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Entertainment-Education and Child Marriage
A Scoping Study for
Girls Not Brides: The Global Partnership to End Child Marriage

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This scoping study has been undertaken by the Center for Media & Health in collaboration with dance4life. It was commissioned by *Girls Not Brides: The Global Partnership to End Child Marriage*.

Center for Media & Health

The Center for Media & Health (CMH) is an innovative leader in invigorating social change through tailor-made communication and research. Since its inception in 1999 the Center for Media & Health has designed, implemented and researched a wide variety of Entertainment-Education (EE) media formats and communication interventions on issues such as sexual responsible behaviour, moderate alcohol and drug use, hearing loss prevention, sustainable consumption patterns and social and cultural tolerance. The CMH believes in the power of storytelling and uses popular entertainment media, and innovative communication methods to effectively reach various groups in society. For more information, please visit www.media-health.nl.

dance4life

dance4life inspires young people by using the power of music and dance and provides them with the knowledge, skills and confidence to make safe sexual choices. It has many years of experience in empowering young people, and has reached millions of young people worldwide. With youth culture at the core of their approach, dance4life specializes in creating awareness around sexual health issues, including child marriage and sexual violence. It engages the general public through campaigns, social media, TV and radio soaps and commercials and special events. For more information, please visit www.dance4life.nl.

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1. Introduction

1.1 *Girls Not Brides: The Global Partnership to End Child Marriage*

Girls Not Brides is a global partnership of over 700 civil society organisations from more than 85 countries. *Girls Not Brides* members are committed to ending child marriage and enabling girls to fulfil their potential. By working together they are able to bring child marriage to global attention, build an understanding of what it will take to end child marriage and call for the laws, policies and programmes that will make a difference in the life of millions of girls.

Entertainment-Education, i.e. the use of radio, television, soap operas, theatre and comic books to affect positive social change is not new. Mass media and communication campaigns have been integral to a range of development efforts such as those working on sexual reproductive health, family planning and HIV/AIDS for decades. A growing body of research shows that Entertainment-Education has the potential to create change for individuals and communities on a range of development outcomes.

As *Girls Not Brides* work to accelerate their efforts to end child marriage, there is growing interest in the role that Entertainment-Education can play. Knowing that tackling child marriage requires transforming the attitudes and behaviours that perpetuate the practice among families and communities, Entertainment-Entertainment strategies can be a powerful way to engage individuals and communities to create new norms, values and behaviours. With 15 million girls married every year, the ability to design and implement effective and scalable solutions is more critical than ever before.

However, evidence of programmes which have had an impact on child marriage remains limited. There are few initiatives at scale or of long enough duration to draw comprehensive conclusions on the role of mass media and communications in prompting the change in behaviours that mean families do not marry off their daughters as children. Similarly, not enough is known about how to optimise the impact of media tools combined with other local efforts to end child marriage – such as girls' empowerment or community sensitisation initiatives.

In order to draw lessons about the potential of Entertainment-Education initiatives to instigate social norm change on child marriage, *Girls Not Brides* commissioned the Center for Media and Health in collaboration with dance4life to scope out existing work in this field and analyse lessons learned from other related initiatives. The analysis and recommendations in this report will provide *Girls Not Brides* with a good foundation from which to facilitate further learning in this field.

1.2 Methodology

Worldwide there are several Entertainment-Education initiatives that focus on child marriage or other closely related adolescent girl issues, such as girls' education, sexual reproductive health, and gender based violence. Using these as a starting point, the team explored the central research question 'what works and doesn't work when using Entertainment-Education initiatives as an approach to changing attitudes related to child marriage?'. The first task was to study peer reviewed articles, existing documents, relevant (un)published reports and examples of Entertainment-Education projects related to adolescent girl issues via desk research. This was followed by in-depth interviews via skype with experts and representatives (such as researchers, fieldworkers and creative designers) of interesting and promising Entertainment-Education projects related to adolescent girl issues, to collect more data and information. Relevant and available audio-visual materials from these Entertainment-Education projects were also collected.

In order to select Entertainment-Education projects to explore, the research team worked with the *Girls Not Brides* secretariat to identify a selection of organisations. These organisations were selected because they were implementing innovative initiatives that focused on child marriage or a closely related adolescent girl issue in a country where child marriage prevalence rates are high. The initiatives were also selected to gain good geographical diversity and where representatives were willing to share their insights and experiences of designing and implementing an Entertainment-Education initiative.
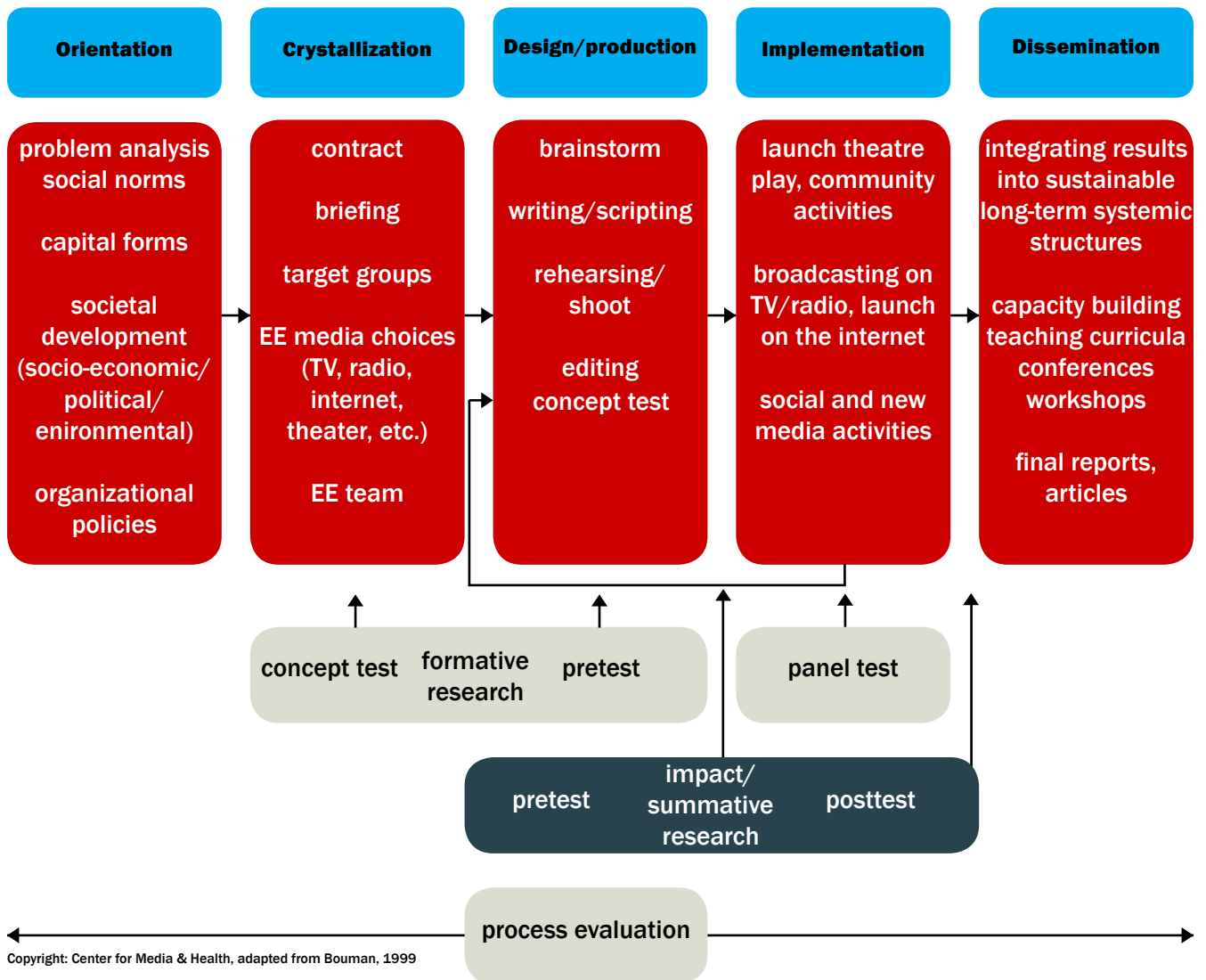
This resulted in a selection of Entertainment-Education projects in nine different countries: Pakistan, India, Malawi, Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa, Nepal, Nigeria, Nicaragua. Five of these countries (Mozambique, India, Malawi, Nigeria and Nicaragua) are on the list of 20 countries in the world with the highest rate of child marriage.

Key players and organisations that we interviewed and who shared their experiences and knowledge about Entertainment-Education are: Population Foundation of India, based in Delhi; PCI Media Impact, based in New York (USA); Bedari, based in Islamabad (Pakistan); YoNeCo, based in Zomba (Malawi); Population Media Center, based in South Burlington (USA); Soul City, based in Johannesburg (South Africa); Puntos de Encuentro, based in Managua (Nicaragua); Breakthrough, based in Delhi (India); Johns Hopkins University/Center for Communication Programs, based in Baltimore (USA); University of Texas at El Paso, based in El Paso (USA); dance4life, based in Amsterdam (the Netherlands); Center for Media & Health, based in Gouda (the Netherlands). Details of the projects and informants are provided in Appendix 2.

The in-depth interviews (14 interviewees) were conducted based on the concept of the Entertainment-Education Mapping Model[1] developed by the Center for Media & Health (figure 1). This model depicts the various stages of an Entertainment-Education project and helped to structure the interviews with practitioners. The interviews lasted between 50-60 minutes and were tape recorded, transcribed and analysed.

Figure 1: Entertainment-Education Mapping Model

Orientation	Crystallization	Design/production	Implementation	Dissemination
problem analysis social norms capital forms societal development (socio-economic/ political/ enironmental) organizational policies	contract briefing target groups EE media choices (TV, radio, internet, theater, etc.) EE team	brainstorm writing/scripting rehearsing/ shoot editing concept test	launch theatre play, community activities broadcasting on TV/radio, launch on the internet social and new media activities	integrating results into sustainable long-term systemic structures capacity building teaching curricula conferences workshops final reports, articles

concept test — formative research — pretest — panel test

impact/ summative research: pretest — posttest

process evaluation

2. Entertainment-Education as a strategy to create social change

The literature review clearly highlighted that in the early days Entertainment-Education (EE) strategies have predominantly been applied in non-western contexts (e.g. Latin America, Asia and Africa) dealing with issues such as family planning, HIV/AIDS and literacy. They have especially been researched by scholars in the field of communication for development. Nowadays we also see inspiring EE projects being developed in western settings (e.g. the USA, The Netherlands).

Based on the results of the literature review, the research team has identified the following key findings.

An Entertainment-Education strategy is defined here as *'the process of purposively designing and implementing a mediating communication form with the potential of entertaining and educating people, in order to enhance and facilitate different stages of prosocial behaviour change'* (Bouman, 1999). The word *'process'* in this definition is important. It reflects the time, energy and way of thinking that is needed when the Entertainment-Education strategy is applied in practice. The general concept of combining entertainment and education is not new. The difference between the use of entertainment as a teaching tool in former times and at present is that nowadays a mass audience is reached, the communication is electronically and digitally mediated, and the strategy is purposively used and based on a multidisciplinary theoretical framework.

The rise of the Entertainment-Education strategy is inspired by both pragmatic and theoretical perspectives. From their inception, NGOs have focused on giving serious factual information, mostly appealing to reason and cognitive processing and assuming that the recipient is actively seeking information. They relied heavily upon 'transfer of knowledge' as the basic trigger for behavioural change. This emphasis on reasoning, however, proved often not to be effective. The Entertainment-Education strategy differs in that it takes into account emotions and human interest thereby bridging the gap between rational and emotional approaches, with the potential to be more effective.

The Entertainment-Education strategy is influenced by the social marketing field (Cheng et al. 2011). Social marketing has evolved from business marketing practices, but is distinguished by its emphasis on so-called non-tangible products: ideas, attitudes, lifestyle changes (Lefebvre & Flora, 1988; Mintz, 1992). A central aspect of a social marketing approach is the use of a consumer orientation to develop and market interventions. From their roots, many NGOs have a long tradition of a top-down, agency-centred 'we know what's best' attitude. This is also referred to as 'push' marketing in contrast to 'pull' marketing, where consumers 'pull' certain ideas, products and/or services out of agencies. The social marketing perspective among others has made NGOs become more aware of the necessity to increase the social adoptability of their messages, to take sufficient account of the norms and values of their different audiences (Bouman, 1999).

Various techniques of social marketing are used in the design of entertainment messages (e.g. formative evaluation, audience segmentation, needs assessment, product development, pre-testing). Research-based knowledge about the characteristics, needs and preferences of the target audiences is crucial to inform and support the design of Entertainment-Education programmes (Bouman, 1999). The Entertainment-Education strategy is regarded by Singhal and Rogers (1999) as a promising alternative against two undesirable trends in contemporary mass-media programming: 'entertainment-degradation' programmes, and 'boredom-education' programmes.

At the heart of the Entertainment-Education strategy is the use of role models (e.g. soap series characters, theatre actors or music performers) for social change. According to social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986; 2004) people do not only learn in formal learning environments, such as schools, but also in informal situations, by observing the behaviour of so-called role models.

These can be people they meet in real life as well as fictional characters in radio and television soaps, films, transmedia series, serious games, or plays. This provides a vicarious learning experience for the observer and can encourage them practicing the same behaviour.

An important condition for effective social learning is to depict how ordinary people deal with dilemmas in everyday life. With child marriage for example, it is important to think about how individuals share emotions, exchange ideas and arguments and how new behaviour can be practiced in real life. It is necessary to present appropriate models who practice the relevant behaviour and are visibly rewarded or "punished" for it in front of the observer. When viewers develop a personal relationship with popular personalities or characters from a series, this is called 'parasocial interaction' (Horton & Wohl, 1956; Papa et al., 2000; Sood, 2002). The large amount of audience involvement and expression of parasocial interaction in Entertainment-Education soap and drama series may be explained by the fact that stories in soap and drama series reflect a lively oral tradition in various countries (Bouman, 1999).

Findings and learnings from earlier research on the use of Entertainment-Education in other sectors such as literacy, HIV/AIDS, reproductive health, child health and domestic violence, can be of help in shaping future Entertainment-Education projects on child marriage and other girl related issues. So far, various studies report that the impact of Entertainment-Education initiatives has been on the level of exposure, awareness and understanding within the targeted audience. Results have also been reported in affecting knowledge, attitudes, and intention and, in some cases, a change of behaviour regarding the social issue. For example researchers of the South African Entertainment-Education television series *Soul City* reported that it was successful in terms of affecting the knowledge, attitudes and practices of those watching on a regular basis. In particular, knowledge was increased around incorrect social beliefs, such as giving milk to children who have swallowed paraffin, as well as putting various substances to sooth burns. (CASE, 1995). However it was on the issues of HIV/AIDS and domestic violence that exposure to *Soul City* showed the most impressive results. *Soul City* was particularly effective in helping dispel myths around how people get HIV/AIDS (Bouman, 1999) and results showed that audience members with high levels of exposure were more likely to recognise domestic violence and reflect on how to stop abusive behaviours (Usdin et al, 2004).

Similarly, the highly rated telenovela *Acompaname* which was designed to promote family planning and broadcast in Mexico during 1977-1978 helped to convince half a million Mexicans to visit government family planning clinics in order to adopt contraceptives, an increase of 32 percent over the previous year (Singhal & Rogers, 1989). *Acompaname* has been credited with 'being the determinating factor in the drop of Mexico's population growth rate from 3.1 percent to 2.5 percent during the period it was aired from 1977 to 1978' (Elkamel, 1995). Furthermore the Mexican telenovela *Ven Conmigo* was aimed at motivating adults without a primary school certificate to enroll in a national adult education plan. Results obtained from a survey indicated that viewers of the drama were much more informed about the national literacy programme and expressed more positive attitudes about helping one another to learn (Bandura, 2004).

Most Entertainment-Education research studies concentrate on determining whether effects occurred rather than on providing theoretical explanations of how audience members change their perceptions, attitudes and/or behaviours as a result of exposure to Entertainment-Education programmes. According to several Entertainment-Education researchers, the main focus of research in this field, is no longer on whether or not this approach can change behaviour, but on 'how' such effects take place (Singhal & Rogers, 1999: 204). This means that present research in the field of Entertainment-Education utilizes more experimental and qualitative research methods to probe the process through which Entertainment-Education takes effect. It is essential to integrate qualitative and quantitative research findings.

In order to create effective Entertainment-Education programmes, content matter specialists, researchers and creative media professionals have to collaborate. This means that they have to sit together to negotiate, to brainstorm, to create ideas and to put these ideas into practice. It is obvious that content matter specialists, researchers and creative media professionals have their own professional roles and standards and they have to find ways to cope with their different professional backgrounds and attitudes. This

intrinsic professional role dilemma is coined by Bouman (1999, 2002) as the 'turtle and peacock' effect.

In Entertainment-Education projects ethical dilemmas relating to the content of social messages and unintended effects can also be identified (Brown and Singhal, 1990; 1993). The *pro-social content dilemma* refers to 'definers of the problem', i.e., those who have the power to control the framing or defining of an issue, such as the issue of child marriage. Organisations may promote certain values to the exclusion of others. For example, the social marketing strategy is criticized for its individualistic approach, based on the 'blaming the individual' principle and neglecting external social and economic conditions that play an important role in attitude and behaviour change. The *unintended effects dilemma* raises the question of how to respond to unintended and undesired consequences of an Entertainment-Education programme. Communication effects are not always controllable, and that is even more so in the case of mass media.

Some examples of successful Entertainment-Education programmes around the world

Soul City: Soul City started in 1994 and is an integral Entertainment-Education project (television, radio, print, youth clubs) with at its core the popular hospital television series Soul City addressing various health issues in South Africa. It is broadcasted in various countries in Africa. More info: http://www.soulcity.org.za and Usdin et al. 2004.

Sexto Sentido: this Entertainment-Education drama in Nicaragua has put sexual and reproductive rights on the public agenda. It is broadcasted in various countries in Latin America as well as in the United States. For more information see Appendix 3.

Sound Effects: is a cross media multilevel Entertainment-Education project, which featured *Sound*, the first Entertainment-Education internet series on Hearing Loss Prevention in the Netherlands. Sound Effects is an example of Entertainment-Education in Europe. More info: http://www.media-health.nl/projects/sound-effects

Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon (I, a Woman, Can Achieve Anything): is an Indian transmedia storytelling initiative for social change. It is a family drama series challenging the discrimination that women face every day. More information visit http://mkbksh.com and Appendix 3.

East Los High: is an example of a transmedia Entertainment-Education programme that embeds educational messages in entertainment narratives across several digital platforms to promote sexual and reproductive health among young Latina/o Americans in the United States. For more information visit www.eastloshigh.com and Wang et al. 2016.

3. Key findings from the field

Based on the results of the field interviews, the research team has come to the following key findings:

3.1 Different channels allow social messages to be reinforced

The Entertainment-Education approach is usually part of a larger behavioural change communication programme in which various strategies and formats are used. Entertainment-Education tends to be the glue or the overarching umbrella that connects everything. Projects often combine several formats and delivery channels, for example, a radio soap on a national level combined with an additional regional radio soap in another colloquial language such as in Nepal (Mai Sari Sunakhari and Hilkor). It can also be a radio soap with a radio live call in show, such as in Mozambique (Ouro Negro). In regions with a more sophisticated and saturated media market such as South Africa a television drama, youth movement and mobile phones are chosen to reach the mass audience (Soul City).

In India, for example, the television series Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon ('I, A Woman, Can Achieve Anything') is central to the Entertainment-Education initiative but the organisation has adopted an integral (360 degree) behaviour change communication approach to ensure individuals hear mutually reinforcing messages from a variety of different channels, such as social media platforms and characters who have their own Twitter feeds, Facebook pages and or video logs (vlogs). Combining media (multimedia, cross media and transmedia approaches) helps to reinforce the social issue message in a given context which makes attitude and behaviour change more likely.

The choice for the Entertainment-Education format is influenced by various factors, such as the existing media market, the availability of different media in a specific region, the budget and the preference of the intended audience. As an interviewee indicated: *"A lot depends on the audience and what they like. What a woman in rural India or a 16 year old kid in Tanzania would like, might be different things"*. In regions with a less sophisticated media market such as in rural Nepal or Pakistan, community theatre is used because of its attractiveness and interactivity with the audience.

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In rural regions, the use of radio continues to be predominant. A transistor radio can run on batteries or a wind up radio can run of kinetic energy of solar power, so there is no need for a constant source of electricity. In such contexts, radio soaps are a popular Entertainment-Education format. The audience have to put in a little bit of 'work' to imagine what the characters in the radio soap look like, which can increase audience involvement, as expressed by an interviewee: *"Radio is more engaging for the audience (...) you are imagining what those characters look like, and by doing that process of imagination, it creates more engagement."* Also the audience can do other tasks while listening (e.g. work in the field, watching the children or doing household chores).

## 3.2 Taking the individual, community and broader society into account

Mass media and storytelling can help in questioning and shaping the social norms that exist around harmful practices such as child marriage. Entertainment-Education initiatives help to address these norms by starting conversations at the individual, community and broader societal level. At the same time however, it is necessary to advocate for change in policy to create an enabling environment for change.

Several interview partners told the research team that their approach is rooted in a holistic model which takes the individual, the community and the broader society level into account. These projects for example, may be working to address child marriage by targeting actors in the community such as girls, boys, parents, community members and leaders, and even law enforcers and social workers. To stimulate change in social norms and behaviour change, this socio-ecological model is an important starting point for an intervention.

As an interviewee explained: *"In this model we are looking at the individual, but also thinking about what influences the individual. For example, if you have young girls, that is the central circle and then around them you have the parents and guardians, and then the wider circle of community"*. The Entertainment-Education component is important, but also the service delivery and community mobilization aspect. Most parents are aware of the legal age of marriage. However often there is not a central birth registration system in place. Many families do not know how old their daughters are and there is lack of enforcement of the law at the village level.

3.3 Using characters to target specific audiences

Many Entertainment-Education projects choose the most popular medium with the highest audience reach. In theory, this means that more people can watch or listen. Although the main target group can be broad, within a mass media drama there are several ways in which to target specific groups. By choosing different transitional role models an emphasis can be made on a specific target group. For example in a region where the prevalence of child marriage is high because of arranged marriages, the parents are portrayed as the transitional characters who come to learn about the harmful consequences of child marriage and change their behaviour as a result. In other regions, such as Nepal, child marriage is frequently occurring after boys and girls have eloped. In these regions the focus is primarily on adolescents and they are chosen as transitional characters.
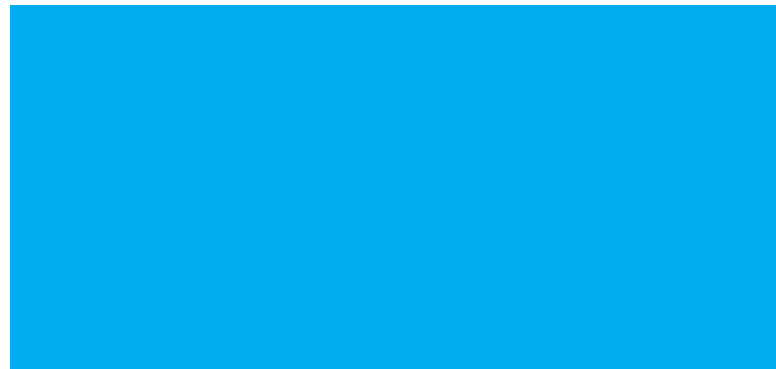
3.4 Understanding the theory behind Entertainment-Education

The interviewees in this scoping study mentioned several behaviour change theories and theoretical notions underlying the different Entertainment-Education programmes, such as: Social Cognitive Theory, Theory of Reasoned Action, Expanded Parallel Process Model, Ideation Theory, Social Norm Bounded Influence, Parasocial Interaction, Audience Involvement and Positive Deviance (PD) (see Appendix 1 for an overview of these theories). These various theories reflect different elements of the Entertainment-Education design process. Some theories show an overlap, such as the notion of Parasocial Interaction, Audience Involvement and Positive Deviance.

The methodology of Miguel Sabido was frequently mentioned by interview partners. Miguel Sabido, a Mexican writer-producer-director of theatre and television, was the first to structurally apply the Entertainment-Education approach in his telenovelas in Mexico from 1967 onward. His methodology is inspired by the social cognitive theory of Albert Bandura (1986), that is based on the modelling of positive, negative and transitional characters.

Some interviewees expressed that these theoretical notions are not always used in a proper sense, and regarded this lack of understanding and improper use of theories as the root cause of mistakes and poor results. As illustrated by the following quote: *"A lot of people think that they understand the theoretical underpinnings of Entertainment-Education but they do not. People cite the social cognitive theory of Bandura all the time, but it is not the only theory that underlines Entertainment-Education. (…) people are trying to do things cheaply and quickly, and that usually does not give you very good results."*

Some interview partners (behaviour change professionals) had a strong theoretical background in behaviour change theory and others (creative professionals) had no formal background in the theoretical notions of Entertainment-Education communication strategy. Because of their extensive practical experience with the target group, creative professionals say they use their common sense and tacit knowledge and often feel that they 'intuitively' do the right thing.

As one creative professional said: "*I do not have a formal idea of what Entertainment-Education is, but I think we are making use of it.*" This means that partners with a professional background in behaviour change have to create a common ground in order to collaborate effectively with the creative professionals. As one interviewee said: "*Really getting into what the theoretical underpinnings are, making sure that your writing team understands that (...). I think that sometimes that gets a little bit short changed.*" Selecting the right team and the importance of spending enough time with the writers, whilst training them in the Entertainment-Education methodology has been mentioned several times: "*It is a very different way of writing drama. (...) Because you are a good dramatic practitioner, because you can write, does not mean that you can necessarily understand and use this methodology. It is tough!*"

3.5 Understanding social norms, stigmas and misconceptions

To shift norms, values and stigmas around child marriage through an Entertainment-Education intervention, it is crucial to understand the factors, circumstances and mechanisms at play, how they are applied, and how they influence people's behaviour in their every-day-life. Before the design process starts, it is essential to find out more

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about the audience and to understand why people are doing what they are doing and who influences them. The answers to these questions are found via conducting qualitative research among the target audience. Formative research (audience analysis and pre-testing) has proven to be crucial to the success of the Entertainment-Education projects examined in this scoping study.

When designing a programme, it is particularly important to find out what role existing social norms, values and stigmas play when it comes to addressing child marriage. The interview partners mentioned several social norms with regards to child marriage. For example in one region of Malawi, 50% of adolescent girls get married. One interview partner indicated that this is as a result of a social norm which suggests that men who take good care of their wife's family can get a second wife (e.g. a younger sister) as a gift from the family: *"The parents of the wife would say, okay, we are very grateful that somebody is providing to us. You can also get this little girl, to be your second wife".*

Several interview partners emphasised that these norms, values and stigmas differ widely across societies. Even the norms in communities or regions of one country can differ substantially. For example in India, a girls' education is often a triple loss for the parents: they have to pay for her education, pay for her sustenance and pay more for her dowry. The more educated she is, the more educated her future husband will need to be in order to make a good match, and the more expensive the entire endeavour becomes. The Entertainment-Education intervention team in India decided to have characters in the show, for whom it is a social norm to invest in their girl's education and not in her dowry. *"So we want, for example, the mothers to see value in asking the girls to do their school homework rather than asking her to help with the household [chores]. We want the father to see value in investing in her education than in dowry. The girls see value in getting educated and then honour living for herself, than just getting married and be somebody's wife."*

In Nicaragua the issue of child exploitation is a central problem and there are two stigmas specifically related to this. Firstly, parents are blamed for turning a blind eye to child labour exploitation due to the additional source of income it provides. The child exploitation industry itself, which is responsible for exploiting young girls is not blamed to the same extent. Secondly, there is an assumption that the majority of marginalized girls who are victims of sexual abuse will inevitably become involved in the sexual exploitation industry. One interviewee emphasizes: *"In the storyline we did not want to say "Oh yeah, if you have been abused, and if you are poor, than that means that you are going to get into the sexual exploitation industry. It is true that this often happens, but that risk factor has also to do with other aspects, such as the*

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sense of social support, isolation, looking for acceptance and love etc." To challenge this assumption, a drama series set in Nicaragua centred around a character who was a middle class girl in order to portray her story as one which not only affects "poor people", but one which cuts across social classes. The interviewee says: *"The audience really liked it, because the girl's character was a kid who people could relate to (…) television is such an aspirational medium. People do not like to see themselves in specific poor circumstances. They will not relate to it as themselves, if the person is in abject poverty. Often, they do not want to see themselves in that light."*

Myths or misconceptions also play an important role when it comes to changing social norms within communities. To illustrate this, one of the interviewees gave the following example: *"Some people in India believe that a woman will lose her fertility when she uses a family planning method. They also believe that when a woman is using family planning she is promiscuous."* Addressing these misconceptions through Entertainment-Education can be very successful as a means to generate discussions, enhance self-efficacy of the audience, and encourage the audience to become problem owners of the issue. To explicitly deal with such misconceptions, various interview partners explained that they do not focus on the misconception itself, preferring to address it indirectly in the storyline. One interviewee says: *"We do address the misconceptions, but we address them creatively. We try to not spend too much time on exploring the misconception and all the different ways people feel about it. We prefer to use positive modelling."* For example, to challenge the fear around the impact of contraception on a women's fertility using this approach, a women will exemplify this message by falling pregnant and not lose their

fertility. Or when characters in the series are using family planning methods they are not sexually promiscuous.

During the inception phase of a project in India, the Positive Deviance (PD) approach was used. The premise of PD is that in every community there are certain individuals or institutions whose uncommon behaviours or practices enable them to find better solutions to problems than their peers who have access to the same resources (see appendix 1 for more information). This minority who are the Positive Deviants already apply new norms through practicing micro behaviours in their everyday life. For example, through Positive Deviance research in an Entertainment-Education intervention in India (Anand et al., 2012, Pant et al. 2012), the team discovered a strategy of delaying first pregnancy. The

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strategy involves the wife keeping track of her menstrual cycle to avoid sex during high fertility days (so called No-No or Na Na days) by making excuses such as: I am fasting today (as a religious ritual). Another micro behaviour is to take part in long conversations with her mother-in-law or sometimes massaging her mother-in-law's feet in the evening until her husband goes to sleep. These strategies helped to delay first pregnancy and later it helped to create space between children (Anand et al., 2012: 24). By utilising these behaviours and strategies, women and others are empowered to act out a new way of thinking.

The scripts in this Indian Entertainment-Education initiative were based on extensive formative research and were tested among the target audience. This contributed to the successful communication and audience engagement in the project under review. Research can inform creativity strategically. It is important however that the creative team also understands the value of formative research and why it is important when they write the story. It is the combination of both researcher and script writers working together that creates the most effective creative ideas. Based on the formative research results, several interviewees said that they develop a 'change matrix' or a 'value grid', that indicates which norms, values and stigmas are present among the target group. In addition, this matrix includes the new norms, which they hope to address. After finalising the matrix, those interview partners share it with their scriptwriters to discuss how to address new norms in the Entertainment-Education series through characters and story arcs.

"Formative research is not very sexy, it is time consuming, it delays the start-up of a project by a couple of months at the very least, it is complicated and it is hard to do well. (…) So I think what often happens, some practitioners just say "Ah, we know more or less what we need to do and writers or locals they understand the issues, so let's just jump in!" (…) And that is when I think you make some real mistakes."

3.6 Collaboration between the 'turtles' and 'peacocks'

In order to design and implement Entertainment-Education programmes on child marriage or other closely related adolescent girl issues, behaviour change professionals and creative professionals have to collaborate. It is a matter of carefully balancing the message and form, and between different stakeholders and collaboration partners. There is no exact formula to finding the right balance. It is generally agreed that too blatant a selling of the educational message risks making it over obvious to the viewer, taking out the subtly and entertaining aspect, and 'killing the darling' as it is referred to in the industry. What is enough or too little varies among countries and regions and depends on the audience, cultural contexts, and the way the messaging is incorporated. Several interview partners stress the importance that all stakeholders of the project need to be involved right from the beginning when the design process starts. *"Make sure you have the right people at the table. That might take longer than you think, it might delay things, but it's a worse investment if you try to start a programme and you do not have a creative team and design team which you feel comfortable with."*

The first step in the creative production process is a brainstorming session and a design workshop, where both tacit and explicit professional knowledge is shared. The relevant behaviour change professionals and creative professionals, together with the other members of the team, generate and stimulate ideas and specific angles to create the best possible format to address the issue of child marriage. *"The first meeting, where usually all stakeholders come together, is the design workshop: it might be the writers and producers, the content experts, it might be government, it might be our partners, or the intended audience members, the people we are trying to reach. So we would get together in a workshop and have everyone together look through research and digest and think about what the scenario is, because everybody has their own experience (…). That group will decide what the objectives are, based on the box that we are in (…). So we design all that education bit first, with the people who are the technical and content experts, including the audience members. And I invite the producers and the writers to that workshop so that they experience, what we are talking about."*

> "Make sure you have the right people at the table. That might take longer than you think, it might delay things, but it's a worse investment if you try to start a programme and you do not have a creative team and design team which you feel comfortable with."

As previously mentioned, in an Entertainment-Education collaboration the various professionals involved have to find ways to cope with their different professional backgrounds (known as the 'Turtle and Peacock' effect). Several interviewees indicated there was a tension between following systematic plans, which behaviour change professionals are trained to do, and following creative impulses and thinking in terms of visual perception, as creative professionals are trained to do. As one of the interviewee said: *"There was a tension between the storywriter and the project team (...). The storywriter would send them a story and the project team was basically counting how many times the issue was addressed and mentioned in the storyline. That drove him crazy and for obvious reasons (...). My only advice to the team leader was: leave the storywriter alone... you have to trust him... this guy is a master storyteller"*.

The Entertainment-Education programmes explored in this scoping study were initiatives of civil society organisations who were aiming to design and produce an entertainment programme focusing on issues affecting adolescent girls, such as child marriage. The organisations (either alone or in collaboration with others) assigned creative professionals to design and produce the programme based on the results of formative research which was then translated and described in a detailed briefing document. Although it is a collaborative partnership, ultimately the organisations had full authority over all stages of the production process, from reading the first scripts to directing the last cuts.
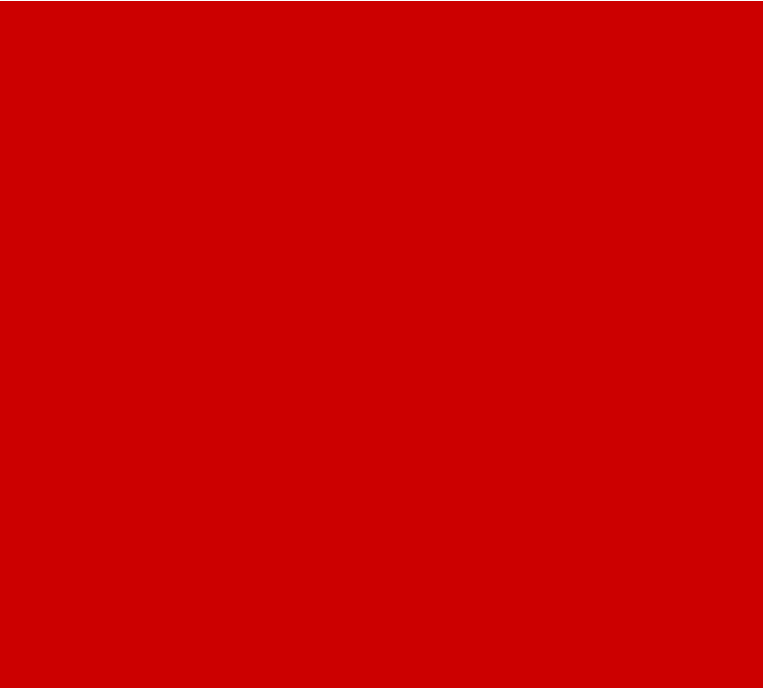
3.7 Measuring progress to understand how change happens

Several of the projects decided to do a baseline study which allows them to measure the effects of the Entertainment-Education programme before it starts, followed by an endline study to understand the impact. These studies (preferably with control groups) allow possible attitude and/or behaviour changes to be measured. Studies of this kind in many Entertainment-Education initiatives have combined qualitative and quantitative research methods. So far, the reported impact of Entertainment-Education programmes has been on the level of exposure, awareness and understanding. Several results reviewed in this scoping study have also been reported on other levels such as affecting knowledge, attitude, and intention and, even in some cases, the change of behaviour regarding the issue of child marriage or other closely related adolescent girl issues, such as girls' education, sexual reproductive health, and gender based violence. For example the project 'Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon' in India, did baseline and endline surveys of the first season of the series (PFI, 2015). The results showed that there was an increase in knowledge around the adverse consequences of early marriage, and the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act and the legal age at marriage. Also there was a positive attitudinal shift towards the ideal age for a woman to have her first child. The proportion of women exposed to the series who think that the 'ideal age for a woman to have her first child is 21-25 years', increased from the baseline figure of 38% to 46% (PFI, pg. 4, 2015).

Several interviewees indicated that it is important to evaluate the media formats they use, as well as their community and training activities (multilevel approach) to have a holistic overview of the impact of different components of their project activities. In this context, Soul City (South Africa), an Institute for Social Justice which addresses various gender empowerment topics, domestic violence and family planning issues, has evaluated their multilevel approach which included a TV series, radio and print materials, as well as training programmes and other campaign activities. Their evaluations show that their long running TV series 'Soul City' has not only increased people's awareness, and challenged their attitudes, subjective social norms and interpersonal behaviour, with respect to various social topics, but it has also resulted in people taking action. For example, people have provided support and care for people with HIV/AIDS, or have demonstrated support seeking behaviour around violence against women (Soul City series 6: 2005, Soul City 4: 2001). Also their training programmes and print materials had a positive influence on prompting discussions and raising awareness.

Prompting discussion and changing awareness and attitudes are an important prerequisite for behaviour change in the long run. Thus, several programmes particularly focus on evaluating how the Entertainment-Education programme was able to prompt discussion and encourage change in terms of the level of awareness and attitudes towards particular issues. For example, 'Intersections' in South Africa, measured the impact of the TV series on condom use, HIV testing and on multiple sexual partners through attitude and self-efficacy. The evaluation shows that the more episodes of 'Intersections' the target group watches: (1) the higher their level of self-efficacy of condom use, (2) the more discussions they have about HIV testing with spouses, family members and friends and (3) the higher their self-efficacy for resisting multiple sexual partners (JHU, 2016).

Another example comes from the Nicaraguan based initiative 'Puntos de Encuentro' which mainly addressed women's empowerment topics and other issues related to girls, such as child exploitation and family planning. Puntos de Encuentro conducted an evaluation looking at the attitudes of audience members who were watching their show 'Sexto Sentido'. The interview partner from Puntos de Encuentro stressed that none of their shows are made with the objective of behaviour change as such, but they aim to 'open the door' to behaviour change, in a similar way to many other Entertainment-Education initiatives. The evaluation of the TV-series 'Sexto Sentido' about enhanced condom use showed that the series lead to a greater sense of personal risk or engagement with the issue, and enhanced reported self-efficacy. This led to more conversations, with friends, colleagues, classmates, which increased the likelihood of others talking about contraception with their sexual partners, which increases the likelihood of consistent condom use.

There are also research designs where audience members are asked about whether they recognise characters and issues. For example, did they understand things? Who was their favourite character and why? By asking these types of questions, it is possible to measure whether people who like a certain character, changed their behaviour or not. Interviewees of the projects in this scoping study mentioned that when they have limited resources, sometimes an existing survey (commercial study or existing donor study) is used with a few additional questions about the Entertainment-Education programme tagged on. In that case around five or ten questions can be put together to get an idea of the exposure, dose and some other key elements. Other interview partners mention the use of telephone surveys or Interactive Voice Response (IVR). Respondents are called randomly and are asked questions about the programme. Alternatively, viewers/listeners are invited to call a toll free number and are then called back with questions or more information about the programme.

Measuring the overall effectiveness of a programme is however complicated because it concerns a multi-faceted stimulated situation taking place over a relatively long period of time in natural and complex communication situations, which no one can control. As illustrated in the following quote: *"We have not done any evaluation research (...) it's so difficult! In these circumstances, villages are scattered, and getting there to the same people again. Because at the street play, some people would come and we don't know where they come from, then going back to them... already after one week it would be very difficult to find them."* Research can be a challenge on many levels, and it often requires creative solutions. One solution that was mentioned by some interviewees is the use of 'markers'. Markers are unique words, expressions or slogans, and can help to trace back conversations.

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When target group members use this unique word in a conversation in real life or on social media, this can uniquely be attributed to the Entertainment-Education intervention (Bouman et al. 2012). One interviewee says: *"A unique attribution is absolutely critical, because everybody asks the question of cost effectiveness and everybody wants research (….), the use of markers is a way you can tie everything in."*

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Process evaluation is also a useful way to monitor the project from start to finish to establish whether and how goals are met. For example the projects 'Mai Sari Sunakhari' and 'Hilkor' of the Population Media Center address child marriage and related topics such as family planning in Nepal. Through process monitoring the team evaluates the popularity and impact of the show. Based on the results, they tell the writers to emphasize some aspects of a social issue a bit more to have a bigger impact and get the results they hope to achieve.

When research is done properly, the results will be of great value to the specific project and to the development of the Entertainment-Education field in general. Not only will it be a major boost for the project that is being researched, it will also be of great value for future projects and capacity building. Being able to see and measure the results of a project, makes it easier to acquire funding or engage and collaborate with partners in the future.

3.8 High initial costs, but cost-effective in the long run

Several Entertainment-Education projects have been evaluated in terms of how much they cost per number of people adopting the new behaviour. Although initial costs may be high, all interviewees say that the costs are really minimal when you divide down the cost of producing and airing the programme across an audience, a population scale in magnitude across the entire country. *"It [Entertainment-Education] is the most cost effective approach that we have! (…) If you want to get in, and get some real social normative change on a mass scale, this is the way to go. This is the most cost effective way to do that (…). Yes, it may be more money upfront and time upfront, but if you can make something that is popular, hits a nerve, or gets people excited, it is all worth it."* It is claimed that this approach capitalizes on five elements of modern popular culture: it is pervasive, popular, personal, persuasive and profitable (Piotrow et al., 1997).

But quality is key as an interviewee stressed, *"It has to be quality. If it is not popular, forget it!"* Interviewees reiterated that there is no point in investing in a programme that nobody is going to hear or watch, otherwise it risks being a waste of money and too expensive. Yet if done properly, a return on investment can be expected. *"The beauty or the pain of Entertainment-Education is everything has to be right or else you fail. The writers have to be right, the community involvement has to be right, and the timing has to be right!"* Additional to this, it must be adequately promoted, *"where programmes fail, is in the promotion. People think "I have this great show!" and they forget to promote it and talk about it, and they forget we are in this really packed media environment, incredibly competitive media environment, so that is critical."*

"It [Entertainment-Education] is the most cost effective approach that we have! (…) If you want to get in, and get some real social normative change on a mass scale, this is the way to go. This is the most cost effective way to do that (…). Yes, it may be more money upfront and time upfront, but if you can make something that is popular, hits a nerve, or gets people excited, it is all worth it."

"It has to be quality. If it is not popular, forget it!"

Several interviewees indicate that the available budget at the start of a project is crucial for the scope and ambitions of the programme format that is being developed. *"Because we were able to invest at the beginning of the product we kept the good results and now have this high quality drama that can live on and take on new topics and new issues."* The costs for an 'appropriate' budget cannot be estimated as such, because the costs, as various interview partners also indicated, depend on the country context, as well as the chosen target audience and the chosen media channel.

The time frame and future funding of Entertainment-Education programmes also plays a big role. If only a certain number of episodes can be made, that will have an effect on the story arc and the possibilities for engagement with the story. A story developed for twelve episodes, is very different to one developed when there are five more seasons to come. As one interviewee pointed out: *"Already having a vision in place of what can we support for how long, what are the minimum specs that we really hope to get out of it, really helps the creative team and the design team to think through what makes the most sense."*

Several interview partners indicate that actual behaviour change takes more time than simply prompting initial discussion or raising awareness. Because behaviour changes take more time, projects and evaluation activities need to be planned accordingly. It was also noted that although changes in attitude and behaviour can be attributed to a particular project, change could be due to many other societal factors which come into play, such as the introduction of a new law or an increased financial investment in new schools and teachers. Given the complexity of measuring impact of attitude and behaviour change, several interview partners critically discussed the attitude of funders, who would like to see behaviour change 'as soon as possible'. The interview partners find that attitude change is sometimes difficult, given the complexity of the issue. *"I would really [like to] change the mind set of many of the funders who think that investing in two years will result in an outcome or impact. Long change takes time."*

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3.9 A supportive enabling environment

In order to make an impact and to change behaviour successfully, it is important to consider the external environment, especially a country's infrastructure and its policy and legal context. Several interview partners state that their interventions can help raise discussions, but that there are factors, which cannot be influenced by the intervention, such as a country's infrastructure. As an interviewee explained: *"Sometimes the level of education is bad and the road to the schools unsafe, the community and the people have to put in more light, you know infrastructure. The quality of the education, the government has to work on this, they have to put in better teachers, better infrastructure in the schools. On this, our organization cannot even push. So even if after our intervention, people start sending their kids to school, they do not see any merit in getting a low quality education for their kids which will not help them getting employment in the future."*

When awareness is raised (demand side), there should be a mechanism to meet that change (supply side). One example raised by almost all interviewees is around the existence of legislation that prohibits early marriage, which frequently exists but is rarely enforced. This is due to different reasons such as police officers and other duty bearers not being aware or informed about (new) laws regarding gender equality or family relations. *"We had awareness campaigns about the new law but found out that the persons who should enforce that law, like police officers and other duty bearers, knew nothing about it. (…)So now we focus also in our theatre plays on the existence of that law. We should not assume that everybody knows it's there."* Because police officers and other government workers choose not to enforce them, this indicates that cultural and societal norms can at times be stronger than the law. In a Nepali Entertainment-Education intervention, enforcement of the law was incorporated in the script: *"the father of the girl is actually a government worker, and there is one line, where he is inviting his boss to the wedding, and his boss says "Wait a second, your daughter is only what 15 or 16, or something like that?" and he goes "Yeah.", and the boss says "That is illegal!" and the father, (the transitional character) says "Yeah, but it is a stupid law, you know like nobody enforces it". So we put that in the show, because we want people to be aware that yes, this is a law but nobody enforces it, and it's not just the solution to say OK, we are just going to start enforcing that law. It is more complicated than one would think."*

In addition interviewees also shared stories where an intervention could successfully scale up public awareness of a new law. This can be seen in the case in South Africa, where a new law on domestic violence against woman was enforced. The Entertainment-Education intervention addressed the law by showing a woman in the scripts, who was beaten up by her husband and then, with the help of the community and her family, the man was arrested by the police. After broadcasting this storyline in the famous drama series Soul City, an increase in awareness and community support against domestic violence was seen in various parts of the country. Woman felt 'secure enough' to report the one who is abusing her to the police, because the sanctions of the new law were successfully in place.

4.0 Unintended consequences of Entertainment-Education

There is always a chance that communication interventions will create unintended and undesired consequences. This risk is potentially much higher for Entertainment-Education initiatives as they are often using mass media and reaching large numbers of people. For example one of the interviewees who managed a Nicaraguan Entertainment-Education programme found out that while the storyline was supposed to be supportive of a gay character and the aim was to stimulate the audience to become less homophobic and more tolerant, the opposite happened. *"We found out, that a lot of people were saying like, you know "Poor guy, he is gay, poor him, so you should not also be mean to him, he has got enough problems as it is."* The team had to change the storyline. Another example of this is a series that was broadcasted in Nicaragua in which a charismatic and popular actor played a negative character (the pimp in a sexual exploitation show), who was responsible for getting a girl into situations where she was sexually exploited. During the promotion tour after the series was broadcasted, both girls and boys were attracted to him. Girls would fall all over him, and the guys wanted to be like him. *"They fall all over him as an actor, but not as a character, so that is a very interesting thing to see, how they thought he was terrible, but they still loved him. So we had to work a lot on that aspect as well".*

4. Top Tips for the field

The following top tips are recommendations for practitioners, policy makers and funders to initiate discussions on how to design and implement an Entertainment-Education project. They are the necessary ingredients for Entertainment-Education initiatives to work and can be understood as a starting point rather than an in-depth guide or holistic overview.

4.1 Top Tips for practitioners
This report explored a variety of Entertainment – Education initiatives, from large scale TV series to smaller community based radio and theatre projects. As such, these top tips for practitioners have been developed from a wide range of insights and it is hoped they will be as relevant to smaller scale community projects, as they are for larger scale multimedia initiatives

1. Let the lives of the target group(s) be central to the choice of format and content

A central factor for the success of an Entertainment-Education intervention is to invest enough time (half a year or longer) and resources (financial and human) into extensive formative research on the target group. Based on these results, the intervention can be developed and the choice for a specific format can be made. This includes insight into the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour of the target group regarding adolescent girl issues, such as the drivers and consequences of child marriage, but also the misconceptions and myths that exist within that community and the practical issues such as media preference. Based on these insights the team and the collaboration partners can make decisions on which format(s) to choose (e.g. radio, street theatre, short internet clips and/or TV series) and how to design it (e.g. multi, cross, or transmedia approach).

2. Apply a multi-level approach to your initiative to change social norms on child marriage

Interventions that use a multilevel approach (which e.g. includes a TV/radio series , print materials, community and training activities) have the biggest impact on changing social norms on child marriage. This includes collaborating with various stakeholders right from the beginning of the project:

>> Girls and boys (unmarried and married), parents, grandparents, other family members, community members etc.
>> Community leaders and other key stakeholders who are knowledgeable about their communities (e.g. social, health workers).
>> Civil society organisations who are knowledgeable about child marriage in the region and know about the drivers and impacts within specific communities. They will also be able to inform the team of other interventions being implemented which may complement (or not) the approach.
>> Researchers who can guide the intervention with research activities (formative, summative and process evaluation).
>> Creative media professionals such as scriptwriters, producers and directors who are involved in the writing, scripting, filming, editing, broadcasting or staging of the Entertainment-Education media format.
>> Entertainment-Education expert(s) who are experienced in designing these

interventions (in a specific country), who know the ins and outs and who can help to manage the project.

>> Policy makers to make sure that the Entertainment-Education intervention complements recent policy developments (e.g. enforcement of new laws and policies). In addition the collaboration helps to get an overview of the laws and policies that are (not) in place. This information (and its consequences) is very important for the success of the intervention.

>> Advocacy groups on child marriage and related adolescent girl issues, which can serve as a catalyst to disseminate the intervention activities.

>> Private sector and business, which can serve as sponsors for specific activities. Make sure that the corporate identity of these businesses are in line with the values of the intervention.

>> Media and press attention in the country/ region of operating is important to promote the activities. Make use of various channels.

3. Ensure that the initiative is grounded in behaviour change theory

Entertainment-Education is an effective yet complex strategy that needs to be carried out in a certain way in order to be as effective as possible. Make sure that the whole team understands the theoretical underpinnings and effectively applies them. Make use of the social cognitive learning theory (Bandura) and different role models (positive, negative and transitional).

4. Invest in high quality

Ensure that the Entertainment-Education initiative is high quality, especially in countries with a sophisticated media market, the intervention needs to compete with other programmes that are on offer. The better the programme, the more people will watch/listen/ engage in the story, so the costs per reached person or per behaviour change will decline.

5. Learn to work with the 'turtles' and the 'peacocks'

In Entertainment-Education collaborations different professional worlds work together: the content matter specialists and researchers ('turtles') and the creative entertainment professionals ('peacocks'). High quality programmes mean balancing the dynamics of these two worlds. Link both professional worlds to each other and try to build bridges between them e.g. by preparing an effective briefing document for the creative professionals, or to get them interested in the issue of changing norms on child marriage by involving them in the research and workshops. The more the two professional worlds know about and understand from each other, the better the Entertainment-Education initiative will be.

6. Be realistic about the time frame and impact of the intervention

Change takes time! Entertainment-Education has the big advantage that it enhances the self- (and collective) efficacy of people, it can raise discussions about child marriage and make the target audience become an owner of the problem. These and other mechanisms are important prerequisites for change. Changing norms on child marriage is a complex issue, which cannot be achieved 'overnight'. Be clear and realistic about that to the team members, as well as to the funding agencies. Design a multi-year Entertainment-Education intervention for initiating change on various levels.

7. Make the Entertainment-Education intervention evidence based

High quality Entertainment-Education is an evidence based intervention that is tested for effectiveness at various stages. Measure the impact of the intervention carefully (summative research). Make sure to use an appropriate evaluation design, so that the research results can be attributed to the intervention and not to other factors. Also document and monitor the intervention through process research. Entertainment-Education interventions are complex and various stakeholders are collaborating together. Afterwards it is often difficult to indicate why specific decisions have been made and how. Write a log book with all important developments and decisions, so that afterwards, success and hindering factors can be easily identified.

8. Build capacity and ownership to ensure sustainability

During the Entertainment-Education intervention build professional capacity as much as possible (e.g. through training, community meetings and meetings with policy stakeholders). The more people who are involved and develop ownership in the intervention, the more likely it is that they take an interest and initiate related activities by themselves, e.g. engagement on social media, creating short media clips, engaging in community discussions or even advocating for policy change. The more momentum gained, the more likely the intervention will be popular and sustainable.

9. Make use of new media developments (if applicable to the target group)

New media which offer interactivity, gaming, and social media play a central role and offer unique opportunities (in the future) to meet the grand challenge of child marriage and bring this to global attention. In this scoping study these new technologies were hardly being used in present Entertainment-Education projects because of their location and media market. Explore possibilities to use new media technologies that are emerging for Entertainment-Education.

10. Ask ethical questions

Make sure that ethical considerations are involved in every stage of the intervention. Think about which potential unintended and undesired effects the intervention could raise and initiate preventive measures. Always carry out a risk assessment and ensure to have child safeguarding procedures in place.

4.2 Top Tips for policy makers and funders

1. Make formative research standard practice for Entertainment-Education initiatives

Formative research is crucial for the successful design of an Entertainment-Education programme. Only by sufficiently taking into account the norms and values of the different audiences, can new practices around child marriage be adopted. We encourage policy makers and funding agencies to make formative research a prerequisite for project funding.

2. Take a holistic approach which complements other strategies

The Entertainment-Education strategy can be a promising vehicle for breaking down taboos and stimulating open conversation around the issue of child marriage. Entertainment-Education initiatives should not however be a standalone intervention but instead combined with other complementary strategies. It is necessary to address the individual, the community and the broader societal level and use a social ecological approach. We encourage policy makers to stimulate such an approach and integrate them into policy documents.

3. Encourage existing Entertainment-Education initiatives to deal with child marriage

The issue of child marriage and other adolescent girl related issues can also be integrated in other Entertainment-Education projects that are not yet dealing with the issue. Organisations who are implementing existing initiatives can be pro-actively approached with a request to integrate the issue of child marriage into their present and future projects. By working together it is possible to collaborate, generate new ideas and learn from each other.

4. Develop a systematic overview of M&E methods

To successfully scale up, monitoring and evaluation (M&E) needs to be in place throughout the project (see Figure 1, Mapping Model of CMH). Make a systematic review of M&E methods that can be used for low, middle and higher project budgets.

5. Work with a realistic time frame for EE projects

'Process' is an important part of an Entertainment-Education initiative as it reflects the time, energy and thinking which contributes to its design and implementation. Given the amount of preparation and length of time needed to start seeing the effects of the initiative, a realistic time frame is necessary.

We recommend policy makers and funders work with a realistic timeframe (e.g. minimum of 2-3 years) in mind for the project(s) they fund/ contribute to.

6. Build capacity among civil society organisations

Building the capacity of civil society organisations working (or wanting to work in this field) is an important step in ensuring high quality initiatives which positively contribute towards addressing child marriage. Facilitating knowledge exchanges and capacity building among civil society organisations (e.g. sharing and discussing results; organising an international Entertainment-Education master class or summer programme, collecting Entertainment-Education materials and film footage on child marriage and other girl's related issues) can make this effective strategy more accessible for organisations to contribute towards, e.g. whether this is in the role of leading a project or as a local implementing partner.

7. Establish an advisory board with Entertainment-Education experts

Policy makers and funders of child marriage projects interested in Entertainment-Education projects are recommended to establish an advisory group with experts to support future projects.
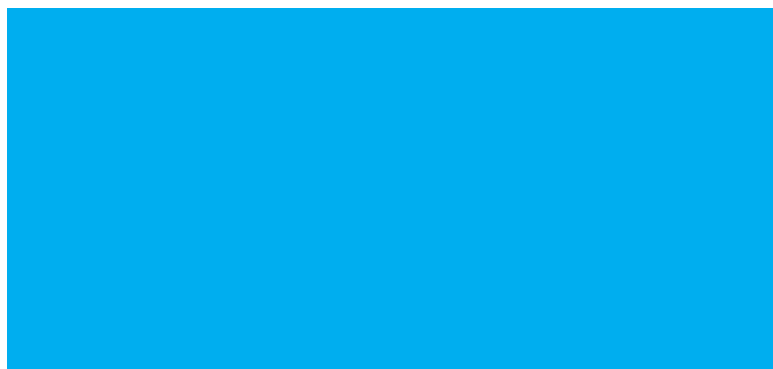
5. Conclusion

This scoping study set out to explore the potential of using Entertainment-Education as an approach to address child marriage. Through a review of the literature, drawing on the role of Entertainment- Education in other sectors and speaking to those who are using Entertainment-Education to address child marriage and other adolescent girl related issues, the study has uncovered a wealth of information which illustrates that this is a worthwhile strategy to invest in, when done properly.

The Entertainment-Education initiatives in this study that focus on child marriage or other closely related adolescent girl issues, such as girls' education, sexual reproductive health, and gender based violence, reported changes in terms of the level of exposure, awareness and understanding of the issue within the targeted audience. Several results have also been reported in affecting knowledge, attitudes, and intentions of individuals and, in some cases, a change of behaviour. Child marriage is a complex and sensitive issue and there are many drivers which perpetuate the practice at the individual and community level.

Strategies to address behavior change, must be long term and move from solely prompting initial discussions or raising awareness around the issue to encouraging sustained change in people's intentions and behaviours. To be most effective when using Entertainment-Education, this approach must be part of a larger behaviour change communication programme and based on strong theoretical notions. Given the potential of this approach to address child marriage, further investment (such as budget and time), and knowledge sharing is recommended.

Entertainment-Education initiatives on child marriage and other adolescent girl related issues have the potential to be scaled up and reach large audiences through a range of media which can reinforce positive messaging on the value and role of girls in society. The analysis and recommendations in this report aim to provide those working on Entertainment-Education initiatives or would like to start doing so, a good foundation from which to facilitate further learning when designing and implementing future Entertainment-Education projects in this field.

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Appendix 1: Behaviour change theories underlying different approaches

The following behaviour change theories and theoretical notions underlie the different EE programmes in this scoping study.

Social Cognitive Theory

The Entertainment-Education approach draws heavily upon Albert Bandura's (1986, 1994) social cognitive theory. According to this theory, people learn not only in formal learning situations, such as in schools, but also vicariously, by observing the overt behaviour of models. The models used in this observational learning can be real life people or characters seen in films and on television. The essence of the Entertainment-Education strategy is to use fictional characters as role models for prosocial behaviour. According to Bandura's social cognitive model, in order to convert values into behaviours it is necessary to present appropriate models who practise the same behaviour and are visibly 'rewarded' in front of the observer and vice versa 'punished' for practising socially undesirable behaviour (see also Nariman, 1993). Social cognitive theory postulates that these rewards or punishments have a vicarious effect upon the observer who can be motivated to practise or not practise certain behaviour in circumstances that are similar to those modelled.

Sabido Methodology to EE

Miguel Sabido has applied Bandura's social modelling perspective in his Entertainment-Education soaps and drama series (Nariman, 1993). In soaps and drama series there is always a moral dilemma or conflict involved. Sabido expresses this conflict by defining three basic groups: (1) those who support the prosocial behaviour (positive role models), (2) those who reject it (negative role models), and (3) those who move from antisocial to prosocial behaviour (transition models). Each type of modelling character begins with a specific position regarding the proposed behaviour, and represents a spectrum of genuine points of view among the target audience. The positive and negative role models in the series defend or attack the prosocial value in front of the doubting character. The positive characters are rewarded and the negative characters are punished. Gradually, the doubting characters begin to change their opinion and attitude and adopt the prosocial behaviour, and are rewarded for that. The audience must identify with all three types of modelling characters in order to vicariously experience the rewards for exercising the promoted behaviour.

Social Marketing

Social marketing has evolved from business marketing practices, but is distinguished by its emphasis on so-called non-tangible products: ideas, attitudes, lifestyle changes. A social marketing perspective underscores the necessity for social organisations to be aware of, and more responsive to, consumer needs. They have to give serious thought to the positioning of their product in the market. This means that social organisations have to pay more attention to the price, place, and promotion of their specific product on offer, in this case a prosocial value. In the Entertainment-Education strategy, an attempt is made to keep the 'price' low (in terms of time, effort, money) by informing and educating people in an entertaining media programme in an easy and enjoyable way, in their private sphere at home in their own colloquial language.

Elaboration Likelihood Model

An interesting model that pays attention to both cognition and effect in information processing is the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) of Petty and Cacioppo (1986). The ELM suggests that there are two possible routes people can follow in the persuasion process: the 'central route' and the 'peripheral route'. Persuasion through the central route is achieved through the receiver's thoughtful examination of issue-relevant thinking. The 'peripheral route' represents the persuasion process involved when the elaboration likelihood is relatively low. Sometimes people will not undertake much issue-relevant thinking; hence they display relatively little elaboration. The 'peripheral route' is the important one in an EE intervention.

Bounded Normative Influence Theory

Bounded normative influence is the tendency of social norms to influence behaviour within relatively bounded, local subgroups of a social system rather than the system as a whole. The theory of bounded normative influence posits that a minority position can become the social norm by a process of normative influence through communication networks (Kincaid, 2004).

Ideation Theory

Ideation refers to how new ways of thinking (or new behaviours) are diffused through a community by means of communication and social interaction among individuals and groups. Behaviour is influenced by multiple social and psychological factors, as well as skills and environmental conditions that facilitate behaviour. In the ideational model of communication, instructive communication can teach the skills and knowledge needed to perform an action, directive (one-way influence) and nondirective (entertainment, counselling and interpersonal) communication can affect ideational factors, and public communication (such as advocacy) can affect environmental factors. The model emphasizes how communication affects the intermediate outcomes that in turn determine behaviour change (Health Communication Capacity Collaborative, 2015).

Theories of Reasoned Action

At the heart of theories of reasoned action lies the idea that people will change their behaviour when they know their objective risks and when they perceive these risks as posing a real threat; that people weigh up the pros and cons of certain behaviour and then decide (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1975). Therefore many early health communication strategies were based on informing people

about their health risks and providing health tips to reduce these risks (Health Belief Model, Theory of Reasoned Action). Although these early theories were in themselves not exclusively cognitive in nature, in practice the role of affect was often neglected, and great emphasis was put on cognition.

Parasocial Interaction

The theory of Parasocial Interaction (PSI) has been conceptualized as a measure to analyse cognitive, behavioural and affective audience involvement before, during and after media exposure. PSI research focuses on the perceived relationship that people have with media characters and how this influences EE effects (Horton & Wohl, 1956). Entertainment-Education uses the PSI concept for audience analysis, watching audiences identify with positive characters when overcoming the difficulties they are confronted with or with transitional characters when dealing with struggles.

Identification Theory

Identification theory (Kelman, 1961), is based on the affectively orientated parasocial interaction. Affection means in this context the feeling that a media character is liked, much as a friend in real life. For example, a media user may like the attitude of a soap star or his/her appearance and would love to have him/her as a real friend.

Positive Deviance

The Positive Deviance (PD) approach to social change is an innovative method that enables communities to discover the wisdom they already have and to act on it. The premise of PD is that in every community there are certain individuals or institutions whose uncommon behaviours or practices enable them to find better solutions to problems than their peers who have access to the same resources. The behaviours and practices of these individuals or institutions are 'positive' because they are doing things right, and 'deviant' because they engage in behaviours and practices that most others do not (Sternin, 2002; Singhal, 2011). The PD approach empowers people to act their way into a new way of thinking, instead of trying to think their way into a new way of acting.

*Social Norms

A social norm is what people in some group believe to be normal in the group, that is, believed to be a typical action, an appropriate action, or both (Paluck and Ball 2010).

*Not a behaviour change theory but provided to give a definition of social norms used in the context of this report.

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Appendix 2: Key informants consulted in research

The CMH team interviewed 14 key informants from 10 different EE organisations, which have designed various EE projects on child marriage and related issues around the world.
The interviews with the key informants took place between July 21st 2016 and September 8th 2016.

No.	Name	Organisation	Project names (addressed by key informants)	Country of projects
1	Safeer Ullah Khan	Bedari	- Yeh Shadi Nahi Ho Sakti" (No to Child Marriage) - Larai Larai Maaf Karo	Pakistan
2	Charles Banda	YoNeCo	Various EE street theater plays, no specific name mentioned.	Malawi
3a	Carina Schmid	PCI Media Impact	Ouro Negro	Mozambique
3b	Bert Sonnenschein	PCI Media Impact	Ouro Negro	Mozambique
4a	Alok Vajpeyi	Population Foundation of India	Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon	India
4b	Noor Aboobacker	Population Foundation of India	Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon	India
5	Leena Sushant	Breakthrough	Nation Against Early Marriage	India
6	Lebo Ramafoko	Soul City, South Africa	Soul City	South Africa
7a	Susan Krenn	Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs	- TV Drama Serial Siri Ya Mtungi (Secrets of the Gourd) - Intersexions - Chumo - Newman Street	Tanzania, South Africa, Tanzania, Nigeria
7b	Caroline Jacoby	Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs	- TV Drama Serial Siri Ya Mtungi (Secrets of the Gourd) - Intersexions - Chumo - Newman Street	Tanzania, South Africa, Tanzania, Nigeria
8a	Kriss Barker	Population Media Center	- Mai Sari Sunakhari - Hilkor	Nepal
8b	Joseph Bish	Population Media Center	- Mai Sari Sunakhari - Hilkor	Nepal
9	Amy Bank	Puntos de Encuentro	- Sexto Sentido (Sixth Sense) - Contracorriente (Turning the Tide)	Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Mexico, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, United States
10	Arvind Singhal	University of Texas at El Paso	- Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon	India
In addition to the key informants, EE experts of the research team of the Center for Media & Health and collaboration partner dance4life were also included in the research.				
11	Martine Bouman Sarah Lubjuhn Hester Hollemans	Center for Media & Health	- UP2U - SndBites	The Netherlands
12	Jorik van Enck Hadewich Rieff	dance4life	Mitini	Nepal

1. **Safeer Ullah Khan - Bedari (Pakistan)**
   Safeer Ullah Khan is Executive Director at Bedari in Pakistan. Bedari works for the promotion and protection of human rights of girls, boys, women and other marginalized groups of society. They work on eliminating all forms of discrimination, violence and abuse.

2. **Charles Banda - Yoneco (Malawi)**
   Charles Banda is Programme Manager Radio and Advocacy at Youth Net and Counselling (YONECO) in Malawi. YONECO is a nongovernmental organization (NGO) that is committed to empowering the youth, women and children; combating the spread of HIV infection; mitigating the impact of AIDS; promoting human rights and democracy and conducting research on youth, women and children development.

3. **Carina Schmid and Bert Sonnenschein - PCI Media Impact (Mozambique)**
   Carina Schmid (MSc) is Programs Manager at PCI Media Impact in the United States of America and contributes as an EE manager to Ouro Negro in Mozambique. Bert Sonnenschein is creative director of Ouro Negro. He is responsible for all scripts and storylines. PCI Media Impact empowers communities worldwide to inspire positive social and environmental change through storytelling and creative communications. Together with partners around the world, PCI Media Impact has produced more than 5,000 episodes of 100 serial television and radio productions reaching more than one billion people in over 45 countries.

4. **Alok Vajpeyi and Noor Aboobacker - Population Foundation of India (India)**
   Dr. Alok Vajpeyi is Head, Core Grants and Knowledge Management at Population Foundation of India (PFI). Noor Aboobacker is Senior Manager Communications also at PFI. PFI partners with the Indian government, collaborating with central, state and local government institutions for the formulation of gender sensitive population, health and development policies and their implementation. PFI brings together professionals from the government, civil society, academia and the media and across sectors to discuss and debate issues related to family planning, maternal health, gender-based violence, community monitoring and urban health.

5. **Leena Sushant – Breakthrough (India)**
   Dr. Leena Sushant is Director of Research at Breakthrough in India. Breakthrough is a human rights organization working to make violence and discrimination against women and girls unacceptable. They use multimedia campaigns, community mobilization, agenda-setting, and leadership training to equip men and women worldwide to challenge the status quo and take bold action for the dignity, equality, and justice of all.

6. **Lebo Ramafoko - Soul City (South Africa)**
   Lebo Ramafoko is CEO and Director of Soul City. Soul City is a Social Justice organization that focusses on young women & girls and the communities they live in. An organization that ensures that young women & girls, have equal access to resources that enable them to self-actualize and reach their full potential and take their rightful place in society. An organization that promotes a just society and ensures equal treatment and respect for basic human rights.

7. **Susan Krenn and Caroline Jacoby - Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs (USA)**

   Susan Krenn is Executive Director of the Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs. Caroline Jacoby is Senior Program Officer of the Entertainment-Education Program. The Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs is a global leader in the field of Entertainment-Education for over 30 years. CCP combines analysis and theory with the art of storytelling. The result is a large collection of emotionally resonant stories that enable audiences to identify with fictional counterparts whose behaviour is modelled in real life. CCP programmes use film, television, radio, comic books, traditional storytelling forms, as well as the internet and mobile phones to bring engrossing narratives to audiences around the world.

8. **Kriss Barker and Joseph Bish – Population Media Center (USA)**

   Kriss Barker (PhD, MPH) is Vice President of International Programs. She oversees all in-country PMC operations with responsibilities ranging from selecting and training PMC's in-country offices to monitoring research results. Joseph Bish (MSc) is Director of Issue Advocacy. He supports and oversees a number of marketing, communications and advocacy initiatives including the News Media and Editorial Leadership program, the Weekly Population and Sustainability News Digest, and the Global Population Speak Out. He also oversees PMC's state chapters and has been instrumental in planning numerous PMC networking and population advocacy strategy meetings. Population Media Center is a non-profit organisation working to improve the health of people globally using Entertainment-Education soap operas on radio and TV.

9. **Amy Bank - Puntos de Encuentro (Nicaragua)**

   Amy Bank is Communication Specialist and one of the founders at Puntos de Encuentro, a feminist organization that works in Nicaragua and other countries in Central America. Puntos is committed to strengthen and transform power relations and end the injustices and change minds that hinder the exercise of the rights of women of all ages.

10. **Arvind Singhal - University of Texas at El Paso (USA)**

    Dr. Arvind Singhal (PhD, USC) is the Samuel Shirley and Edna Holt Marston Endowed Professor of Communication and Director of the Social Justice Initiative in UTEP's Department of Communication. He is also appointed, since 2009-2010, as the William J. Clinton Distinguished Fellow at the Clinton School of Public Service, Little Rock, Arkansas. He was a principal researcher and advisor of the project Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon and has advised EE initiatives around the world. Singhal is (co-) author or editor of several books on Entertainment-Education.

11. Martine Bouman, Sarah Lubjuhn and Hester Hollemans – Center for Media & Health (The Netherlands)

Martine Bouman (PhD) is the Founder and Scientific Director of the Center for Media & Health and Professor for Entertainment Media & Social Change at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. Sarah Lubjuhn is researcher (PhD) and Hester Hollemans (Drs) project coordinator at the Center for Media & Health. The Center for Media & Health is a leader in invigorating social change through tailor-made communication and research. Since its inception in 1999 the Center for Media & Health has designed and implemented a wide variety of EE media formats, communication interventions and research projects. The Center for Media & Health (CMH) empowers people to live a healthier and more sustainable lifestyle, by using entertainment media, storytelling and innovative communication methods.

12. Jorik van Enck and Hadewich Rieff – dance4life (The Netherlands)

Jorik van Enck works at the department 'International Programs' of dance4Life. Hadewich Rieff is a communication coordinator at dance4life. dance4life inspires young people by using the power of music and dance and provides young people with the knowledge, skills and confidence to make safe sexual choices. dance4life motivates them to take action for their peers and it unlocks the leadership potential in young people and encourages them to be part of the solution itself. dance4life has over 10 year experience in empowering young people, and has reached more than 2 million young people worldwide. An important aspect of the dance4life approach is adding an EE element.

Appendix 3: Mapping of Entertainment-Education projects reviewed

1. **Yeh Shadi Nahi Ho Sakti and Larai Larai Maaf Karo (Pakistan)**
    Bedari continues with its efforts to raise awareness in the communities about the need for new legislation. It has broadcast radio programmes through various popular FM Channels and organized street theatre productions. Its play "Yeh Shadi Nahi Ho Sakti" (No to Child Marriage) has been performed in over 150 communities in Multan, Vehari and Chakwal districts.

Photo 1: A play on corporal punishment

Photo 2: A scene of domestic violence

Photo 3: Women discussing to take stand against Taliban's violence on them-Bedari Street Theatre

2. Yoneco (Malawi)

Youth Net and Counselling (YONECO) a local based child protection organization initiated a National Toll Free Child Helpline 116 as a 24 response mechanism against all forms of child abuse in Malawi. The toll free number is accessible on all networks 24 hours and 7days a week. YONECO use its YFM National Youth Radio Station and Theatre Troupe to raise awareness about child   marriages. Before any awareness campaign, they visit the particular community and explore the issues that are promoting child marriages and some examples of cases of child marriage that have already taken place in that particular community. They use interactive drama to ensure that people are also participating and contributing on how they can ban the issue of child marriage in their community.

YONECO CALLS FOR AN END TO CHILD MARRIAGES:

YONECO THEATRE TROUPE IN KASUNGU

3. **Ouro Negro (Mozambique)**

   Ouro Negro (Black Gold) is a long running radio drama that is aired in Mozambique. Originally planned to broadcast 84 episodes a year on Mozambique's national radio station RM, Ouro Negro is now airing each episode twice and not only on RM national radio, but also on 9 out of 10 RM's provincial stations, 58 community radios and 2 commercial broadcasters. Ouro Negro aims to reach over 1.5 million people with compelling stories and serves as a communication platform integrating priority areas of education, nutrition (including infant and young children feeding), hygiene and sanitation, HIV prevention, maternal and child health, and prevention of violence and child marriage. The radio drama is aired with a frequency of two new episodes per week, with each episode broadcast in two different time slots to cater for different audiences (Sani et al., 2016).

   Sani, M.; Solimeo, L. Correia, Y. T. N.; Campos, B.; Sonnenschein, B.; Schmid, C. (2016): Where mothers and children are inspired by stories of love and tragedy: Ouro Negro (Black Gold) celebrates first successes for its long-running Edutainment radio drama in Mozambique, The Communication Initiative.

   Available at: http://www.comminit.com/edutain-africa/content/where-mothers-and-children-are-inspired-stories-love-and-tragedy

   https://soundcloud.com/ouro-negro

4. **Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon (India)**

   Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon (I, a Woman, Can Achieve Anything) is an Indian transmedia storytelling initiative for social change. It is a family drama series challenging the discrimination that women face every day. Created by Population Foundation of India (PFI), this Entertainment-Education (EE) initiative is an effort to increase women's agency, enhance knowledge, and change perceptions and attitudes on social determinants of health to eventually contribute to improving demand, access, and quality of reproductive health services in India. It challenges deep-rooted social issues like child marriage, early pregnancies, and sex selection in India society.

   Website: http://mkbksh.com/

   MAIN KUCH BHI KAR SAKTI HOON (MKBKSH)
   EVALUATION SHOWREEL

   Various episodes of season 1 and 2 (TV and radio show) as well as interviews with the actors are available on YouTube via https://www.youtube.com/user/mkbksh

5. Nation Against Early Marriage (India)

In the project Nation Against Early Marriage Breakthrough works within the communities in the Indian states of Bihar and Jharkhand, which have among the highest rates of child marriage in the country, to delay the age of marriage. While the median age for marriage for girls in Bihar was 15.1 for respondents aged 20-49, the median age of marriage for the same group in Jharkhand was marginally higher at 16.2.

Website Nation Against Early Marriage http://www.breakthrough.tv/earlymarriage/

6. Soul City (South Africa)

Soul City Its Real is the Institutes flagship television show which has become one of South Africa's most loved television shows over the past 21 years. Set in the fictional Soul City Township, the Soul City mirrors the social and development challenges faced by poor communities everywhere. It weaves health and social issues into real-life stories for the millions of people who have grown to trust the powerful messages of this very popular programme.

Website: http://www.soulcity.org.za/

An overview of their evaluation activities can be found here:
http://www.soulcity.org.za/research/evaluations

SOUL CITY STORYLINE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE:

7. **TV Drama Serial Siri Ya Mtungi (Tanzania), Intersexions (South Africa), Chumo (Tanzania), Newman Street (Nigeria)**

(a) TV Drama Serial Siri Ya Mtungi (Secrets of the Gourd), Tanzania.
Topic: Sexual Reproductive Health (episode 1 with English subtitles)

(b) Intersexions (South Africa)
Topic: Sexual Reproductive Health and HIV

(c) Chumo (Tanzania)
Topic: Malaria, Ainslie, R. (2011): Chumo – the Film, Media for Development International Johns, Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health Center for Communication Programs, The Communication Initiative. Available at: http://www.comminit.com/jhuccp/content/chumo-film

(d) Newman Street (Nigeria)
Topic: Malaria, family planning Center for Communication Programs John Hopkins (2016): Newman Street Drama Series returns, http://ccpnigeria.org/2016/04/newman-street-drama-series-returns/ http://newmanstreetng.tv/

8. Mai Sari Sunakhari and Hilkor (Nepal)

PMC produces Mai Sari Sunakhari ("Orchid, Like Me") in Nepal. This 208-episode radio serial drama will air from April 2016 to April 2018 in Nepali, the official language of Nepal. PMC also produces a second radio serial drama in Nepal, Hilkor ("Ripples in the Water"), airing in the Maithili language. The broadcast network for Mai Sari Sunakhari and Hilkor includes Radio Nepal, Kantipur FM, and 40 stations nationwide through Ujyaalo 90 Network.

Mai Sari Sunakhari website:
https://www.populationmedia.org/projects/mai-sari-sunakhari

Hilkor website:
https://www.populationmedia.org/projects/hilkor

9. **Sexto Sentido (Nicaragua)**

Anything can happen to Nicaragua's youth. Sexto Sentido depicts their realities, their dreams and experiences. Everything was built from real Nicaraguan young men and women. Sexto Sentido is an EE drama and addresses in 80 episodes various health and social issues, among them girl exploitation and other adolescent girl topics.

Sexto Sentido Website (Spanish):
http://www.puntosdeencuentro.org/medios/tv-y-videos-tematicos/sexto-sentido/

All Sexto Sentido episodes are available via (in Spanish, without subtitles):
https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL8qcdmjzG8cj_a1mvPZc7wq3JCN5MZ0F2

Documentary on Sexto Sentido (English subtitles): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tDZSsBxfmpw&list=PL8qcdmjzG8chy5NES5cn4M69uFDM4gZpU&index=5

Documentary on Sexto Sentido (English subtitles):
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tDZSsBxfmpw&list=PL8qcdmjzG8chy5NES5cn4M69uFDM4gZpU&index=5

10. UP2U and SndBites (The Netherlands)

The Center for Media & Health uses UP2U, an interactive EE drama, to raise awareness about overstepping sexual boundaries. What happens when you say "no"? In the UP2U young people receive an answer on this question. These drama lines can be used by schools, to discuss and reflect about the topic of overstepping sexual boundaries with adolescent girls and boys.

Website:
http://www.media-health.nl/projects/up2u

UP2U making of clip:
https://vimeo.com/70486076

UP2U storyline Internet:
https://vimeo.com/121118796

Cast UP2U (copyrights Center for Media & Health)

SndBites

SndBites is an innovative digital entertainment platform to promote a healthy lifestyle amongst Dutch teens and young adults from middle and lower socio-economic groups. SndBites aims to inspire this target group for various healthy lifestyles (moderate alcohol consumption, save sex practice and hearing loss prevention). SndBites places strong emphasis on interactivity, gamification and interconnectivity. The interactivity in SndBites lies in the fact that the media user starts with the perspective of one character, and during the storyline, he/she can interactively switch to the perspective of another character.

Photo SndBites

Website SndBites (Dutch language):
www.sndbites.nl

Making of SndBites:
https://vimeo.com/70481115

Documentary clip about SndBites and EE:
https://vimeo.com/118595260

11. Mitini (Nepal)

The EE radio soap by dance4life and partners follows the life of a Nepali girl and gives an insight into her daily problems and what she can do to solve them. The topics that are covered include getting married young, the advantages of education and discussions between young people and their parents or in-laws. The soap not only gives young people information, it also provides their parents with good ways of how to approach sensitive issues, such as gender inequality and sexual health.

Radio Soap Mitini:

https://www.freepressunlimited.org/en/projects/radio-soap-reduces-the-number-of-child-marriages-in-nepal