084 clients. The second assessment, which included interviews with 4,858 clients, was completed in April 2004. The third round was completed in November 2004, and included interviews with 3,649 clients.

Each succeeding assessment report showed an increase in the percentage of both male and female male clients citing radio as the primary motivating factor in seeking health services: for example, only 6.3 percent of all clients in the first assessment (February 2003) cited radio as the primary motivation for seeking services, this proportion had grown to 18.8 percent by the third assessment in November 2004.

Figure 2.5: Yeken Kignit (Ethiopia) Percent of Clients Citing Radio as their Primary Motivation to Seek Services: Differences between the First, Second and Third Assessments
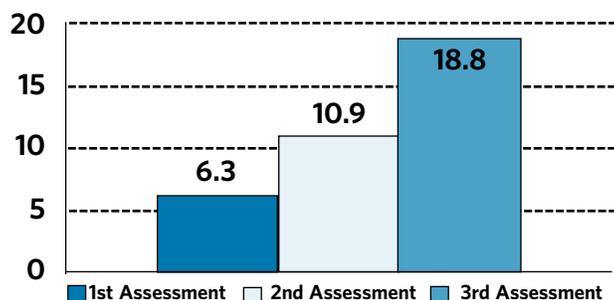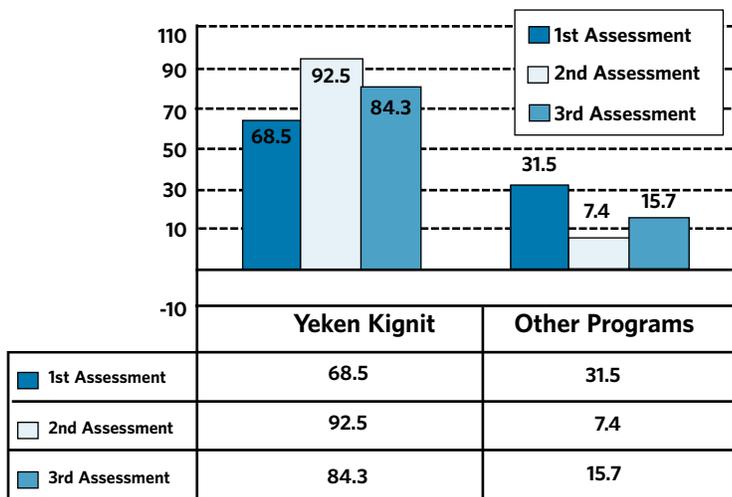

Source: Population Media Center – Ethiopia. *Facility Assessment Report.* November 2004.

Among those who cited radio as the primary motivation to seek services, there was an increase in the percentage of clients who cited *Yeken Kignit* by name. By the time of the third assessment, 84 percent cited *Yeken Kignit*, an increase of 16 percentage points from the first assessment. There was a concurrent *decrease* of 16 percent among those clients who named any other radio program on the air.

Figure 2.6: Yeken Kignit (Ethiopia) Percent of Clients Citing a Specific Radio Program: Differences between the First, Second and Third Assessments

	Yeken Kignit	Other Programs
1st Assessment	68.5	31.5
2nd Assessment	92.5	7.4
3rd Assessment	84.3	15.7

Source: Population Media Center – Ethiopia. *Facility Assessment Report.* November 2004.

One reason for the decrease between the second and third assessments in the percentage of clients naming *Yeken Kignit* as their primary motivation to seek services was the increase in the percentage citing a second PMC serial drama, *Dhimbibba*, which was in the Oromiffa language. Between the second and third assessments, the percentage naming *Dhimbibba* rose from 3.7 percent to 11.3 percent. Other than PMC's programs, by the time of the third assessment, only 4.4 percent of clients named any of the other programs on Radio Ethiopia.

An independent research firm conducted an evaluation of the impact of *Yeken Kignit* in December 2004. Preliminary findings from this study show significant results in terms of family planning and HIV/AIDS knowledge. The results also showed evidence of behavior change: most notably in terms of use of family planning methods, and in willingness to be tested for HIV. In most cases, there were significant differences in these knowledge and behavior change measures between listeners and non-listeners of *Yeken Kignit*, showing that the program had a differential effect on knowledge and behavior between listeners and non-listeners.

For example, among married women who are listeners to *Yeken Kignit*, current use of **any** family planning method increased from 12.3 percent to 43.5 percent (a 31.2 percentage point increase). Among non-listeners, use increased from 12.3 percent to 31.1 percent, an increase of only 18.8 percentage points. Among married men who are listeners to *Yeken Kignit*, current use of any method increased from 18.1 percent to 42.4 percent, an increase of 24.3 percentage points. Among non-listeners, use increased by only 14.6 percentage points.

Figure 2.7: Yeken Kignit (Ethiopia) Current Use of FP (Any Method): Differences between Baseline and Post-Intervention for Listeners and Non-Listeners
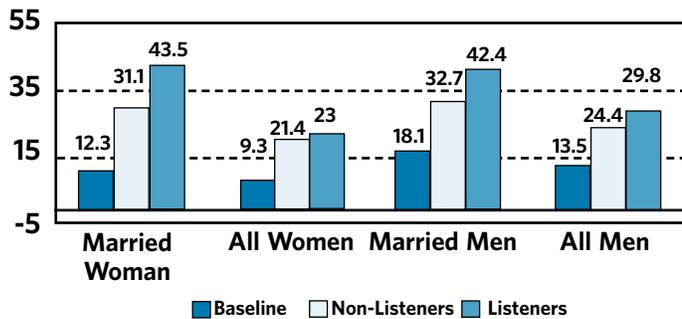
Source: Population Media Center – Ethiopia. *Final Evaluation (Preliminary Report).* December 2004.

Current use of **modern** family planning methods also increased significantly among listeners, compared to non-listeners. For example, use of a modern method of family planning by married women who are listeners to *Yeken Kignit* increased from 11.7 percent to 40.2 percent, a 28.3 percentage point change. Among non-listeners, use increased by only 18.2 percentage points (from 11.7 percent to 29.9 percent). Among married men who are listeners to *Yeken Kignit*, current use of modern methods increased from 15.6 percent to 41.3 percent, an increase of 25.7 percentage points. Among non-listeners, use increased by only 15.1 percentage points.

Figure 2.8: Yeken Kignit (Ethiopia) Current Use of FP (Modern Methods): Differences between Baseline and Post-Intervention for Listeners and Non-Listen
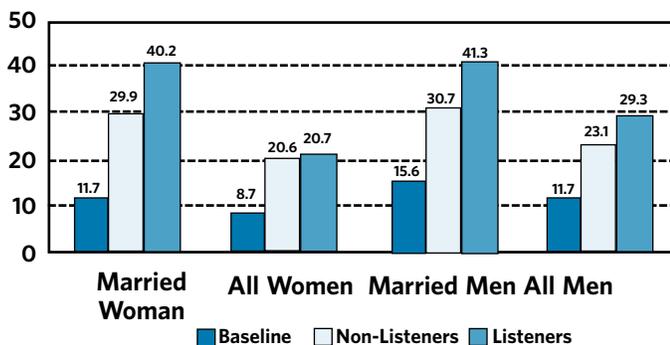
Source: Population Media Center – Ethiopia. *Final Evaluation(Preliminary Report).* December 2004.

The evaluation also measured differences in **ever use** of family planning among listeners and non-listeners. Among listeners, ever use among married women increased from 26.9 percent at baseline to 79 percent (an increase of 52.1 percentage points). Among non-listeners, ever use increased by only 20.5 percentage points, from 26.9 percent to 47.4 percent. Among married men who are listeners to *Yeken Kignit*, ever use increased from 26.9 percent to 69.6 percent, an increase of 42.7 percentage points. Among non listeners, ever use increased by only 17.5 percentage points.

Figure 2.9: Yeken Kignit (Ethiopia) Ever Use of FP: Differences between Baseline and Post-Intervention for Listeners and Non-Listeners
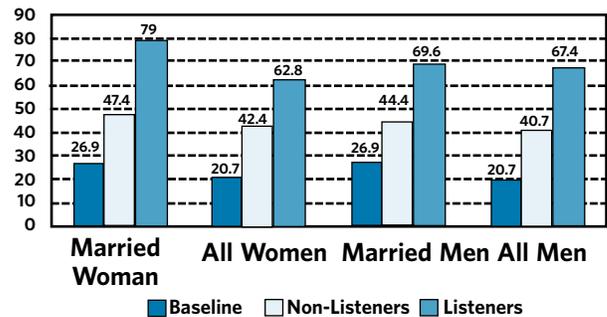
Source: Population Media Center – Ethiopia. *Final Evaluation (Preliminary Report).* December 2004.

The percentage of respondents who know how to determine HIV sero status increased considerably after listening to *Yeken Kignit*. The proportion of those who said that there is "no way to determine" one's HIV status declined from 37.3 percent among women and 34.1 percent among men to 9.8 percent and 8.6 percent, respectively, after listening to *Yeken Kignit*. The proportion reporting that a blood test is a means to determine one's HIV status increased by 51.4 and 37.5 percentage points, respectively, for women and men.

Figure 2.10 Yeken Kignit (Ethiopia) Percentage of Respondents who do not Know of Any Means to Determine HIV Status

Source: Population Media Center – Ethiopia. *Final Evaluation (Preliminary Report).* December 2004.

18

Figure 2.11 Yeken Kignit (Ethiopia) Percentage of Respondents Who Mention Blood Test as Means of Determining HIV Status

Bar chart — Women: Baseline 41.6, Non-Listeners 87.6, Listeners 93. Men: Baseline 54.4, Non-Listeners 87.3, Listeners 91.

Legend: Baseline — Non-Listeners — Listeners

Source: Population Media Center – Ethiopia. *Final Evaluation (Preliminary Report).* December 2004.

The percentage of people who had **taken a blood test** for HIV after listening to *Yeken Kignit* more than tripled for women, and more than quadrupled for men. The percentage of respondents who had not yet been tested but were **willing to be tested** also increased – by 11.4 percentage points for women, and by 22 percentage points for men.

Figure 2.12 Yeken Kignit (Ethiopia) Percentage of Respondents Who Had Taken a Blood Test for HIV

Bar chart — Women: Baseline 7.1, Non-Listeners 9.1, Listeners 28.8. Men: Baseline 6.6, Non-Listeners 7.4, Listeners 28.4.

Legend: Baseline — Non-Listeners — Listeners

Source: Population Media Center – Ethiopia. *Final Evaluation (Preliminary Report).* December 2004.

Figure 2.13 Yeken Kignit (Ethiopia) Percentage of Respondents Who Were Willing to be Tested for HIV

Bar chart — Women: Baseline 56.8, Non-Listeners 63.9, Listeners 68.2. Men: Baseline 54.6, Non-Listeners 56.4, Listeners 46.6.

Legend: Baseline — Non-Listeners — Listeners

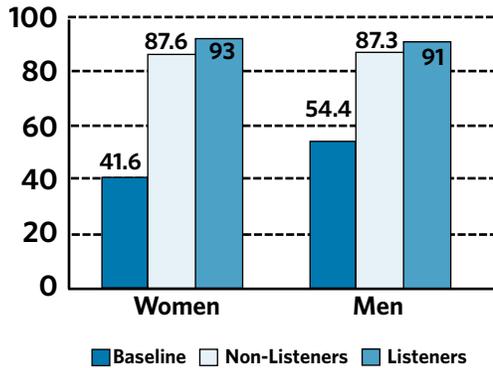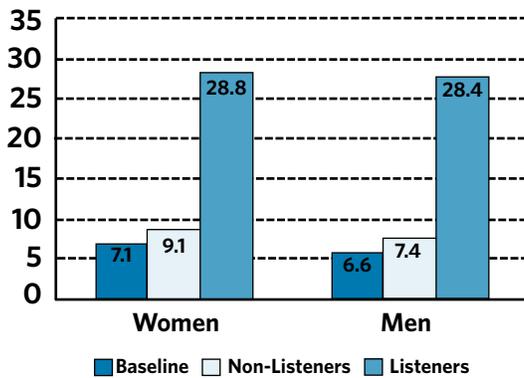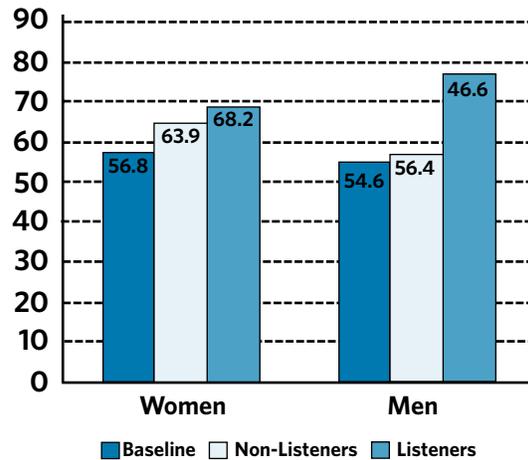Source: Population Media Center – Ethiopia. *Final Evaluation (Preliminary Report).* December 2004.

The Sabido Methodology: An Empirical and Reproducible Approach to Entertainment-Education

Twende na Wakati and *Yeken Kignit* produced such impressive behavior change results because they were designed using the Sabido methodology, which uses elements of communication and behavioral theories to reinforce specific values, attitudes, and behaviors. As mentioned above, another radio serial drama, which was developed using a different methodology, was broadcast over the same period in Tanzania as *Twende na Wakati* – with significantly less impact.

Thus, the results described above demonstrate how important the design of the serial drama is to success in terms of behavior change. Sabido-style serial dramas achieve results because they are developed using an empirical and reproducible approach to behavior change communication via mass media. In fact, every detail of a Sabido-style serial drama is developed according to a theoretical and empirical research-based formula in order to reinforce a coherent set of interrelated values that is tied to specific prosocial behaviors. The Sabido methodology is also a replicable methodology that, although formalized, is still adaptable to the individual values and cultures of each country where it is used.[vi] The pioneering research of Dr. Ana Cristina Covarrubias in 1974 was the foundation for a series of formative research studies which have further proven the effectiveness of this methodology over a 30-year period.

The Sabido methodology is based on theoretical and social research which is used to develop mass media serial dramas that are based on the realities that people in the audience face daily. These dramas communicate at the emotional level as well as the cognitive level, and further establish the conditions for social learning to take place. Sabido-style serial dramas portray role models who realistically learn to live more fulfilling personal and interpersonal lives.[vi]

Chezi:
Universal Archetype for Women's Empowerment

In Kenya, 96% of the country's 30 million people choose radio as their source of entertainment. *Ushikwapo Shikamana* ("If Assisted, Assist Yourself"), a radio serial that discusses the social problems faced by the people of Kenya – women's inequality, the spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, unplanned pregnancy, urban migration, drug addiction and domestic violence – was one of the most popular shows on Kenyan radio. The show, which ended in June 2004, focused on a 14-year old girl named Pendo, Kinga (to whom she is betrothed), and their extended families.

Although Pendo longs to stay in school, her parents have arranged for her marriage to Kinga, a jobless 18-year old. Kinga's father, Gogo, personifies the many traditional values and attitudes that maintain women's low status in society. Kinga's mother, Chezi, has led an often difficult life at the hands of her cruel and stubborn husband. Although she realizes that it is too late to change her own fate, she champions the cause of her soon-to-be daughter-in-law, and helps Pendo to overcome the many barriers of harmful traditions and practices.

For example, although tradition dictates that Pendo be circumcised before her marriage to Kinga, she resists. She begs to be allowed to continue her education, and vows that she will commit suicide if forced to undergo circumcision. Chezi defends Pendo, even to the point of countermanding the dictates of her husband. Chezi ultimately succeeds, and Pendo is spared the fate of many women of Chezi's generation. Thus, although Chezi must accept her own lot in life, she becomes a role model for the countless African women who are struggling to obtain rights and freedoms for their daughters and daughters-in-law.

The Sabido methodology is a comprehensive approach for reinforcing prosocial attitudes and for motivating behavior change using mass media channels. Sabido's approach comprises a theoretical dimension as well as methodologies for formative and summative evaluation research that are adaptable to varied commercial media and national infrastructures.[vii]

The major tenet of the Sabido methodology is that education does not have to be boring – and that entertainment can be educational. Sabido originally termed his approach "entertainment with proven social benefit."

Since then, many communication professionals and scholars have applied the term "entertainment-education" to the Sabido approach. However, the Sabido methodology is more than mere entertainment-education.

Let us begin by defining entertainment-education, and then explain how the Sabido methodology differs from this approach.

> *"Entertainment-education is defined as the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior."*[viii]

Singhal further defines entertainment-education as a "performance which captures the interest or attention of an individual, giving them pleasure, amusement, or gratification while simultaneously helping the individual to develop a skill or to achieve a particular end by boosting his/her mental, moral or physical powers."[v] A common goal of entertainment-education programs is to entertain and educate audiences in order to catalyze social change in a socially desirable manner.

Since the 1980s, the entertainment-education strategy has been used in over 200 health intervention programs in over 50 countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia, dealing mainly with reproductive health issues such as HIV/AIDS prevention, family planning, environmental health, teenage pregnancy prevention, and gender equality.[ix]

Entertainment-education comes in many different sizes and shapes:

- Single films and videos have been important in Asia and Africa where they are shown from video vans as well as on national media.

- Variety shows are increasingly popular with youth in developing countries – many of these programs engage young people directly in content and production.

- Television and radio spots often include entertainment-education through short narratives or through use of familiar characters.

- Locally, street theater, community radio, indigenous storytellers, drama contests, and community rallies with local performers incorporate and/or adapt national entertainment-education productions.

- Popular songs and music videos, which are inspired by the role modeling techniques used in Sabido-style serial dramas.

Many of these entertainment-education programs have attracted large audiences and have brought about major audience effects in knowledge, attitudes and behavior.[ix]

However, although they certainly produce results, these various entertainment-education programs have not demonstrated the same magnitude of effects or cost-effectiveness achieved by Sabido-style programs, such as *Twende na Wakati* and *Yeken Kignit*.

What makes Sabido-style programs so different than other forms of Entertainment-Education?

Successful use of the Sabido methodology hinges on two key factors: (1) use of the serial drama format and (2) rigorous adherence to the theories underlying the methodology. Also, most entertainment-education programs are devoted to sending messages, whereas the Sabido methodology uses characters as vicarious role models, to demonstrate the desired behaviors. The use of these vicarious role models, as explained in detail in this training guide, is a critical element of successful application of the Sabido approach.

Format (Long Running Serialized Drama)

First and foremost, the Sabido methodology requires the use of serial drama. Serial dramas continuing for several months or years are an extremely powerful form of entertainment-education that can influence both specific health behaviors and related social norms. Why?

- Serial dramas capture the attention and the emotions of the audience on a continual basis;
- Serial dramas provide repetition and continuity, allowing audiences to identify more and more closely over time with the fictional characters, their problems, and their social environment;
- Serial dramas allow time for characters to develop a change in behavior slowly, with hesitations and setbacks that occur in real life;
- Serial dramas have various subplots that can introduce different issues in a logical and credible way through different characters, a key characteristic of conventional soap operas; and

- Serial dramas can build a realistic social context that will mirror society and create multiple opportunities to present a social issue in various forms.[x]

By modeling the process of change gradually, serial dramas are less likely to result in backlash, or negative reactions by the audience, than programs that try to bring about behavior change too quickly. Ideally, Sabido-style serial dramas should continue for at least 120-180 episodes (over the course of several years).

Serial dramas can present different perspectives and stimulate audience questioning that can lead to both individual health behavior change and to a change in social norms.[xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii] As Piotrow states, "Of all the formats for entertainment-education programs which have been adapted, developed, tested, or contributed to, serial drama – on television where possible, or on radio when access to television is limited – has proven to be a highly effective format to promote long-term changes in health behavior and to influence the social norms that can reinforce such change."[xix]

Telenovelas vs. US Soap Operas

Whereas the US type of soap opera has its roots in domestic novels and film chapter plays, both directed to an almost exclusively female audience, the origins of the Latin American *telenovela* can be traced to the nineteenth-century serialized stories and novels that appeared in European newspapers and magazines and were penned by the likes of Charles Dickens and Eugene Sue for male and female readers alike.[xx]

The US soap opera is an open-ended story that continues as long as advertisers and ratings are in sufficient abundance; each *telenovela*, on the other hand, consists of a finite number of episodes, in which a central story is told until its conclusion.[xxi]

The *telenovela* is the backbone of the Sabido methodology for several reasons:
1. The emotional tone of this format produces an identification which can be used to teach the audience a desired social behavior.
2. In contrast to the North American soap opera, the Latin American *telenovela* has a definite beginning, middle and ending; and thus provides an opportunity to tie-in, and expand the needed infrastructure services.
3. The *telenovela* format allows connecting the audience with the infrastructure services in short epilogues at the end of every episode, in order to convey relevant information.
4. Since the *telenovela* format is a reflection on what is good and bad in society, it is easy to add characters for identification by audience individuals and groups, so they can learn social behavior change without harming audience ratings.

Theories Underlying the Sabido Methodology

Second, the Sabido methodology is based on various communication theories, each of which plays an essential role in the development of a Sabido-style serial drama (see Table 2.1). The application of these theories is critical to the success of the Sabido methodology in achieving behavior change. The different theories that form the basis of the Sabido methodology are described in detail in Appendix 1.

The different theories that guide the development of Sabido-style serial dramas provide the methodology with a foundation for the structure and design of messages, settings, characters, and plots – a foundation that is based on formative research. The theories also provide a framework for articulating hypotheses for summative (evaluation) research on the impact of the program.

Table 2.1: Theories underlying the Sabido Methodology [xxii]

Theory	Theory Function in Sabido-Style Soap Opera
Communication Model (Shannon and Weaver) [xxiii]	Provides a model for the communication process through which distinct sources, messages, receivers, and responses are linked.
Dramatic Theory (Bentley)[xxiv]	Provides a model for characters, their interrelationships, and plot construction.
Archetypes and Stereotypes (Jung)[xxv]	Provides a model for characters that embody universal human physiological and psychological energies.
Social Learning Theory (Bandura)[xxvi]	Provides a model in which learning from soap opera characters can take place.
Concept of the Triune Brain (MacLean)[xxvii] and Theory of the Tone (Sabido)[xxviii]	Provide a model for sending complete messages that communicate with various centers of perception.

Source: Theories Underlying the Sabido Methodology (Source: Nariman H. *Soap operas for social change.* Westport, CT: Praeger; 1993.)

Entertainment-Education and the Methodology of Miguel Sabido

Excerpt from a forthcoming book by David O. Poindexter [xxix]

1. The Sabido methodology is based on the findings of social science research that is relevant to human behavior change.

Frequently, entertainment-education is not based on the findings of social science research having to do with human behavior change.

With Sabido, before anything is begun, the Social Learning Research and Theory of Bandura determine what will be done. In addition to this, the psycho-neurological research and findings of Paul MacLean are incorporated, as well as the theory of archetypes and other research of Karl Jung. The course of whatever drama is to be undertaken is informed by the Dramatic Theory of Eric Bentley. Finally, Sabido's own Tonal Theory is an essential component of his methodology.

2. Pre-production research is a key to effective application of the Sabido methodology.

Many entertainment-education programs do not begin with a systematic examination and analysis of its audience and the cultural and societal forces that form and affect it. The Sabido methodology requires adequate audience, societal and cultural research – what is generally understood as formative research, both quantitative and qualitative.

3. Entertainment-education focuses on entertainment. Sabido's approach deals with its substance.

Producers of entertainment-education too often have thought that soap operas containing messages are what are required. Because the Sabido methodology is social science based, and not commercial broadcasting based, it begins with substance and never surrenders to those who understand form only. Frequently such people want to "hype" the entertainment in violation of the methodology, with the hope of increasing the audience – absent the methodology.

4. Entertainment-education is most generally message driven. The Sabido methodology is social science and audience driven, which is one of the reasons why it is effective.

Normally, in an entertainment-education drama, the writer first conceives a plot. As the plot is developed, characters are created and fleshed out. Next comes interaction between and among the characters. Finally, the full-fledged drama is written.

Miguel Sabido's approach to pro-social drama is the reverse of this. First, formative research, both qualitative and quantitative, is conducted by competent researchers – research which is relevant to the current behaviors that give rise to the need for an intervention. The research also examines the media menu available for audience consumption and its effect(s) on cultural attitudes and social behaviors. In addition, the research provides a clear picture of the infrastructure upon which audience members can call for assistance when it comes to changes in their lifestyles and behaviors.

At the same time, a moral framework based on relevant laws, constitutional provisions, and UN Covenants and Declarations to which a given country is a subscriber, is constructed. Its purpose is to answer the question "by what authority does one propose to intervene in relevant personal and/or social behaviors?"

Based on this and extensive research, an issues analysis is laid out. The issues analysis addresses categories as health, education, economy, culture, etc. which are relevant to such central concerns as health, reproductive health, family harmony, gender equity, etc. Positive and negative values will then be derived from the issues analysis. These values and related behaviors will be ranked by their degree of importance to the situation being addressed. The most important will be assigned to positive and negative characters, who, in their lives and actions will represent, personify and promote the positive or negative values and related behaviors that define their lives.

To summarize: entertainment-education proceeds from plot to characters to interaction. Sabido's approach is the opposite. It proceeds from research to values to characters to interactions to plot.

5. Who/what determines the message(s) is a major difference between many entertainment-education programs and the Sabido methodology.

Because much entertainment-education lacks a clear methodology to serve as a steering mechanism, the message, as well as the means for its delivery, is most often controlled by the funder/sponsor.

Sabido-style serial dramas are controlled by the social science research and theory underlying the methodology and by the feedback provided by on-going evaluative research.

6. The professional credentials of those determining the activity, be it entertainment-education or specifically Sabido-based, may determine the activity and its effects.

Frequently, the professionals in these agencies have good credentials in their own field. They often, however, seem to think that competence in their own field qualifies them with competence when it comes to entertainment-education.

7. The focus of the entertainment also matters.

Entertainment-education is generally message focused. Almost by definition it expects to focus on the cognitive part of the brain. The history of the application of communication in development activities may help in understanding this. A generation ago, particularly in Asia, something called Project Support Communications began to emerge. In fields such as health or nutrition or agriculture, development leaders decided that mass media instructional activities could help.

After a time, this morphed into what was called Development Support Communications Services (DSCS). A foremost leader in this was Erskine Childers with his DSCS Headquarters in Bangkok. Always in this approach, the aim was to impart knowledge as a means of buttressing development programs, and by implication, affecting human behavior.

In Miguel Sabido's methodology, the psycho-neurological research of Paul MacLean is taken with full seriousness. It is fully emotional. True, it is often helpful if the emotion can be buttressed by reason. But if one's behavior is to be modified, cognitive messages alone will not get the job done. The message must, perforce, also be emotive.

MacLean's contribution to Sabido was to give him the scientific basis he needed for focusing on the emotion (second zone) and instinct/impulse (first zone) as the basis for his serial dramas, with the third/cognitive zone used primarily to reinforce the first and second zone messages in the dramas.

8. The length and pacing of the effort is also important.

In entertainment-education it is unusual to find an effort that is of sufficient length of intensity to achieve its objectives. One reason for this can be insufficient funding. That has too frequently been the case in entertainment-education.

Another factor is that of pacing. Time and again, the funding agency executive has decreed that messages must get right to the point. When that has happened in a place where the subject matter was a taboo subject for the audience, the result has been resentment and rejection often accompanied by outrage.

Miguel Sabido has maintained, based on careful testing and evaluation, that in order for the members of the audience and the characters of the drama to get to know each other, upwards of 50 episodes is required. Until this happens, and a bond is established between audience members and characters of the drama, very little can be accomplished in changing anyone's behavior. Once this has been achieved, then the drama can begin to deal with social behaviors that frequently will require a departure from traditional norms. Sabido maintains that a minimum of 120 episodes is required in order to begin initiating permanent long term behavior changes in the lives of audience members.

9. Evaluation is an essential component of the Sabido methodology.

The Sabido methodology requires both on-going evaluation and summative evaluation. The summative evaluation must be based on a construct of criteria related to the design and goals of the project and based on chartable behavior changes in the audience.

Classical forms of media evaluation, such as numbers of impressions made or the size of the audience delivered, are far from enough to satisfy the Sabido methodology, because they give little indication of changed behaviors on the part of the audience members.

For Sabido, the fundamental concerns have to do with numbers of people who have enrolled in centers that provide assistance, e.g. adult education centers, family planning centers and the like. To the extent possible, the Sabido methodology seeks to document mass attitude and behavior change with regard to the targeted objectives of the serial.

[i] Between 1973 and 1981, Miguel Sabido produced six social content serial dramas in Mexico.

■ *Ven Conmigo* ("Come with Me") provided specific information about a study program offered by the Secretary of Public Education in 1975. Role models were used to motivate viewers to register for literacy classes.

■ *Acompáñame* ("Accompany Me"), Sabido's second entertainment-education soap opera, contained a family planning message (broadcast from August 1977 through April 1978). Role models were used in this serial drama to motivate women to use contraceptive methods, and to show wives how to negotiate contraceptive use with their spouses.

■ *Vamos Juntos* ("Let's Go Together") promoted responsible parenthood and the active development and integration of children in the family and in society (July 1979 through March 1980). Role models were used in this program to teach parents about family integration behaviors and family life planning.

■ *El Combate* ("The Struggle") promoted an adult education program launched in several communities outside of Mexico City (April through September 1980). Behavior models were used in this program to inform rural audiences how to dispel the myth that adults cannot go back to school.

■ *Caminemos* ("Going Forward Together") tackled the theme of sex education for adolescents (September 1980 through April 1981). Role models in this program were used to model responsible sexual behavior for teenagers.

■ *Nosotros las Mujeres* ("We the Women") ran from April to October 1981. Through the effective use of role modeling, this program was designed to counter traditions associated with machismo and to encourage women to become aware of their important role in the family and society.

In 1997-98, Sabido produced one additional social-content serial drama before retiring from Televisa in 1998:

■ *Los Hijos de Nadie* ("Nobody's Children") addressed the issue of street children. This program used role models to change opinions among audience members about the "silent conspiracy" surrounding the problem of street children in Mexico.

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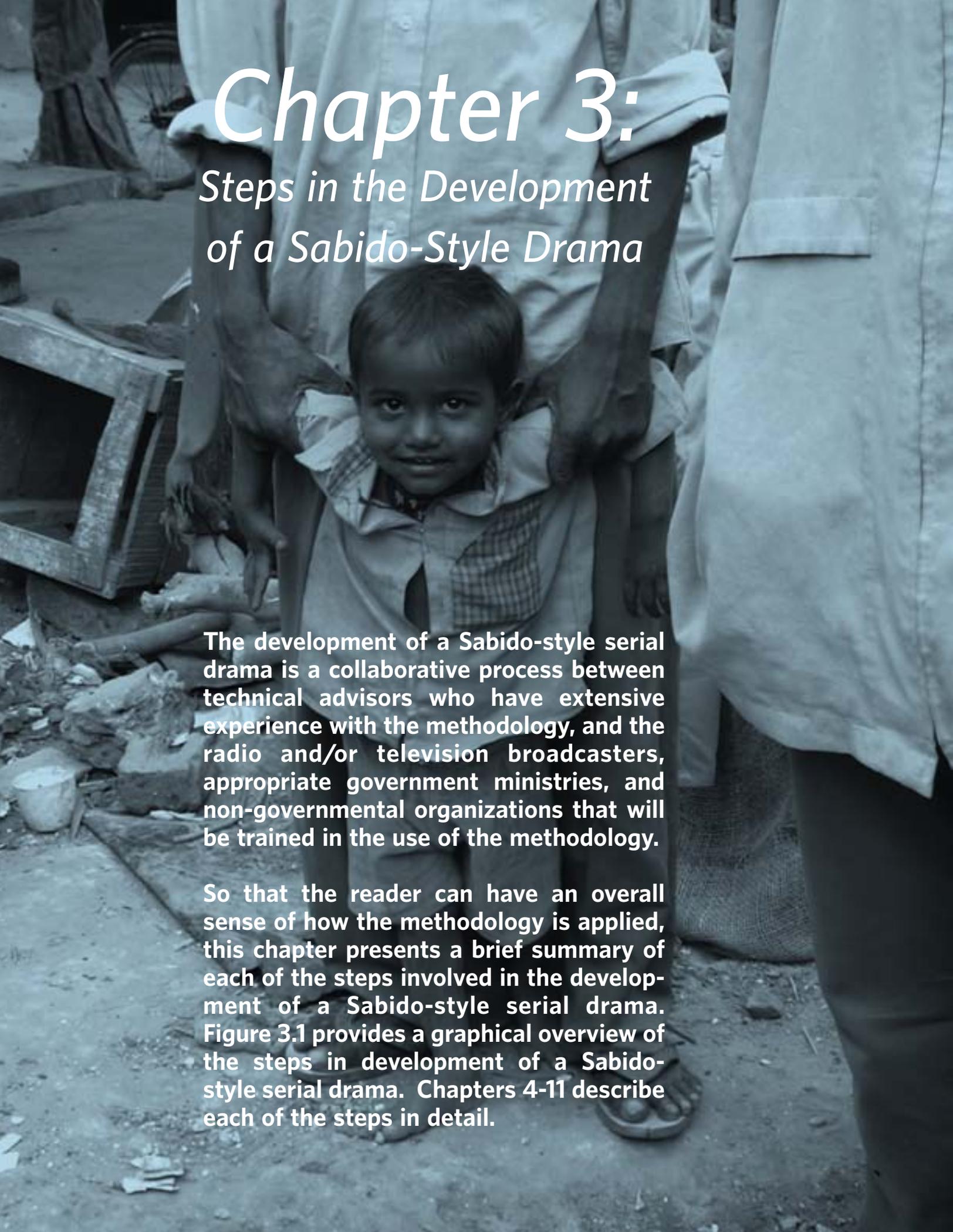
Chapter 3:
Steps in the Development of a Sabido-Style Drama

The development of a Sabido-style serial drama is a collaborative process between technical advisors who have extensive experience with the methodology, and the radio and/or television broadcasters, appropriate government ministries, and non-governmental organizations that will be trained in the use of the methodology.

So that the reader can have an overall sense of how the methodology is applied, this chapter presents a brief summary of each of the steps involved in the development of a Sabido-style serial drama. Figure 3.1 provides a graphical overview of the steps in development of a Sabido-style serial drama. Chapters 4-11 describe each of the steps in detail.

Figure 3.1: Steps in the Development of a Sabido-Style Drama

Conceptualization	Pre-Production Production Post-Production	Evaluation
General Hypothesis **Research** **Hypothesis for that case, that country, that problem** **Theoretical Framework** **Moral Framework**	• **General design of the serial based on Sabido's methodology** • **Design of the "rating-creating" first and second plots** • **Design of transition characters** • **Production Design** ○ **Scriptwriting** ○ **Casting** ○ **Set Design** ○ **Location screening** ○ **Costumes** ○ **Make-up** ○ **Direction**	<u>**Quantitative:**</u> • **Ratings** • **Sales** • **Behavior change** • **Going to the infrastructure** <u>**Qualitative:**</u> • **Change of life approach** • **Reinforcement and de-reinforcement of values** • **Change in opinion & attitude** • **Behavior change**

A. Formative Research

The first step in a Sabido-style serial drama planning process is formative research. The formative research is designed around the general hypothesis or issue, and is used to gather country- (or culture-) specific information about that problem or issue.

In a Sabido-style serial drama, formative research is also used to gather information about the characteristics, needs, and preferences of the target audience. This information is used to design the characters, settings and storylines of the serial drama. The formative research is also used to determine the key values and issues that will be addressed by the serial drama, which is the basis for the theoretical framework, and developing the moral framework.

The formative research studies the habits and lifestyles of members of the target audience to determine their needs, desires, behaviors and media usage in order to develop understandable, high-quality, culturally appropriate characters and storylines; and above all, to reproduce the life styles of the target audience.

The formative research includes seeking feedback from the target audiences as to their views on the issues they see as important, combined with an analysis of the culture in order to understand the lifestyles of the people in general and their attitudes and behaviors with regard to reproductive health specifically. In that way, settings and characters can be designed and dialogue used that will convince the audience that the program has been designed specifically for them, finding also the preferred tone of the target group to whom

the behavior models are presented. The producer will then fine tune the tone preferred by the target group to which the behavior models are to be presented.

Formative research generally begins with a literature review of what is already known in the country about the topic(s) of interest – the general hypothesis or issue – and to ascertain what further research may be needed.

Formative research can include both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. Part of the formative research generally includes an analysis of the media consumption patterns of the target audience, as well as an analysis of the existing health or social service infrastructure with regard to the issues to be addressed. The latter is important in order to ensure that demand that is generated for services does not outstrip supply.

Also, prior to the broadcast of the program, a quantitative survey is usually carried out among the target audience to serve as a baseline against which changes during the serial drama can be measured, such as use of service infrastructures that facilitate the displayed behavior.

B. The Issues List, Moral Framework and Values Grid

Key issues or problems are identified during the formative research by examining where the social norm differs from the stated policy of the government. The country's policies are summarized in a document called the moral framework. It is based on the laws of

the country, international agreements (such as UN documents to which the country is signatory), and the positions of influence/opinion groups, such as religious groups, political parties, traditions, etc.

Then, a series of statements of positive and negative values are made regarding each of the identified problem areas based on the positions of the government within the moral framework. This values grid serves as the basis for the creation of characters of three types in the serial drama: those that hold the positive values and related behaviors, those who are negative with regard to those values and behaviors, and those who are ambivalent with regard to the values but who transition under the influence of the positive and negative characters ultimately into positive role models for the audience. Basing the values adopted by the program on the moral framework allows the creative and production team to defend the content of the program against any criticism, since it is a reflection of official policy, international agreements and characteristics of the country.

C. Advisory Committee and Technical Review Committee

Generally, an Advisory Committee is established with representatives of relevant ministries, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), UN agencies and other institutions working on the issues being addressed. This committee ensures that the moral framework is complete and provides high-level coordination among various institutions with regard to the major thrust of the broadcast program and the availability of services, demand for which may be generated by the program.

A second committee of technical experts, referred to as a Technical Review Committee, is usually established in which members represent various types of expertise. Members of this committee review scripts for content to ensure that no unintended misinformation is provided through the dialogue.

D. Training of Producers and Scriptwriters

An in-depth training workshop is held following the formative research to allow the production and writing team to understand the findings of the formative research, to be trained in the Sabido methodology, to refine the issues list and values grid, and to begin the development of settings, characters, and story lines.

E. Pre-Testing of Pilot Episodes

The pilot episodes are then tested with small groups of the target audience to ensure that the program is acceptable, characters are believable, and the story is interesting to the audience. Following the pre-test, writers may need to adjust the design of certain characters or storylines in order to make the program more interesting or understandable to the audience.

F. Writing and Production

Following such refinement, the program will go into extensive production, often with the preparation of about 30 episodes prior to the launching of the broadcast program, in order to ensure that sufficient episodes are available to avoid any gaps in the broadcast schedule. During the writing and production at this stage, the creative process continues, with the development of additional characters and preparation of a complete treatment for the storyline and characters for the entire serial drama. However, the writing and production of all of the episodes is not done at one time, because it is advantageous to allow later episodes to be modified based on audience feedback during the broadcast process.

G. Monitoring

Monitoring data provide the producers and writers with valuable information about the public's receptivity to the program and its characters. The feedback shows how members of the target audience are interpreting characters and content of the program, and helps to gauge their reaction to key messages and issues in the serial drama. Monitoring also provides measures of parasocial interaction and audience involvement, which help to determine specific effects of the characters on behavior change.

H. Summative Research (Impact Evaluation)

Summative (or evaluative) research is defined as that which takes place after broadcast and is used to quantify the audience effects and to assess the validity of the original design and hypotheses.

Evaluation research usually employs a quantitative survey of audience members and non-audience members (e.g., listeners and non-listeners, or viewers and non-viewers) before, during and after the broadcasts, and compares relative changes in knowledge, attitudes, and behavior between these two groups. Evaluation research thus seeks to measure the effects of the serial drama on audience behavior.

Chapter 4:

Step One – Formative Research

In a Sabido-style serial drama, formative research is used to gather information about the characteristics, needs, and preferences of the target audience. This information is used to design the characters, settings and storylines of the serial drama. Also, this information is used to determine the key values and issues that will be addressed by the serial drama.

Formative Research Goals

There are four goals for the formative research.

Goal 1 - Establish a moral or policy framework for the program:
The moral/policy framework provides the legal foundation on which the program can promote its educational values. The moral/policy framework is derived from 1) the national constitution, 2) relevant national laws and policies, and 3) human rights conventions and treaties to which the country is signatory. The moral/policy framework is a brief document that excerpts the key components of the legal documents for each educational value promoted by the program.

Goal 2 - Define the target audience(s) for the program:
One of the most important elements of a Sabido-style serial drama is that the audience must be able to identify with the characters. They should be able to say, "I know that character; he is just like my neighbor." The circumstances of the characters must also seem familiar to the audience. Audience members should be able to say, "That happened to my brother." If the audience both relates to the situations in the story line and has empathy for the characters, they will be able to learn from the soap opera. To be able to create such a soap opera, the formative research must clearly define the primary audience and the social and cultural environment in which they live their lives. Table 4.1 outlines the areas of inquiry to define the target audience and their social/cultural environments.

Goal 3 - Define the educational issues for the program:
The creative team must understand their audience in terms of what they know and how they feel about a wide range of issues that will be addressed by the program. The formative research will give rise to a set of "educational themes."

Goal 4 - Create a values grid for the program:
The educational issues that are defined during the completion of goals 2 and 3 must be "married" to the moral/policy framework. The output of this marriage will be a list of discrete educational themes and the positive and negative values that derive from the educational issues. For example, if the national constitution guarantees the right of all people to be educated, but the formative research shows that many girls are denied an education, then two values may be created 1) the positive value that "It is good to educate your daughters," and 2) the negative value, "It is bad to not educate your daughters."

Table 4.1: Areas of Inquiry to Define the Target Audience and the Social/Cultural Environment

1. Determine listenership/viewership patterns by gender, age, and socioeconomic status at different times of day. What is the best broadcast time to reach the audience?

2. Describe and analyze the consumption of mass media and entertainment by the target audience:
A. What are the patterns of listening to radio and watching television among the target audience?
B. What are the most popular programs on radio and television?
C. What are people's attitudes about characters and story lines in existing entertainment programs, particularly dramas?
D. What are people's attitudes towards recent mass media programs dealing with sexual and reproductive health, including HIV/AIDS?
E. What are people's attitudes about recent mass media treatment of gender issues, and vulnerability of women and girls in the context of HIV/AIDS?
F. Who do the audience view as role models in the society at large and in entertainment programs?
G. What is the experience of the audience with serial dramas?
H. Are there certain soap operas that have been very popular, and what do people like/dislike about them?
I. What kind of music do people like to listen to?
J. What type of person should the positive, negative and transitional characters be?

3. Define the target audience in terms of their demographics and socioeconomic status:
A. What is their sex?
B. What is their age?
C. What is their level of education?
D. What is their employment type and income level?
E. What are the typical material possessions they own?
F. What language is spoken in their homes?
G. Do they live in rural or urban areas and do they travel to urban areas?
H. What does the target audience wear?
I. What are their homes made of and how are they furnished?
J. What are the modes of transportation they use?

4. Define the cultural setting for the program by describing relevant cultural and religious practices, for example:
A. What is the nature of the family unit (extended or nuclear)?
B. How are the villages organized, socially and politically?
C. Are people fatalistic? Do they believe that fate controls much of what happens to them?
D. What are the daily rhythms of meals, work and leisure?

E. What religions do they belong to and how do those religions influence their decision making about relevant issues? Is ancestor worship important?
F. What class/caste do they belong to and how does it influence their decision-making about relevant issues?
G. If someone has done something really good, what would be the best reward for that person?
H. If someone has done something really bad, what would be the best punishment for that person?
I. What values of the culture tend to support HIV/AIDS prevention practices?
J. What values of the culture tend to undermine HIV/AIDS prevention practices?
K. What are the social and cultural factors that impact on women's and girls' vulnerability to HIV/AIDS?

5. Define the relevant practices concerning sexual relations and condom use:
A. How are decisions made about whether and when to have sex?
B   How are decisions made by sexually active people about whether or not to use condoms?

6. Define the status of men and women:
A. Are women expected or allowed to work for pay? Should women who work be paid the same as men who do the same job?
B. Are men expected to do any household work or rearing of the children?
C. Who makes the important family decisions, such as whether to use family planning, how many children to have, and when to have the children?
D. Do/should men and women have equal rights and equal status?
E. Who should make financial decisions, such as to buy a radio or to buy a piece of furniture?
F. Does a man have the right to beat his wife if she disobeys him?
G. Does a man have the right to force his wife to have sexual relations with him?
H. Should women be able to inherit property equally with men?
I. Should girls be educated equally with boys?
J. Should daughters be expected to care for their parents in their old age?
K. Should men be allowed to have sexual relations with women other than their wives?
L. Should girls be circumcised?

The importance of preliminary research to help shape the content of media programs cannot be overemphasized. Such formative research can identify, for example, whether the primary need is for correct information on measures to prevent HIV/AIDS; changing the image of condoms in the culture; helping people to understand relative risk of protected vs. unprotected sex; showing young girls how to avoid unwanted sexual experiences; or showing people how to deal with emotional tensions often attached to condom use within long-term relationships without resorting to high-risk behavior. Such research helps to determine the validity of common assumptions about sexual behavior in any culture in order to ascertain the most effective strategies for reducing sexual risk.

The formative research reports will be used by the creative team, particularly the writers and the producers of the program. Therefore, the formative research reports must be understandable by, and relevant to, the creative team.

Formative Research Methods

Formative research generally includes:
- Literature Review
- Media Analysis
- Social Services Infrastructure Analysis
- Health Behavior Analysis
- Qualitative Research (Focus Group Discussions)
- Quantitative Research (Baseline Survey)

Literature Review: Formative research generally begins with a literature review of what is already known about the topics of interest in the country and to ascertain what further research may be needed. The literature review is an examination of published reports to analyze the effects of the culture on reproductive health decisions and sexual behavior; the positive and negative roles that the mass media and folk media have played with regard to these issues; the current situation with regard to the availability of relevant medical services throughout the country; prevailing attitudes about the safety and quality of condoms and other HIV/AIDS prevention services among the people; and information gaps among youth and young adults regarding sexual risk and reproduction.

Media Analysis: The formative research includes an assessment of the reach of the radio and television systems throughout the country; the availability of proper equipment and power supply for broadcast during key times; attitudes among the key leaders of each broadcast station regarding the issues to be addressed in the program; the continuity of broadcast programs and personnel at the stations; and the openness to initiating new programs, such as serial dramas, as a means of promoting health and social development in the country. The media analysis also determines listenership or viewership habits of the target audience, so that an optimum time can be selected for broadcast of the program.

Finally, the media analysis also provides an assessment of the opportunities and pressure points within the country regarding the possibility of collaborating with producers of existing entertainment and information programs to incorporate content related to reproductive health and disease prevention.

The media analysis often includes:
- A list of all radio (and/or television) stations.
- An assessment of the ability and capability of each one to produce and broadcast such a program.
- The geographic coverage and quality of reception of each station.
- The audience reach and demographic profile of the programs broadcast by each of the stations.
- The types of programs on each station.
- What programs have content on HIV/AIDS, reproductive health, and/or gender issues (or any other issue to be addressed by the serial drama).

- Education issues (sex education offered in schools, sources of sex education, media consumption, radio consumption, TV consumption, print media consumption).

Social Services Infrastructure Analysis: The social services infrastructure analysis is a study of the infrastructure, and how it is used and accessed by the intended target audiences. The formative research also describes the current situation with regard to availability of services and infrastructure to assist target audience members to adopt new behaviors (e.g., accessibility of family planning clinics, or HIV counseling and testing services). This is critical to ensure that the serial drama does not create demand for services that do not exist – or that demand does not outstrip available supply of services related to the topic(s) addressed by the serial drama.

Health Behavior Analysis: The formative research also includes an analysis of health knowledge, attitudes and behaviors among the intended target groups.

The health behavior analysis evaluates data in the following areas:
- Health/sociocultural/economic issues
- Demographic information
- Marriage/family
- Fertility
- Awareness and use of family planning
- STI/HIV/AIDS knowledge

- Information dissemination
- Partner communication
- Stigma (HIV/AIDS)
- Attitudes towards condoms
- Sex behaviors/sex practices

Qualitative Research: Focus group discussions are held with members of the target audience to gain more information about issues that have not yet been studied (as identified by the literature review) and to provide transcripts of how the target audience talks about the key issues (real language).

Ideally, members of the creative team (producers and scriptwriters) will attend one or more of the focus group discussions, to understand the language that members of the target audience use to discuss the issues to be addressed in the serial drama.

Quantitative Research: Prior to broadcast of the drama, a quantitative survey (baseline survey) is usually carried out among the target audience to serve as a baseline against which changes during the serial drama can be measured.

In settings where funding is a key constraint, existing sources of data (such as census data, or Demographic and Health Survey reports, if available) can provide baseline measures at a fraction of the cost of conducting a large baseline study.

Chapter 5:

Step Two – The Issues List, Moral Framework and Values Grid

The formative research is used to develop a list of issues to be addressed by the program, which are then used to identify the relevant content of the moral framework. The moral framework is then used to develop a values grid, upon which the themes in the serial drama will be based.

A. Issues List

The issues list is merely a description of key issues or problems that are identified during the formative research. The list is generated by examining where the social norm differs from the stated policy of the government.

B. Moral Framework

The moral framework for a Sabido-style serial drama is a document that summarizes the existing legal and policy framework underlying the topics to be addressed in the serial drama. The moral framework will include an analysis of the constitution of the country, and any relevant legislation regarding the subject in question (e.g., HIV/AIDS, gender equality, women's and girls' vulnerability in the context of HIV/AIDS, etc.). The moral framework also examines fundamental principles laid down in United Nations covenants and declarations, such as the Cairo Programme of Action, to which the country is a signatory.

The moral framework ensures that the social message corresponds to issues that are officially sanctioned and that it is relevant to an agenda articulated by national policymakers. The serial drama should not create values, but should reinforce pre-existing prosocial values, attitudes and behaviors.

Moral frameworks have been developed for many countries, and each are based on that nation's religious, cultural, political or other relevant positions. Therefore, a moral framework that has been developed for one country cannot be applied to another country, because the policies and values may be incompatible. For example, Islamic Sudanese women would likely not emulate or even identify with characters based on a moral framework for Catholic Philippines.

The Moral Framework

Sabido-style serial dramas are based on the findings of extensive formative research that helps the scriptwriters and producers to develop the characters, storylines, settings and dialogue. The positive (prosocial) values that are promoted by the serial drama are based on a Moral Framework (or a moral statement) that formulates the moral positions on the issues to be addressed by the serial drama. This moral framework is signed by representatives of governmental, social, religious, cultural, and community organizations to demonstrate their acceptance of the values presented in the document.

C. Values Grid

The moral framework forms the basis for the values grid, which is a listing of the positive and negative values that will be promoted (or negated) in the serial drama. The values grid consists of statements such as: "It is good that parents send their daughters to school," and "It is bad that husbands beat their wives."

The values grid is a resource tool for the scriptwriters as they design the plot and write the drama. It is used to develop the positive and negative characters who embody the positive and negative values in the values grid. Transitional characters start out as neutral towards the positive and negative values in the values grid, but during the course of the serial drama, the transitional characters will evolve to adopt the positive values and behaviors promoted by the program.

Development of the Values Grid

- Discuss research findings as an entire group (creative team).
- Discuss local context and how the issues reflect local priorities.
- Introduce the creative team to the moral framework developed from the research.
- If a values grid has not already been developed, assist the creative team to get started by providing one or two examples of values (based on the research results). The values grid has the format of comparative statements, such as "It is good that..." and "It is bad (not good) that..."
- When the values grid has been developed, review it with the creative team to arrive at a final consensus.
- Identify any issues that the creative team feels are not reflected in the values grid but that are important in the community/culture. Discuss these and decide if they are valid issues to add. Also give the creative team the opportunity to express disagreement with any of the values that they feel are not accurate portrayals of the community/culture.
- The creative team should feel ownership of the values grid and prioritize the educational issues they want to address in the serial drama. They will then use these values as the bases for stories during the program.

Basing the values that the program will promote on the moral framework allows the creative and production team to defend the content of the program against any criticism, since it is a reflection of official policy.

Values Grid for *Ashreat Al Amal* (Sails of Hope) in Sudan

HIV/AIDS

It is good that individuals within the community recognize that HIV/AIDS exists and is a threat to the society.	It is bad that individuals within the community do not recognize that HIV/AIDS exists and is a threat to the society.
It is good that individuals within the society know that everyone who is sexually active stands a risk of contracting HIV/AIDS.	It is bad that individuals within the society do not know that everyone who is sexually active stands a risk of contracting HIV/AIDS.
It is good that individuals know the various modes of HIV/AIDS transmission.	It is bad that individuals do not know the various modes of HIV/AIDS transmission.
It is good that individuals go for counseling and testing in order to know their HIV/AIDS status.	It is bad that individuals do not go for counseling and testing in order to know their HIV/AIDS status.
It is good that people practice safer sex.	It is bad that people do not practice safer sex.
It is good that people are aware of the link between STI and HIV/AIDS.	It is bad that people are not aware of the link between STI and HIV/AIDS.
It is good that people go for treatment as soon as they get infected with STIs.	It is bad that people do not go for treatment as soon as they get infected with STIs.
It is good that people accept and give care to people living with HIV/AIDS.	It is bad that people do not accept and do not give care to people living with HIV/AIDS.
It is good that society accepts and takes care of AIDS orphans.	It is bad that society does not accept and does not take care of AIDS orphans.
It is good that HIV positive people do not lose their jobs because of their status.	It is bad that HIV positive people lose their jobs because of their status.
It is good that society understands the basic needs of people living with HIV/AIDS.	It is bad that society does not understand the basic needs of people living with HIV/AIDS.
It is good that HIV positive pregnant women are provided with anti-retroviral therapy.	It is bad that HIV positive pregnant women are not provided with anti-retroviral therapy.
It is good that people know that HIV-positive mothers can transmit HIV to their children during pregnancy, delivery and breast feeding.	It is bad that people do not know that HIV-positive mothers can transmit HIV to their children during pregnancy, delivery and breast feeding.
It is good that individuals understand that mosquitoes do not spread HIV/AIDS.	It is bad that individuals do not understand that mosquitoes do not spread HIV/AIDS.
It is good that individuals understand that getting infected with HIV/AIDS is not a curse from God -- it is a disease like any other.	It is bad that individuals do not understand that getting infected with HIV/AIDS is not a curse from God -- it is a disease like any other.

Gender

It is good that individuals are aware of important gender issues.	It is bad that individuals are not aware of important gender issues.
It is good that parents provide education equally to both girls and boys.	It is bad that parents do not provide education equally to both girls and boys.
It is good that parents give equal value to both girl and boy children.	It is bad that parents do not give equal value to both girl and boy children.
It is good that men understand that women deserve equal job opportunities and pay.	It is bad that men do not understand that women deserve equal job opportunities and pay.
It is good that women have a bigger role in all aspects of life.	It is bad that women do not have a bigger role in all aspects of life.
It is good that men understand that female human beings are as intelligent as their male counterparts.	It is bad that men do not understand that female human beings are as intelligent as their male counterparts.

Chapter 6:

Step Three – Advisory Committee and Technical Review Committee

A. Advisory Committee

The Advisory Committee is comprised of representatives of relevant ministries, NGOs, UN agencies and other institutions working on the issues to be addressed. This committee ensures that the moral framework is complete and provides high-level coordination among various institutions with regard to the major thrust of the broadcast program and the availability of services, demand for which may be generated by the program. The role of this committee is advisory only, and not one of editing content of either a dramatic nature or a technical nature with regard to the issues being addressed.

B. Technical Review Committee

A second committee of technical experts, referred to as a Technical Review Committee, is generally established of members who have expertise in various areas. Members of this committee review scripts for content to ensure that no unintended misinformation is provided through the dialogue. Again, this committee is advisory in nature and is charged with helping the writers and producer to ensure accuracy of the scripts, and is not charged with editing dramatic content.

Both the Advisory Committee and Technical Review Committee serve as additional safeguards for the writers.

Formation of the Advisory Committee and Technical Review Committee

Who should be involved in the advisory committee or technical review committee?

- broadcaster
- relevant government ministries
- relevant non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
- research organizations
- service providers

What should be the extent and nature of the involvement of each collaborator?

- endorsement of the values grid
- script review for accuracy
- respond to letters requesting technical information
- funder or donor of personnel/equipment
- service provider whose services are promoted

Note: Be sure to ensure adequate representation of women, technical groups and important ethnic or religious groups.

Chapter 7:

Step Four – Training of Producers and Scriptwriters

When the formative research has been completed, producers and scriptwriters are trained in the Sabido methodology during an in-depth training workshop.
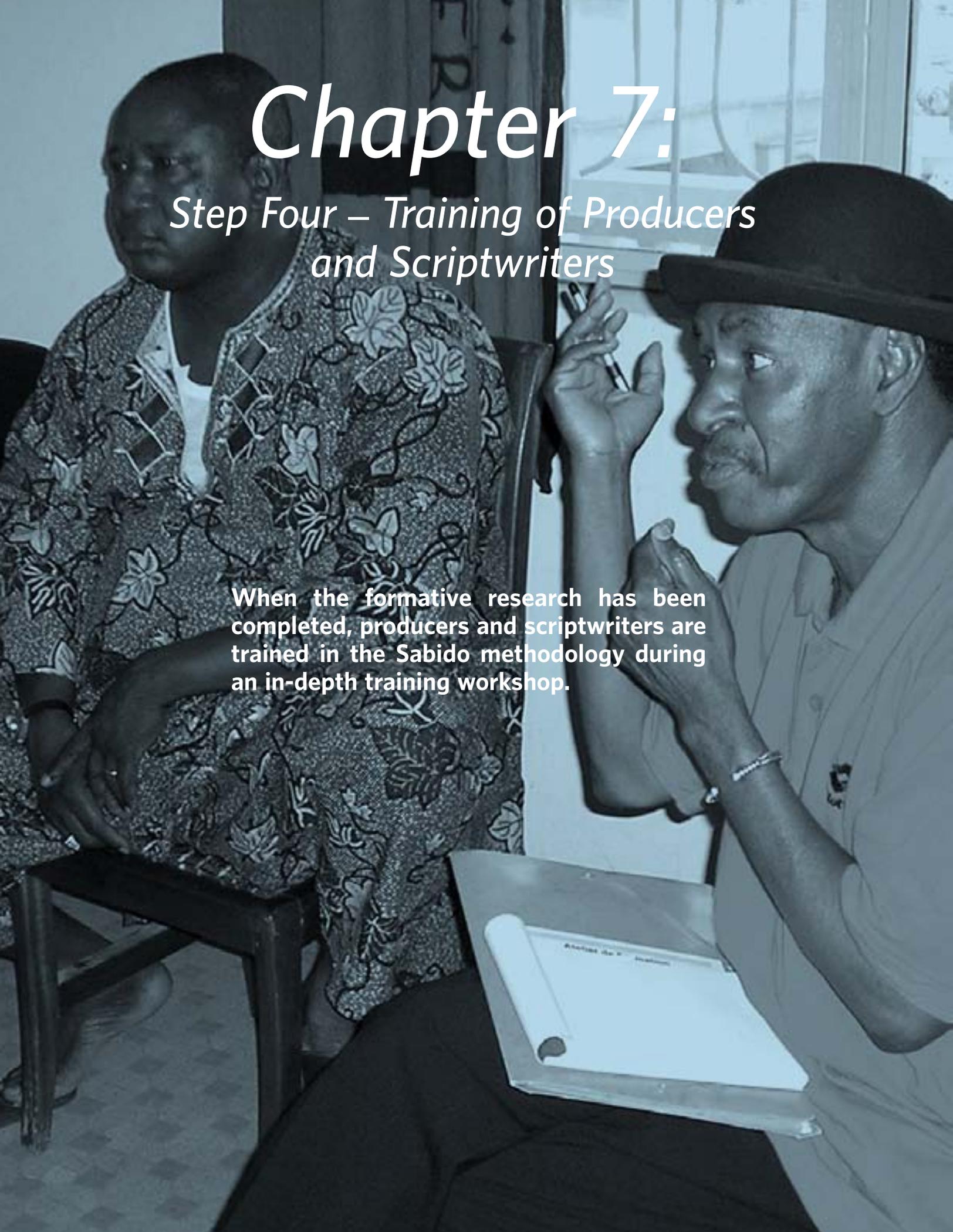
The findings of the formative research are generally communicated to the scriptwriting and production team during this training workshop.

The team is encouraged to consult this information throughout the creative process, establishing characters – positive, negative and transitional – and stories that will attract and captivate the audience, while dramatizing the crucial issues. Communication between the scriptwriters and researchers is encouraged throughout the project.

The rest of the training workshop consists of the actual design of the theme, settings, characters, and storyline of the serial drama by the production and writing team. Four pilot episodes are produced and recorded at the end of the workshop.

In-Depth Training Workshop in the Sabido Methodology or Producers and Scriptwriters

Objectives
- to review the formative research findings
- to discuss the Sabido Methodology for designing serial dramas for social change
- to discuss the educational issues and values grid
- to develop characters
- design settings and story lines, plot pilot episodes

Who should attend the workshop?
- Formative research team
- PMC team
- Technical advisory committee
- Project manager
- Producer(s)
- Scriptwriters

What are the contents of the workshop?
- Presentation of research findings
- Presentation of the moral framework
- Presentation (development) of the values grid
- Training in the Sabido methodology
- Development of character profiles
- Plotting the story line
- Scripting
- Production of pilot episodes

Chapter 8:

Step Five – Pre-Testing of Pilot Episodes
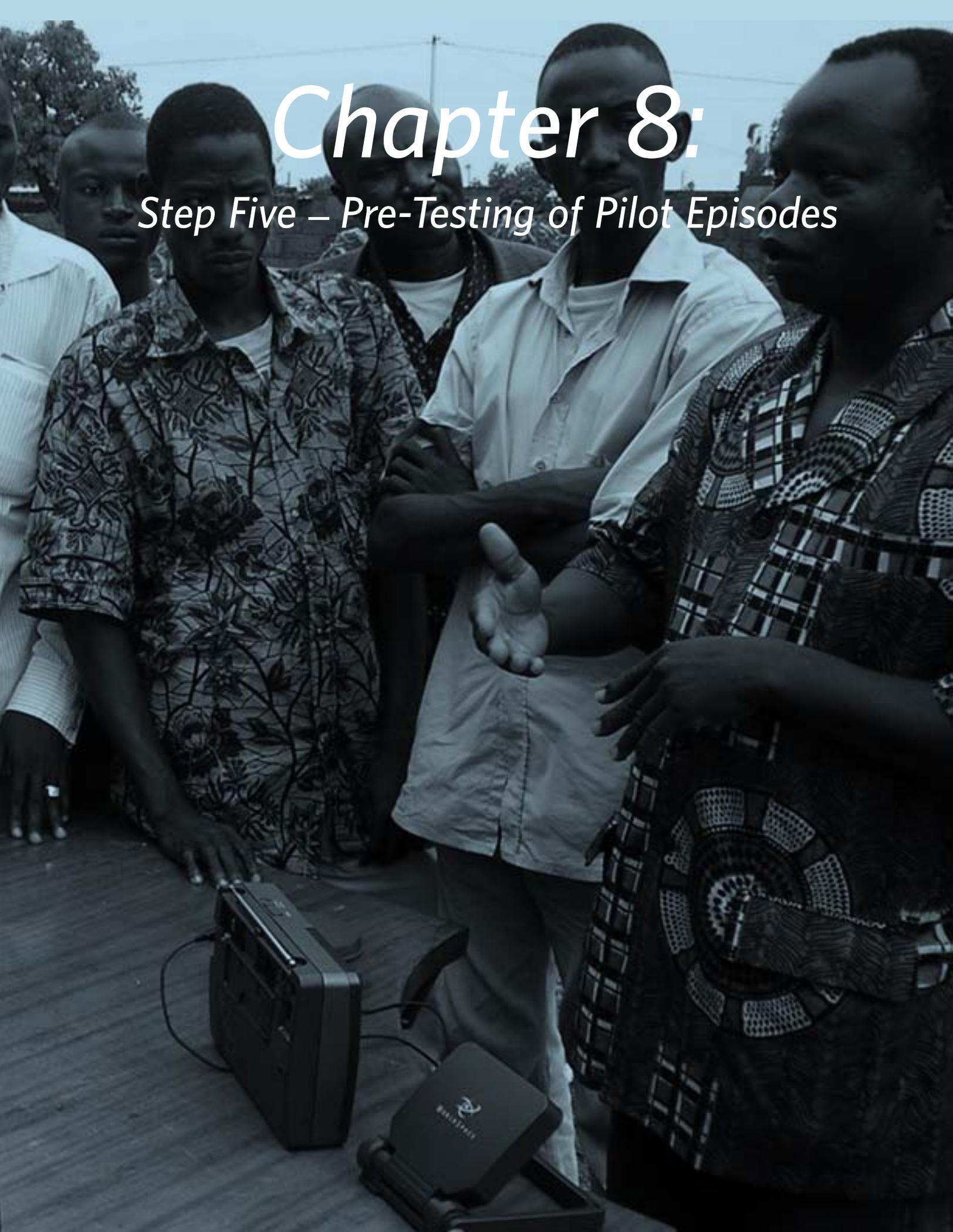
The pilot episodes that were written during the in-depth training workshop are then pre-tested in the field with members of the target audience.

Pre-testing is done to determine whether the episodes are entertaining, understandable, relevant, and realistic and whether the positive and negative characters can be identified.

The episodes are played to members of the target audience, and afterward, questions are asked to determine how audience members felt about the program. These generally include: "Do you like the program?" "Is the music enjoyable?" "Is the language clear?" "Do the characters seem like people you know?" Since no educational messages should have been introduced this early in the story, no questions such as "What have you learned?" are included in the pre-test. It is more important at this point to determine if the program will be potentially entertaining and captivating to audience members. It is also important to determine if the characters are appealing to audience members, and are similar to people they know in real life.

A report on the pre-test is prepared by the researchers for use by the creative team. Following the pre-test, writers may need to adjust the design of certain characters or storylines in order to make the program more interesting or understandable to the audience.

Sample Pre-Test Questions

1. Entertainment

- Did you like the drama that we just listened to? Why?
- Is the radio drama you have just listened to, entertaining? How?

2. Main Idea (Comprehension)

- Was there anything in the drama that was confusing? What?
- Was there anything in this drama that was difficult to understand (such as language)? Why?
- Which character(s) attracted you most? Why?
- Which character(s) did not attract you? Why?
- Did any of the characters in the story remind you of anyone you know? Who?

3. Likes/Dislikes

- In your opinion, was there anything in particular that was worth remembering about this drama?
- What, if anything, did you particularly like about this drama?
- Was there anything in the drama that you particularly disliked? What was it? Why?
- Was there anything in the drama that particularly bothered you? What was it? Why?
- What do you think about the music at the beginning and at the end of the drama?
- Did you like the music? Did the music make the drama better or worse? Why?
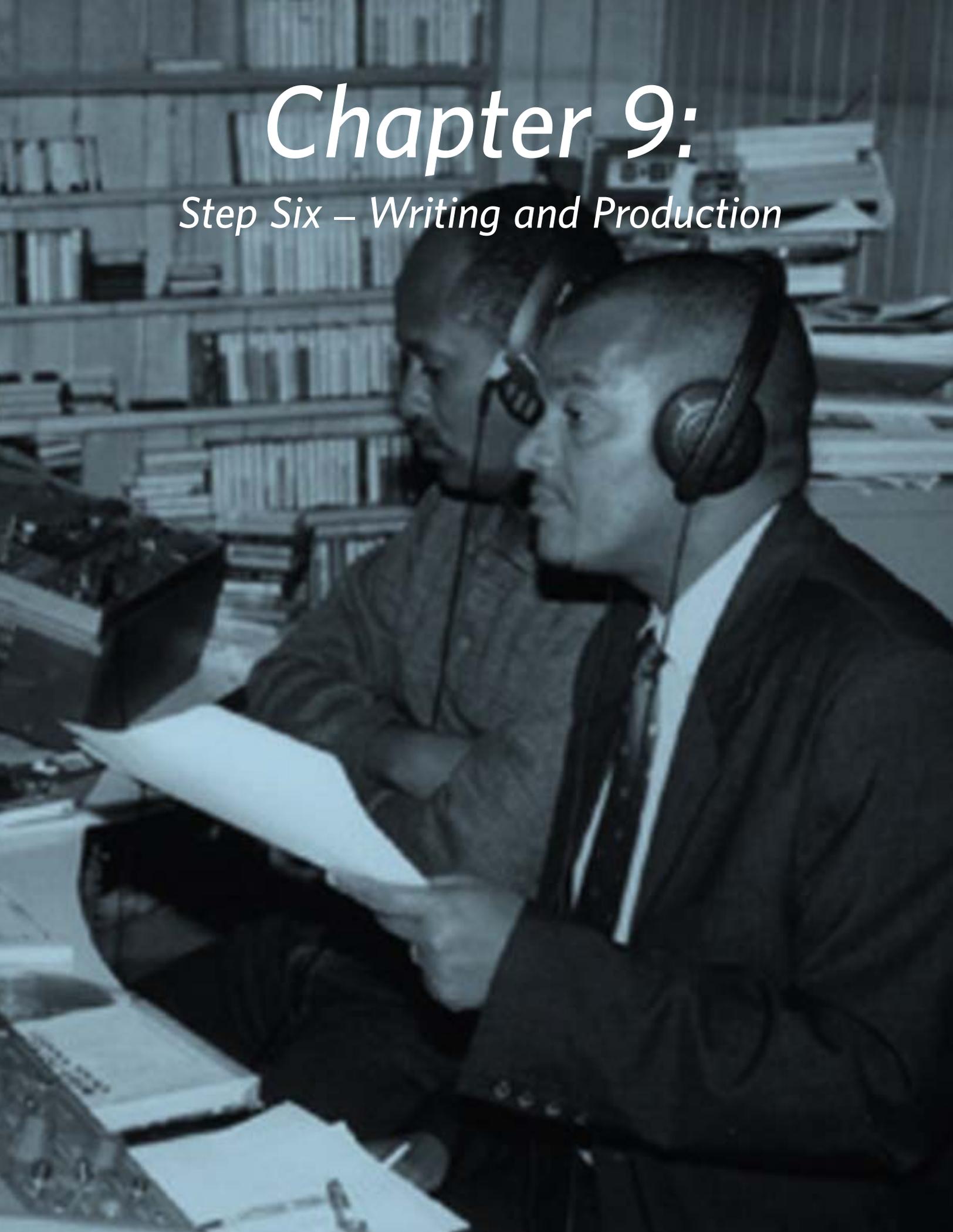
4. Suggestions/Recommendations

- Do you have any suggestions for making this drama better? What?

Chapter 9:
Step Six – Writing and Production

Following revision of the pilot episodes based on the results of the pre-test, the program will go into extensive production, often with the preparation of about 30 episodes prior to the beginning of broadcast, in order to ensure that sufficient episodes are available to avoid any gaps in the broadcast schedule.

The emphasis of the first 20 or so episodes is on introducing the characters to the audience and setting the stage for later treatment of the key issues. The writers and producers should avoid loading down the early episodes with issues in order to not have the audience view the program as primarily educational.

Guidelines for Writing and Producing for Radio

- Duration:
  determine the duration of the drama – how many years of fictional time will pass during the story? (Note: fictional time may vary from broadcast time – e.g., the show may air for two years, but may cover five years in fictional time.) Since the aim is to show behavior change (especially for the transitional characters), a longer period is usually preferable to a shorter period (to allow for time to change attitudes and then behavior).
- Take time (10 or 15 episodes at the beginning) to show who the characters are (through the dialogue). The relationships among the characters must be explained through the dialogue.
- Do not think about putting messages related to health or social issues in the early episodes.
- Use signposts to tell the audience what setting we are currently in without a word needing to be spoken, such as sound effects relevant to each setting.
- In writing for radio, use the sounds and voice only. In the dialogue, give visual images to the audience with such sign posts as having a character mention a baobab tree at the highway junction.
- In each setting, identify regular signposts so that the audience forms a visual image of the setting.
- Also develop signposts for relationships. For example, a character could say that "John and Catherine are not on talking terms," thus giving the audience an image of their relationship.
- Follow the five "W's" of journalism in any drama action (who, what, when, where, and why). Some of this information can be given via signposts, such as using a dog barking to indicate that someone is arriving.
- Remember that in radio, the microphone does not move. Characters are either "off mike" or "on mike."
- Melodrama is the conflict between good and evil, and it contains a lot of emotional content. Enhance the emotional impact via mood music.
  The producer must know how to use music to create various moods. Target the emotions through the melodrama, not the intellect. Emotional content lasts longer in the memory than intellectual information.
- Writing is the first step in production. Writing should be done as a group exercise, starting with the plotting. Group development of the melodrama enhances creativity.

- Writers need to observe the behavior of the audience in various settings, such as in a bar or roadhouse, in order to create realistic situations in the drama.
- Writers should use anecdotes to enhance the story's interest.
- There is a need for clear dialogue written in the way people talk. Don't use Shakespearian language. Have the characters show, rather than tell, the audience what to do.
- Soap opera time is different than real time. In part, soap opera time is determined by the number of episodes per week and by the transition time envisioned in the story line. Characters should develop faster than in real time. There is a need to plan aging of all the characters at the same rate through the drama and to determine the ending ages of the characters.
- Episodes should be divided into scenes, with each scene having a cliffhanger, and a major cliffhanger at the end of the final scene of each episode.
- Cast actors by facing away from the actor and listening only to the sound of their voice. A good script can die in the studio. The voice must reflect the character, and the audience must be able to identify with the character or to identify someone they know who is like each character. Actors are needed who know radio. Audition them in the studio on the microphone.
- Use of a pre-existing theatre group runs the risk of trying to cast all members in roles, whether or not the voice fits each role. Have the creative team (producers and scriptwriters) participate as a group in casting decisions. Avoid using well-known actors who are identified by the audience with their previous roles.
- Use epilogues well. The writers should write the epilogues as well as the dialogue for the scenes. There are two types of epilogue. The first enhances the cliffhanger and reinforces the rights of characters to adopt positive behaviors. The second gives linear information to the audience about the health or social service infrastructure they may want to access as a result of hearing that episode. Epilogues should be a maximum of 30-45 seconds in length. The second type of epilogue should start only after 10-15 episodes and only if there is a need for it. You can use an authority figure or a voice that is respectable to reinforce positive behavior and the right to change.

Normally in drama, the writer first conceives a plot. As the plot is developed, characters are created, and the scriptwriter writes scenes that depict the interactions between and among the characters. Miguel Sabido's approach to pro-social drama is the reverse of this – it proceeds from research to values to characters to interactions to plot.

The Creative Process

Characterization
- How many characters should there be of each type (positive, negative and transitional?)
- How do you create similar characters?
- What exercise can you do to create characters?
- How much do you need to know about each character?
- Should character descriptions be written? What do these look like?

Story Line
- How many main plots and minor plots should there be?
- How should they relate to each other?
- How does the story line tie rural and urban people (or people of different socio-economic status or culture) together?
- How do you make the story line further the needs of the educational values?
- What exercise can you do to create good story lines?

Educational Values
- How should educational themes be introduced?
- Should you use cues to action (such as a pregnancy scare)?
- How do you ensure accuracy of the educational values?
- How are the educational values handled, how included, how explicit, how many?

Sabido-style serial dramas are always written and produced by qualified indigenous scriptwriters and producers, who receive in-depth training in the Sabido methodology. In-country scriptwriters and producers are used not only to build the capacity of local personnel, but because culturally-relevant, true-to-life drama can only be written by those who are native to that culture. As mentioned previously, local scriptwriters and producers are trained in the specific elements of a Sabido-style serial drama, including:
- settings
- characters
- storylines and plot
- episodes and scripts
- "cliffhangers"
- epilogues
- music

Settings

Determine the name of the place(s) where the action will take place, and describe this setting in as much detail as possible, including:
- population (who lives there?)
- social activities
- economic activities
- cultural/religious centers
- social/class stratification
- educational facilities, meeting points in the community (e.g., marketplace, water well, town square, bar)
- medical facilities
- roads connecting the village to urban or rural areas
- transportation

Developing the Settings, Characters and Story Line

Classic melodrama is a clash between good and evil – in entertainment-education it is a clash between positive and negative values. What sets melodrama apart as a genre different from comedy, tragedy, or any other style of drama is the creation of a story that, while based in reality, relies on exaggeration for its impact. Moments of tension and conflict provide interest and excitement and move the story forward.

Developing the Settings[i]

There should be a variety of rural, semi-urban and urban settings to represent the audience. Each setting includes where an action is happening and to whom. A story can take place in more than one setting as scenes change from one action to the next. For example, the story of a husband and wife disagreeing over how to treat a sick baby could happen completely within the walls of a family home. Or, it could happen at home and in other places as well, such as the local health clinic, a church, a neighbor's house, or a village meeting.

The radio scriptwriter is unlimited in the number or type of settings that can be used effectively. On radio, where the visual detail is supplied by the audience, the action can be placed on another planet as easily as it can be over the family cooking pot. This is done through suggestion, illusion and sound effects. Location changes can also be achieved through sound transitions such as music and cross fading, one scene fading out as the other is phased in.

The only real limitation on settings in radio is the need to avoid confusion. Too many settings diminish the intensity and power that occur when things are highly focused. But the biggest risk of too many settings is leaving your audience uncertain of where they are or with whom. It takes time to incorporate the sound cues and dialogue needed to establish a setting, and the tightness of a drama is destroyed if the audience is too busy moving all over the map to be certain of where they are.

A radio drama offers more setting possibilities than a visual medium will, since you do not have to acquire and pay for the scenery.

But in a visual medium, the audience will immediately know where the scene is set and who is there. This is not true in radio. Each location change must be made explicit. And the entrances and exits of each character must be made clear with sound and dialogue. For example, if a knock on the door announces the arrival of three people, the audience must be made aware through the greetings that three people have arrived so they will not be surprised when the conversation becomes a multi-party affair.

Developing the Characters and Story Line

Character development is a major focus of the creative design of the melodrama. The characters that populate the story must be compelling. For the audience to care about them, they must have strong personalities – being either very likeable or capable of inspiring disdain.

Positive characters exhibit admirable, or pro-social behavior, perhaps promoting the education of girls, delaying marriage, or planning the spacing of their children. Negative characters are decidedly anti-social in their behavior – perhaps drinking to excess or philandering.

Then there are characters that are somewhere in between. They are the very important transitional characters who are most similar to the audience and with whom most of the audience will identify. These are the characters that are faced with real-life dilemmas every day. As their behavior shifts through the course of the drama, and as they adopt more pro-social behaviors, the audience is brought along with them, modeling itself after them.

The scriptwriters use the struggle between characters that embody positive and negative social values to develop story lines, plots and subplots. The story is advanced through action, and the battle to influence the transitional characters is paramount. Often there will be a unifying thread to keep the whole series together, while shorter plots overlap and interweave to keep things lively and allow for new themes to be introduced.

Rewards and punishments should be the natural outgrowth of the characters' behavior choices; otherwise they will seem like random acts of fate. For example, someone who has unprotected sex with multiple partners may be "punished" by contracting an STD or eventually HIV, but not by being in a car accident. On the other hand, someone with a drinking problem might end up in a car crash as the direct result of self-destructive behavior such as drunk driving.

Influenced by the phenomenon of modeling, or imitating the behavior of characters with whom they identify, the audience begins to think, believe, and act in healthier and more pro-social ways.

Other Elements of Entertainment-Education Programs

Music

Music is another hallmark of Sabido-style serial dramas. A signature tune or theme song creates an identity for a program. Music is also used to enhance suspense and mood and sometimes attracts the audience on its merits alone. A particular musical theme may be used in association with arrival of a certain character in a radio drama to signal to the audience that this person has entered the scene.

The "Cliffhanger"

When we think of serial dramas, we often think of the cliffhanger – the plot device that leaves the listener (or viewer) just at the moment of greatest suspense, excitement, or unresolved action. The writers strive to end each scene and each episode at such a climactic moment, leaving the audience hungry for the next installment.

The Epilogue

The epilogue is a special characteristic of a Sabido-style serial drama. It informs the audience about available services (clinic phone numbers, addresses, and hot lines); provokes the listeners to conjecture about what will unfold next in the plot; and fosters communication about the issues within families or groups of friends who may be listening together. These epilogues can be easily updated if the series is rebroadcast at a later date, keeping the program relevant and current.

Epilogues have the following characteristics:

- Clarify the moral system: what is good and what is bad, but in a very entertaining way or moving way. The epilogue is never solemn or boring.
- Give the intellectual information necessary to the audience to exert the behavior recommended (such as
- the location of the clinic, testing service, information, etc.).
- Signal the changes of the transitional characters, and give the positive reinforcements to positive characters.
- Point out the faults of the negative characters and make judgments of their behavior.

The voice of the epilogues is the voice of the social conscience and, therefore, the most important character in the serial. It must be energetic, but always charming and seductive. The voice of the epilogues is the only one that can point out and judge the errors of the bad characters.

Settings (Population Media Center – Sudan)

Khartoum divided into 3 categories (settings):
- Group I: rich
- Group II: middle class (ordinary people)
- Group III: poor (people struggling)

Group I/Setting I (rich, influential group – lives in Central Khartoum): **Sky No 8** (Alsamaaltamna)
- Infrastructure: good houses, farms, roads, parks, institutions, gov't offices, hospitals, University, piped water, water available, food is available, children, different kinds of dishes, airport, transportation, pollution
- Population: scientists, intellectuals, easy life, private cares, decent motorcars, material, health, people dress well, life different from rural areas
- Education: high level of education, modern/sophisticated language, interaction/dialogue, best social conditions, no communication between people
- Culture: different from rural areas, social/political culture of Khartoum (people know about it), weddings at night, very high (leave city center for outskirts), political figures, outside exposure enriched and developed the place – new cultures adopted and spread outside Khartoum, diversity of culture/language, people are less friendly, people behave like westerners (rich)
- Social Interactions (how do people socialize?): funerals, weddings (are posh), recreation (cinemas, clubs, sports, mosques)

Group II/Setting II (middle class, lives in North Khartoum and suburbs): **El Manara** (Lighthouse)
- Infrastructure: environment bad, changed from agriculture to construction, pollution deteriorates people's health
- Culture: don't follow preventive health advice, FGM widely practiced, mixed group of people and diverse in culture, family structure (5-10 – need family planning), traditional food, many prisons (are there more crimes?), health awareness is good (clinics, MCH, dispensary), religion = most are Muslim, few Christians, dress has changed from traditional to western, traditional food (most favorable), different Arabic accent (Omdurman accent)
- Population: means of income = merchants, farmers, employees, petty traders, people work in different fields, literacy (formal education + Koranic school + Gospel), family unions (discuss), merry-go-round credit schemes, soldiers
- Education: older people are not educated, those under 30 years of age are generally well educated
- Social Interactions: communication (funerals, weddings, etc.), very socially active, link between neighbors, good, entertainment (clubs, cinemas (prefer Indian films), young people go to clubs), sports (football), TV, listen to radio programs on family issues (and dramas)

Group III/Setting III (poor, struggling, displaced peoples): **The Rose** (El Warda)
- Infrastructure: no health services, mud huts they build by themselves, no electricity, concentrated west of Omdurman and east of Khartoum, names of places are chosen to express their fate (e.g., we are deprived, etc.)
- Population: displaced peoples, relations between tribes/ethnic groups, social interaction, people are displaced by war, drought, desertification, live in camps, poverty (poor), deprived people from south Sudan, incomes derived from handicrafts (especially women), brew liquor for sale, come from different places, civil war in south, drought and desertification in west (reasons for displacements), marginalized population in Sudan, work under poor conditions (house servants, servitude), high unemployment rate, brought to Khartoum for political reasons (to add numbers for voting)
- Education: illiterate, no schools, no knowledge about family planning, high maternal mortality, FGM, no systematic education
- Social Interactions: no social life, no clubs, no social centers
- Culture: like dancing, singing, different tribes from southern and western Sudan, diversity of culture among people, different tribes and dialects (preserved), Christianity dominates (mostly from southern Sudan), communication among/between themselves, like listening to radio programs, a big gap between men and women (gender issue), preserve their culture, don't mix with others, speak Arabic with an accent (Omdurman accent), northern tribes don't speak Arabic, eating/clothing habits influenced by Arabic culture
- Entertainment: don't watch TV or go to cinemas

Characters

Group I: Sky No. 8

Mahasin (female transitional character)
- cares for her sisters
- skillful in handicrafts and cooking
- she was born in Matamma in 1980
- started school in 1989 at 9 years of age
- skillful in folk singing
- married Ali in 2002
- came to Khartoum with Ali
- gave birth to Husna in 2003
- familiar among the villages as a good folk singer
- her father died of malaria in 1993
- lives with Ali in high class area – came from rural area basic
- school drop-out having difficulty adjusting to the new, urban culture (overwhelmed with modern life)
- 24-25 years old
- suffered severely during delivery of Husna because of her circumcision
- has 1 child (girl called Husna)
- mother is Husna
- father died of malaria
- failed in creating relations with her husband's friends
- wife of one her husband's friends (Faiza) influences her to continue her education
- she continues her education at a school of midwifery

Jabir (male negative character)
- 30 years old
- successful businessman (but corrupt)
- Husna is his aunt (she wanted her daughter, Mahasin, to marry Jabir)
- Mahasin is his cousin
- knew Ali in school, but didn't like him (because Ali was a better student)
- completed secondary school, and began a business
- owns the house where Ali and Mahasin live
- plots against Ali (wants to marry Mahasin)
- wears imported clothes from Europe
- luxurious house, likes to go to nightclubs and 5-star hotels

Ali (male positive character)
- rural roots
- graduated from UK (Faculty of Architecture)
- working in foreign company
- living in Khartoum
- likes people, is well-liked
- community has a lot of respect for Ali
- 35 years old
- married to his cousin (Mahasin)
- father is a farmer (approx. 65 years old)
- father is not educated
- father is traditionalist
- father lives in a village (Matama, near Shendi in Nile State)
- mother (Khamela) is 52 years old
- Ali has 2 brothers and 3 sisters
- Ali's 3 sisters are all married – all live in village
- Ali's 2 brothers are younger; they are students (1 in primary school, 1 in secondary school)
- Ali's brothers help their father on the farm

Group II: El Manara (Lighthouse)

Awatif (female transitional character)
- becomes an advocate to teach others about the dangers of having too many children
- works in government foundation
- 30 years old
- married
- has 6 children (5 girls, 1 boy) – ages are 2-9 years old
- producing handicrafts in her house to assist in daily expenses
- suffering from poor health, due to many pregnancies (and she gets no rest)
- completed secondary school (only)
- father is dead (died when she was 19 years old) – mother remarried after father's death
- she loves her mother very much
- she is the eldest daughter
- she has 2 sisters, both of whom live with their mother in the mother's husband's house
- she's always late and absent from her office
- she hasn't visited her mother for the last 6 years
- obeying husband, always afraid of her husband

Hassan (male negative character)
- Awatif's husband (and cousin)
- 38 years old
- small butcher
- eldest son of Mahmood (father)
- Hassan's mother is dead
- has 6 step-brothers and 1 step-sister (from his father's second wife)
- spends most of his time outside of the house
- believes in the word of the husband
- illiterate
- fatalistic
- pretends that he loves his children
- in a conflict with his brother
- rural roots
- sometimes drinks *Avaghy* (strong liquor)

Bahia (female positive character)
- midwife in government health center
- 40 years
- married to Kamal the grocer
- 3 children (2 girls and 1 boy)
- active in gender issues
- always doing good things in the community
- popular person
- combined income (hers and her husband's) allows for relatively good standard of living
- all of her children are in school (girls in the basic school, boy is in secondary school)

Group III: El Warda (The Rose – sign of hope)

Eddai (male negative character)
- he is the only boy in the family (has 6 sisters)
- very handsome
- 29 years old
- one of the sisters is handicapped
- his father is a simple laborer, who had lost one of his hands during his job at the factory (because of this, he has become hot-tempered)
- his father always quarrels with him
- his mother died from anemia (bad living conditions)
- he left his family
- drinks, uses injection drugs
- he is an employee in a government office (white collar worker)
- he is a careless employee, he comes in late, he is often absent
- he is a liar
- high risk sex partners

Saadia (female positive character)
- sister of Eddai (has 5 sisters, 1 brother = Eddai)
- 30 years old, not married
- she is a tailor (has her own business) – one of her sisters
- helps her in her business
- pays school fees for her sisters' education at University
- helps her handicapped sister in her studies (and the sister becomes a famous journalist)
- very popular with her customers (who are also her friends)
- has a boyfriend (Farouk)

Hashim (male transitional character)
- 27 years old
- divorced (was only married one year – married too young)
- friend of Sami, co-worker of Sami
- he has a diploma in agricultural studies (employed in govt petroleum industry)
- not really qualified for the job he has, but he is a relative of the director (manager) of the office
- everyday he is with a different woman (womanizer)
- has two sisters who are very successful (his sisters are more successful than he is)
- comes from a wealthy (well-off) family who lives in town

The objective of a Sabido-style serial drama is to transmit a specific prosocial message. The values grid provides the scriptwriters and producers with positive and negative values, which they use to develop characters, settings and story lines for the serial drama. As mentioned previously, the issues described in the values grid are based on extensive formative research, including a study of the country's constitution, laws and policies, and UN documents to which the country is signatory. The serial drama is designed to reinforce the values described in the values grid, and to show their relationship to specific prosocial attitudes and behaviors.

Characters

Character development is a major focus of the creative design. The characters that populate the story must be compelling. For the audience to care about them, they must have strong personalities – being either very likeable or inspiring disdain.

Characters are designed based on the values grid, and the story emerges from the likely interactions of the differing characters with regard to those values. This is the reverse of many other strategies using serial drama, in which the plot is designed first and the characters' profiles are designed based on the plot. Another major different between the Sabido-style serial drama and other entertainment-education strategies is that it relies on the emotional influence of role modeling, rather than the use of intellectual messages, to change behavior in the audience.

There should be about six to nine primary characters that are representative of the character types in the methodology (positive, negative and transitional). The various transitional characters should be designed to represent different segments of the audience.

A psychological, demographic and socioeconomic profile is created for each character. The names of the characters are also carefully chosen to embody the values that the character represents. The names that are chosen for characters are extremely important in defining their role within the serial drama – positive characters should have names that reinforce their positive characteristics, and negative characters should be given names that reflect (often symbolically) negative values in the society. If well chosen, audience members will react to and reinforce the use of these names to define values and traits – for example, a mountain in the Bale region

of southern Ethiopia has been renamed "Ababullo" mountain, after a strong negative male character in the Sabido-style radio serial drama which was broadcast over Radio Ethiopia.

Characters that support the prosocial behavior serve as role models and are of a status which is slightly higher than that of the target audience. Those characters that reject the prosocial behavior embody social stereotypes that are likely to impede people in the target audience from practicing the proposed behavior. The uncertain (transitional) characters represent the target audience, caught between the other two groups of characters. It is with this third group that the audience should most closely identify.

Positive characters exhibit admirable, or pro-social, behavior – perhaps promoting the education of girls, delaying marriage, or planning the spacing of their children. Negative characters are decidedly anti-social in their behavior – perhaps drinking to excess or philandering.

Positive characters are archetypes, perhaps more moral than possible for a real person, but an ideal to which the audience could aspire.

The positive characters demonstrate behaviors the team wants to encourage; the negative characters demonstrate the behaviors to be discouraged and/or changed; and the transitional characters waver between the two, eventually committing to a positive or negative course of action. Through rewarding "good" behavior and punishing "bad" behavior, the serial drama dramatizes possible consequences for the audience.

Positive characters
- embody the positive values in the values grid
- are icons for the audience
- demonstrate behavior that is overwhelmingly positive
- are more human, caring and sensitive than the ordinary person
- are humble people who care for the world around them
- are rewarded consistently for their positive deeds

Negative characters can also be archetypes, embodying anti-social values and receiving appropriate punishments for their behavior. Just as with the rewards for positive characters, punishments for negative characters must match their behavior and not just be the result of bad luck.

Negative characters need not be villains, but their negative attitudes and behaviors must be exaggerated so that there is clarity for the audience about what they stand for. This exaggeration adds to the drama of the production.

Negative characters
- demonstrate behavior that illustrates the negative values in the values grid
- have negative behavior which is slightly exaggerated
- are regularly punished for their bad behavior
- occasionally suffer internally and regret their actions, but do not change

Then there are the characters that are somewhere in between. They are the very important transitional characters who are most similar to the audience and with whom most of the audience will identify. These are the characters who are faced with real-life dilemmas every day. As their behavior shifts through the course of the drama, and as they adopt more pro-social behaviors, the audience is brought along with them, modeling itself after them.

Transitional characters demonstrate movement from negative values to positive values during the course of the soap opera. By doing so, they become role models of attitude and behavior change for members of the audience to emulate.

Transitional characters
- oscillate between good and bad values
- have interests, ideas and tendencies that are in conflict with those of others
- are the ones closest to the audience
- are ordinary people struggling through life
- are rewarded and punished appropriately

It is these transitional characters whom the writers should strive to make most similar to the audience members they want to motivate. If audience members identify and form parasocial bonds with one of these transitional characters, they will see that someone just like themselves was able to overcome barriers to change and will be motivated to ultimately change their own behavior. To motivate the diverse target audience members there must be a range of transitional characters providing role models for men, women, and adolescents.

Each of the three groups of characters will move during the course of the serial drama toward or away from the prosocial behavior and be appropriately rewarded or punished. These movements and rewards and punishments are carefully plotted according to the number of episodes in the serial drama in order to sustain the drama and to tell the story.

The character profiles should include the name of the character, the major value positions held by the character, the transition with regard to those values that the character will make (if any) and the "back story" or history of the character prior to the beginning of the story. The back story, which will be referred to in the dialogue of the characters during the serial drama, will give depth to the character and help the audience understand how the character arrived at their current situation.

Story lines and Plot

The next step is to outline the story line, including the main story and sub-plots. In the Sabido methodology, the story lines derive directly from the "transitions" that the transitional characters will need to make during the life of the story.

The scriptwriters use the struggle between characters that embody positive and negative social values to develop story lines, plots and subplots. The story is advanced through action, not just dialogue; and the battle to influence the transitional characters is paramount.

Rewards and punishments should be the natural outgrowth of the characters' behavior choices; otherwise they will seem like random acts of fate. For example, someone who has unprotected sex with multiple partners may be "punished" by contracting an STD or eventually HIV, but not by being in a car accident.

Story lines & Plot

Plotting episodes

Where to start
Develop scenes
What characters take part?
Cliffhangers
Epilogues

1st requirement is a good story with:

well-defined plot (storyline)
clearly defined characters
logical movement from beginning to end
entertaining content

Use a simple story that:

has human interest
has focuses on individuals
has strong character
has action
has excitement
has suspense
presents conflict of good and evil
builds on listener's memories and experiences
   that they can visualize
draws outline of situation, leaving something to listener's
   imagination.

Structure of an episode

Not too many scenes – otherwise confusing
Every scene should carry the plot forward a logical step, has many
threads that never end.
Every scene needs a point of interest; a little climax, a new element
in the story, and a new character.
Each episode should have a summary/epilogue that provides infor-
mation to allow people to take what they want from the serial
drama.

Plot

The plot should be structured so that it develops from the previous
program.

Dialogue

Dialogue is a conversation between 2 or more persons. A radio serial
drama is always referred to as a "theatre of imagination" because
the entire universe is created out of nothing. More than human
voices and sound; radio drama is a universe that blends the writers'
art with the listeners' own world of experience and dreams.

We are writing voices for the listener to hear, digest and understand
what has been said.

When writing, you are not writing for the eye, but for the ear of the
listener. Develop a spoken style and not a literary style. Radio drama
is not prose. This is radio serial. Language should be simple, must be
speakable, use short strong words in simple sentences; must be
familiar to the listener.

Develop your own style that allows you to put down symbols or signs
that forms words in the script that will allow the speaker to lift up
these words from the paper and say them aloud. Include instruc-
tions for [pauses] in brackets.

The dialogue must tell a story and convey information in a subtle
motivating way. Must be factually correct.

Has to describe the character's physical features, personality, emo-
tions (stress leads to short clipped sentences).

Dialogue must indicate: setting, movement or action of characters.

Dialogue must attract the listener by being true to life so the audi-
ence shares experiences of the characters.

The opening of the dialogue should hook the listener.

How to start dialogue

Idea

↓

Research ——— Facts of subject
          ——— Facts about audience
              (who you are talking to)

↓

Make a plan

↓

Write 1st draft ——— Does opening hook audience?

↓

Check 1st draft ——— Interesting?
              ——— Suitable for audience?
              ——— Language?
              ——— Facts?
              ——— Logical?

              Try out loud with a friend.

↓

Rewrite

↓

Check 2nd draft ——— Are sounds proper?
              ——— Settings?
              ——— Ideas?

↓

Produce
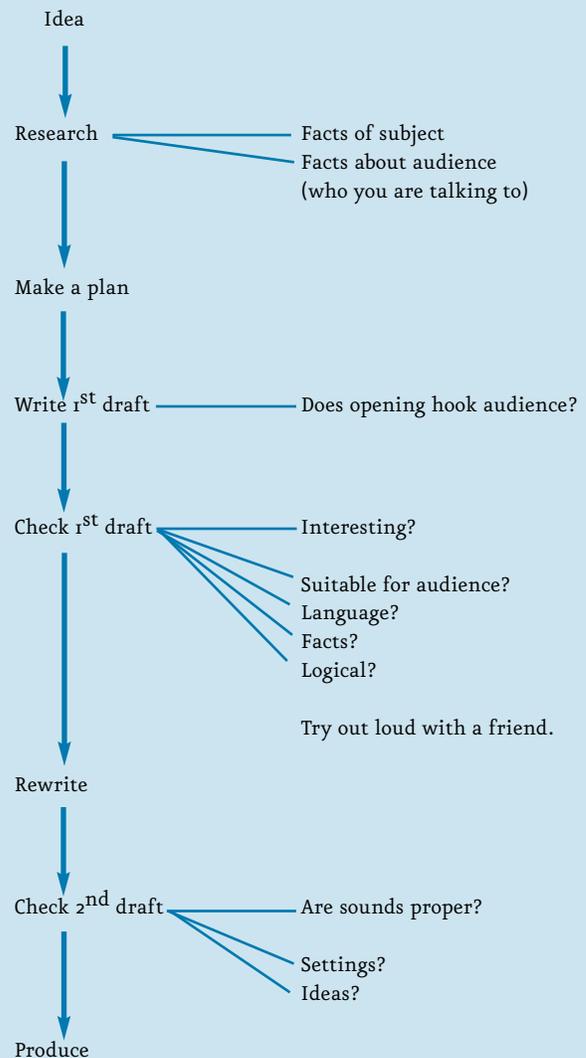
Plotting of scenes in a 15-minute program

(3 scenes per episode)
Music interludes, sound effects, epilogue.
3 scenes – each one has about 5 minutes.
Indicate which episode and scene.
Indicate number of characters and which characters to be featured.
Go from idea to story for this scene, to the setting, to the sounds, to
the cliffhanger.

There are some key questions the creative team will need to answer in developing the story lines:

- How many main plots and minor plots should there be?
- How should they relate to each other?
- How does the story line tie rural and urban people (or people of different socio-economic status or culture) together?
- How do you make the story line further the needs of the educational values?

Some key elements of what to look for in plot development include:

- Design an interesting story that grows out of the lives of ordinary people
- Create emotional situations and events
- Be action-oriented
- Take a positive thrust in your depiction of life
- Bond with your audience – show their lives, anxieties and fears
- Do not be too predictable; look for possible twists

Episodes and Scripts

Episodes of the serial drama are developed and written based on the paths that the transitional characters will follow in their evolution toward adoption of the prosocial behavior being promoted by the serial drama. During the course of this evolution, the negative characters will try to impede the progress of the transitional characters to change behavior and take more control of their lives, while the positive characters will tirelessly motivate and assist the transitional characters toward this goal.

Drama is created through the conflicts between the positive and negative characters, and perhaps even within the transitional characters themselves, while they battle their own doubts and hesitations during the course of this behavior change. Each episode will contain three or more scenes (depending on the length of the episode), which take place in different settings, and involve interactions between different characters, who move between the settings, and interact in various ways, depending on changing and evolving relationships during the course of the story.

Each scene is written to build to an emotional peak, and should end with a "cliffhanger" to create suspense, and to ensure that audience members tune in for the next episode.

Cliffhangers (Suspense)

The "cliffhanger" is a plot device that leaves the listener (or viewer) just at the moment of greatest suspense, excitement or unresolved action. The writers strive to end each episode at such a climatic moment, leaving the audience hungry for the next installment.

Cliffhangers are used in a serial drama to:

- deliberately create suspense
- engage the audience: posing and working through a problem without solving it
- cut-off the unfolding of the action at a critical moment
- let characters receive an unexpected piece of news or make a sudden discovery
- encourage speculation about the future of the narration

A Classic Cliffhanger: *The Perils of Pauline*

The very popular silent film serial drama, **The Perils of Pauline,** was a cliffhanger serial shown in weekly installments featuring Pearl White as the title character, a perpetual damsel in distress. She was menaced by assorted villains, including pirates and savages. At the end of each installment she was generally placed in a situation that looked sure to result in her imminent death, sometimes hanging from a cliff or tied to railroad tracks as a train approached. The start of the next episode showed how she was rescued or otherwise escaped the danger, only to face fresh peril again.

Epilogues

Epilogues are written as a closing section to each episode of the serial drama. Epilogues are intended to complement the emotional stimulation of the melodrama with cognitive information. Epilogues are designed to be conversational and to call attention to key movements in the episode. The scripts for each epilogue center on what just happened in the particular episode of the serial drama while calling attention to key scenes in the unfolding of the social message. Ideally, the epilogue is similar to a conversation that two people might have after just listening (or watching) the episode of the serial drama. These epilogues encourage communication among family members or friends, which has been identified as essential to behavior change.

A second epilogue is added after the transitional characters begin to access the social services promoted in the serial drama. These epilogues provide specific details about the available infrastructure from which viewers can receive additional information about the prosocial behavior being presented. These epilogues can easily be updated if the series is rebroadcast at a later date; keeping the program relevant and current.

Epilogues can also be used to create a source of feedback communication by soliciting viewers to send in cards and letters with their opinions of the serial drama.

Epilogues are used in a serial drama to:
- make rational sense of what has gone on in the drama
- tie the program with the social message
- provide specific information about the infrastructure
- heighten emotions of the audience by posing rhetorical questions about the drama

Music

Music is another hallmark of serial drama. A signature tune or theme song creates an identity for a program. Music is also used to enhance suspense and mood and sometimes attracts the audience on its merits alone.

Music can be used in a serial drama to:
- mark the entrances of characters
- enhance/define climactic moments
- reinforce rapid physical action
- reinforce the emotional tone of characters
- heighten the emotions of the audience
- transition from one scene to the next

[i] Brooke, P. 1995. *Communicating through Story Characters*. Institute for International Research, University Press of America, Inc. Lanham, New York, London.

Chapter 10:

Step Seven – Monitoring

Monitoring measures audience reaction while the program is on the air, providing feedback to the creative team.

Throughout the broadcast, audience feedback is continually checked to make sure that the program is entertaining and relevant, audience members are involved in the plot, key themes are conveyed clearly and accurately, and positive and negative characters are being perceived by the audience as the writers intended. This is accomplished by:

- Conducting focus group discussions
- Collecting audience rating data
- Analyzing audience letters
- Interviewing clients at health service delivery points (clinics, etc.)
- Doing interviews
- Collecting and analyzing listener diaries

Focus Group Discussions to Provide Ongoing Feedback to the Creative Team

- How frequently should this be done?
- What should they cover and does this change with time?
    - Ask about the:
        - Quality of the acting
        - Entertainment of the program
        - Identification with the characters
        - Realism of the program
        - Quality of the music
        - What they don't like about the program
        - Perception of HIV/AIDS prevention messages, risky behaviors, vulnerability factors for women and girls
        - Understanding of the HIV/AIDS prevention messages, risky behaviors, vulnerability factors for women and girls
        - Is there a good balance between entertainment and education?
        - Do they understand who the positive and negative characters are?
        - Do they understand why bad things happen to certain characters and good things happen to other characters?
- How should the producer and writers participate in the focus groups?
    - Design of focus group guide?
    - Sit in on the focus group discussions?
    - Read the transcripts and listen to the tapes?

Sometimes, individual listeners or viewers become so personally involved with the programs that they write unsolicited letters directly to the characters, station managers, or producers, expressing their feelings or offering advice on what should happen next. These letters contain useful information about how the audience is responding to the show. They may tell us, for example, which characters are most liked or disliked, and whether people are asking for changes to be made to the story. The letters can also document changes in behavior. For example, a listener may report that he or she started going to school, adopted family planning, or began talking to his or her spouse about sensitive health issues as a result of listening to the program.

Service delivery points are an important place to collect data and monitor the effects of Sabido-style programs. For example, many clinics routinely conduct in-take and exit surveys with clients. By adding a couple of questions about the client's source of information, motivation for coming to the clinic, and exposure to the radio/television drama, you can obtain useful information. These types of interviews can tell you what portion of clients are listening to the soap opera, and how many were motivated to seek family planning or reproductive health services in response to the program.

Other existing resources can also be used to help monitor audience reaction. Sometimes this involves inserting one or two questions into a larger media-use survey. Other times, broadcasting corporations or agencies collect their audience data as usual and share this information with us.

Radio is Changing Lives in Ethiopia

Two social content radio serial dramas, *Yeken Kignit* ("Looking Over One's Daily Life") and *Dhimbibba* ("Getting the Best out of Life"), are changing behavior in Ethiopia. The dramas are tackling issues such as marriage by abduction, education of daughters and spousal communication.

During broadcast of the program from June 2002 to November 2004, over 15,000 letters from enthusiastic listeners arrived at Population Media Center's (PMC) Ethiopia office.

The steady stream of letters indicates that listeners have developed strong emotional bonds to the characters in the dramas. "I admire your drama. I appreciate its educational role. Its messages are very valuable...I have learned many things from it and have changed my attitude," says Yenegata Alehegne, a listener from Wukro, Ethiopia.

Lema Tesfaye, another listener from Arssi, Ethiopia writes, "As for HIV/AIDS, the people here believe that it is a problem limited to urban centers and that it has no relevance to rural areas. Your drama is telling them that this is wrong. I have undergone a change of behavior due to the drama...I encourage you to keep up the good work."

Chapter 11:
Step Eight – Summative Research
(Impact Evaluation)

An impact evaluation measures the program's effect on the audience. This largely quantitative research may be conducted by independent research organizations or university-based evaluation professionals. A household survey is usually conducted before the program goes on the air to measure the audience's baseline level of knowledge, attitudes and practices on the key issues addressed in the program. A follow-up survey, after the show has been on the air, will be compared with data from the baseline and may indicate whether the audience has changed behaviors in response to the show. Another measure of popularity of the program can be the decision by commercial sponsors to associate themselves with the program and the sales of the advertised products before, during and after the serial drama.

Evaluation Research Goals

Goal 1 - Measure audience size and characteristics. The first goal of the evaluation research is to measure the size of the audience. This may be done by means of a ratings service, if one exists. Otherwise, estimates may be made through a personal interview survey. Characterization of the audience can normally only be done through a personal interview survey.

Goal 2 - Measure change in awareness of the social and health issues addressed in the program. The second goal of the evaluation research is to measure how many people have learned about the issue addressed by the serial drama. For example, with regard to HIV/AIDS, we can measure:

- increases in awareness on HIV/AIDS;
- increases in knowledge about HIV/AIDS;
- increases in the belief and knowledge of one's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, especially women's and girls' vulnerability to HIV/AIDS; and
- increases in the knowledge of where to acquire condoms, or voluntary counseling and testing (VCT).

Goal 2 is achieved through a personal interview survey.

Goal 3 - The third goal of the evaluation research is to measure how many listeners have changed their belief in their ability to change their behavior – this is a measure of self-efficacy, and is a necessary pre-requisite to behavior change. With regard to HIV/AIDS, we can measure changes in:

- individuals' beliefs in the merits of abstinence, being faithful to one's partner and/or condom use;
- individuals' beliefs that abstinence, being faithful to one's partner and/or condom use will provide benefits to themselves and their families;
- their intention to adopt HIV/AIDS prevention measures; and
- increase in individuals' beliefs in promoting women and girls as a critical measure to prevent HIV/AIDS.

Goal 3 is achieved through a personal interview survey.

Goal 4 - The fourth goal of the evaluation research is to measure how many listeners have discussed the issue(s) addressed by the serial drama with their spouse/partner and/or their children. Goal 4 is achieved through a personal interview survey.

Goal 5 - The fifth goal of the evaluation research is to measure how many listeners have accessed the service infrastructure as a result of listening to the serial drama. With regard to HIV/AIDS, we can measure the increase in people being tested for HIV, or taking measures to reduce risky sexual behavior.

Goal 5 is achieved through a personal interview survey, through clinic attendance statistics, through clinic intake questionnaires, and through condom distribution data.

Goal 6 - The sixth goal of the evaluation research is to measure changes in other knowledge and attitudes that were promoted by the Sabido-style serial drama, such as gender equity (as indicated by the values grid). This goal is achieved through a personal interview survey.

Goal 7 - The seventh goal of the evaluation research is to understand how the Sabido-style serial drama had its effects by assessing whether listeners (or viewers) interacted with the program in the manner intended by the program designers. Specifically, 1) did listeners identify with the appropriate characters; 2) did listeners interact with the characters through role modeling and parasocial interaction; 3) did listeners perceive and understand the educational messages; and 4) did listeners attribute the negative consequences that befell some characters to their negative behavior, and the positive consequences that accrued to the positive characters to *their* behavior. This goal is achieved through a personal interview survey, through focus group discussions, and through content analysis of letters from listeners.

Documenting the impact of a mass media campaign is very difficult, since societies are constantly changing, and many factors affect an individual's attitudes and behavior. There may be social marketing programs or AIDS awareness campaigns in the media at the same time that also aim to change public knowledge and/or habits. Surveying a large number of people helps us to counteract the interference from these other factors. However, it is still difficult to conclude, with absolute certainty, the causes and effects of behavior change in reproductive health or any of the other issues we tackle.

Evaluation Research Methods

Seven different research methods are described below which may be used together to achieve the seven goals outlined above.

1. Content Analysis of the Scripts: A content analysis of the scripts of the program should be done to a) demonstrate that the entertainment-education strategy was followed; b) determine the relative emphasis that each of the educational values in the values grid received during the program; c) demonstrate the role (positive, negative or transitional) and importance of each character. The content analysis consists of scoring each episode for a) which characters appear in that episode; b) which educational values are mentioned or alluded to in that episode.

2. Content Analysis of Letters from Listeners: A content analysis of letters written to the program from listeners can be done to provide a) a measure of the program's appeal; b) audience identification with characters and their circumstances; and c) poignant anecdotes about the importance of the program in the lives of its audience. As letters are received, they should be catalogued for a) date of receipt; b) region of origin; c) gender of writer; and d) type of letter (fan letter to a character, critique of plot, advice to producers/writers, testimonial to effects of program, and whether it is favorable or unfavorable about the program).

3. Service Provider/Health Clinic/CBD data: A sample of clinics should provide their clinic attendance data on a monthly basis beginning from about three years prior to broadcast through conclusion of broadcasting of the Sabido-style serial drama. Normally, the number of new family planning adopters and continuing adopters are measured separately. Analysis of this data provides measures of a) the number of people seeking family planning services; and b) any change in services requested. Similarly, data on condom distribution and VCT visits will give information on changes in demand for these services. Condoms may be distributed through a governmental or NGO distribution network that could supply condom distribution data from a period prior to the beginning of broadcast through the conclusion of broadcast.

4. Service Provider Questionnaire: With cooperation from agencies providing reproductive health services, it is possible to administer a brief (three-question) questionnaire to new callers or clients to determine their source of referral (information) to the service provider. The three questions normally asked are a) what was the most important source of information that caused you to call or visit today? b) if they say radio (TV), then ask "what radio (TV) program?;" and c) ask everyone if they have ever listened to the Sabido-style serial drama (by name of the drama).

5. Other Service Providers: If the Sabido-style serial drama is advocating other behavior changes that require a visit to a service provider (such as treatment for STIs), it may be easy to obtain client source of referral data, similar to the service data described above in items 3 and 4.

6. Qualitative Assessment Through Focus Group Discussions: Focus group discussions are conducted throughout the course of the project to provide feedback to the creative team to make sure that a) they are designing characters with whom people can identify; b) they are designing storylines which seem realistic; c) the audience has become involved with the characters through parasocial interactions; d) the audience understands why some characters suffer and others do not. The transcripts of these focus group discussions can be analyzed by the evaluation team to assess whether a) listeners

have interacted with the program as conceived in the communication model; and b) there are consistent responses regarding the effects of the program; and c) there are poignant anecdotes which illustrate the impact of the program on the lives of listeners.

7. Personal Interview Surveys: The centerpiece of any evaluation is a personal interview survey because it can be used to achieve all seven of the previously described goals. Because surveys are expensive and time-consuming to carry out, the scale of the surveys will vary from country to country depending on available resources. There are a number of design considerations that can be employed to reduce the costs of a survey:

a) Number of Surveys: As a minimum, two surveys should be conducted. The first, or baseline survey, should be done just prior to the beginning of broadcast of the Sabido-style serial drama. The second survey should be done just after the conclusion of the broadcasting. A minimum of one year should separate the two surveys to allow for sufficient time for change to occur.

b) Type of Surveys: There are two basic types of surveys that can be done. In the first type, different individuals are sampled in each survey. This type of survey has the advantage that 1) you do not have to try to track down the same respondents after a year; and 2) the respondents in the second survey have not been "educated" by the survey process itself.

In the second type of survey (a *panel* survey), the same people are interviewed in each of the surveys. This survey has the disadvantages of 1) some people may be lost between surveys, and 2) some people may be "educated" by being interviewed the first year (for example, if they had never heard of a condom prior to the first survey, they will have heard of a condom by the time they complete the first survey because it will be mentioned during the survey). This survey technique has the advantage that there is very little variation in the characteristics of the sample from year to year because the same people are interviewed, so a smaller sample is possible.

It is also possible to use pre-existing "omnibus" market surveys and "buy" a few questions in the survey instrument. This strategy has the advantage of being cheaper and easier to employ, but the evaluation may lose control over 1) the sample frame (who gets asked questions; for example, the omnibus survey may only sample consumers in urban areas); 2) the timing of the surveys; and 3) the evaluation may be limited in how many questions they can include and the nature of the questions which can be included.

c) Size of Surveys: It is difficult to give an ideal sample size for a study because the required sample size will vary depending on 1) the diversity of the sample; 2) the variability of the variable you are trying to measure change in; and 3) the effectiveness of the Sabido-style serial drama in causing change. Sample size is the most important determinant of cost, and by reducing sample size, one can greatly reduce the cost of a survey. Sample size may be reduced by a) restricting the sample to only one or a few geographical areas; or b) reducing the sample frame (for example, only sampling young people from the age of 15 to 30); however, each of these methods restricts the researcher's abilities to draw conclusions about the effects of the program on the national population.

d) Design of the Survey Instrument: Selection of questions is very important. The survey document should be based on the values grid. It should take no longer than 30 to 45 minutes to complete each survey interview.

An impact evaluation should help you to learn not only what kind of impact a program has had, but also to learn how the program achieved its effects.

The evaluation research reports will be used by 1) policy makers; 2) governmental officials; 3) non-gov-ernmental providers of services in the areas of child welfare, family planning and reproductive health; 4) academic scholars; and 5) funders. This audience will look for a statistically rigorous design and analy-sis, so there must be an objective methodology and design.

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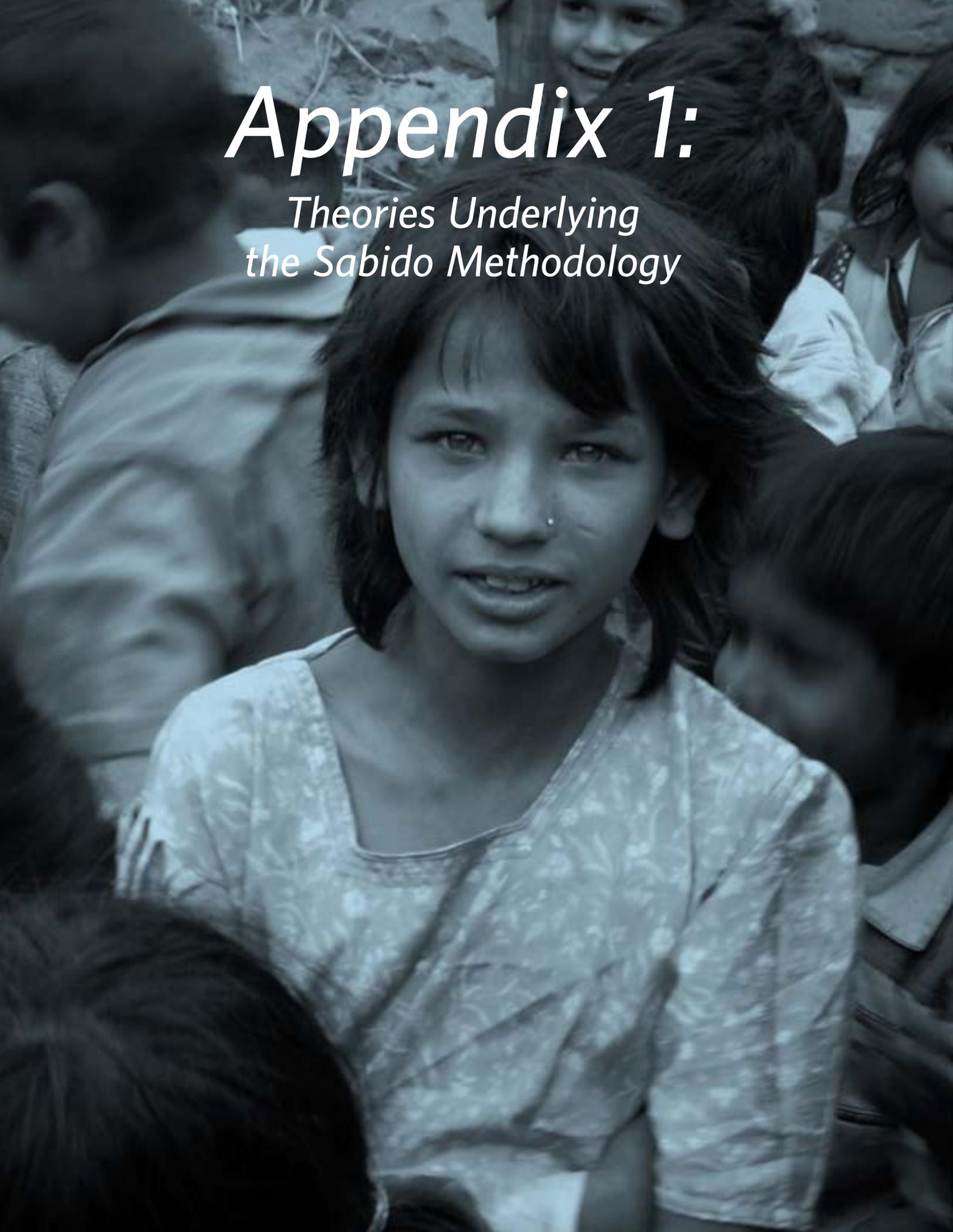
Appendix 1:

Theories Underlying the Sabido Methodology

The Sabido methodology draws from five theories of communication and behavior change: (a) a circular adaptation of Shannon and Weaver's Communication Model,[i] (b) Bentley's Dramatic Theory,[ii] (c) Jung's Theory of Archetypes and Stereotypes and the Collective Unconscious,[iii] (d) the Social Learning Theory of Albert Bandura,[iv] and (e) MacLean's Concept of the Triune Brain,[v] supplemented by Sabido's own Theory of the Tone.[vi] The two main theories upon which the methodology are based are Sabido's Theory of the Tone, and Bandura's Social Learning Theory, supplemented by the other theories.

The different theories which guide the development of Sabido-style serial dramas provide the methodology with a foundation for the structure and design of story lines, settings, characters, and plots – a foundation which is based on formative evaluation research. The theories also provide a framework for articulating hypotheses for summative (evaluation) research on the impact of the program.

A. Communication Model: Shannon and Weaver, 1949[vii]

Shannon and Weaver's Communication Model has five basic factors, arranged in a linear format. The components in this model are:

- The information source selects a desired message out of a set of possible messages.
- The transmitter changes the message into a signal that is sent over the communication channel to the receiver.
- The receiver is a sort of inverse transmitter, changing the transmitted signal back into a message, and interpreting this message.
- This message is then sent to the destination. The destination may be another receiver (i.e., the message is passed on to someone else), or the message may rest with the initial receiver, and the transmission is achieved.
- In the process of transmitting a message, certain information that was not intended by the information source is unavoidably added to the signal (or message). This "noise" can be internal (i.e., coming from the receiver's own knowledge, attitudes, or beliefs) or external (i.e., coming from other sources). Such internal or external "noise" can either strengthen the intended effect of a message (if the information confirms the message), or weaken the intended effect (if the information in the "noise" contradicts the original message).

Figure 1: Shannon and Weaver's Model of Communication Information
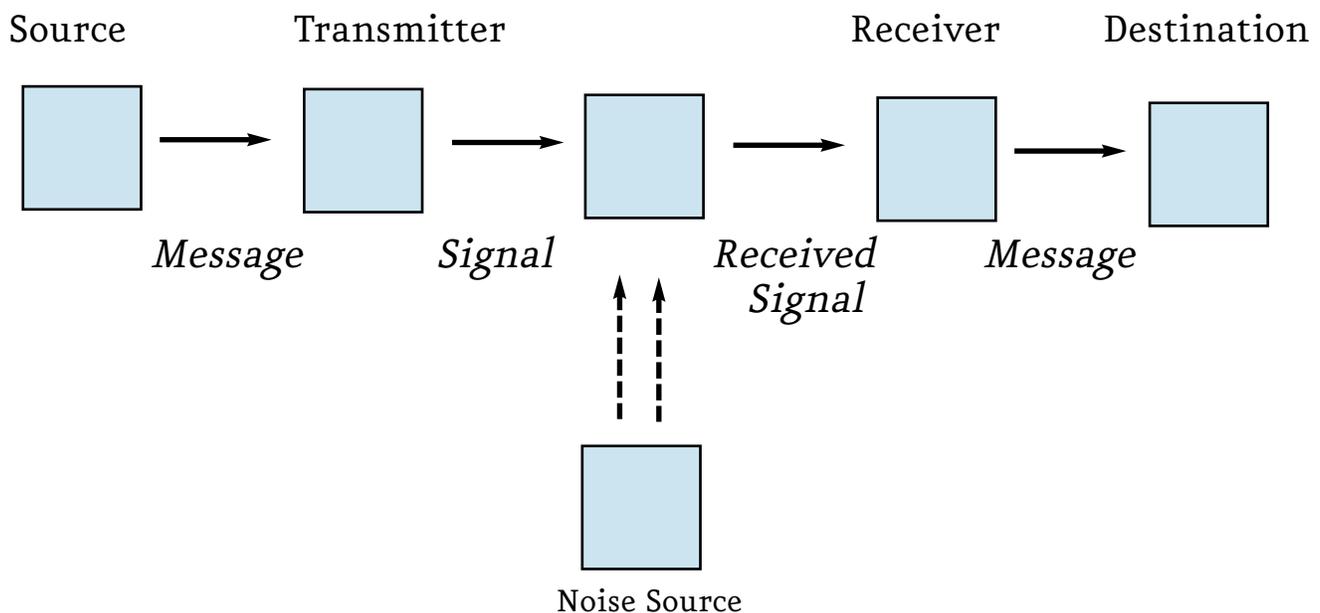
Sabido adapted Shannon and Weaver's linear diagram to form a communication circuit that depicted the circular nature of the communication process. He then applied this circuit to a serial drama. In the case of a commercial soap opera on television, the communicator is the manufacturer of a product, the message is "buy this product," the medium is the soap opera, the receiver is the consumer, and the response is the purchase of the product and television ratings.

Figure 2: Sabido's Circular Model of Communication [viii]

Response: Purchase of Product and Television Ratings

Communicator: Product Manufacturer

Message: Buy this Product
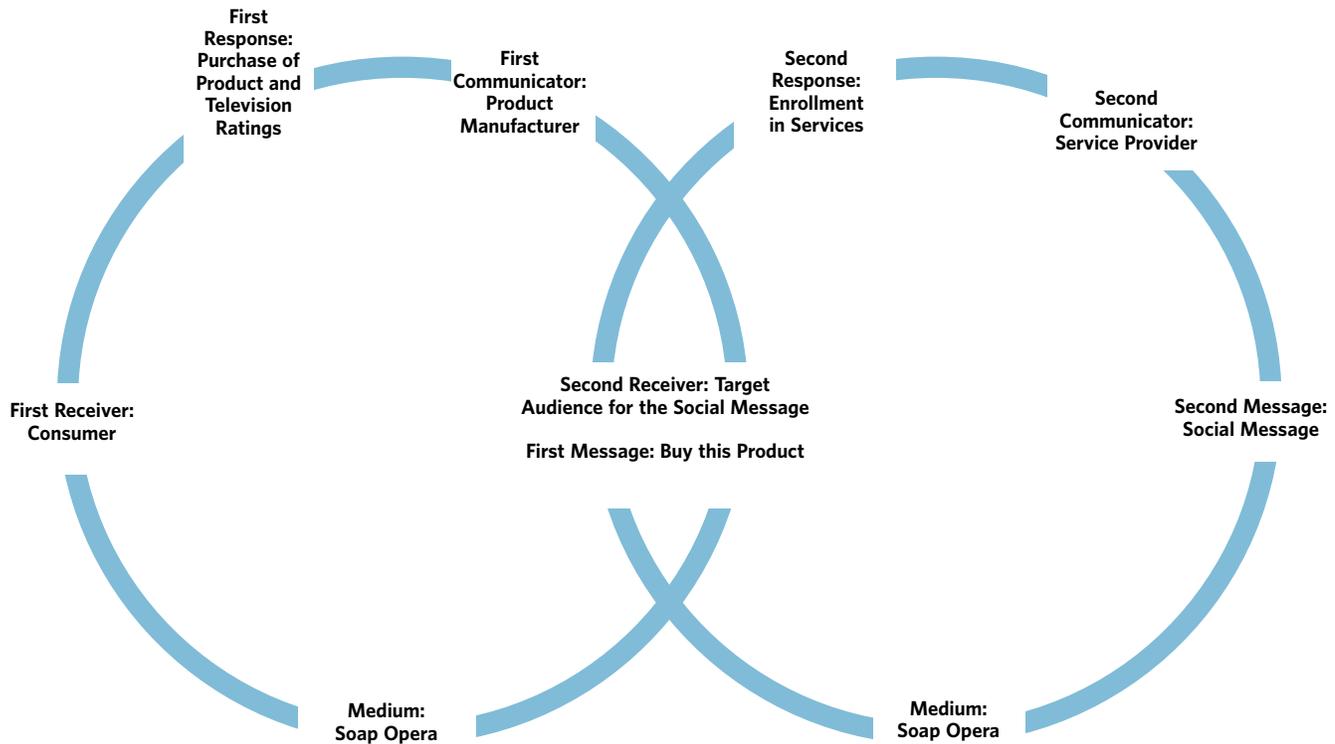
Medium: Soap Opera

Receiver: Consumer

Source: Nariman H. *Soap operas for social change.* Westport, CT: Praeger; 1993.

In the design of a social content serial drama, Sabido left the communication circuit of a commercial serial drama intact; however, he added a second communicator, a second message, a second receiver, and a second response. These additions to the communication circuit did not impede the function of the first communicator, which is still the product manufacturer, as shown in Figure 3.[viii]

Figure 3: Additional Circuit for a Social Content Soap Opera

First Response: Purchase of Product and Television Ratings

First Communicator: Product Manufacturer

Second Response: Enrollment in Services

Second Communicator: Service Provider

First Receiver: Consumer

Second Receiver: Target Audience for the Social Message

First Message: Buy this Product

Second Message: Social Message

Medium: Soap Opera

Medium: Soap Opera

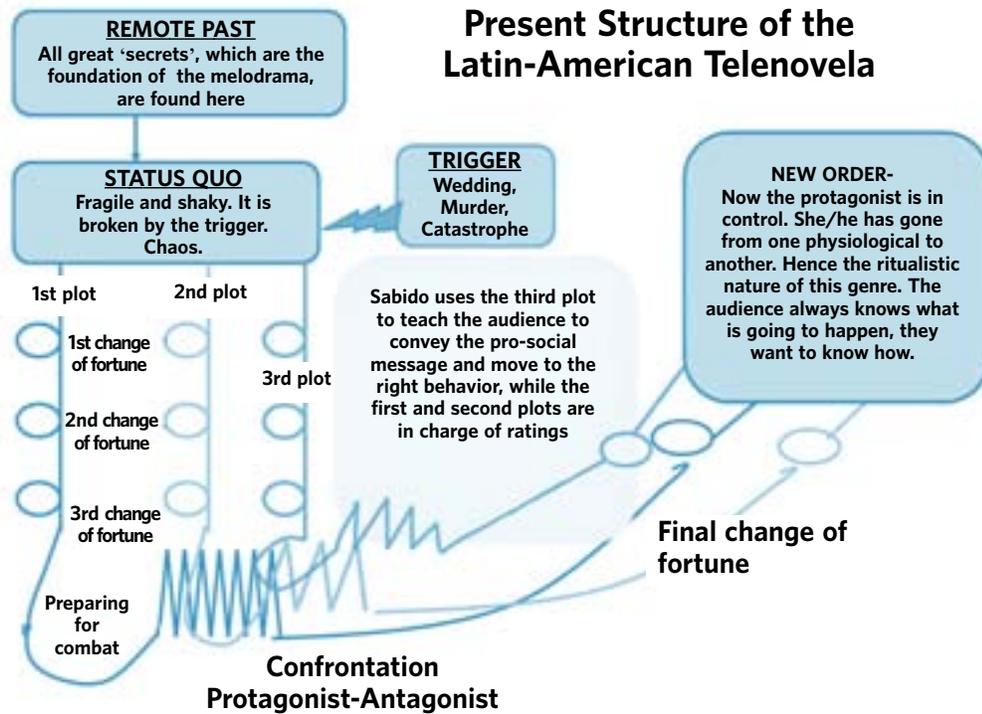Source: Nariman H. *Soap operas for social change.* Westport, CT: Praeger; 1993.

The communication circuit for social content serial dramas established their general communication process, but Sabido still needed to explain how this process actually has an impact upon the society as a whole.

To describe how the social content serial drama works on changing behaviors within a society, Sabido turned to the two-step flow theory of communication described by the sociologist Paul F. Lazarfeld,[ix] which states that messages in mass media have the most impact upon a minority of receivers. These people will then communicate the message to others, hence

a two-step flow. Therefore, although the direct effect of most mass media messages on behavior change is often modest,[x] the indirect effects of the media in encouraging peer communication can be substantial. This process of communication flow has been substantiated by more recent communication theories, most notably Rogers' Diffusion of Innovations theory.[xi]

These secondary discussions are very important in explaining how Sabido-style serial dramas affect behavior change within a community. Based on his experience as a writer, producer and director of *telenovelas* since 1963, Sabido states that "every *telenovela*

Figure 4: Structure of a Latin American Telenovela

Present Structure of the Latin-American Telenovela

REMOTE PAST
All great 'secrets', which are the foundation of the melodrama, are found here

STATUS QUO
Fragile and shaky. It is broken by the trigger. Chaos.

TRIGGER
Wedding, Murder, Catastrophe

NEW ORDER-
Now the protagonist is in control. She/he has gone from one physiological to another. Hence the ritualistic nature of this genre. The audience always knows what is going to happen, they want to know how.

1st plot   2nd plot

1st change of fortune

3rd plot

Sabido uses the third plot to teach the audience to convey the pro-social message and move to the right behavior, while the first and second plots are in charge of ratings

2nd change of fortune

3rd change of fortune

Preparing for combat

Final change of fortune

Confrontation Protagonist-Antagonist

is a discussion – both on and off the screen – about what is "good" and what is "bad." Audience members often conduct discussions regarding important social issues with their peers that are similar to those of the characters' "on the air." This happens because the characters provide a model on how to discuss issues that are sensitive, or even taboo, and discussions between characters indicate a certain social acceptance of these issues."[xii]

In their discussion of the results of *Twende na Wakati*, Rogers et al state that "one of the main processes through which the serial drama changed Tanzanian listeners' family planning behavior was by stimulating interpersonal communication on the subject."[xiii] The authors continue, "When mass media messages stimulate peer communication about the program content, this interpersonal communication can change individuals' behavior."[xiv]

For example, married women who listened to *Twende na Wakati* with their spouses, especially those who talked about the family planning content of the serial drama, were more likely than others (64 percent vs. 19 percent) to adopt family planning methods. Spousal communication about family planning, which was stimulated by exposure to *Twende na Wakati,* therefore played an important role in adoption of a contraceptive method.[xv] Thus, the results suggest that spousal joint listening to the program opened the door to make it possible for wives to broach the subject of family planning with their spouses. Even more so, the program modeled spousal

communication, showing couples how to discuss this taboo subject.

More recently, findings from a study of a Sabido-style radio serial drama in Ethiopia show that new family planning acceptors used this two-step model to confirm their intention to seek family planning services before they actually visit the clinic. Almost 60 percent of new adopters surveyed at selected family planning clinics throughout the country said they had talked with their spouse (17.4 percent) or friends/neighbors (42.2 percent) about their decision before finally coming to the clinic for services, mimicking the course followed by characters in the radio program.[xvi]

Sabido distinguishes two types of audience and two types of effects:

1) The ENTIRE audience in which the value is reinforced. Examples might be: "it is good that adults keep on studying," or "it is good to practice safer sex."

2) Those members of the audience who have to learn how to use a given service infrastructure to help them solve a certain problem. For example, adult literacy classes will not be needed by university graduates; the family planning infrastructure will not be used by people who are not sexually active – but the value is reinforced even among these audience members, who in turn might advise others to access the infrastructure that is relevant to their needs.

B. Dramatic Theory: Bentley, 1967 [xvii]

Bentley's dramatic theory describes the structure and effects of five genres of theatre (tragedy, comedy, tragicomedy, farce, and melodrama). Among these genres, melodrama presents reality in a slightly exaggerated sense in which the moral universes of good and evil are in discord. Sabido, originally a dramatic theoretician himself, employed Bentley's structure of the melodrama genre as a basis from which to design characters and plots. "Good" characters in Sabido-style serial dramas accept the proposed social behavior, and "evil" characters reject it. Plots are then constructed around the relationships between good and evil characters as they move closer to or farther away from the proposed social behavior. Their actions encourage the audience to either champion or reject these characters accordingly.

The tension between the good and evil characters evoked by the melodrama places the audience between the forces of good and evil. But, in a twist of the typical audience role in melodrama, where audience members simply watch or listen to the battle between good and evil, Sabido inserted the audience into the heart of the action – by representing audience members through a third group, one that is uncertain about the social behavior in question. These "uncertain" characters are intended to be those with which the target audience most closely identifies. It is also these "transitional" characters who will guide the audience members through their own evolution toward adoption of desired behavior changes.

Although the three groups of characters in Sabido-style serial dramas are exaggerated as is the case in melodrama, they are modeled on real people within the target audience and the perceptions these people might have regarding the social value and behavior being presented.

C. Archetypes and Stereotypes – Theory of the Collective Unconscious: Jung, 1970 [xviii]

Jung's theory states that there are certain scripts or stories with familiar patterns and characters that people play out throughout history. These universal scripts or stories appear in myths, legends and folktales around the world. Jung posited that these universal scripts or stories are the "archetypes of a collective unconscious" and share common characters such as "Prince Charming," "the mother," and "the warrior." Jung further suggests that these archetypes are expressions of a primordial, collective unconscious shared by diverse cultures.

Probably the most commonly known universal script is the "Cinderella" story. This story describes the rags-to-riches evolution of the archetypical "good" and "pure" Cinderella, abused at the hands of an "evil" stepmother and stepsisters. Aided by her Fairy Godmother, Cinderella finds her prince and ultimately lives "happily ever after."

Sabido describes his application of Jung's theory in his "table of the human adventure" (Figure 5). The graphic depicts all stories as a crossroads between biological and psychological sciences. This table allows for the Sabido methodology to be applied to target groups of all ages and sexes.

Figure 5: Sabido's "Table of the Human Adventure"
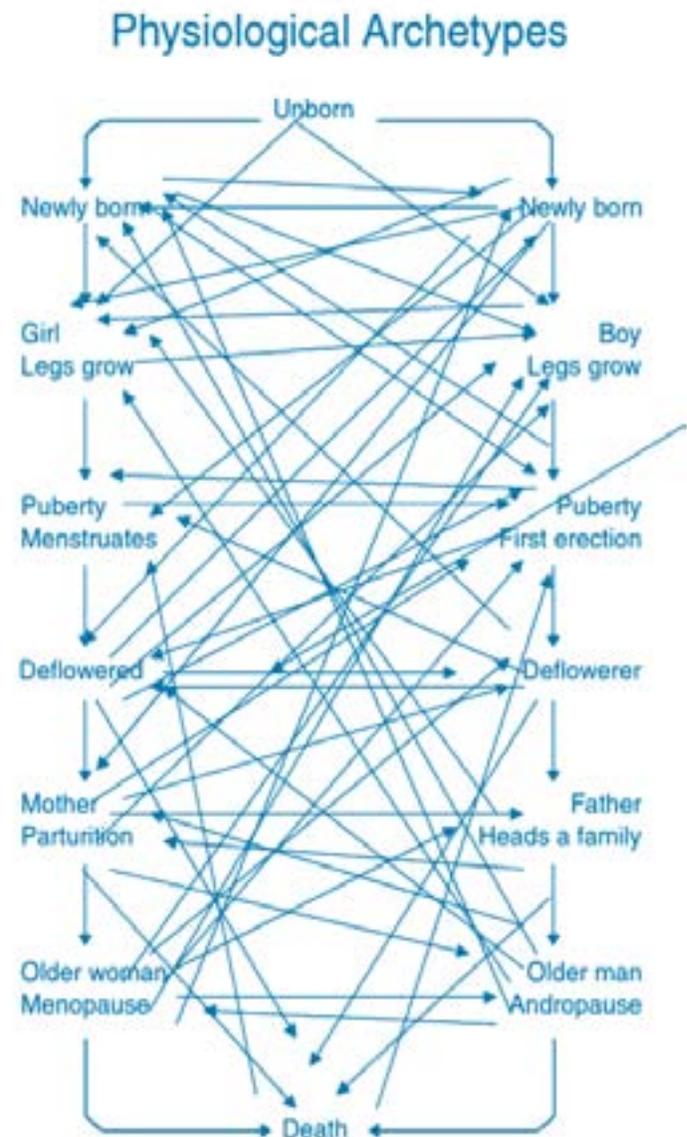
Sabido used the archetypes described in Jung's theory as a basis for developing characters that embody universal psychological and physiological characteristics to address themes within the serial drama. Through these characters, the viewer finds an archetypical essence of him or herself that interacts with the social message. Sabido portrayed these archetypes as positive or negative stereotypes, representing the societal norms of the target audience.

Sabido-style serial dramas rely on extensive formative research to identify the culture- or country-specific versions of these archetypes and to identify local archetypes that represent the prosocial values (or the antithesis of these values) that will be addressed in the serial drama. If the formative research upon which the serial drama is based is done properly, the scriptwriters will be able to develop archetypical characters with which audience members will be able to identify. The formative research is used to develop a grid of positive and negative social values that these positive and negative characters will embody.

D. Social Learning Theory: Bandura, 1977 & Social Cognitive Theory: Bandura, 1986

Social Learning Theory, as articulated by the Stanford University psychologist Professor Albert Bandura, explains how people learn new behaviors from vicariously experiencing the actions of others. Bandura postulates that there are two basic modes of learning. People can either learn through the direct experience of trial and error and the rewarding and punishing effects of actions, or through the power of social modeling. Trial-and-error learning by direct experience is not only tedious but harmful when errors produce costly or injurious consequences. So, many people will short-cut this process by learning from the successes and mistakes of others. This short-cut, called vicarious learning, or modeling, is a key tenet of Bandura's Social Learning Theory.[xix]

According to Social Learning Theory, people not only learn in formal situations such as classrooms, but also by observing models. In fact, the largest portion of learning to adapt to society takes place through such observational learning. The models used in this observational learning can be people in real life or characters in mass media (such as television or radio).

Sabido-style serial dramas use Bandura's Social Learning Theory to guide the design of media role models through which viewers can learn social behaviors. A major advantage of modeling through the media is that it can reach a vast population simultaneously in widely dispersed places.

Sabido distinguishes three types of imprints on the viewer/listener that may lead to behavior change:
- Sudden imprint, also known in advertising as "remindability." It consists of stimuli of a very intense tone to reinforce a value in the whole audience.
- Gradual growth imprint, which takes two or three days. The best example is a telethon, which for two days goes on sensitizing the audience to achieve a real emotional outburst which reinforces the value.
- Slow imprint. This is achieved through months of exposure and is the one used in Sabido-style serial dramas.[xx]

A key to the use of Social Learning Theory in Sabido-style serial dramas is use of appropriate models that are visibly rewarded (or punished) in front of the audience, in order to convert the values that are being promoted by the serial drama into behavior. Social Learning Theory postulates that positive rewards have a vicarious effect upon the observer (in this case, the audience) and can motivate audience members to practice similar behavior(s). Punishing a role model for practicing a socially undesirable behavior likewise provides a vicarious experience for the observer and can inhibit his or her practice of the same behavior. This adoption is called modeling because it is based on the role model's conduct. Through modeling it is possible to acquire new forms of behavior and to strengthen or weaken certain behaviors. In Sabido-style serial dramas, characters "teach" audience members via modeling so that they are able to make a recommended response.

Sabido determined that three types of characters are fundamental to successful modeling by audience members. The first two types of characters are positive and negative role models. They embody positive and negative behaviors concerning the social issues addressed in the serial drama (and are based on Jung's theory of archetypes and stereotypes, described above). These characters will not change during the course of the serial drama, but are repeatedly rewarded or punished for their behaviors. The consequences of these positive or negative behaviors must be directly linked to the behavior in question: for example, a truck driver char-

acter that is practicing at-risk sexual behavior should suffer from a sexually transmitted infection or even contract HIV, but should not be the victim of a traffic accident.

The third type of character is the "transitional character." These characters are neither positive nor negative but somewhere in the middle. These transitional characters play the pivotal role in a Sabido-style serial drama, and are designed to represent members of the target audience. The transitional characters' evolution toward the desired behavior is that which the audience members will use to model their own behavior change.

The transitional characters follow a 5-stage journey, as is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Five-stage "Journey" of Transitional Characters in a Sabido-style Serial Drama
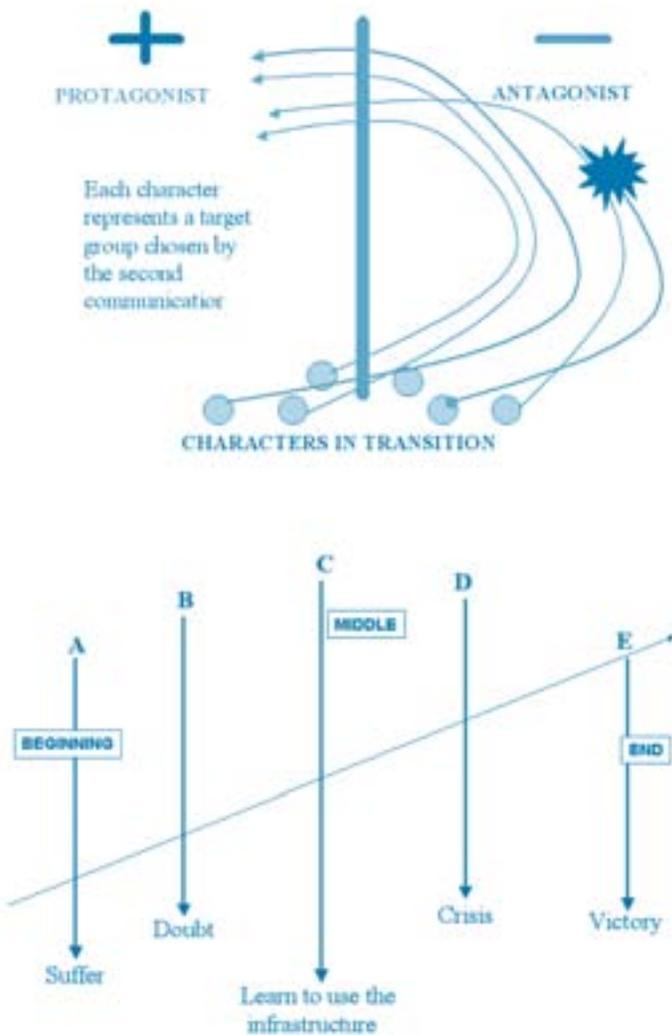
For example, in Sabido's first social content serial drama, *Ven Conmigo* ("Come with Me") which dealt with adult literacy, transitional characters were specifically chosen from specific sub-groups (e.g., the elderly, young adults, housewives) who represented the key target audiences for the national literacy campaign in Mexico. One of the main transitional characters was a grandfather who struggled to read the many letters he received from his favorite grand-daughter. In a cathartic episode, he graduates from literacy training, and is finally able to read his grand-daughter's letters, albeit with teary eyes. In the year preceding the broadcast of *Ven Conmigo*, the national literacy campaign had registered 99,000 students. Following the broadcast of this episode (and the epilogue which provided information about registration in the literacy campaign), 250,000 people registered for literacy training. By the end of the serial drama, 840,000 people had registered for the literacy program – an increase of almost 750 percent from the preceding year.

To motivate changes in behavior among the target audience, it is imperative that audience members not only identify with these transitional characters, but empathize with these characters as they first experience the suffering that compels them to change negative behaviors, and then struggle during the process of change. Thus, the grandfather in *Ven Conmigo* struggles against naysayers who disparage his efforts to learn to read by reasoning that the elderly cannot possibly learn to read – and that his efforts to become literate are futile. The grandfather eventually surmounts this wall of cynicism, and proves that, in fact, "old dogs can learn new tricks." As was demonstrated by this example, the evolution of the transitional characters must be gradual, or the audience will reject the change process as being unrealistic. If the characters' evolution is not gradual and fraught with obstacles, the audience will expect that their own progress toward positive change will be unrealistically rapid and facile.

But why do people identify with some models and not with others?

First, the model must attract the attention of the observer. Attention is increased when the models are perceived as attractive – and this is more likely when the model is perceived as having a high status as opposed to a low status in society.

Next, the information must be retained by the audience members. The model's behavior is most likely to be retained by the observer when the model is perceived as close to familiar and significant things in his/her life. High emotional content in the drama also increases the audience's ability to remember key behavioral lessons. Motor reproduction also influences the degree of modeling. Motor reproduction is the translation of retained symbols (or ideas) into guides for behavior (action).

Motor reproduction conveys how to get from an idea to concrete action. This is encouraged by having the role models in Sabido-style serial dramas demonstrate the prosocial behaviors in realistic circumstances that the viewer can easily relate to his/her own life.

As mentioned above, modeling is also dependent upon motivational, or reinforcement, processes. It is through motivation and reinforcement that the viewer is actually encouraged to practice the behavior acquired through the preceding three subprocesses. According to Social Learning Theory, the observer sees the consequences of the model's behavior and forms a series of expectations regarding rewards and punishments for his or her own practice of this behavior. If the conditions in which he or she observed the model practice the behavior can be generalized to the viewer's own circumstances, it is likely that the viewer will be motivated to practice the behavior also. Also, the model must be rewarded consistently for positive (prosocial) behavior (and "punished" for negative behavior) – this motivates the members of the audience to practice the behaviors that are rewarded. In this way, the observer learns vicariously by watching the model being rewarded or punished.[xxi]

Bandura also developed a related theory, Social Cognitive Theory, which explains that behavior change can only occur when an individual feels sufficiently empowered to change. If an individual feels that the society, culture, religion, or his/her deity (or "Fate") dictates individual behavior and its consequences, there is little that communication can do to impact behavior change. For example, if a woman perceives that Fate has determined the number of children she will ultimately bear during her childbearing years, even a well-conceived family planning communication campaign will have little effect in motivating her to plan or space her pregnancies – she feels that this decision is not hers to make. In this case, the woman's perception of self-determination must be addressed first.

Bandura termed this perception of self-determination "self-efficacy." The more self-efficacy an individual perceives, the more likely he or she will be to feel empowered to make decisions that affect his/her life and circumstances.

Research has shown that Sabido-style serial dramas can increase self-efficacy among audience members. According to Rogers, the Sabido-style serial drama *Twende na Wakati* produced a marked increased in listeners' self-efficacy with regard to family size in Tanzania.[xxii] In fact, the series title, which means, "Let's Go with the Times" was defined in several episodes as "taking charge of one's life." Positive and transitional role models in *Twende na Wakati* exemplified such self-efficacy and were rewarded in the story line for taking charge of their lives by adopting a family planning method, or by otherwise taking control of and responsibility for, their reproductive health and that of their partner(s). Negative role models like Mkwaju, who lacked such control, were punished by events.

The content of *Twende na Wakati* that dealt with self-efficacy had a marked effect on listeners' beliefs, and, indirectly, on their family planning behavior. For example, married women in the 1995 survey who believed they *could* determine the size of their family were much more likely than others (51 percent vs. 16 percent) to use a family planning method.[xxiii]

How can we increase audience members' perceptions of their own self-efficacy? Bandura states that people's beliefs in their efficacy are developed by four main sources of influence. These include mastery experiences, seeing people similar to oneself manage task demands successfully, social persuasion that one has the capabilities to succeed in given activities, and inferences from somatic and emotional states indicative of personal strengths and vulnerabilities. Since ordinary realities are strewn with impediments, adversities, setbacks, frustrations and inequities, people must have a robust sense of efficacy to sustain the perseverant effort needed to succeed. As Bandura notes, for those who have a high sense of self-efficacy, failure is informative.[xxiv]

E. Triune Brain Theory: MacLean, 1973 and Theory of the Tone: Sabido, 2002 [xxv]

The Sabido methodology is based on conveying a holistic message that is perceived by audience members on several levels of awareness. Sabido began his career as a theater director and dramatic theoretician. In his work in the theater, Sabido discovered that actors can have different effects on their audiences by channeling their energy through three different body zones. If actors focused their energy behind their eyes, the tone of the production would be conceptual. If the actor focused energy in the base of the neck, the tone of the production would be emotive. If the actor focused energy in the pubic area, the tone of the production would be primal. Sabido instinctively understood that in order to motivate or persuade, it is necessary to provide a complete message that speaks to these three levels of perception.

Sabido's "tonal theory" describes how the various tones that are perceived by humans can be used in drama. In this theory, the producer/director serves almost the same function as an orchestra conductor, who can evoke different tones from each instrument in order to create various harmonies or tones within the body of the music and thereby inspire different moods among the audience. Although the theory is quite complex, it can be summarized by saying that for Sabido, the "tone" is the human communication form to which the receiver gives a tone according to his/her own genetic and acquired repertoire, thus making the "tone" the foundation of human communication. The theory has one main hypothesis: it is possible to change the tone of communication by hierarchically ordering its flow elements in a specific manner. This general hypothesis is organized into twelve sub-hypotheses, which allow us to take this abstract idea and apply it to day-to-day communication.

The producer/director uses various non-verbal elements of communication, including facial expressions, body language, lighting, music, sound effects and tone of voice, to evoke different responses from the audience.

At first, Sabido lacked a theoretical explanation for what he was observing. He eventually discovered Paul MacLean's Concept of the Triune Brain, which presents a model of human brain structure with three levels of perception – cognitive, affective and pre-dispositional.

Sabido was particularly taken by MacLean's division of the brain into three zones. In his book, *A Triune Concept of the Brain and Behavior*, MacLean defines these three zones:

- The first zone is the reptilian zone of the brain, and is common to all animal life – its purpose is self-preservation. It has four functions: feeding, fighting, fleeing and fornicating.
- The second zone of the brain is the paleo-mammalian brain. This zone is common to all mammals and is the source of most of memory. It is also the seat of emotions. As such, it is the primary residence of human values.
- The third zone of the brain is the neo-mammalian brain. MacLean posits that this zone is exclusive to the human race, and is the center of human cognition.

Thus, MacLean's theory gave Sabido the scientific basis he needed for focusing on the emotional (second zone) and instinctive/impulse (first zone) as the basis for his serial dramas, with the third (cognitive zone) used primarily to reinforce the first and second zones' messages in the drama.

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