

USIP One Village, A Thousand Voices

Final Evaluation Report

April 2017

Table of Contents

1	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	3
1.1	KEY FINDINGS	4
1.2	RECOMMENDATIONS	5
2	BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION	6
	ONE VILLAGE, A THOUSAND VOICES	6
	MEDIA DEPENDENCY.....	7
	KEY ASSUMPTIONS	7
3	METHODOLOGY	8
3.1	EVALUATION OBJECTIVE	8
3.2	EVALUATION METHODS	10
4	TARGET AUDIENCE ANALYSIS	12
4.1	KEY DEMOGRAPHICS (N=1195)	12
4.2	AUDIENCE SIZE: OVATV LISTENERSHIP	14
4.2.1	<i>Listenership, by Gender</i>	15
4.2.2	<i>Key Listener Demographics</i>	16
4.2.3	<i>Listener Perceptions, Program Quality</i>	17
4.2.4	<i>Listener Perceptions, Recommendations</i>	17
5	KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES, AND PERCEPTIONS	18
5.1	<i>KAP: Conflict Resolution</i>	18
5.2	<i>KAP: Confidence in Formal Dispute Resolution Institutions</i>	21
5.3	<i>Use of Formal & Informal Institutions for Dispute Resolution</i>	23
5.4	<i>OVATV Discussion Program & Listening Circles</i>	24
5.4.1	<i>Discussion Program Findings</i>	24
5.4.2	<i>Listening Circle Findings</i>	25
6	BEHAVIOR	27
6.1	<i>Situational Response Exercise</i>	27
6.2	<i>Personal Involvement in Disputes</i>	30
6.2.1	<i>Underutilization of Formal Institutions</i>	31
7	EFFECTIVENESS	33
7.2	<i>Youth Involvement: Community Change & Decision-Making</i>	33
7.3	<i>Women’s Involvement: Community Change & Decision-Making</i>	37
8	AUDIENCE SIZE: RELEVANCE, RADIO DRAMAS AND RULE OF LAW	46
8.2	<i>Consumption Habits, Television vs. Radio Programs</i>	46
9	KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	55
10	CONCLUSION: THE COUNTERFACTUAL	62
11	APPENDIX	63

1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The United States Institute for Peace (USIP) first aired *One Village, A Thousand Voices* (OVATV), a rule-of-law (RoL) centered radio drama, in April 2013. The program, which was designed in collaboration with legal and cultural experts in Afghanistan, aims to increase knowledge of the legal system, due process, and citizens' rights. In addition, a primary program goal is to influence the participation of marginalized groups, particularly youth and women, so that these demographics are aware of and more capable of asserting their rights. OVATV also targets traditions that restrict the participation of target groups by influencing societal knowledge, attitude, and behavior to create a more accepting environment towards the contributions of youth and women.

In 2016, OVATV's management was transferred to the U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID) PROMOTE: Women in Government program. Under PROMOTE, increased emphasis has been placed on female empowerment, particularly in promoting women's ability to work outside the home and changing negative perceptions of women working in government. OVATV continues to be designed, produced, and distributed by Equal Access, a communications organization that specializes in using media outreach to address challenges affecting the populations of developing countries, particularly marginalized groups. While this evaluation took place after the program's transfer from USIP to USAID, it was contracted by USIP as the institution remains a primary stakeholder in program success.

Sayara Research (Sayara) conducted the final impact evaluation of OVATV between October 2016 and April 2017. This evaluation used a quasi-experimental, mixed-methods research design to understand impact of OVATV on listeners' RoL knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors and, more broadly, to understand the relevance of radio as a medium for RoL programming. Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative tools, the evaluation found that exposure to the radio drama increased listeners' perceptions of their knowledge of conflict resolution, and that among those who perceived the greatest improvement in their knowledge, they also reported higher confidence in both local and provincial government capabilities in dispute resolution.

Additionally, the evaluation supports the assertion that Afghans generally have a clear preference for traditional dispute resolution mechanisms, using highly local, informal institutions (i.e. tribal shuras and local leaders) before considering formal institutions at either the local or provincial level. This is especially true for smaller or less serious disputes or crimes; and while most Afghans would relegate very serious crimes, such as murder, to a government body from the outset, many would still want some sort of community resolution or reconciliation (i.e. forgiveness) to occur first. Among OVATV beneficiaries, experiences with dispute resolution are also generally more positive than experiences of non-beneficiaries, which could reflect a better understanding of due process and more realistic expectations of formal and informal institutional capabilities.

The evaluation also sought to identify if and how youth and female participation had increased among beneficiaries. Generally, both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries identified the important role youth and women can have in dispute resolution. However, beneficiaries were able to provide concrete examples of this engagement as well as a

description of how changes occurred within their community, indicating a more astute understanding of rule of law and citizens' rights within their community.

Despite widespread indications that OVATV is successfully influence knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors, areas for improvement remain, particularly concerning girls and women. Girls and women continue to have disproportionately low media access, and continue to face exclusion from decision-making processes and harmful traditions in several regions.

1.1 Key Findings

Bottom-Up Resolution is Best

Supported by both quantitative and qualitative findings, Afghans, regardless of demographics, universally found bottom-up dispute resolution the most productive mechanism for sustainable resolutions. This was most widely attributed to lack of trust in government, belief that local resolutions are more efficient and cost-effective, and the sustainability of local resolution.

OVATV is Good for Girls

Qualitative data collection supports findings that indicate that OVATV significantly impacts women and girls—if they can listen to it. While survey results indicate that females listen at disproportionately lower rates than males in several areas, both qualitative and quantitative findings suggest that female listeners have improved understandings of their rights and are able to interact more effectively within their communities due to OVATV.

Sources of Conflict: Ignorance, Marriage, and Property

Lack of education, marriage, and property disputes were the most frequently cited causes of conflict, as evidenced by both quantitative and qualitative findings. Additionally, while Afghans largely thought program content was highly relevant to their lives, several qualitative interviews indicated that reality is not as simple as depicted by OVATV.

Relatability Matters

Qualitative findings suggest that the relatability of episode content impacted whether listeners enjoyed the program. In particular, evidence to this point can be observed through listeners who didn't necessarily find the program impactful, as despite this they reported enjoyment and that the content was useful to listeners.

The Pulpit, Media, and Schools

Interviewees were asked to list the three best ways to improve people's knowledge of RoL in their area. The overwhelming consensus was that outreach would be best served through greater collaboration with religious leaders and community elders, increased media presence, and dedicated formal and informal educational opportunities.

Listening Together is Learning Together

Quantitative data indicates that Afghans who listen with others or whose family and friends also listen to OVATV are significantly more likely to report changes in knowledge, attitude, and behavior than those who listen alone. These findings support previous research on Afghan information ecosystems, which suggests that information

consumption in Afghanistan is highly socialized, and that opinions are often formed collectively rather than individually. Findings thus support the development of high-context program activities, such as the use of listening circles and other interactive listening mechanisms to facilitate group discussions around rule-of-law.

Repetition, Repetition, Repetition

The data indicates a significant, positive relationship between knowledge improvements and listening frequency among beneficiaries. Furthermore, among illiterate listeners the OVATV discussion program had exceptional impact on perceived knowledge improvements. These findings provide support for increased outreach and access to rule-of-law programming to more greatly impact knowledge and behavior change.

OVATV Improved Listener Perceptions of Government

Both quantitative and qualitative data indicate that OVATV had a positive influence on beneficiary attitudes towards the government and their ability to resolve disputes. Although quantitative data showed no overall improvement to beneficiary knowledge, among those who listened most often and thought the program had a significant impact on their knowledge, they were notably more confident in government capabilities than non-beneficiaries.

1.2 Recommendations

- ✓ OVATV should continue to create episodes that demonstrate how to utilize a variety of formal and informal resolution mechanisms. Additionally, increased and improved depictions of how to address disputes through formal mechanisms should be highlighted, as this is an area listeners continue to struggle with.
- ✓ OVATV content should continue and increase emphasis on female-centric subject matter, particularly harmful traditional practices that silence girls and women in speaking out against physical, mental, and sexual abuses.
- ✓ Similarly, develop storylines that aim to destigmatize conflicts involving females, providing more opportunities for community members to discuss sensitive subject-matter more openly.
- ✓ Storylines should continue to emphasize hard work and perseverance in the face of struggles, as these are themes Afghans identify with and respect, while still striving for realistic depictions of resolution processes and potential outcomes.
- ✓ OVATV programming should establish a more extensive social and media presence, including outreach networks with local and religious leaders, a reinvigorated social media presence, and education opportunities.
- ✓ Encourage or establish community listening circles, incentivizing their creation as necessary.
- ✓ Strategize ways to increase listenership, particularly addressing access of marginalized groups, which can be addressed both through increasing program access and the depiction of marginalized groups as important contributors to community decision-making.
- ✓ While programming changes to better meet the needs of less educated listeners, quantitative evidence suggests that illiterate listeners are equally capable of understanding OVATV concepts, but may simply require repeat exposure or supportive information, such as the discussion program, to fully internalize the presented information.
- ✓ Program formatting, according to qualitative feedback, appears to be good overall. The biggest consideration may be to increase the number, length, or airings of episodes instead of altering original air-times, as interviewees commented that they would simply like more access.

2 BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

One Village, A Thousand Voices

One Village, A Thousand Voices (OVATV) is a weekly radio program that was originally developed and managed by the U.S. Institute for Peace (USIP) in close collaboration with Afghan partners. The program, which first aired in April 2013, provides listeners with storylines that reflect common sources of conflict within their families and communities, such as property and marriage disputes, as well as peaceful solutions that utilize a variety of dispute resolution institutions. OVATV is also uniquely structured, containing both a weekly radio show and a weekly discussion component, where listeners can call-in to ask RoL experts questions about the episode and specific points of law, or even offer their own resolution suggestions.

The program was designed to reflect a clear theory of change, by developing rule-of-law (RoL) and youth empowerment curriculums which were informed by USIP's extensive research and experience in Afghanistan. The episodes are designed to engage Afghans, particularly youth and females, in the resolution of commonly observed disputes, ensuring that the program is deeply local in its focus and outcomes, and providing opportunities for more open discussion of topics that might quickly cause tensions or often remain secret. OVATV also models interactions with formal institutions, showing the audience how and to which departments they can refer their disputes for government assistance.

In April 2016, USAID's PROMOTE: Women in Government program took over management for OVATV. PROMOTE seeks to advance and empower Afghan women through professional development opportunities for female youth interested in working for their local, regional, or national government. As such, with this change came additional emphasis on gender equality and women's empowerment, particularly women's access to and acceptance as members of the work force. Throughout this transition, Equal Access, a communications organization specializing in media outreach in developing countries, has continued to design, produce, and distribute OVATV through Radio Azadi, a subsidiary of the U.S. government's Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty broadcast service and Voice of America.

The purpose of this evaluation was not only to assess OVATV and its ability to achieve desired outcomes, but also to evaluate the program as a model for future RoL programming and the effectiveness and appropriateness of using radio as the primary medium to deliver that message.

Media Dependency

Media dependency theory postulates three types of media dependency, namely ‘the need to understand one’s social world, the need to act meaningfully and effectively in that world, and the need for fantasy-escape from daily problems and tensions.’¹ The theory further asserts that as needs increase, so too does dependency, resulting in a “greater likelihood that the information supplied will alter various forms of audience cognitions, feelings, and behavior.”²

This effect is heightened under conditions of change and conflict, as “challenges to established institutions, beliefs, or practices” reduce the integrity of the existing social order. This in turn makes it difficult for “members of society to cope with their life situation” within the existing framework, and as a result they become increasingly dependent on media to fulfill some or all of the previously described needs.³

This theory is particularly salient in the Afghan context, where nearly 75% of the population lives in rural or technologically limited areas and conflict has been on-going for more than three decades. A large proportion of Afghans have limited options through which to gain information, while high levels of conflict increase need and dependency on that medium to provide information, understanding, and escape from life’s reality.

OVATV not only fulfills all three potential needs of the population—providing information regarding the law and society, how situations are evolving and the impact that will have at the individual level, and a form of entertainment—it also takes advantage of the most widely available media source within the country, ensuring it can have the widest impact on knowledge, attitudes, and behavior. In short, if OVATV continues to meet the needs of its audience, it will remain relevant and necessary among those who depend on it.

Key Assumptions

The following evaluation relies on several key assumptions to assess results within the demographic and cultural context of Afghanistan:

- **Radio access and use is generally higher among rural audiences**, due to lack of electricity and economic factors that might restrict the ability to purchase more technologically advanced—and expensive—media delivery systems, such as televisions.
- **Rural audiences are a key target demographic of OVATV**, as several factors—including remoteness and reliance on tradition—impede both educational opportunities to learn more about RoL and interactions with formal dispute resolution institutions.
- **Youth and women are key target demographics** because they are generally either excluded from decision-making and dispute resolution processes within their communities, and/or from opportunities to learn about RoL and their rights more broadly.

¹ S.J. Ball-Rokeach, M.L. DeFluer, *A Dependency Model of Mass-Media Effects*, Washington State University, *Communication Research*, Vol. 3 No. 1, January 1976, p. 6.

² *Ibid*, p. 6

³ *Ibid*, p. 7.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Evaluation Objective

Sayara utilized a synthetic evaluation design, combining elements from both quasi-experimental (counter-factual) and case-based approaches. The combined approaches allowed Sayara to more accurately measure the extent to which OVATV achieved its objectives while also identifying important contextual elements of success, such as outsider views of marginalized groups and the perspectives of those group members themselves. The evaluation strategy was designed to respond to the following questions, with the methodology described in further detail below.

1. To what extent the designed radio drama lead to the desired behaviour change?
2. To what extent the radio drama affected knowledge levels, attitudes, and perceptions (KAP) of targeted listeners?
3. What is the scope of the targeted radio programming?



3.1.1 Quasi-Experimental Design

Sayara employed a counter-factual analysis as part of the quasi-experimental design. This analysis allowed for a comparison of the observable world with the theoretical, wherein the latter is intended to be identical to the former with the single difference being project intervention. In conventional counter-factual approaches, differences in outcomes, attitudes, and knowledge among beneficiaries (the treatment group) and non-beneficiaries (the comparison group) would be the main measures of impact. However, it is important

to note that highly complex environments, particularly those susceptible to rapid, unpredictable change and overlapping interventions, make counter-factual inference challenging.⁴ The presence of other sources of RoL programming, combined with Afghanistan's turbulent social and political context make estimating what would have happened in the absence of OVATV effectively impossible.

Nonetheless, a counter-factual design can be applied to building a strong, empirical case for whether or not OVATV intervention produced or contributed to certain outcomes and impacts. Sayara employed a quasi-experimental approach, comprised of comparative focus group discussions (FGDs), most significant change (MSCs), and surveys with OVATV beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, to identify the extent to which OVATV caused increases in youth and women's empowerment, RoL knowledge, and attitudes.

Quasi-experimental techniques included:

- Target audience analysis (using quota sampling to reach a representative sample of both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries)
- Pre- and post-focus group discussions with non-listeners

3.1.2 Case-Based Design

Because counter-factual analysis is best used for assessing internal validity (achievements within a highly specific context) rather than external validity (the potential effectiveness of a similar project in a different context), Sayara introduced a case-based approach as well. This approach explicitly acknowledges multi-causality and unpredictability in a way that classic quantitative and counter-factual analysis does not. In the case of OVATV, a case-based approach focused on the contexts in which beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries experienced or perceived RoL differently. This approach built on the quasi-experimental one by providing a rich understanding of context and giving voice to the project beneficiaries themselves.⁵

Sayara's case-based approach used grounded theory and comparison across and within specific cases to explore the unique contexts in which different outcomes arose.⁶ Case-based analyses included:

- In-depth Interviews (IDIs) with OVATV listeners
- Most significant change (MSC) sessions with listening circle members
- Comparative focus group discussions (FGDs) with both listeners (treatment group) and non-listeners (control group)

⁴ http://betterevaluation.org/en/plan/understandcauses/compare_results_to_counter-factual

⁵ *Ibid*, pg. 39

⁶ For a useful comparison of methods, see

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67427/design-method-impact-eval.pdf

3.2 Evaluation Methods

Sayara Research designed and implemented the following research instruments to assess changes in listener KAP and behavior due to exposure to One Village, A Thousand Voices.

Desk Review of Programmatic and Background Documents



The desk review identified and assessed USIP’s programmatic documents regarding the Afghan media ecosystem. These documents provided a foundational understanding of project objectives, activities, challenges, and accomplishments. Documents included the M&E framework, associated log-frames, project monitoring reports and design, and implementation documentation. Desk review also allowed for the collection of definitive and reliable indicators for project evaluation, informing research instrument design.

Face to Face Survey – Target Audience Analysis [1195 surveys]



Sayara conducted face to face (F2F) surveys with randomly selected individuals from the seven target provinces to locate and identify program beneficiaries (audience members). In addition, Sayara measured the KAP of both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries with regards to access and involvement in traditional and formal justice institutions. The survey instrument, made up of quantitative, close-ended questions, covered key demographics, media consumption, and key indicators related to OVATV.

Sayara used an interview sample of n=1195 of randomly selected respondents with an additional 10% to cover for non-response. This sample of approximately 26,556,800 potential listeners yielded a margin of error of +/- 3 percent at the 95 percent confidence level. Interviewees were selected using a random walk method, where Sayara’s enumerators started from a randomly chosen sample point and selected every third house on the left. The survey participants were disaggregated by gender (50/50).

Key Informant Interviews with USIP and Production Staff



Sayara conducted key informant interviews (KIIs) with high level program staff at USIP and Equal Access, who worked directly on the show’s curriculum, design, and production. These discussions provided insight and clarity of the project’s evolution, objectives, theory of change, and rationale surrounding selected project content. Interviews were unstructured to give interviewees space to describe their experience and expertise in their own words. This format also allowed the interviewer to probe for information to uncover new insights to enrich Sayara’s evaluation strategy.

In-Depth Interviews (IDI) with Listeners [32 IDIs]



Of those identified in the F2F survey as having listened to OVATV at least twice a month over the last year, Sayara randomly selected 4 individuals per province for IDIs. Listeners were asked to share their opinions and any specific impacts the program had on their attitudes, knowledge, and behaviour. These interviews permitted Sayara to collect valuable narrative data concerning the positive, and potential negative, effects of OVATV content. All interviews were conducted and

recorded by Sayara's trained interviewers, using a semi-standardised format. All data was sent back to the Kabul office for translation and analysis.

Most Significant Change Sessions with Key Listeners [4 sessions]



Following the collection of IDIs, Sayara conducted a series of Most Significant Change (MSC) sessions to explore the impacts of OVATV. MSC, a participatory research method, allowed Sayara to select participants to join in a group discussion in which they were presented with a series of stories that described how the radio program impacted selected individuals' lives. The stories used in the MSCs were collected from IDI participants.

In the MSC sessions, participants were divided into two groups, presented with a series of stories, and instructed to choose which story they thought represented the most important change from project activities. Sayara's MSC facilitators observed these discussions, taking notes on group dynamics, patterns in participant response, and justification for story selection. Finally, the two break-out groups were brought back together and asked to come to a consensus on which of the two stories selected by each smaller group they considered the 'most significant'. The main objective of the consensus exercise was not necessarily to identify the best story, but rather to encourage critical engagement and debate among MSC participants.

Focus Group Discussions [32 / 4 per province]



Sayara facilitated focus group discussions (FGDs) with purposefully selected members of both beneficiary and non-beneficiary populations in each province. The FGDs sessions included:

- 1. Quasi-experimental FGD with non-listeners (male & female)**
- 2. FGD with beneficiaries (male & female)**
- 3. FGD with youth (male & female)**
- 4. FGD with community influencers (CSOs or elders)**

Non-beneficiaries participated in a preliminary discussion regarding knowledge and attitudes toward a specific RoL scenario before being exposed to a set of OVATV episodes that dealt with that scenario. A follow-up discussion with participants allowed moderators to identify immediate changes in attitudes and knowledge and gather feedback on program relevance and quality.

Similarly, Sayara presented male and female beneficiary groups with RoL scenarios or conflicts similar to those presented in OVATV. Sayara had the beneficiary groups discuss potential solutions based on their personal experiences and knowledge of RoL, citing any ideas inspired by OVATV episodes.

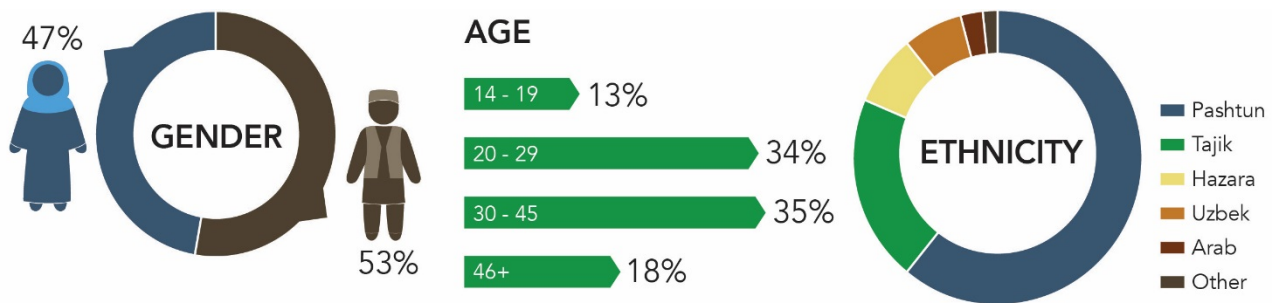
Analysis of these discussions highlight patterns in both knowledge retention and gaps while also exploring how personal or contextual circumstances shape listeners' experience of the show. Sayara's facilitators are trained to allow the group discussion to range spontaneously across the various aspects of the topic, while keeping the discussion on track to collect data on key indicators related to OVATV. Sayara's experienced and highly trained facilitators ensured meaningful participation from group members. All FGDs were recorded and translated for analysis.

4 Target Audience Analysis

Sayara conducted face to face surveys with 1195 Afghans across 8 provinces. This section details both listener and non-listener responses to questions ranging from media consumption habits, assessment of OVATV program quality and relevance, and personal interaction with rule of law and dispute resolution, including perceived knowledge changes among listeners.

General survey findings indicate that Afghans continue to prefer bottom-up approaches to dispute resolution yet are increasingly knowledgeable about how to utilize formal institutions to resolve disputes.

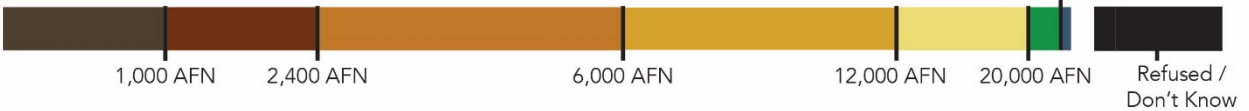
4.1 Key Demographics (n=1195)



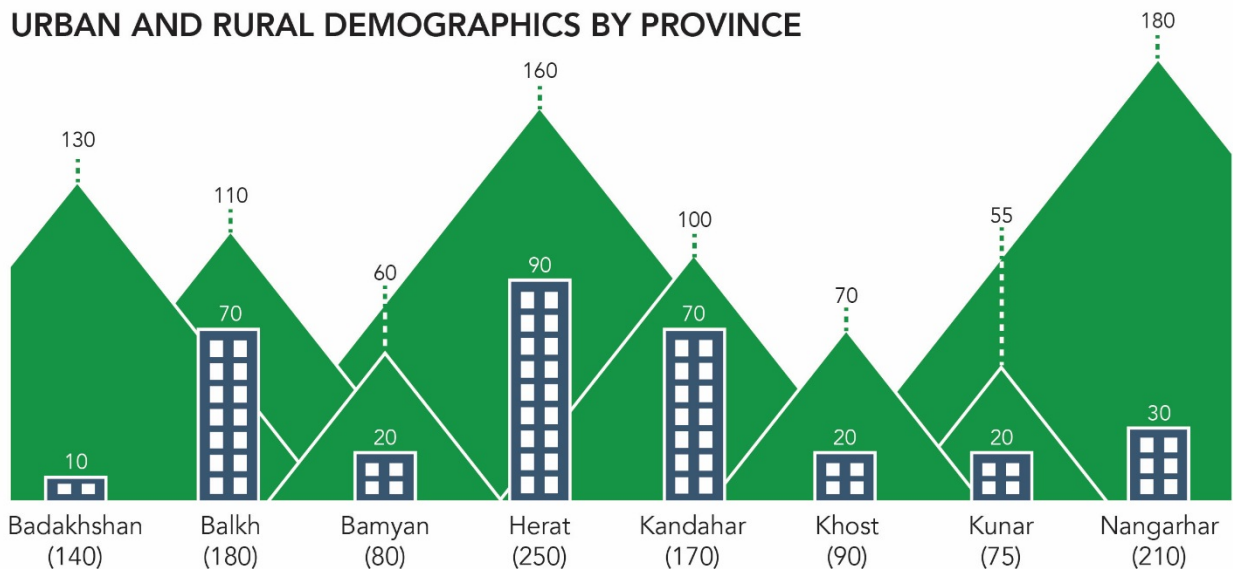
EDUCATION COMPLETED



MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME



URBAN AND RURAL DEMOGRAPHICS BY PROVINCE



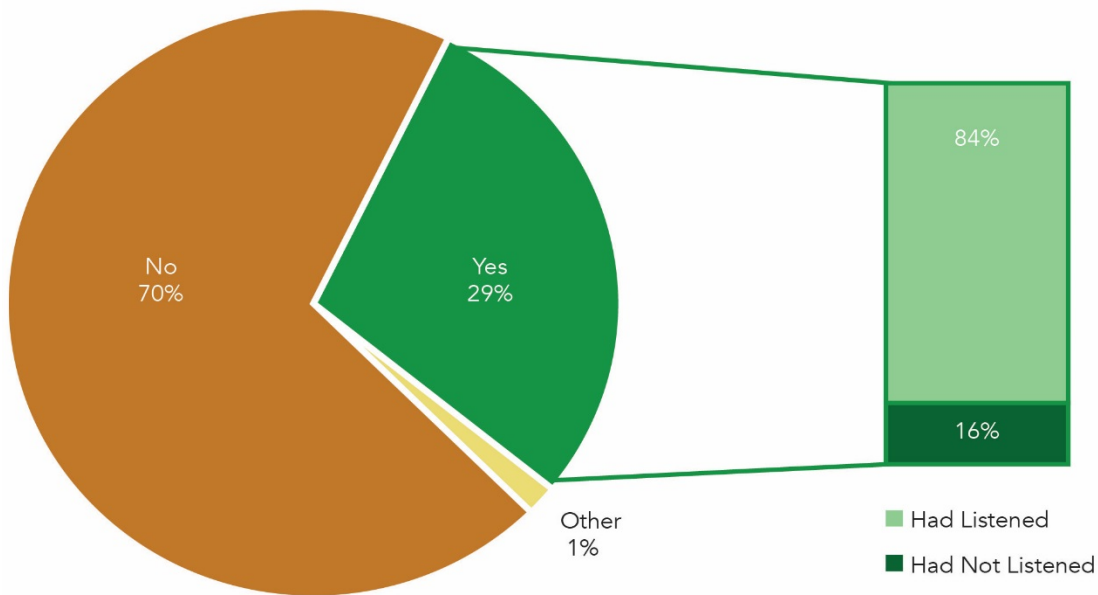
Demographic data collected alongside the target audience survey indicated that, of the 1195 respondents:

- Just over half of respondents were male
- 72% (865) of respondents lived in rural areas, reflecting national urban-rural distribution estimates; similarly, provincial distributions in the survey also reflect current provincial urban-rural distributions
- Most respondents were between 20-45 years old, with a smaller portion of respondents falling between the ages of 14-19 (13% / 152) and over 46 years old (18% / 211). Generally, these figures are in line with national youth averages, which estimate just under 12% of the population between age 15-19, yet deviate considerably from adults over the age of 20. However, as over 43% of the population is estimated to be under age 15 and the survey was only administered to those above age 14, these results are not surprising.
- The highest proportion of respondents were from Herat (21%, 250) and Nangarhar (18%, 210), followed closely by Balkh (15%, 180) and Kandahar (14%, 170).
- Ethnically, 727 respondents (61%) identified as Pashtun, followed by Tajik (245 / 21%), Hazara (92 / 8%), Uzbek (83 / 7%), and Arab (29 / 2%). Less than 1% (17) identified their ethnicity as something other than the abovementioned categories.
- Over half of those surveyed were illiterate (644 / 54%). However, the largest proportion of those who had received some formal education (46% / 551) had completed 11-12 years of schooling (12% / 148), followed by 11% (128) who had complete 6-8 years of school, 10% (117) who had completed up to 5 years, and 6% (74) who had completed 9-10 years.
- Only 7% (84) of respondents were college graduates, of which 1 had received a post-graduate degree.
- Finally, most respondents had a monthly household income between 2,401-6,000 AFN / \$35-89 USD (305 / 25%) or 6,001-12,000 AFN / \$90-177 USD (272 / 23%). A quarter (315 / 26%) of those surveyed earned below 2,400 AFN / \$35 USD per month and only 14% (164) of respondents earned above 12,001 AFN / \$177 USD per month.

4.2 Audience Size: OVATV Listenership

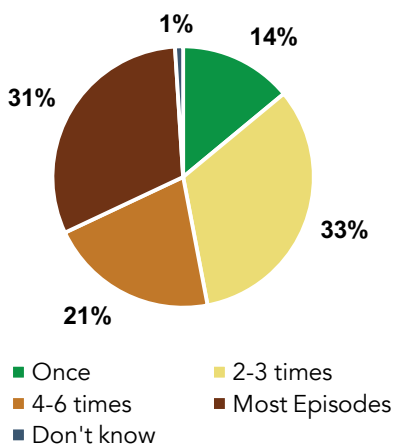
Of the surveyed population, 29% (342/1195) were aware of OVATV prior to the survey, of which 84% (287/342) had listened to the program. Contrary to anticipated results, OVATV awareness was higher among urban respondents, of which 33% (110/330) had previously heard of OVATV, compared to 27% (232/865) of rural respondents. However, as discussed below, actual consumption was higher in rural areas than urban ones, a finding that is consistent with media dependency theory.

Was Aware of OVATV Prior to Survey (n=1195)

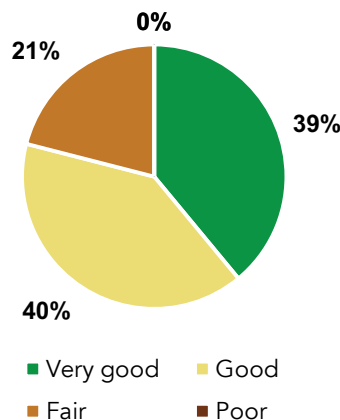


Among program beneficiaries, half identified themselves as regular listeners (4+ exposures), 79% rated the show as good to very good, and 76% had previously recommended the program to family or friends.

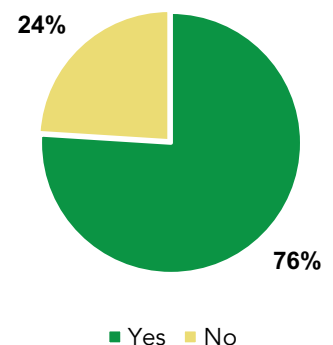
How many times did you listen to OVATV from 2014-16? (n=287)



How would you rate the OVATV program quality? (n=287)

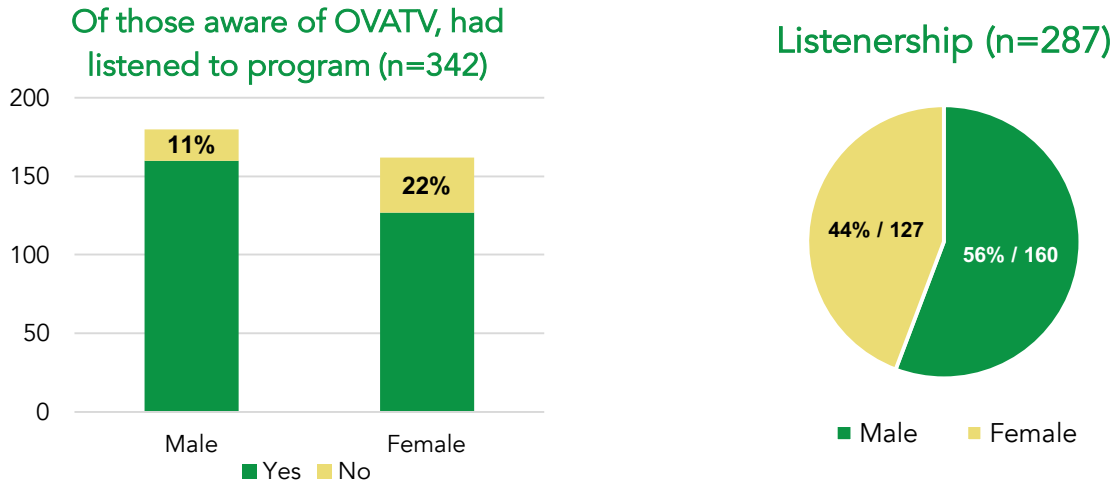


Have you recommended OVATV to friends/family? (n=287)



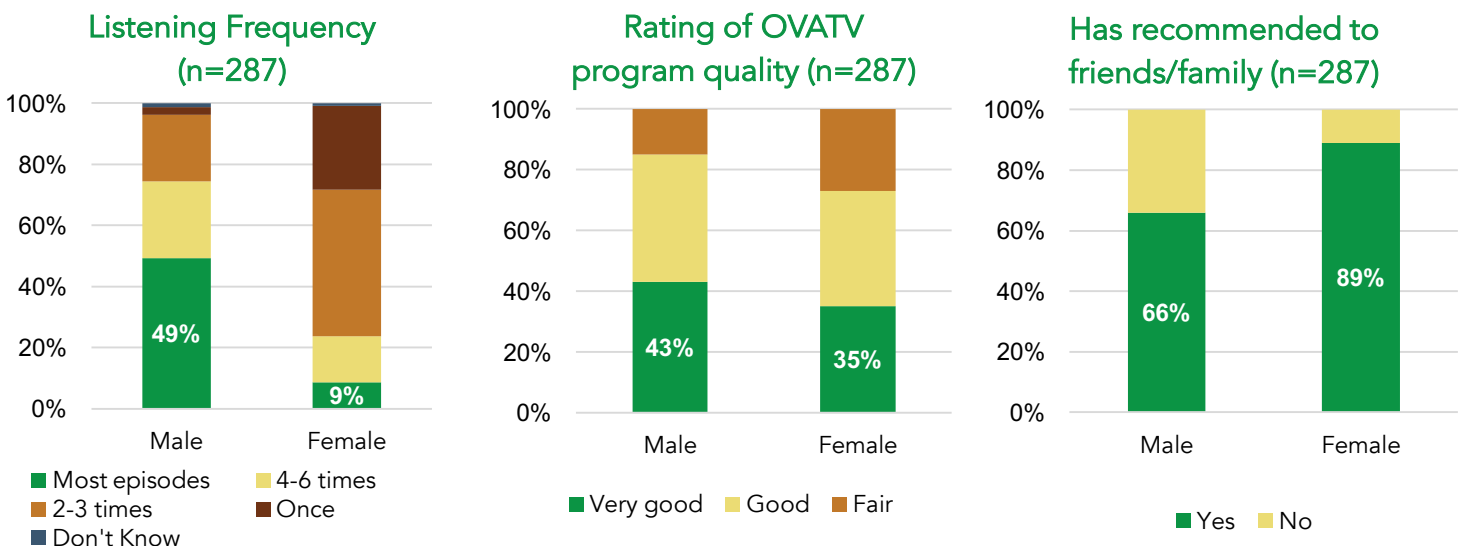
4.2.1 Listenership, by Gender

While both 54% of both males and females indicated that they listen to radio programs at least a few times a week, patterns of OVATV listenership appear to be more gendered, with men not only listening more, but also more frequently than women. For example, men accounted for 56% of total OVATV listenership and women only 44%, with 89% of exposed males actually tuning in, compared to 78% of comparable females.



Furthermore, men appear to have listened much more consistently than females, as 49% (79/160) of males and only 9% (11/127) of females reported listening to most episodes. Similarly, while 28% (35/127) of females listened only once, less than 3% (4/160) of males listened only once.

Interestingly, 89% of females (compared to 66% of males) recommended the program to family or friends, possibly indicating that female listeners find greater value in the program than males, despite lower access. Of course, it is also possible that women tend to over-report their information sharing behaviors in comparison to men. At the very least, however, this finding suggests that women demonstrate a greater propensity to value information sharing, regardless of their actual information consumption.



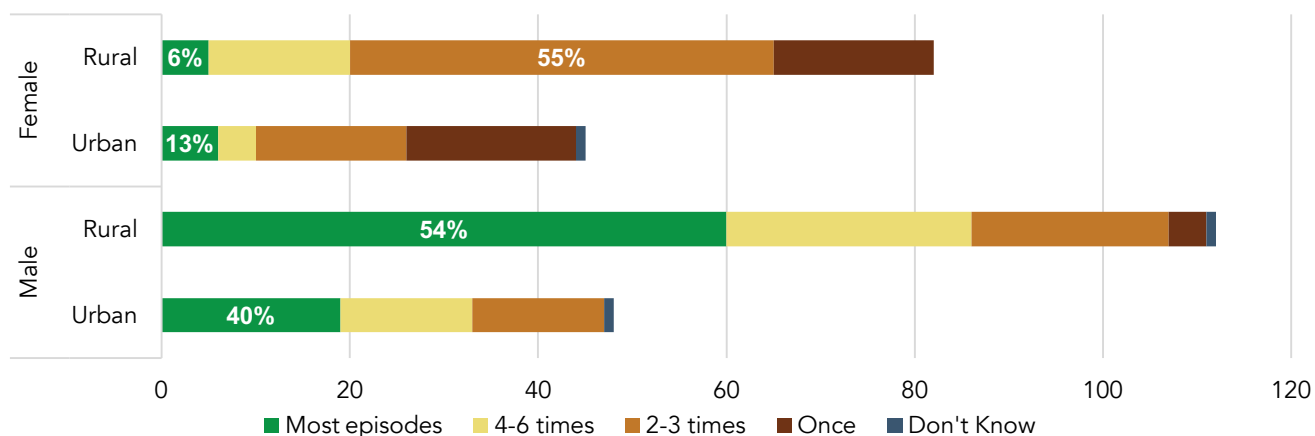
4.2.2 Key Listener Demographics

In addition to gendered interactions with and perceptions of OVATV, Sayara also assessed listenership based on the listeners' location. As the following chart details, despite greater awareness of the program in urban areas, most listeners lived in rural areas, accounting for 70% (112/160) of male and 65% (82/127) of female listeners.

While among males, those in rural locations were much more likely to listen to most episodes (54% vs 40%) than those in urban areas, rural females were slightly *less likely* than their urban counterparts to listen to most episodes. In addition, females were as likely to listen to 2-3 episodes as males were to listen to most episodes. It is unclear whether women's inconsistent listening patterns, particularly in rural areas, are due to incompatible daily life schedules, social barriers, technological barriers, or lack of interest/relevance. Section 7 will discuss these possibilities in greater detail.

While broader urban vs. rural trends will be explored in the following section, it is interesting to note that overall (n=1195) daily radio use was reported at 34% for both urban and rural participants, and between 30-37% among males and females. However, **female OVATV listeners were well below daily radio use rates in their consumption of OVATV, while all males exceeded the sample rates.**

Urban v Rural Listening Frequency, by Gender (n=287)



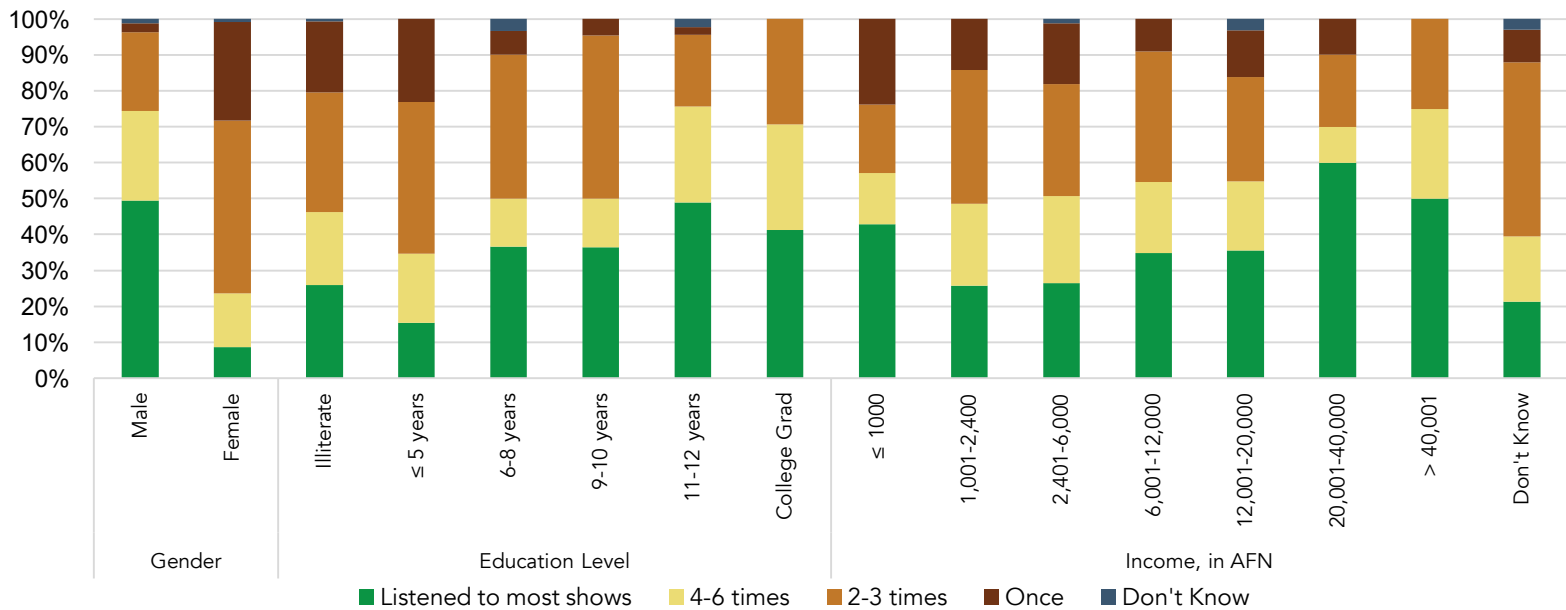
The following chart highlights listening frequencies among key demographics, showing interesting patterns of disparity within each demographic set. These findings are particularly interesting when the interaction among demographics is considered.

In addition to greatly outpacing females in listening frequency, neither income nor education appears to have any negative impact on the rate at which males listen to OVATV, as male respondents across all income brackets and literacy levels listened at least 4-6 times, with most responding they “listened to most shows”.

In general, very few females are represented by the green and yellow sections of the following chart. Only females with more than 9 years of education—of which there are very few relative to the overall number of female listeners (16/127)—do not fall into the red sections of the educational disaggregation. **Simply put, not only are females significantly under-educated, but there is a clear, positive correlation**

between education level and listening frequency among females, while no such significance exists among male listeners.

OVATV listening frequency between 2014-2016, by Key Demographics (n=287)



4.2.3 Listener Perceptions, Program Quality

Education appears to have some positive correlation with perceptions of OVATV, with the number of ‘very good’ ratings exceeding expected rates among those with more than 9 years of education, while illiterate listeners were far less likely than expected to give a ‘very good’ rating. Overall, ratings increased from 31% (46/147) of illiterate respondents to 63% (33/52) of respondents who had completed high school or a higher degree. This trend is also noted in listener perceptions of knowledge change regarding conflict resolution, which will be explored in-depth in section 5.1.

Notably, ratings of OVATV and listening frequency, when disaggregated by education level, follow similar trends, which may indicate either that low listenership is correlated with lower perceptions of the program, or that a relationship may exist among educated listeners and awareness of rule of law subject matter, resulting in a positive correlation between higher education levels and higher listening levels.

4.2.4 Listener Perceptions, Recommendations

Overall, those population subsets with the lowest listening frequencies (females, less-educated, and mid- to low-income) recommended OVATV at generally high rates, in some cases recommending the program more frequently than other those who had greater interaction with the program. This indicates that the number of episodes consumed likely has little impact on a listener’s likelihood to highly rate or recommend OVATV. It could also indicate that those who are most disadvantaged in society—by gender and/or socio-economic status—find the program more salient, thus their higher likelihood of recommending OVATV to their friends and family despite lower overall exposure.

5 Knowledge, Attitudes, and Perceptions

Another key goal of the evaluation was to determine the extent to which OVATV programming created a change in listener knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions towards the rule of law. This section explores beneficiary, non-beneficiary, and to some extent, overall sample KAP changes. Respondents were asked several series of questions related to their knowledge of conflict resolution, their past interactions with formal and informal resolution bodies, and their perceptions of those interactions.

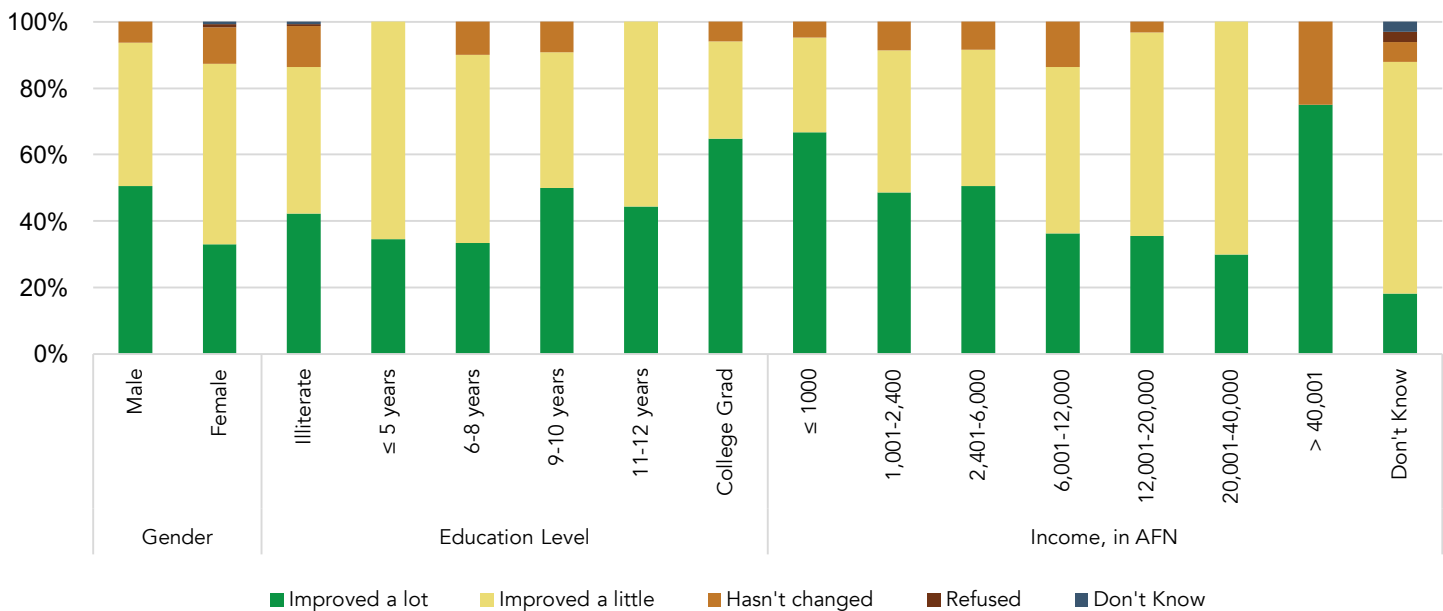
Responses are disaggregated by both respondent demographics, as well as listener-specific demographics, such as listening frequency, where relevant. As several sections will outline, there appears to be a significant relationship between a listener's dedication to OVATV (as measured by listening frequency, among other indicators), and their perceptions of personal knowledge change and formal and informal dispute resolution institutions.

While such correlations present interesting conclusions about the significance of OVATV, it is also important to recognize that those who reported the highest commitment to and enjoyment of OVATV are likely, to some degree, self-segregating in terms of interest in rule of law and their responsiveness to KAP and behavioral change.

5.1 KAP: Conflict Resolution

Overall, most respondents indicated that their knowledge of conflict resolution had improved since listening to the OVATV program, as 91% (261/287) reported at least 'a little improvement', with no responses indicating that listeners had become less knowledgeable or more confused.

Has your knowledge of conflict resolution changed since listening to OVATV?
(n=287)



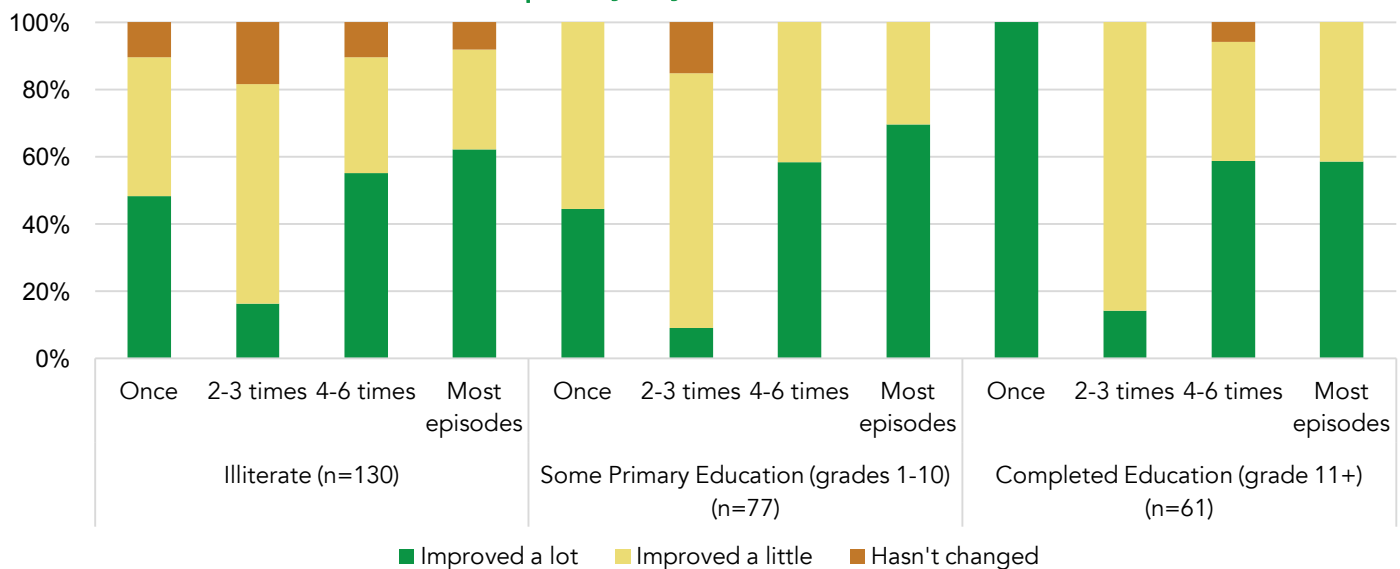
Education

Data indicates that education plays an important role in listener take-aways from OVATV, as a generally positive trend exists between education level and perceived improvement in knowledge of conflict resolution. However, and perhaps more importantly, findings also indicate that increased exposure to OVATV leads to greater RoL knowledge.

Findings indicate that those with the highest levels of education (>11 years) are generally more likely to report ‘a lot of improvement’ to their RoL knowledge than less educated listeners. Similarly, they are far less likely to report no knowledge change; among illiterate respondents, 12% (18/147) felt their knowledge levels hadn’t changed at all, while only 2% (1/61) of listeners with at least 11 years of education felt similarly. However, listeners with higher levels of education also reported higher listening frequencies, as 48% (29/61) of listeners with more than 11 years of education listened to most episodes, compared to only 26% (38/147) of illiterate and 30% (23/77) of listeners with some primary education.

While these findings may indicate that program concepts are better understood by more educated listeners, they also highlight that high program exposure likely results in higher knowledge. Interestingly, as the following graph show, there is a clear trend across all education levels, in that both a single exposure and more extensive exposure to program concepts results in an increase of knowledge, but low exposure (2-3 episodes) has small to negligible impact.

Change in knowledge since listening to OVATV x Listening Frequency, by Education Level



While this finding may appear incongruent, logically, it may reflect a change in baseline RoL knowledge: someone with little or no prior knowledge of conflict resolution would likely gain a significant amount of new knowledge after a single exposure to the show, establishing a baseline from which to compare additional exposures. From there, listeners perceive ‘a lot of improvement’ to their knowledge the more they listen to the program.

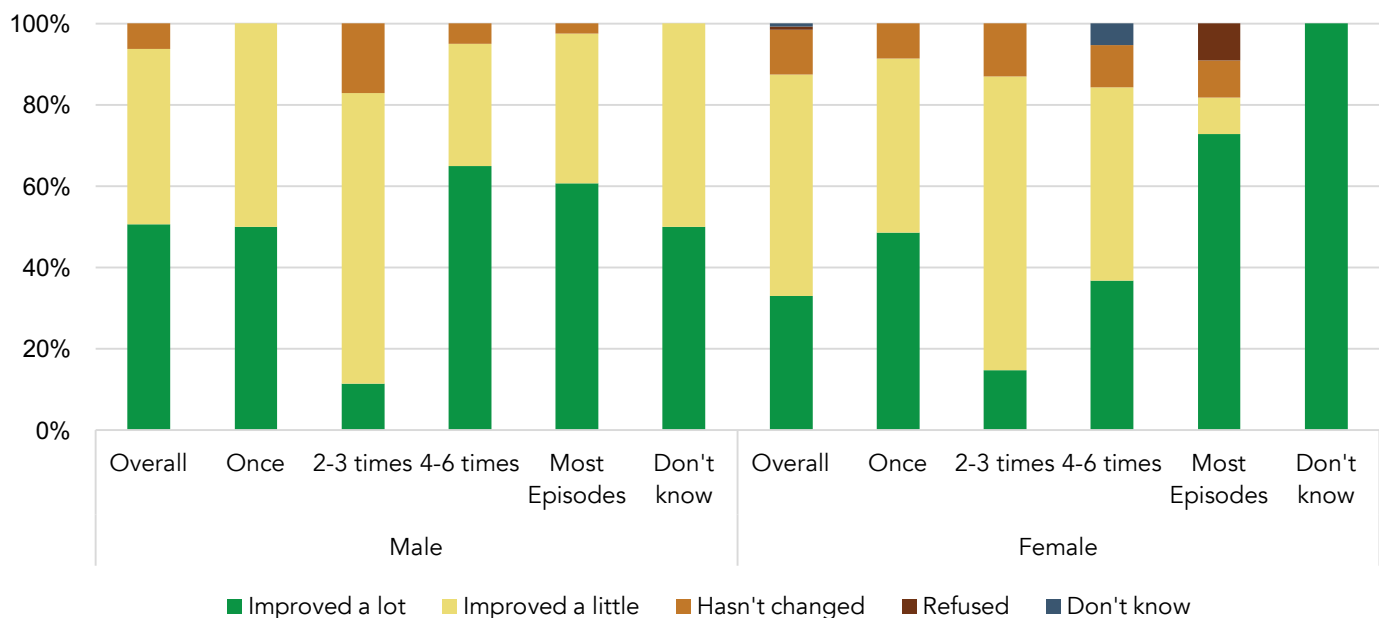
This suggests that repeated exposure not only improves knowledge significantly, but that illiteracy does not have to be a barrier to RoL knowledge improvement.

Gender

Like education, the number of exposures to OVATV had a significant impact on whether listeners felt their knowledge had improved or not, with findings reflecting the patterns observed among education levels.

Just over half of male listeners (51%, 81/160) reported that their knowledge had ‘improved a lot’, whereas only 33% of female listeners reported the same. As 76% of female listeners reported hearing only 1-3 episodes (compared to only 25% of males), it is unsurprising that females reported a less significant change in their knowledge of conflict resolution than males. Positively, when considering overall change in knowledge levels, 87% of females (111/127) and 94% of males (150/160) reported at least ‘a little improvement’.

Knowledge Change x OVATV Listening Frequency, Gender (n=287)



Furthermore, the same pattern identified among education levels was also found in gender disaggregations. Low exposure to OVATV—while still listening more than once—results in lower perceived knowledge change than both single or high program exposure. In addition to potential baseline knowledge changes as an explanation for this pattern, it is also possible that the structure of OVATV, where single storylines develop over multiple episodes, may unintentionally disadvantage infrequent listeners.

While the slow development of more complex storylines may be highly beneficial for those who are able to consistently listen to OVATV, among those who do not or cannot, these complexities may result in confusion or lower perceptions of knowledge change, as full resolutions are not observed and understood.

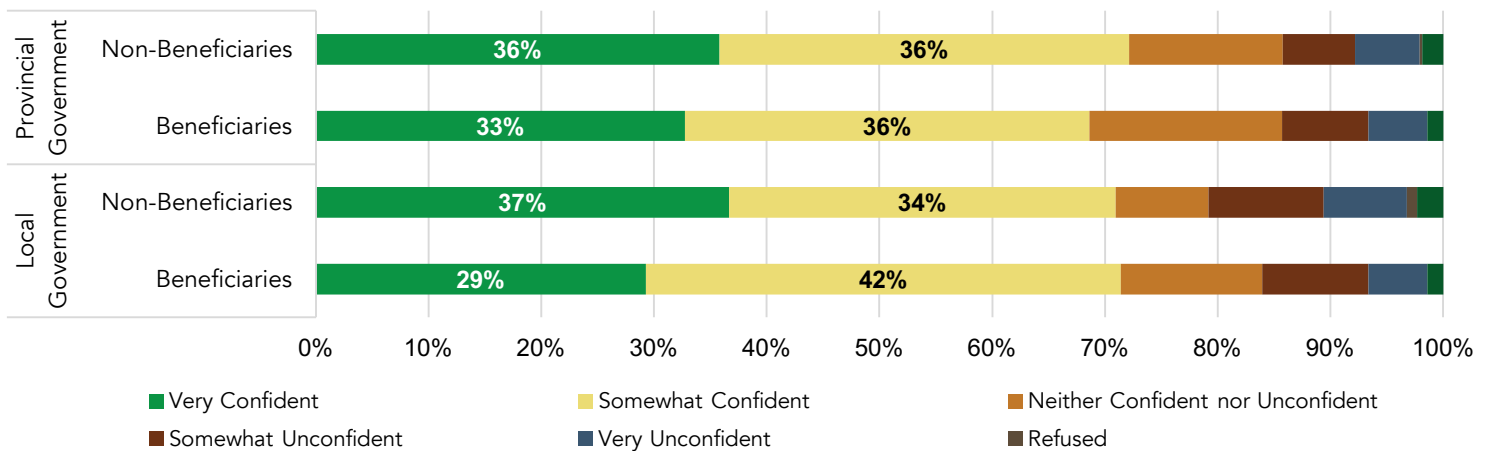
5.2 KAP: Confidence in Formal Dispute Resolution Institutions

An underlying goal of OVATV, to improve listener perceptions of formal institutions, was assessed through questions relating to confidence in and willingness to engage with local and provincial government. Responses indicate that among the most engaged listeners, confidence levels in government dispute resolution exceed those of non-beneficiaries.

When asked whether they would be more or less likely to contact local authorities for help resolving future disputes, 52% (148/287) responded that they would be ‘more likely’ and only 20% (56/287) indicated they would be less likely.

Comparisons of beneficiaries (n=287) and non-beneficiaries (n=908) indicate that confidence is lower among program beneficiaries in both their local and provincial governments. The chart below shows that while 37% (333/908) of non-beneficiaries are very confident in their local government’s ability to resolve disputes, only 29% of OVATV listeners felt the same degree of confidence. Likewise, 36% (325/908) of non-beneficiaries were very confident in provincial level government, while 33% (94/287) of OVATV listeners felt similarly confident.

Confidence in government ability to resolve future disputes (n=1195)



Although these findings appear to suggest that overall beneficiary confidence has not been positively impacted by programming, when OVATV listeners are disaggregated by listening frequency, rating level, likeliness to recommend, and perceived knowledge improvement—in short listener interaction with, or dedication to, OVATV—their confidence levels in local and provincial government match or surpass non-beneficiaries.

The following charts show these comparisons at both the local and provincial level. Each chart begins with the overall confidence rates of listeners and non-listeners, followed by disaggregated data from OVATV listeners whose responses to program quality questions indicated high interest and engagement with the radio drama, including those who: 1) reported having ‘listened to most episodes’, 2) rated OVATV program quality as ‘very good’, 3) had previously recommended the program to family or friends, and 4) felt their knowledge of conflict resolution had ‘improved a lot’ after listening to OVATV.

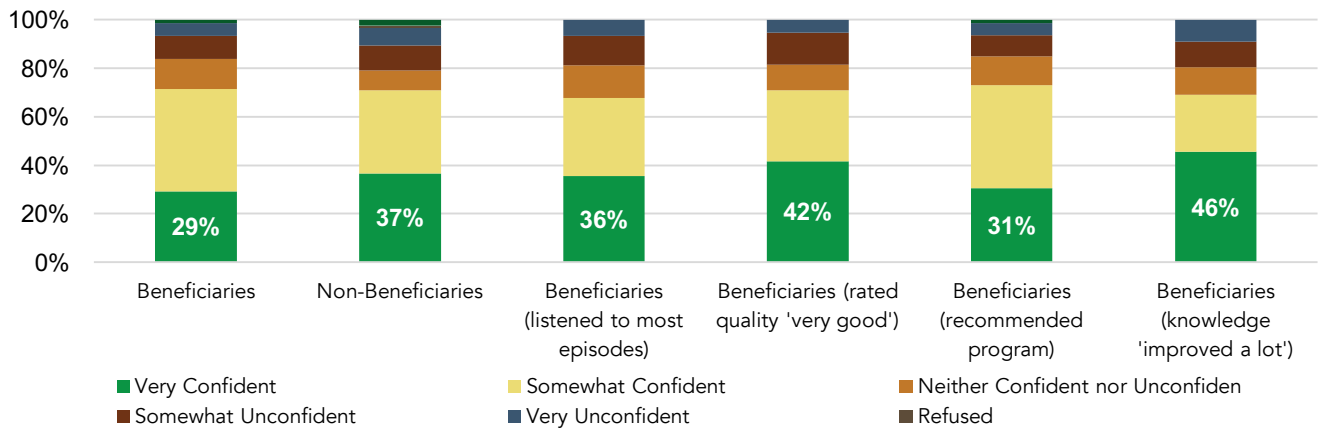
Of note, on average, 70-71% of respondents, regardless of disaggregation, were very or somewhat confident in the ability of local and provincial government to resolve disputes.

5.2.1 Confidence in Local Government to Resolve Disputes

In total, 37% (333/908) of non-beneficiaries were ‘very confident’ in the ability of local government to resolve future disputes, compared to 29% (84/287) of beneficiaries. However, among beneficiaries who reported listening to most episodes, 36% were confident in the local government’s abilities. 42% of those who rated OVATV program quality as ‘very good’ were confident in local government.

Most substantially, 46% of beneficiaries who reported that their knowledge of conflict resolution had ‘improved a lot’ were ‘very confident’ in their local government’s ability to resolve future disputes.

Confidence in Local Government, Beneficiaries v. Non-Beneficiaries

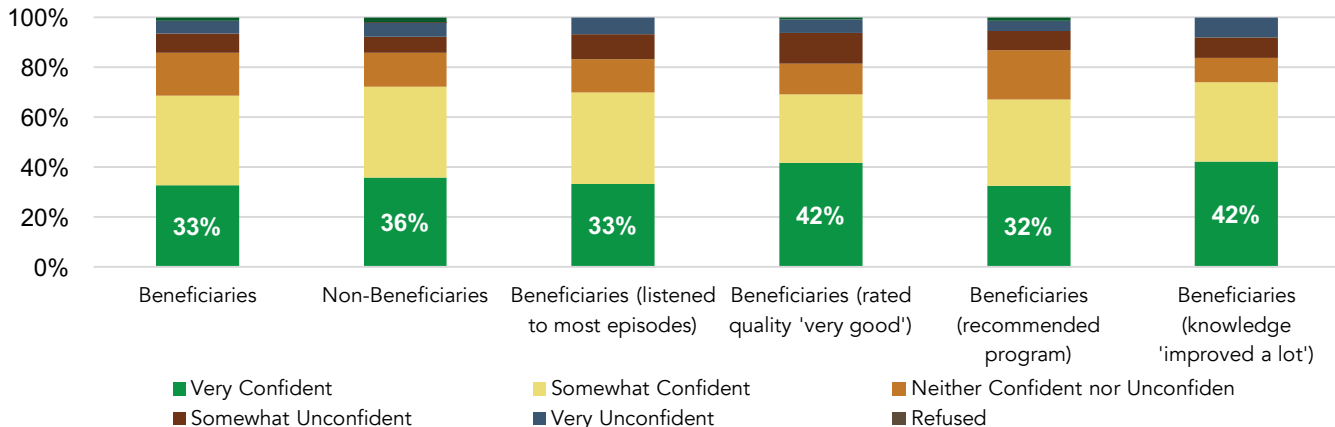


5.2.2 Confidence in Provincial Government to Resolve Disputes

Beneficiary confidence in provincial level government was slightly higher than confidence in local government, at 33% (94/287). Among those who ‘listened to most episodes’ and those that had recommended OVATV to family or friends, confidence rates remained in line with overall rates for beneficiaries, at 33% and 32% respectively.

However, among beneficiaries who rated the program quality as ‘very good’ and felt their knowledge had ‘improved a lot’, confidence levels in provincial government were at 42%, notably higher than those of non-beneficiaries (36% (325/908) confidence).

Confidence in Provincial Government, Beneficiaries v. Non-Beneficiaries



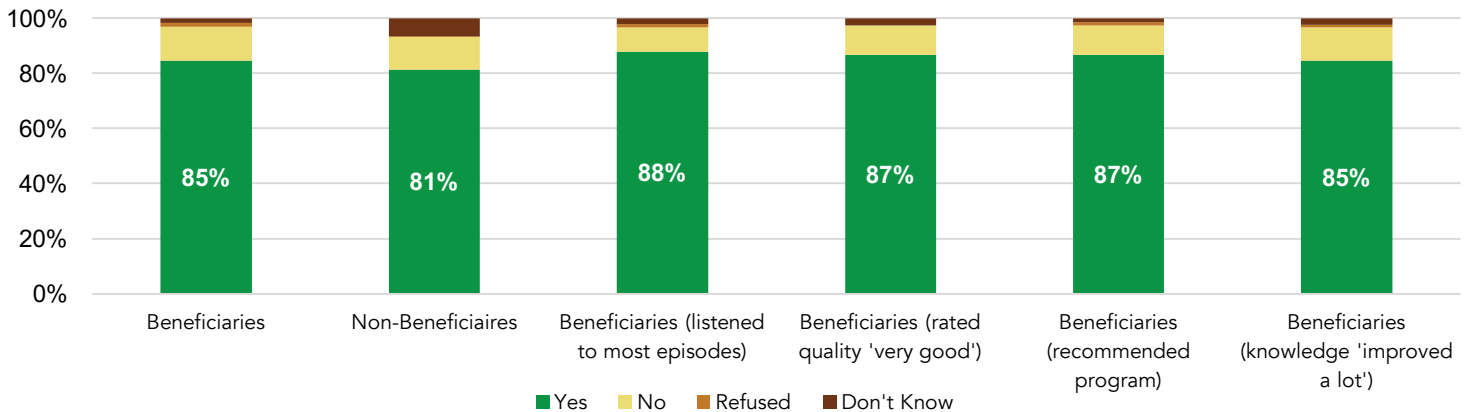
5.3 Use of Formal & Informal Institutions for Dispute Resolution

Both beneficiary and non-beneficiaries continue to support informal—or traditional—dispute resolution institutions, such as local shuras, for certain disputes, and formal institutions, such as government courts, for others. These findings are thoroughly supported by qualitative data, which indicates that **Afghans have a clear preference for first attempting to resolve disputes through the most local option available.**

Furthermore, OVATV listeners are more likely to agree that both formal and informal institutions are necessary than non-beneficiaries, at 85% and 81% respectively. An interesting difference in the data presented in the following chart is that the proportion of non-beneficiaries who ‘don’t know’ is at 5%, while among OVATV listeners, it is less than 2%, with that difference largely transferring to positive responses to the prompt.

As OVATV often highlights the important role local institutions can play in resolving disputes, it is unsurprising that those who listen most frequently view informal dispute resolution institutions as integral in resolution processes.

Believes some disputes should only be solved by informal institutions, and others only by formal institutions, Beneficiaries v Non-Beneficiaries

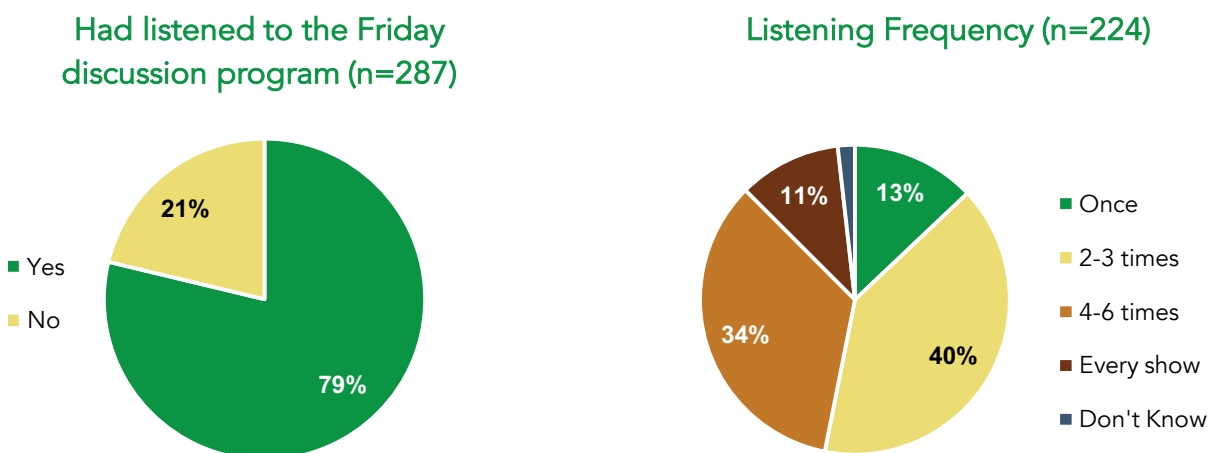


5.4 OVATV Discussion Program & Listening Circles

In addition to the radio drama, OVATV also provided listeners with a weekly discussion component. Each Friday, rule of law experts were available for a phone-in question and answer session with OVATV listeners. Responses indicate that these interactive program components significantly and positively impact KAP of listeners across a variety of issues, as the following two sections will highlight.

5.4.1 Discussion Program Findings

Survey results indicate that most OVATV listeners tune into the discussion program on a regular basis. In total, 79% (226/287) of listeners had listened to the Friday discussion program at least once, with 74% (167/226) reporting that they listened between 2-6 times.

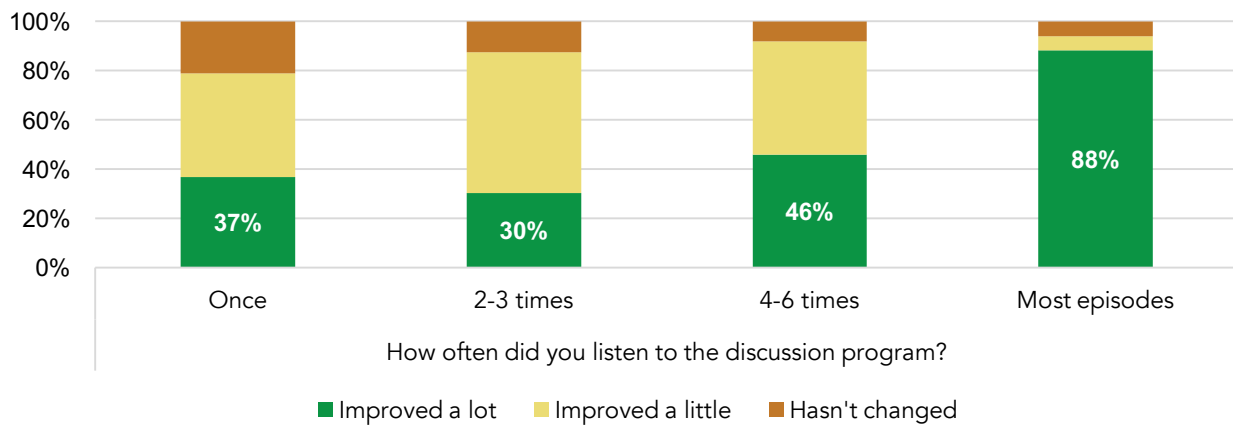


The majority (86%, 193/224) of discussion listeners thought the quality of this program component was either 'good' or 'very good'. However, just over half of respondents reported that the program was only 'good'. Opinion of program quality also appears to be directly correlated with the listeners' likeliness to recommend the program to family or friends, as roughly the same proportion of listeners who rated the program quality highly had also recommended it (83%, 185/224). No qualitative opinions of the discussion program were available.

Another important relationship exists between exposure to the OVATV discussion program and conflict resolution knowledge. Illiterate listeners constituted 58% (130/226) of those who tuned into the Friday discussion program, and as the following chart shows, the discussion program had a significant, positive impact on conflict resolution knowledge ($p=.005$).

The discussion program allows listeners an opportunity to ask questions and gain further understanding and knowledge of program concepts; among illiterate listeners, who may not have the underlying knowledge to fully comprehend RoL concepts through a single episode exposure, this seems to be vitally important. Furthermore, as illiterate Afghans are both the largest OVATV listening group and the largest education demographic nationally, **the discussion program can play a significant role in closing knowledge gaps between more and less educated listeners.**

Knowledge Change x Discussion Program Listening Frequency, Illiterate Listeners (n=130)

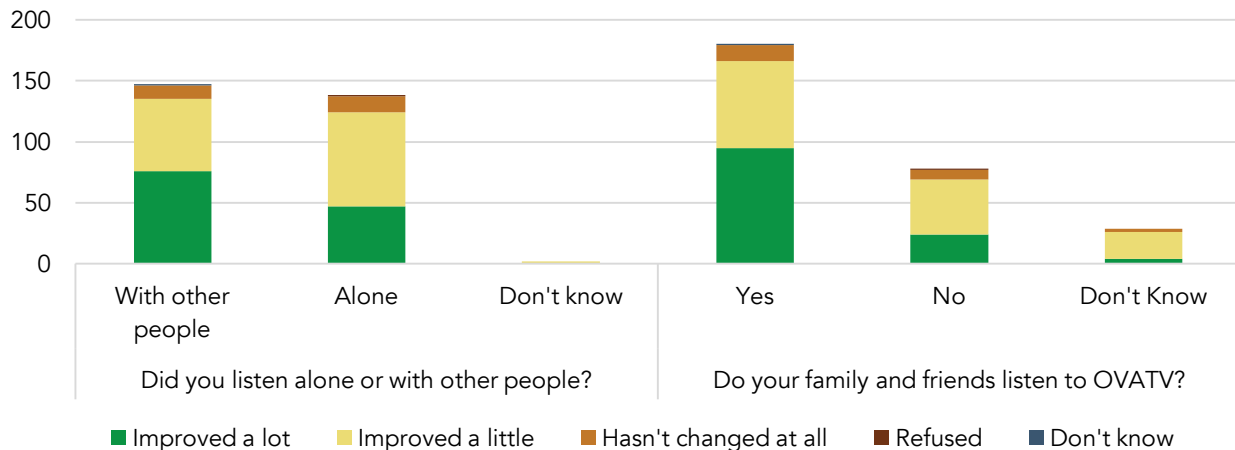


5.4.2 Listening Circle Findings

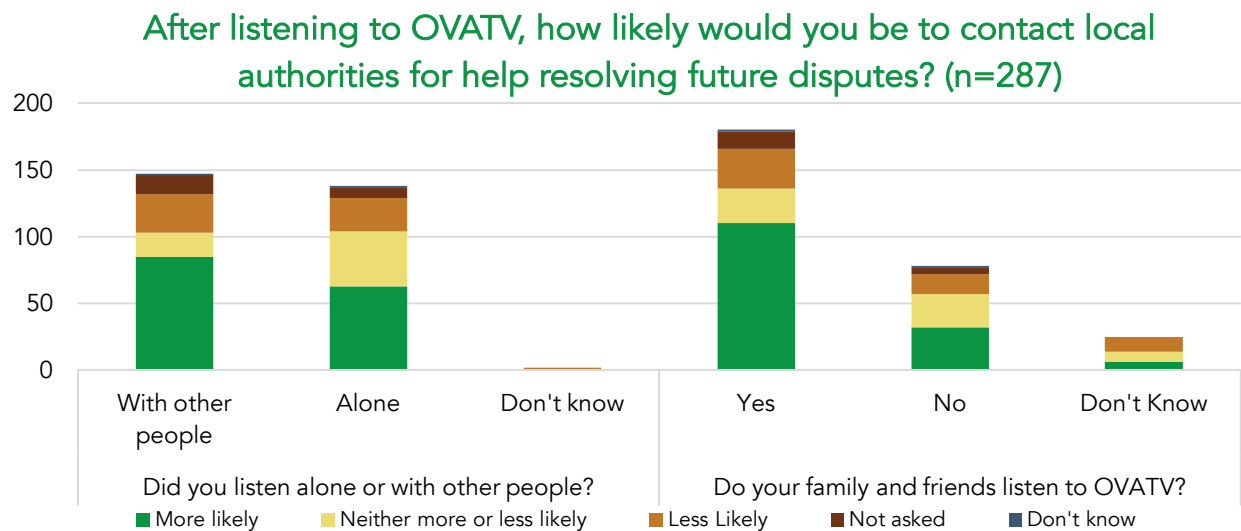
When asked if they had listened alone or with other people the last time they tuned into OVATV, just over half indicated that they had listened with others (51%, 147/287), of which the average listener was with 6 other people. Additionally, 63% (180/287) indicated that their friends and family also listened to OVATV in the last two years. One of the most important findings of the analysis is the correlation between whether a beneficiary listens to OVATV with others and their perceived increase in knowledge of conflict resolution.

Beneficiaries who reported listening to OVATV with other people were significantly more likely to indicate that their knowledge of conflict resolution had ‘increased a lot’ ($p=.025$). Even more significant, those who reported that their family and friends also listened to OVATV also indicated that their knowledge of conflict resolution had ‘increased a lot’ ($p=.01$). The following graphs provide a visualization of these findings.

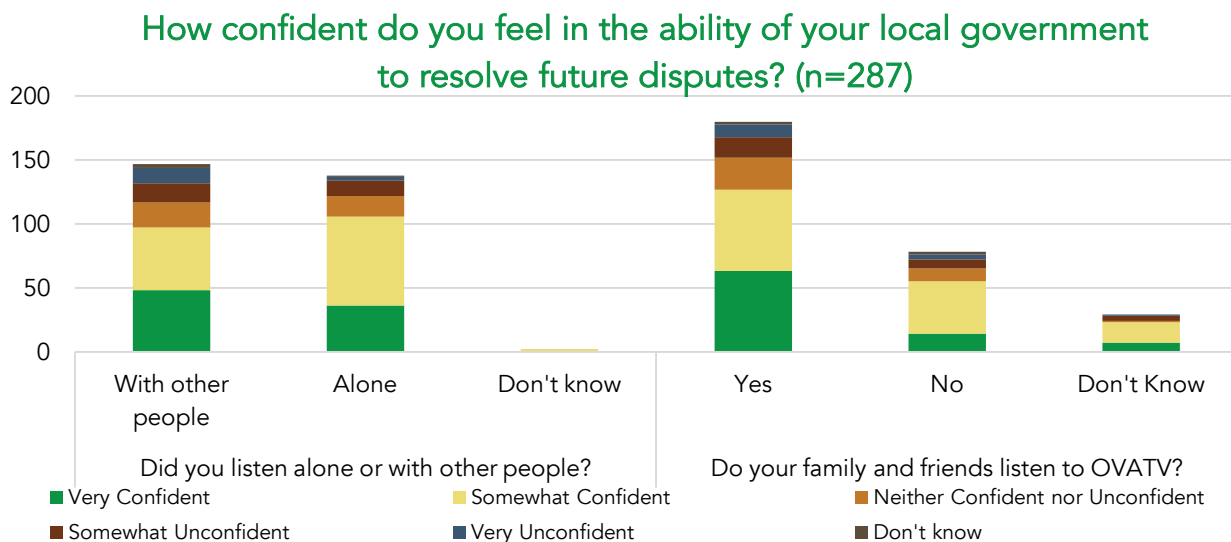
How has your knowledge of conflict resolution changed since listening to OVATV? (n=287)



In addition, listeners were also significantly more likely to contact local authorities for help resolving a future dispute if they listened to OVATV with other people or if their family and friends also listened to OVATV ($p=.001$).



Similarly, those who listened with others and whose family and friends had listened to OVATV were more likely to be ‘very confident’ in the ability of their local government to resolve future disputes (family/friends, $p=.05$).



These findings suggest that communal listening of OVATV—and potentially other programs—increases internalization of program concepts and messages. While multiple factors could explain this correlation, it is possible that this is the result of increased opportunity for discussion. While this will be explored more thoroughly in the counterfactual assessment, **OVATV’s potentially most significant contribution is that it creates a space and opportunity for listeners to discuss issues that might otherwise not be publicly addressed, and thus changed, due to traditional social norms.**

6 Behavior

Beyond changes in knowledge, attitude, and perceptions of rule of law and available dispute resolution institutions, OVATV seeks to impact on the behavior of listeners. This ranges from improving utilization of government institutions, such as law enforcement and judicial bodies, to encouraging sustainable mechanisms to increase participation of marginalized groups, particularly women and youth, in community decision-making.

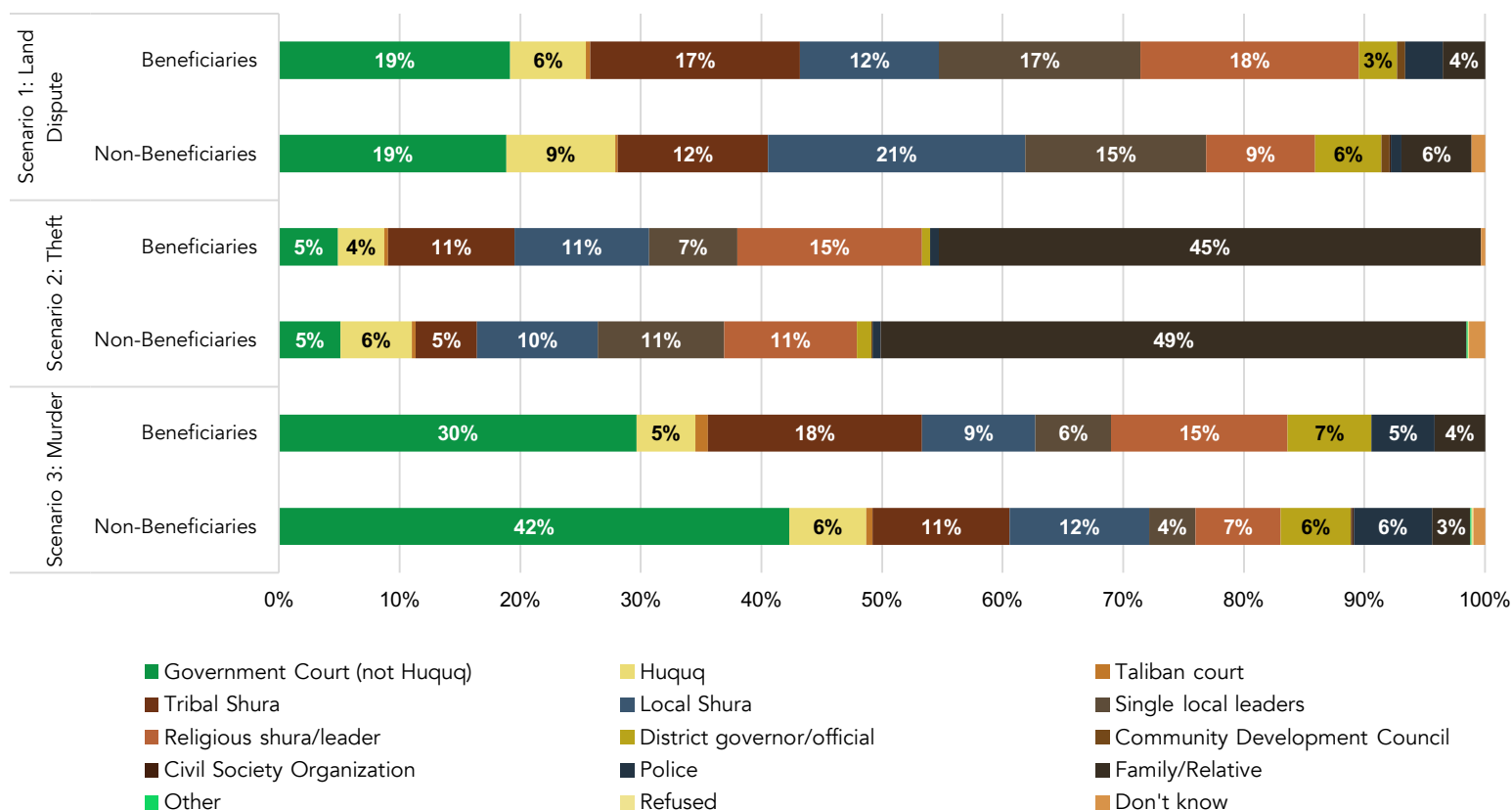
This section highlights the ways in which beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries would interact with dispute resolution institutions based on hypothetical cases, followed by personal experiences with conflict and dispute resolution institutions over the course of the preceding 3 years.

6.1 Situational Response Exercise

The surveyed population was presented with a series of hypothetical situations relating to the rule of law in order to assess how beneficiaries would approach a range of conflict situations and how those responses differ from non-beneficiaries.

In the first scenario, two farmers were engaged in a land dispute; in the second, two women were involved in a situation of possible theft; and in the third, two men argued over the ownership of a rifle resulting in the death of one man. The following charts compare the answers of the sample population and those who had listened to OVATV.

Where would you recommend the involved parties go to resolve their dispute?



All respondents showed a clear preference for formal or informal institutions depending on the severity of the dispute. The most and least serious scenarios (a murder and the possible theft of earrings) resulted in responses skewed toward a single resolution institution, while the scenario involving a serious, though not grave, situation (land dispute), resulted in more varied responses. Notably, in all three scenarios, OVATV listeners were more likely than non-beneficiaries to recommend a resolution involving a religious shura or leader.

These findings align with qualitative interviews, where respondents provided more detailed reasons for their preference of bottom-up resolution—primarily that it is cost- and time-effective, that distrust of government impartiality exists due to corruption, and perhaps most importantly, because Afghans see traditional resolution as more compromise and consensus-based, leading to more sustainable solutions.

In addition to such qualitative assessments by listeners, analysis of any RoL initiative in the Afghan context should consider the role of protracted conflict and insecurity on the development of justice systems in the country. Due to a historical lack of consistent governance mechanisms, RoL has largely been based on tribal and religious custom, an aspect of Afghan life, both public and private, that will likely continue to hold importance for the foreseeable future.

Scenario 1: Land Dispute

In the first scenario, the non-beneficiaries were most likely to suggest the farmers resolve their dispute with the help of a local shura (21%, 194/908), followed closely by a government court (19%, 171/908). Beneficiaries, while equally inclined to suggest the dispute be resolved by a government court (19%, 55/287), would recommend a religious shura (18%, 52/287), tribal shura (17%, 50/287), or the counsel of a single local leader (17%, 48/287) before taking such a dispute to a local shura (12%, 33/287). Meanwhile, although non-beneficiaries were more likely to suggest an informal or traditional resolution mechanism over other formal avenues (local leader, 15%; tribal shura, 12%), they were significantly less likely to resolve the dispute in a religious shura (9%, 82/908, compared to 18% of OVATV listeners).

Scenario 2: Theft

The overwhelming majority of both non-beneficiaries and beneficiaries suggested the dispute presented in the second scenario be resolved by the involved families, with 49% (441/908) of beneficiaries and 45% (129/287) of OVATV listeners most recommending a familial resolution. The second most-recommended resolution body for both demographics was a religious shura, at 11% (100/908) of non-beneficiaries and 15% (44/287) of OVATV listeners. Neither group was likely to highly recommend any formal dispute resolution institutions, with government and district courts, police, and huquqs receiving less than 6% of responses in all cases.

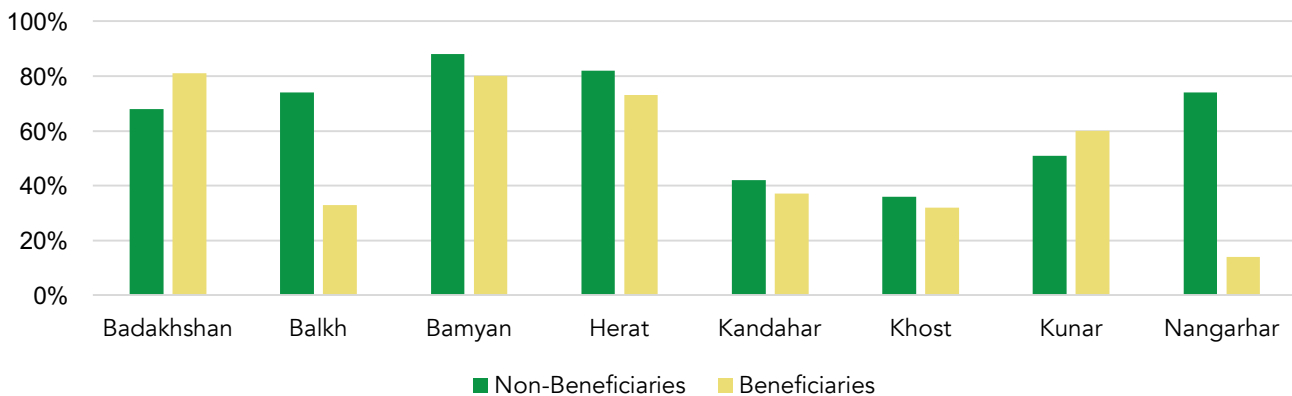
Scenario 3: Murder

The most extreme situation presented to survey participants involved the murder of one of the parties to a dispute over a rifle. As with scenario 2, respondents showed some

degree of preference for one form of resolution over the others. In total, 42% (384/908) of non-beneficiaries recommended the dispute be taken to a government court, while 30% (85/287) of OVATV listeners recommended the same. After a government court, beneficiaries were most likely to suggest the issue be resolved by either a tribal (18%, 51/287) or religious (15%, 42/287) shura.

While the largest proportion of respondents suggested a formal institution, indicating an awareness of the gravity of the situation and the importance of formal rule of law in adjudicating under the circumstances, less than one-third of beneficiaries felt this was the best resolution option.

Selected a formal resolution mechanisms for Scenario 3



While overall preferences for formal resolution institutions were very similar across most provinces, as depicted in the graph, the following areas showed clearest preference for either a tribal or religious shura as means of resolution:

Tribal Shura

In Khost, 54% of non-beneficiaries and 50% of beneficiaries recommended the dispute be resolved in a tribal shura. Similar results occurred in Kunar, with 40% of non-beneficiaries and 30% of beneficiaries recommending tribal shuras. In both instances, although preference towards informal measures was much more pronounced than in other provinces, beneficiaries were 5% more likely to recommend government resolution. In Nangarhar, however, 40% of beneficiaries, compared to only 26% of non-beneficiaries, suggested a tribal resolution.

Religious Shura

Recommendations for religious shuras were much more likely among beneficiaries in Balkh, Bamyan, and Nangarhar. In Balkh, 25% of beneficiaries recommended a religious resolution, compared to just 4% of non-beneficiaries; in Bamyan, 20% of beneficiaries and 3% of non-beneficiaries similarly recommended a religious shura. Finally, beneficiary Nangarharis, who were the least likely overall to recommend formal resolution mechanisms, suggested a religious shura at a rate of 41%, compared to 18% of non-beneficiaries.

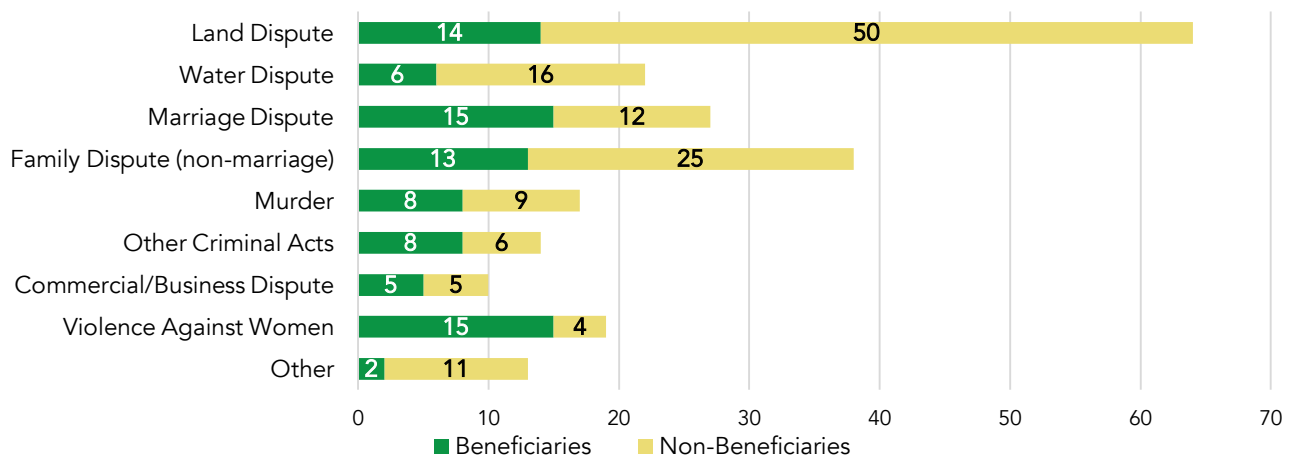
6.2 Personal Involvement in Disputes

Of the total sample population, 19% (227/1195) had been involved in a dispute in the last three years, of which, 38% (86/227) were OVATV listeners. The following chart shows the proportion of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries involved in each type of dispute.

According to the data, beneficiaries make up a disproportionately large amount of those involved in disputes concerning violence against women (79%, 15/19), marriage (55%, 15/27), other criminal acts (57%, 8/14), and murder (47%, 8/17). Furthermore, while women account for only 44% of total beneficiaries, they represent 52% of those who had been involved in disputes, having been involved in 100% (8/8) of murder disputes, 87% (15/17) of violence against women disputes, 73% (11/15) of marriage disputes, and half (4/8) of other criminal disputes.

Though data does not point to any direct explanations for these imbalances, it is theoretically plausible that beneficiaries are more likely to involve themselves in disputes than non-beneficiaries, who have been exposed to fewer models for resolution. In short, it could be possible that listening to a program that emphasizes personal responsibility in resolving community disputes results in exactly that.

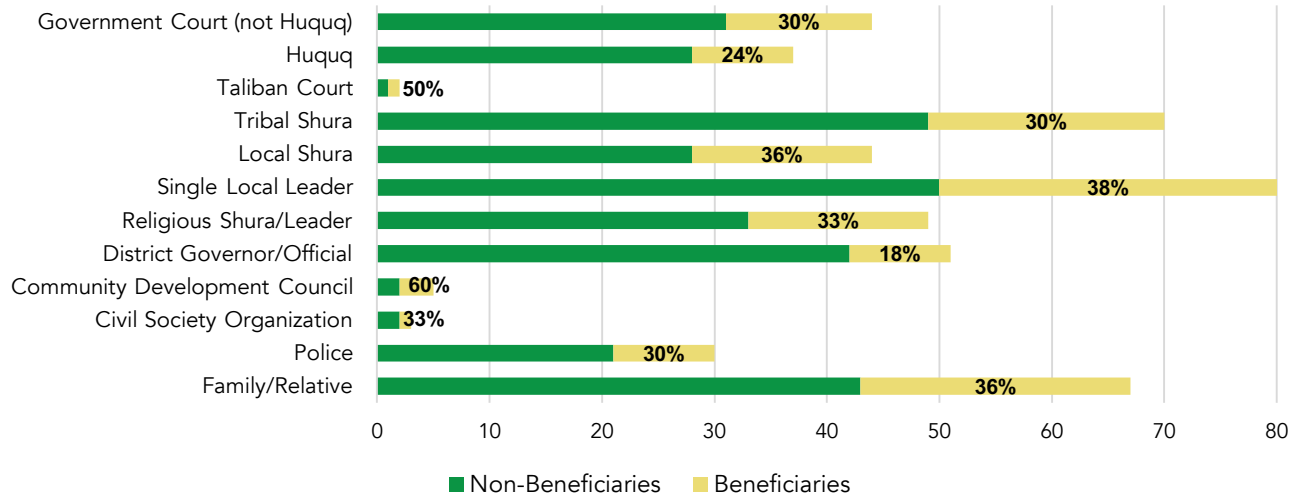
Types of disputes respondents were involved in (n=227)



Survey respondents were then asked to identify the institutions they used to resolve their dispute. The 227 respondents who had been involved in a dispute in the past 3 years reported a total of 482 interactions with dispute resolution institutions, of which, 32% (152/482) were made by program beneficiaries. Overall, Afghans were most likely to seek assistance from a single local leader (17%, 80/482), a tribal shura (15%, 70/482), or a family member (14%, 67/482).

In general, beneficiaries interacted with institutions at anticipated rates. As roughly 40% of those involved in disputes were beneficiaries, it would be expected that OVATV listeners would constitute roughly 40% of the total sample for each type of dispute resolution institution used. As the table depicts, beneficiaries constituted between 30-40% of the total sample in all but three institution types: Taliban courts, community development councils and district governors/officials, of which interactions with the former two were far too low to have any significance in reporting.

Type of dispute resolution institution used



Interestingly, the data seems to indicate that program beneficiaries are for some reason disinclined to interact with district officials for dispute resolution. In addition to the data in the preceding graph, wherein beneficiaries accounted for just 18% (9/42) of disputes resolved using a district governor or official, beneficiaries were far less likely than non-beneficiaries to describe resolution experience involving district officials as positive, with exact findings highlighted below. Whether this is in some way impacted by OVATV is not addressed in either quantitative or qualitative data, but as beneficiaries were generally far more satisfied with other forms of resolution, it is worth noting.

Finally, those involved in a dispute in the last three years were asked if their resolution experience was positive or negative, with findings indicating that beneficiaries were notably more likely than non-beneficiaries to describe their experience as positive.

According to survey results, beneficiaries were much more satisfied with their resolution experiences with government courts, tribal shuras, and local shuras than non-beneficiaries. Interactions with tribal shuras showed the largest margins (28%), with 95% of beneficiaries describing their experience as positive, compared to only 67% of non-beneficiaries. Beneficiaries also viewed government court and local shura more positively.

Overall, beneficiaries thought experiences with only two types of institutions to be more negative than perceived by non-beneficiaries. First, beneficiaries were slightly less inclined to describe resolution experiences with family as positive, at 79%, compared to 81% of non-listeners. The second, as previously mentioned, concerned experiences with district governors or officials, to which only 33% of beneficiaries described their resolution experience as positive, compared to 55% of non-beneficiaries.

6.2.1 Underutilization of Formal Institutions

Finally, 80% (182/227) of those previously involved in a dispute did not go to the local authorities to resolve their dispute, of whom 44% (80/182) were program beneficiaries. Respondents who identified as having recently been involved in a dispute but who didn't utilize formal resolution mechanisms were asked why they didn't interact with local authorities.

Findings indicate that OVATV listeners were much more knowledgeable about who to contact in the event of a dispute and were less likely to view local authorities as corrupt, compared to both their anticipated response rate and to non-listeners, who exceeded anticipated response rates.

While such positive outcomes may be attributable to knowledge gained through OVATV, it's also important to note that listeners were disproportionately unaware of whether their issue could be resolved by a government body. While the anticipated response rate for beneficiaries was 20% (16/80), one-third (26/80) didn't know their issue could be resolved formally. In comparison, only 11% (11/102) of non-beneficiaries didn't know their dispute could be resolved formally.



Interestingly, among the most frequent listeners, awareness of the ability of formal institutions to resolve disputes increases. Although the disaggregation becomes too small for any clear significance, the trends in the following graph are nevertheless interesting.



While these findings may indicate that OVATV can improve awareness and knowledge, it does not explain why beneficiaries, at any point in their listenership, would be less informed than non-beneficiaries. If anything, **this may indicate serious unintended knowledge deficits produced by the program itself. Most importantly, that multi-episode story arcs disadvantage infrequent listeners, resulting in potential confusion among those who cannot consistently access OVATV.**

These findings also indicate that perceptions of corruption, fairness, and effectiveness are not necessarily impacted by programming; on the contrary, frequent listeners seem to be more concerned about issues of government corruption and effectiveness than non-listeners.

7 Effectiveness

The goal in evaluating *One Village, A Thousand Voices* is to determine the extent of behavioral, knowledge, and attitude changes among listeners. In terms of behavioral change, Sayara evaluated whether change occurred in the following areas of OVATV effectiveness:

- Youth involvement in community change and decision-making
- Women’s involvement in community change and decision-making
- Respect for Rule of Law
- Beneficiary self-advocacy for proper Rule of Law practices

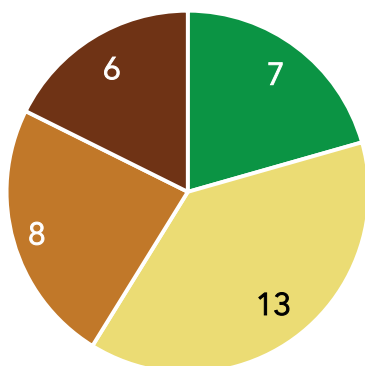
Additionally, the evaluation seeks to understand whether OVATV was an effective model for Rule of Law procedure, with both beneficiaries and government officials acting in accordance with the drama; whether power-holders advanced human rights and other legal standards; and finally, the effectiveness of the program’s call-in and listening circle components.

Sayara also compared the knowledge and attitudes of both listeners and non-listeners, to determine the extent of variance between the groups as well as how and if any observable difference can be attributed to OVATV.

7.2 Youth Involvement: Community Change & Decision-Making

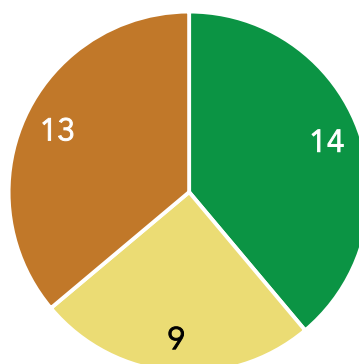
Youth (14-19 years old) constituted 12.5% (36/287) of OVATV listeners. The following tables depict the frequency that youth listened to OVATV, their rating of the program, and whether they have previously recommended it to family or friends. In general, youth do not deviate significantly from overall beneficiary perceptions of OVATV.

How often did you listen to OVATV? (n=36)



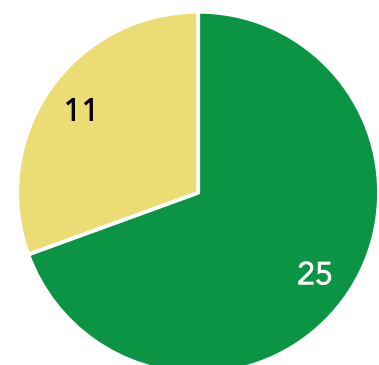
■ Once
■ 4-6 times
■ 2-3 times
■ Almost all shows

How would you rate the OVATV program? (n=36)



■ Very Good
■ Good
■ Fair

Have you recommended OVATV to family/friends? (n=36)



■ Yes
■ No

Changes in Knowledge, Attitude, and Behavior

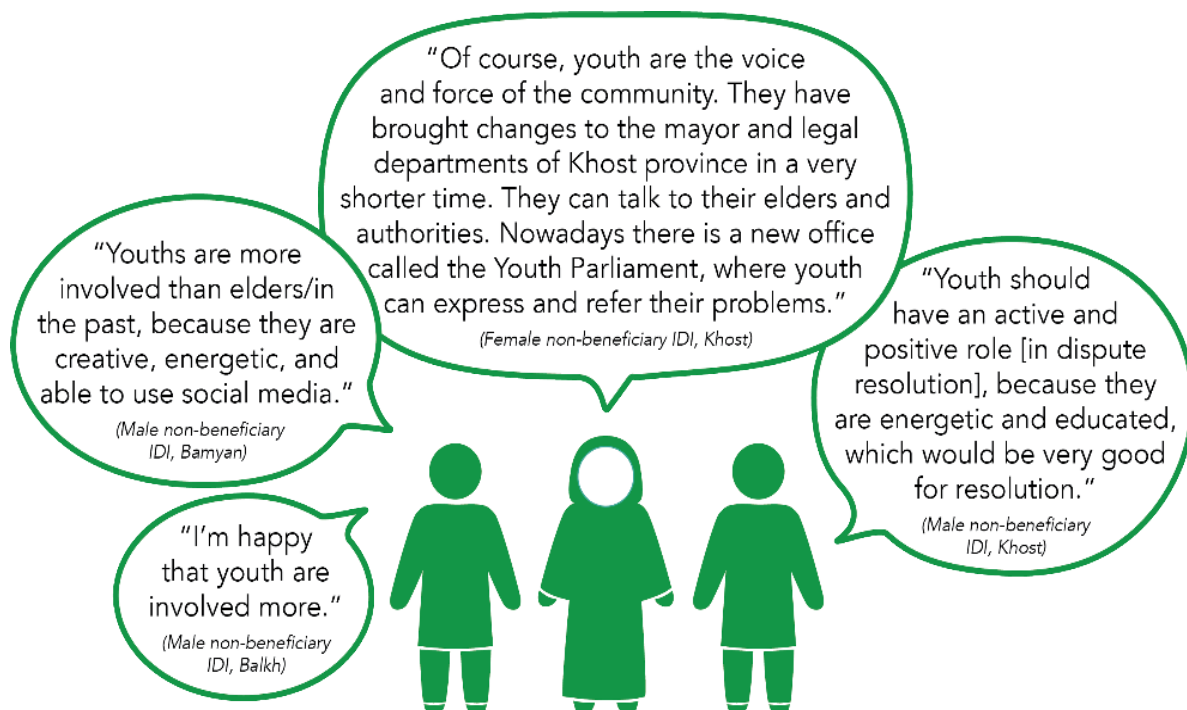
Overall, 97% (35/36) of youth indicated that they had experienced some change in their knowledge of conflict resolution; 33% (12/36) felt their knowledge had improved a lot, 64% (23/36) saw ‘a little’ improvement. Furthermore, 49% (17/35) were more likely to contact their local authorities to resolve a dispute after listening to OVATV, while 23% (8/35) were less likely to do so.

Compared to non-beneficiaries in the same age range, OVATV listeners were less likely to indicate high confidence in local or provincial government, with 28% (10/36) responding they were very confident in both local and provincial governments, compared to non-beneficiaries, of which 48% (56/116) were very confident in local government and 44% (51/116) were very confident in provincial government.

However, more broadly speaking, beneficiary youth were more confident overall in local government, as 86% (31/36) were somewhat or very confident, compared to 76% (88/116) of non-beneficiaries. Overall confidence in provincial government was relatively equal (67% beneficiaries, 70% non-beneficiaries). While these differences appear substantial, differences in youth perceptions of government between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries are statistically insignificant.

Non-Beneficiaries

Most notable are qualitative results—both the perceptions of adult community members and self-reflective views of youth. In most provinces, youth were either engaged in dispute resolution or showed high willingness to engage. In Badakhshan, an IDI with a 30-year-old male beneficiary indicated that youth have become more engaged in resolution processes in their community since listening to OVATV. Furthermore, youth in this



community appeared to use OVATV as a sort of ‘what not to do’ guide, avoiding OVATV-depicted situations that resulted in trouble for young people.

Across most provinces, youth were considered more involved by both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Male non-beneficiaries in Balkh, Bamyan, and Khost reported that youth involvement had brought positive changes to their communities.

Beneficiaries

While non-beneficiary interviews indicate that youth involvement in community decision-making and dispute resolution is generally welcomed, conversations with OVATV beneficiaries provided valuable insight into how youth involvement increased and how they think OVATV facilitated this change. Increased youth engagement was generally attributed to improved knowledge of rights and better understanding of dispute resolution procedure. IDIs with male and female beneficiaries in Kandahar, Khost, and Badakhshan described how these changes occurred and their impact on youth behavior.

“Youth take part in resolving disputes in our society, which has been very much affected [by OVATV]. [There are] big changes, because fighting has decreased compared to the past.”

-- Female beneficiary IDI, Badakhshan

“Before youth didn’t know where to refer their problems and how to solve their problems. Now they know who [to talk to] and where to solve their problems. Youth now know to save themselves from activities that are not good for their behavior. Now they want to know their rights and responsibilities, so that they can bring a bit of change to their village.

It had good and positive changes over youth in finding the root of the problem and resolving it in a mutually satisfying manner. They also know how to refer the dispute to government institutions to be solved.”

-- Male beneficiary IDI, Kandahar

“It [OVATV] had a positive impact on youth and has encouraged them to defend their rights, become educated, meet with community councils and media, serve their country, prevent drug addiction, and pay attention to their health by doing physical exercises.”

-- Female beneficiary IDI, Kandahar

“Youth and women are now more aware of their rights.”

-- Male beneficiary IDI, Khost

Khawre, a male beneficiary from Mirbazar, Kandahar, provided an especially illustrative story of OVATV impact on youth within his community, and in return, how youth engagement has benefitted the community:

The most significant change [I've witnessed in relation to OVATV] was the creation of a regional council, where not only men, but also women could participate. In addition, this regional council (Shura) caused two parties to set aside their animosity and start being friends in one neighborhood, which both were big changes. It has also changed my thoughts regarding Shuras as well, since I had thought Shuras made unequal and partial decisions regarding disputes, yet it wasn't the case.

It was very important to me because these changes were the result of youth efforts. When all youth get together, they can bring big changes. If I hadn't heard the program [OVATV], I wouldn't have changed in such a short time or such a need might not have arisen.

Khawre's description, above, also lends support to the possibility that OVATV listeners report greater levels of dispute involvement because they approach conflict proactively. In his case, Khawre describes a situation in which greater involvement in informal resolution mechanisms meant that more conflicts were solvable using both new and pre-existing institutions.

While outside opinions of youth involvement were overall positive and encouraging, focus group discussions with youth in Bamyan indicate that while positive changes have occurred, many voices in Afghanistan continue to be silenced. Male youth in Bamyan were in consensus regarding their desire to participate in community decision-making and conflict resolution, however they are often excluded because they are "not allowed by society" due to their age.

Despite these restrictions, youth—as well as other across the various observed provinces—regularly noted that even if they do not formally participate in community affairs, they regularly give advice to friends, family, and classmates and seek to address the root causes of the disputes they witness.

Female students in several provinces, particularly Nangarhar, told interviewers about the variety of ways in which they helped resolve conflicts, from marriage and engagement issues to conflicts between classmates, family land disputes and challenging domestic dynamics. Likewise, many young men also reported assisting where and whenever possible. Habibul, a 12th grade student in Khost, highlights an important role young men in his community play:

We have not been able to render decisions as we are young, but we have been assisting the elders in writing and drafting documents. We have been mostly helping settle disputes about land and as youngsters with education, we have been able to draft documentations with the consent of the involved parties and the elders and have given it for their thumb print to seal the document.

Another student in the area, Mazhar, also in 12th grade, shared several experiences wherein he played an integral role in the resolution of conflict within his community. And although these stories are anecdotal, they represent a narrative that was consistent among OVATV beneficiaries: youth are a vital part of community progress and peacebuilding.

In my tribe, we had a fight over the mountain and I motivated my people to end the dispute and talk things over instead of starting a physical brawl every other week. It is a good thing to bring peace between the communities, and although the conflict is still going on, luckily there are no more physical brawls and the elders are eager to solve them.

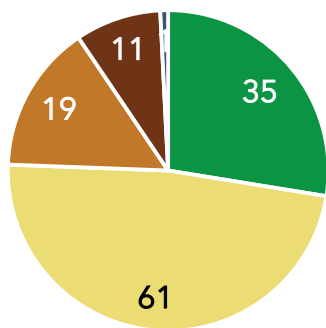
Two people who were fighting over a vehicle, so I sat down with them and drafted a letter that solved their problem and they were happy with my decision. The other issues were primarily related to land disputes and water disputes.

7.3 Women’s Involvement: Community Change & Decision-Making

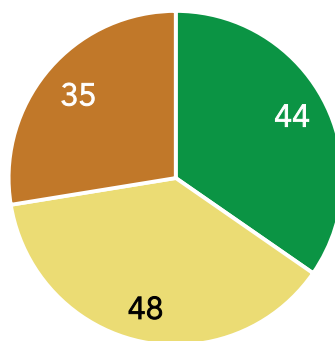
Women’s engagement with OVATV, their engagement in community decision-making and dispute resolution, and perceptions of the roles and rights of women by beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries provides narratives of both female empowerment and complete inequality. However, analysis of OVATV indicates that while there is still substantial room for improvement regarding gender messaging, substantial progress has been attributed to OVATV by beneficiaries themselves.

Females constituted 44% (127/287) of OVATV listeners. The following tables depict the frequency that females listened to OVATV, their rating of the program, and whether they had previously recommended it to family or friends. As previously indicated, females generally listened to OVATV less frequently than men, yet were considerably more likely to recommend the show to family or friends.

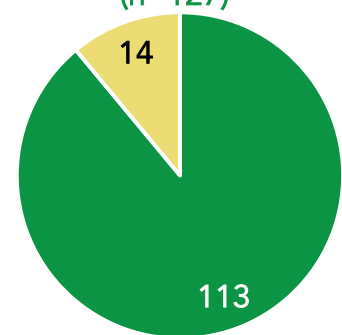
How often did you listen to OVATV? (n=127)



How would you rate the OVATV program? (n=127)



Have you recommended OVATV to family/friends? (n=127)



■ Once
■ 4-6 times
■ Don't Know
■ 2-3 times
■ Almost all shows

■ Very good
■ Good
■ Fair

■ Yes
■ No

Changes in Knowledge, Attitude, and Behavior

Overall, 87% (111/127) of female respondents indicated that they had experienced some change in their knowledge of conflict resolution as a result of listening to OVATV; 33% (42/127) felt their knowledge had improved a lot and 54% (69/127) saw ‘a little’ improvement. Less than half of female listeners (43%, 54/127) reported that they would be more likely to contact local authorities in the event of a future dispute, however, 23 (18%) female respondents indicated that they ‘didn’t know’ whether they would be more or less likely to do so.

Women’s confidence in the ability of local and provincial government to resolve disputes was generally high, with 78% (99/127) overall confidence in local government ability and 67% (85/127) overall confidence in provincial government. This difference between local and provincial confidence fits well with qualitative data, wherein the consensus among Afghans appears to be that dispute resolution is a bottom-up process. With this as a frame of reference, it’s unsurprising that confidence decreases as disputes are referred to more distant resolution bodies (i.e. local council > district government > provincial government).

Non-beneficiaries, on the other hand, were equally confident in both local and provincial government abilities in resolving disputes, at 75% (323/431) and 74% (319/431) respectively. This difference between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries, while interesting, provides no statistical significance.

Qualitative data collection revealed that Afghans across all observed provinces identify unequal or harmful treatment of women—particularly forced marriages—as well as violence against women more broadly, as key causes of conflict within their communities. The following sections will explore both listener and non-listener perceptions of women and girls in society, as well as opinions from women and girls themselves.

Non-Beneficiaries

Like responses collected from qualitative interviews regarding youth, non-beneficiaries generally welcomed the idea of increased rights and equality for women and girls in society. Additionally, several comments indicated that although they think women deserve better treatment, they remain inferior to males. IDIs with male non-beneficiaries in Kandahar and Khost shared this sentiment with particular clarity, saying “**women have no involvement in resolution and decision-making, even if they were granted the right, they couldn’t perform it successfully**” (Khost). In Kandahar, the interviewee didn’t see women as capable mediators in conflict, but still felt they “should have the right to express their opinions” regarding marriage issues.

Perhaps the most commonly expressed view, particularly by men, was that they generally welcomed the establishment of women’s councils—as depicted in the OVATV treatment session—or referred positively to such councils that already existed within their communities. Though these sentiments demonstrate incrementally greater inclusion, this mind-set is still entrenched in traditional gender norms, where equality is separately administered.

While some male interviewees continued to adhere to more traditional gender roles, just as many male and female interviewees advocated for more robust standards of gender equality. A female IDI interviewee in Bamyan emphasized the importance of civil society networks in engaging with women. These comments were supported by Bamyani female FGD participants, who spoke extensively about the important role civil society networks had played in engaging them in social activism. Similarly, a male interviewee felt women could network and collaborate as youth did, utilizing social media and women’s networks in order to have greater participation in decision-making.

Beneficiaries

Beneficiaries most commonly noted the knowledge change among females, with some interviewees commenting that the biggest changes attributable to OVATV were improved knowledge and awareness of the rights of women.



In addition, the ability of beneficiary interviewees to point to specific examples of behavior change provides support for OVATV effectiveness, particularly as non-beneficiaries generally did not make such connections. For example, a recently graduated female student in Balkh, whose dream is to **“be a hero for the women of Afghanistan... [to] be the voice for the tortured women of Afghanistan”**, provided the following example of change to her involvement in her community:

“Previously girls were not permitted to go out for learning, but I could change the rule and the thoughts of our men and paved the path for the rest of girls in our tribe. Now most of the girls can go to school or learning centers without any prohibition by their families.”

As previously mentioned, Bamyani female FGD participants discussed positive experiences with civil society networking, contributing some of their engagement to the existence of these networks and their outreach efforts.

Back three years ago until now, a lot of changes have been made. I did not have any idea about rule-of-law, and accepted what the elders of our village decided. However, we now have knowledge about rule-of-law.

– Nasiba Ibrahimi, FGD participant, Bamyani

Most Significant Change

Most significant change sessions (MSC) also resulted in some surprising outcomes. An MSC in Balkh, with a military officer, a shopkeeper, a volleyball player, and an unemployed man, of whom half had completed 12th grade and the others had received some vocational degree, provided the most surprising result.

The four men were presented with three different stories: the first was about a successfully resolved land dispute brokered by the local shura and Taliban; the second was about a wife whose husband was angry that she was secretly working, and the local elders' ability to successfully resolve the dispute so that the woman could continue working; and the third, about an entrepreneurial woman who accumulated three separate incomes to provide for her family and disabled husband. The men in this MSC chose the third story, and among the reasons for their selection were:

- *With hard work, you can turn your life around—a woman can also work and change her life*
- *This was a wonderful idea—a woman can work and be an example for other women as well*
- *Women can work like men*
- *A woman can work and study, can work outside the house, and this is her right*
- *Women can be leaders and can be good managers—they can work in all spheres of life*

This selection, given the demographic makeup of the MSC participants and their observed discussion and reasoning for their selection as highlighted above, provide support for the effectiveness of OVATV. The men had the option to choose stories that lauded the work of traditional dispute resolution mechanisms or that were likely more relevant to their lives (i.e. property and resource disputes), and yet through discussion they decided that the story that most clearly depicted female empowerment was most significant to them as a group. The result of this MSC may also support the importance of group listenership, as the participants were able to talk through and come to realizations about an issue that didn't necessarily impact them directly.

Another MSC, in Badakhshan, also provided interesting discussion among the male participants, who believed that neither the rights of men nor women should be undermined, that harassment of women is bad, and that **“until and unless women ask for their rights, no one will give it to them.”**

Mostly women are faced with education problem, as some are not even allowed to go to school; or if some go and finish school, they are not permitted to attend for higher education; or if some finish higher education, they are then not permitted to perform duties [they are qualified for], even duties that are permitted by our holy religion Islam.

--Female Non-Beneficiary IDI, Khost

Finally, a Kandahari university student provided her experience and the impact of OVATV in her life, demonstrating how OVATV can affect change among listeners both in how they view problems and how concepts can be internalized:

One Voice, A Thousand Villages is an important allegorical drama that can bring changes in people's lives. It is aimed at eliminating violence and disputes and bringing people and communities together. This radio show has brought positive changes in people's lives. It has taught the people how to address issues related to their family and social lives, to respect the tribal elders, to bring positive changes in their lives, and understand to whom they should refer their issues.

[The show is] aimed at local people; how to resolve their issues, how to bring positive changes in their lives, how to show love to their family members and relatives, whom they should ask for help and to whom they should refer their issues.

If we didn't listen to OVATV, we wouldn't have learnt how to resolve disputes and what the key solutions are and how to live closely together. Listening to OVATV, we have learnt how and where to resolve issues. Now we know how to get in contact with formal legal institutions and how to defend our rights. We also find out what are the roles of legal councils and legal department.

I will act according to what I learned from OVATV, because OVATV has taught me how to resolve such problems—I've learned how to interact with my villagers and community.

OVATV has brought positive changes in women's lives. They listen to social and religious programs through radio. They have enrolled at schools and Madrassas and have turned to vocational education programs. Women are involved in resolving different issues, including family violence, legal violations, torture of women by their husbands, death at pregnancy, and other disputes. They play a vital role in resolving such issues in families.

While interviewed listeners generally think OVATV has benefited their community, with particularly positive impact on women, findings indicate that OVATV's gender programming could be improved. The following section highlights both the intersection of violence against women and rule of law, and required additional targeting by programs like OVATV.

Shortcomings

Although many women spoke of increased empowerment since OVATV first aired in 2013, beneficiary and non-beneficiary—as well as male and female—interviewees described situations ranging from the exclusion of women from community decision-making to female suicide because women feel they have no way out of their situation.

Female Exclusion from Decision-Making and Dispute Resolution

Interviews in Badakhshan, Balkh, Bamyan, and Herat explicitly discussed the outright exclusion of females from all decision-making and dispute resolution in their villages, of which all comments were from female interviewees. In Badakhshan, a female non-beneficiary talked about how women have no role and **“can’t express their concerns and problems.”** Similarly, in Bamyan, female civil society activists spoke of their desire to act but are often excluded due to traditional practices—some women even spoke of the tensions that arise within families when females are educated, because they no longer fit the idea of what a traditional daughter-in-law should be.

Nearly all participants of a female beneficiary FGD with high school students in Herat indicated that at some point they had been excluded from decision-making processes within their communities.



When asked if they had become more involved, only one girl was able to give an example from her life, the remaining either had never been involved or had continued to be excluded.

Being a woman, I was not allowed to be involved in such cases.

--Khurshid

Because I am a woman, so no one gives value to our ideas.

--Zainab

Being a woman, they do not give values to my ideas.

--Fatima

Stigmatization and Silence: Female-Centered Conflicts

Another frequently mentioned problem regarding females and conflict resolution was the issue of stigmatization. Interviewees were presented with the following scenario:

In a village one wife accuses the second wife of stealing her gold earrings. The second wife denies the theft and hits the first wife for accusing her of stealing. Imagine this happened in your area. Where would you recommend the wives go to settle their dispute? Why?

Participants unanimously agreed that the dispute should be resolved within the family, seeking advice from family elders only if the two women were unable to resolve the problem on their own. Additionally, many interviewees thought that the first wife should treat the situation as though she had lost her earrings instead of accusing others until she had evidence of a crime.

Alone, this is an appropriate response. However, expectations of women and unequal gender norms seem to undergird the responses of many interviewees. This finding is supported by both male and female commentary. Among male respondents, issues of stigmatization were generally hinted at instead of expressly stated. For example, a male non-beneficiary thought the women in the scenario should resolve the problem between themselves, and specifically that they should not tell their husbands of the situation.

On the other hand, female respondents were very direct when discussing this scenario and the social stigmatization they felt accompanies issues of women in conflict. They spoke openly of women needing to resolve their problems internally because members of their families and communities had previously told them it was bad to discuss such issues outside their family. Females also expressed concern about bringing stigmatization upon themselves and their family should they speak out about any problems they have.

Even among program beneficiaries who otherwise felt they had experienced significant changes because of the program gave answers that showed subtle reinforcement of these social norms. In Badakhshan, a female beneficiary described her most significant change experience as her improved understanding of how to resolve family disputes, and that without the instruction of OVATV there might be **“many disputes and problems in the family.”** However, this respondent also maintains that **“a dispute should be resolved inside a family and not be spread out to other people.”**

She should solve her problem secretly in order to avoid stigmatization.

--Beneficiary FGD, Herat

Most problems that are related to someone's honor—such as sexual exploitation—cannot raise their voice, because everyone makes her to be quite in such situations.

--Non-Beneficiary IDI, Nangarhar

My own husband has bad behavior with me and the rest of the family members. I and other people have told him not to do so, and rather to take on life in good manner, still he does not accept this. My relatives and other villagers told us to solve the problem between each other and to not refer it out of the family. Each and every dispute should be resolved within the family, not even through the Shura, because people say it is bad.

--Non-Beneficiary IDI, Badakhshan

Men also remind women that 'you are female and you are weak'. These things they say make women lose their confidence and feel weak.

--Non-Beneficiary IDI, Nangarhar

While private resolution of private problems in and of itself is a universally reasonable expectation, qualitative interviews suggest that future OVATV and RoL programming should place more emphasis on destigmatizing the conflicts that women and girls experience, so that abuse is not hidden and its victims silenced.

Female Suicide

The most concerning issue, discussed by respondents in Balkh and Herat, was that of female suicide. As a male non-beneficiary in Balkh articulated, women are not involved in any decision-making or dispute resolution processes because they either “**commit suicide or stay in their difficulties.**”

Female civil society activists in Bamyan repeatedly spoke of “pointless traditions” that damage family relationships and hurt women—of which forced marriage was the most grievous. Habibullah, the Mazari male and a computer science graduate who thought women felt their only options were to suffer their difficulties or end their lives, described a specific incident he had witnessed in his own community.

There was a dispute between two families and villages. A girl from one village and a boy from another village loved each other. They expressed the issue to their families, but the families didn't accept their desires. So the boy and girl planned to escape and finally the girl escaped with the boy to his village. Then the girl's family along with some elders went to the boy's village and brought the girl back. The girl committed suicide after a few days.

Habibuallah thought the situation was handled poorly by the family, and that they should have let their children **“marry and let them live. On the other hand, the elders that brought the girls back could have made a decision to satisfy both families ... but they brought the girl back and it resulted in her suicide.”** He also noted that while women still use suicide to escape their circumstances and have no role in dispute resolution, the situation is **“better than the time of the Taliban.”**

In Herat, where rates of female suicide are among the highest in the country, the high school girls—who spoke of their exclusion from community decision-making in the last section—shared a similar story to that of Habibullah.

Issues like marriage, when one of them is satisfied and the other isn't [causes conflict]. It makes her leave her husband's house and go to her father's house. When she sees that her father doesn't support her, she goes back to her husband's house and burns [self-immolates] herself. Their issues became so major to the point to kill each other. Then they took their daughter to her father's house.

Shortly after the fall of the Taliban, official investigations began in Herat as the reported number of attempted and successful suicides among women and girls had spiked dramatically. Over the last decade, female suicides, often by self-immolation, have averaged around 100 annually, and occur predominantly in the Western region of the country. However, this only represents officially reported cases—doctors and human rights activists estimate true figures to be much higher, as many cases are not reported due to stigmatization or rurally-based incidents, which are never brought to medical centers.⁷

Most of these suicides have been attributed to forced marriages and the resulting abuse many women endure at the hands of their husbands' families⁸, in addition to other forms of gender based violence.⁹ Additionally, experts also attribute several other situations as added cause for increased suicide rates:

- Stigmatization of mental illness—namely depression¹⁰
- Proximity to Iran, from where Afghan refugees have returned only to find themselves in a more restrictive society¹¹
- Desperation among educated women who have been forced into marriages where they feel their knowledge and potential are wasted¹²

Due to the stigmatization of suicide and mental illness, most public understanding of this issue is anecdotal, remaining hidden. As some contribute these spikes in suicide rates to the influx of Afghan refugees returning in the early 2000s, a similar situation could arise again, as hundreds of thousands of Afghans have returned or are expected to return—forcibly or voluntarily—from Iran between 2016-17.¹³

⁷ Golnaz Esfandiari, *Afghanistan: Self-Immolation of Women on the Rise in Western Provinces*, RadioFreeEurope, 1 March 2004, <http://www.rferl.org/a/1051725.html>

⁸ Alissa J. Rubin, *For Afghan Wives, a Desperate, Fiery Way Out*, *The New York Times*, 7 November 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/08/world/asia/08burn.html>

⁹ *Gender Based Violence: A Study of Three Universities in Afghanistan*, Gender Studies Institute, Kabul University/UNDP/UNESCO, March 2010, p. 7-9. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001899/189969e.pdf>

¹⁰ World Health Organization: *Afghanistan, Stigma – a major barrier to suicide prevention in Afghanistan*, 11 September 2013, <http://www.emro.who.int/afg/afghanistan-news/stigma-a-major-barrier-to-suicide-prevention.html>

¹¹ Jame Astill, *Death by burning: the only escape for desperate Afghan women*, *The Guardian*, 23 April 2004, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/apr/24/afghanistan.jamesastill>

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Masood Farivar, *Over 1 Million Afghan Refugees Return Home*, *Voice of America*, 16 November 2016, <http://www.voanews.com/a/over-one-million-afghan-refugees-return-home/3598412.html>

8 Audience Size: Relevance, Radio Dramas and Rule of Law

The final section of analysis seeks to answer the following questions about the relevance of both the subject matter and delivery medium:

- Is rule of law was the right subject matter to be addressed in a radio drama?
- Is a radio drama the right format to promote rule of law?
- Do OVATV messaging and outreach strategies align with the needs and aspirations of the target audience?

To assess these questions, the following sections provide extensive information regarding media consumption habits of the entire sampled population (n=1195). Findings are disaggregated by consumption habits, media types, and respondent demographics, including gender, age, location, education, ethnicity, and income.

8.2 Consumption Habits, Television vs. Radio Programs

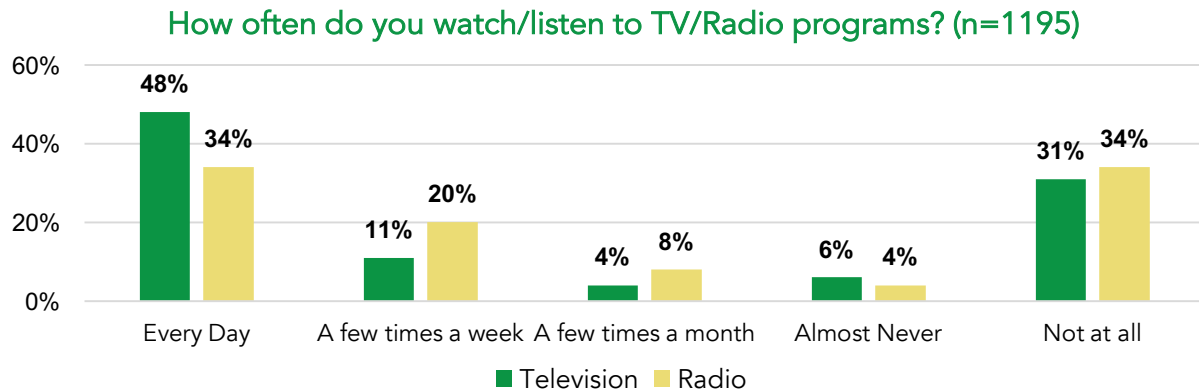
While several studies have looked at media consumption across Afghanistan, none have done so in the context of a specific media intervention. Thus, part of Sayara's face to face survey sought to identify the media habits specific to OVATV's target audience in order to draw direct conclusions about the impact of the program on beneficiaries. Findings, though sometimes surprising or counterintuitive to long-held assumption of Afghanistan, indicate that media preferences are shifting across demographics. While some historic patterns endure, for example that radio is more highly utilized in rural areas and TV in urban areas, findings, which are supported by 2016 Survey of the Afghan People (SAP) results, indicate that television use is on the rise while radio use is declining. Furthermore, not only do barriers to TV access seem to be shrinking, but preferences appear to be shifting away from radio to TV across demographics.

At the time of the 2016 SAP, respondent use of radio and TV for news and information was near converging, with 70% using radio (down from 78% in 2013) and 66% using TV (up from 55% in 2013). Additionally, according to SAP results, Afghans watch TV programs and listen to radio programs at nearly the same rate, 65% and 66% respectively. A key assumption of the SAP and popular thought alike, that television use is higher among urban Afghans due to more reliable electricity and household income (with highest TV ownership observed in Kabul/Central and West/North-West regions), is challenged by several of the surveyed demographics.

One finding, which will be explored in more detail in sections 4.1.5 and 4.1.9, indicates that female access to television is significantly lower in some areas compared to the results of the 2016 SAP, which found that 64% of females in the South-Eastern region and 44% of females in the Eastern region watched television programs. Survey findings indicate that 94% (75/80) of females in Kandahar and 61% (55/90) of females in Nangarhar rarely or never watch TV programs.

8.2.1 Television & Radio Consumption, General Findings

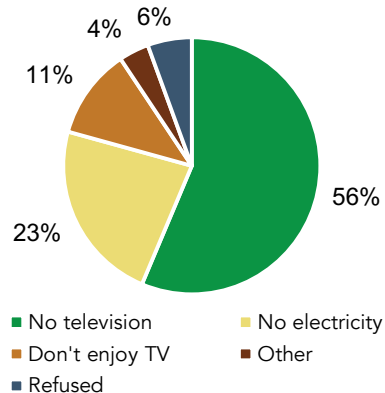
Generally, as the chart below depicts, survey respondents indicated that they utilized both television and radio at an overall similar rate, with 59% (699) of respondents watching TV programs at least a few times a week and 55% (651) listening to radio programs at the same rate. Likewise, the rate of disuse was also very similar for both TV and radio, with 37% (441) watching TV programs never or almost never, and 39% (448) listening to radio programs never or almost never. However, daily rates of use vary significantly, as 48% (566) of those surveyed watch TV programs daily, compared to only 34% (410) who listened to radio programs every day.



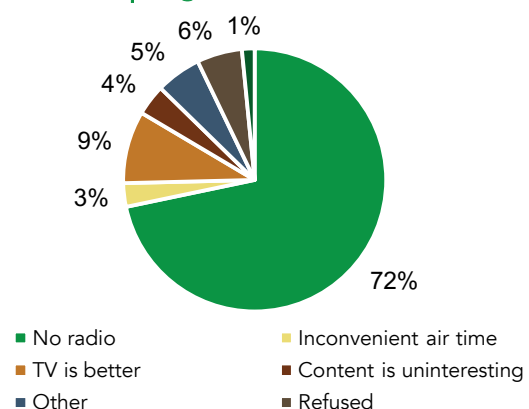
Those who generally do not consume either TV or radio programs (the number of respondents who ‘almost never’ or ‘never’ watch or listen to programs was equal, n=449) were then asked to select the reason that best described why they don’t watch TV programs or listen to radio programs. The majority attributed their lack of consumption to simply not having a television (56% / 253) or a radio (72% / 322). For those who didn’t watch TV programs, lack of electricity (23% / 103) and enjoyment of TV (11% / 51) were also commonly cited reasons for their consumption habits.

Meanwhile, of those who didn’t listen to radio programs—but may or may not own a radio (127/449)—most reported that they didn’t listen to radio programs because television programs were a better, newer technology (32% / 40), they thought radio content was uninteresting (13%, 17/127) or air times were inconvenient (10%, 13/127). The chart below provides additional detail on respondent TV and radio consumption habits.

Why don't you watch television programs? (n=449)



Why don't you listen to radio programs? (n=449)



8.2.2 Television & Radio Consumption, by Province

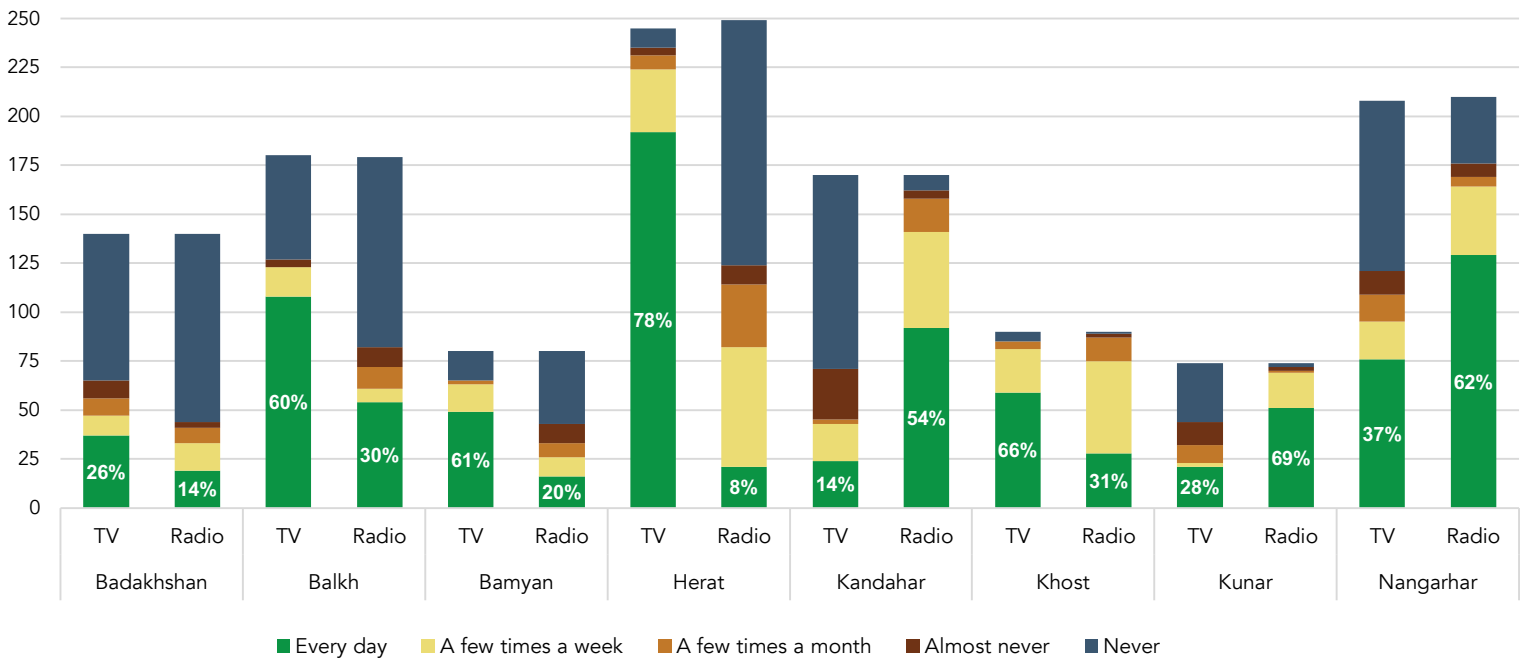
Consumption habits, when disaggregated by province, provide important insight into the accessibility and popularity of each type of technology—also indicating whether radio is the most appropriate means for delivering OVATV content. While sampling does not provide statistically representative results, findings indicate general patterns and trends.

As the following graph shows, some provinces used television or radio as anticipated. In Badakhshan, where most respondents lived in rural areas, overall consumption was very low, with over half of respondents indicating that they never watched or listened to TV and radio programs. In Herat province, one of the most urban areas that was surveyed, television was much more highly utilized than radio, as 77% (192/250) watched TV programs every day compared to only 8% (21/250) who listened to radio programs at the same rate. In general, respondents in urban areas reported high daily consumption of TV programs, including Jalalabad (67%, 20/30), Mazar-e Sharif (80%, 56/70), and Injil (85%, 119/140).

According to SAP data, TV program consumption is lowest in the Eastern (45%) and South-Western (43%) regions—which also reported among the highest rates of radio program consumption.¹⁴

However, despite expectations that urban respondents would report higher use of TV while rural respondents reported higher use of radio, the observed provinces generally did not conform to such expectations. For example, in Bamyan, where 75% of respondents were from rural areas, over 60% watched TV programs daily, compared to 20% who listened to radio programs. Conversely, in Kandahar, which had the highest proportion of urban respondents (41%), daily radio use was at nearly 4 times the rate of daily TV use.

TV & Radio Consumption, by Province (n=1195)



¹⁴ 2016 Survey of Afghan People, Online Data Tool

In both cases, neither income or electricity appear to have an impact that would explain these consumption patterns, as the majority of both radio listeners and TV watchers were middle income earners (2,400-12,000 AFN/month). Similarly, when controlling for access to electricity, both Bamyanis and Kandaharis almost exclusively reported low consumption due to lack of a TV or radio.

Generally, those who reported watching few or no television programs did not watch because they either had no TV or no electricity, with lack of electricity most commonly noted in Argo, Badakhshan (66%, 42/63) and Watapoor, Kunar (92%, 11/12). The overwhelming majority of those who ‘almost never’ or ‘never’ listen to radio programs did not because they didn’t have a radio (72%, 322/449).

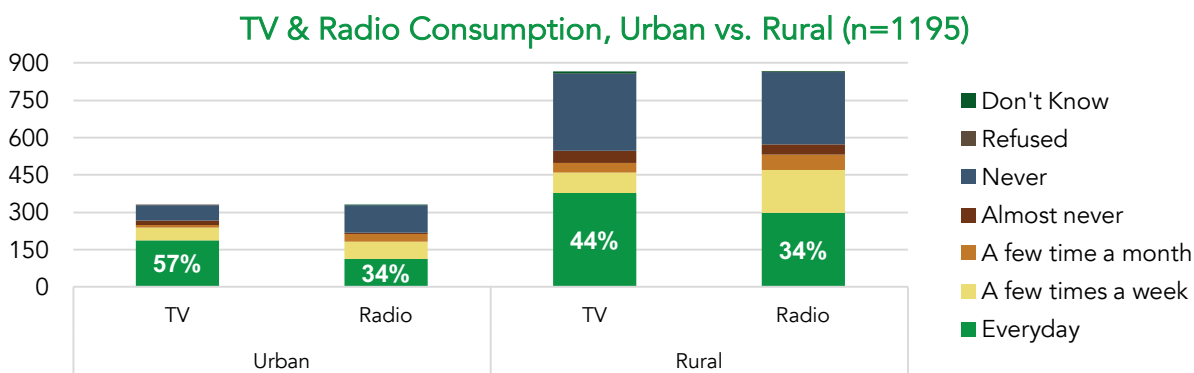
8.2.3 Television & Radio Consumption, Urban vs. Rural

Rural audiences are a key demographic for OVATV programming, as formal education to improve RoL knowledge is less accessible and formal government has less presence or influence, as such traditional dispute mechanisms maintain primacy. As mentioned, 72% (865/1195) of respondents were rural residents, while 28% (330/1195) were urban.

As anticipated, TV use was higher among urban respondents than rural, at 57% (188/330) and 44% (378/865) respectively. Surprisingly, both daily and weekly radio use was equal between urban and rural respondents, with 34% of both demographic listening to radio programs daily, and 55% (182/330) of urban and 54% (469/865) of rural respondents listening to radio programs at least a few times each week. Similarly, those who never listen to radio programs was also equal between both urban and rural respondents, at 33%. The biggest difference in media use was that of TV disuse, with 19% (62/330) of urban never watching TV programs, while twice the number of rural respondents indicated the same (36%, 312/865).

Among rural respondents who rarely watched TV programs (n=368), it was generally because they had no TV (54%, 200) or no electricity (26%, 94); among rural respondents (n=81), 65% (53) had no TVs while only 11% (9) did not have electricity. Additionally, 10% of rural and 16% of urban respondents didn’t watch TV because they didn’t enjoy it.

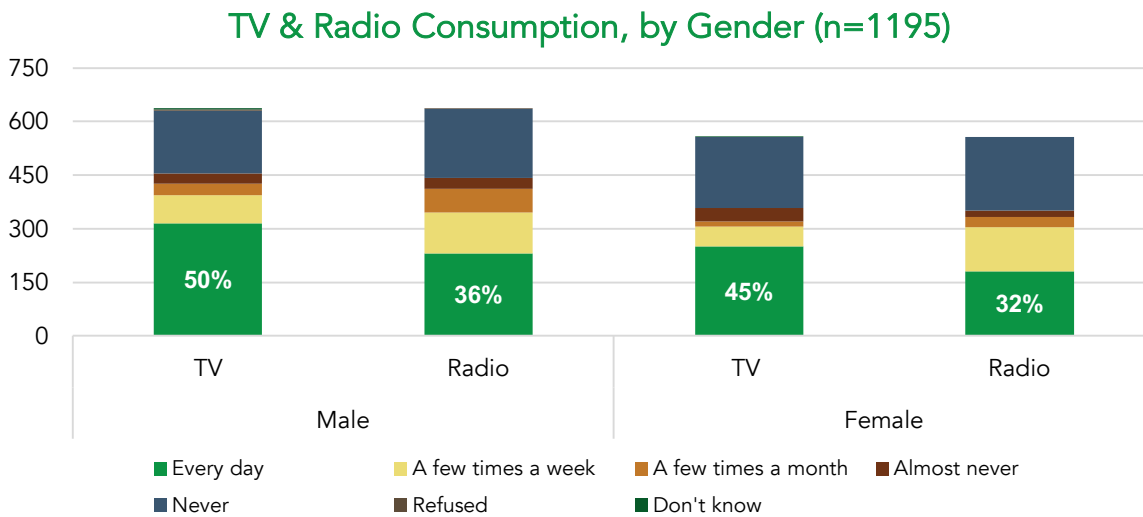
Surprisingly, among those who didn’t listen to radio programming often, 72% of both rural (239/333) and urban (83/116) respondents did not have a radio. Meanwhile, among rural non-users, 10% (34/333) thought radio was an old technology and 4% (13/333) didn’t find radio show content interesting. An additional 5% of rural (18/333) and urban (6/116) respondents didn’t listen to radio due to lack of time or disinterest.



8.2.4 Television & Radio Consumption, by Gender

Not surprisingly, the survey identified distinct, gendered patterns of TV and radio consumption. 62% of males watched TV programs at least a few times a week compared to 55% of females. Additionally, only 28% of males reported that they never watch TV, compared to 36% of females.

Meanwhile, 54% of both males and females listen to radio programs at least a few times per week. However, while frequent use is relatively similar when broken down further, females still consume radio programs at an overall lower frequency than males, with 37% of females reporting that they never listen to radio programs compared to 30% of males.



8.2.5 Television & Radio Consumption, by Age

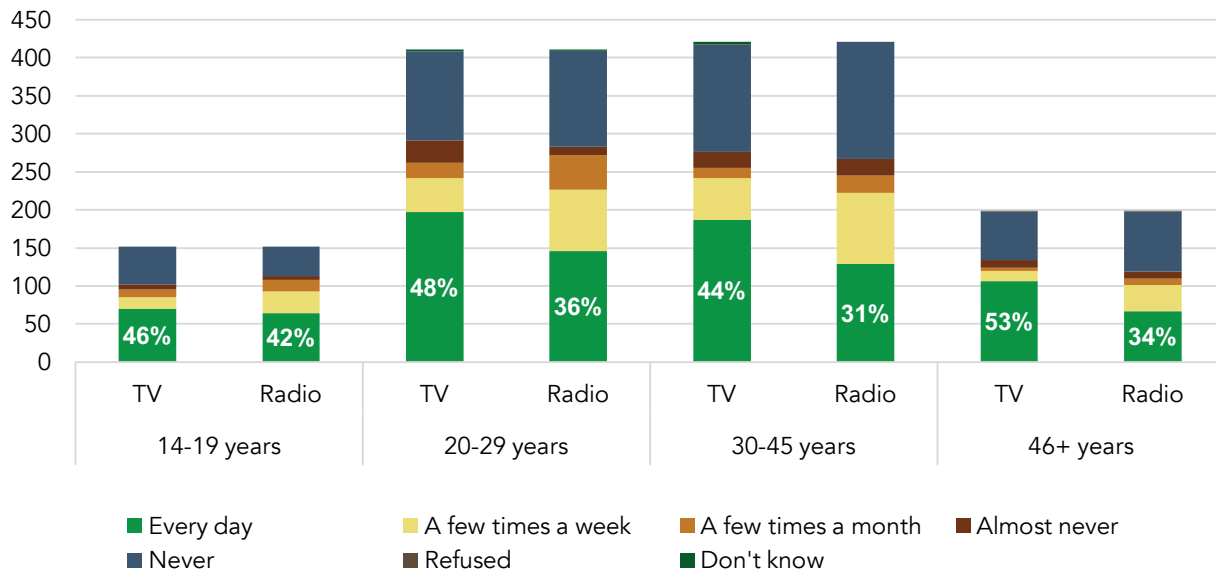
It is universally assumed that youth are the most adept users of technology – they learn how to use it more quickly and are more open to new ideas and interfacing than their parents or grandparents. While this is generally true in Afghanistan, especially according to conversations with Afghans in all 8 surveyed provinces, **according to surveyed youth between the ages of 14-19 (n=152), radio is still used more often than television. Furthermore, youth use radio at higher rates than respondents from other age groups.**

When disaggregated by age, 46+ year olds watched television daily at a higher rate than the other age ranges, at 53%, followed by 20-29 year olds (48%), 14-18 year olds (46%), and 30-45 year olds (44%). Consumption of radio programs was notably different, with the highest proportion of those listening daily falling within the ages of 14-19 (42%), followed by 20-29 year olds (36%), 46+ year olds (34%), and 30-45 year olds (31%).

Findings among adolescents (14-19 years) were somewhat surprising. While youth are generally perceived to be most likely to use and favor newer technologies—as well as to have more free time to participate in ‘leisure’ activities—the surveyed Afghan youth did not fully conform to these assumptions. One-third (33%, 50/152) of youth reported never

watching TV programs while only 26% (39/152) of youth reported never listening to radio programs. Additionally, youth listen to radio programs at a notably higher rate than all other age groups—a full 61% (93/152) of youth listen to radio programs at least a few times per week, compared to 55% of 20-29 year olds, 53% of 30-45 year olds, and 51% of those over 46. Conversely, youth also watch the least amount of TV of any age range, though the difference is less substantial than found in radio listenership.

TV & Radio Consumption, by Age (n=1195)



As a primary goal of the OVATV program is to engage and educate Afghan youth on their role in conflict resolution within their communities, these findings suggest that while the overall consumption of radio programs is less than that of television programs, youth continue to use radio as the primary source of media program consumption. Furthermore, when comparing overall access among youth, radios are generally more widely available, as those who rarely or never listen to radio programs (Herati youth, 52%) is significantly lower than those who watch TV programs (Kandahar, 95%).

8.2.6 Television & Radio Consumption, by Income

A simple disaggregation of television and radio program consumption by average monthly income suggests that income is not a significant determinant of TV consumption among Afghans. As too few respondents had household income above 20,001 AFN (15 total), it is difficult to draw any conclusive observations of the impact of high income households and media use. However, the available data shows that the likelihood of consuming either TV or radio programs is equal only for the small sampling of respondents who earn above 40,001 AFN per month. **For all income brackets below 40,000 AFN, those reporting daily program consumption are noticeably more likely to watch television programs than listen to radio programs.**

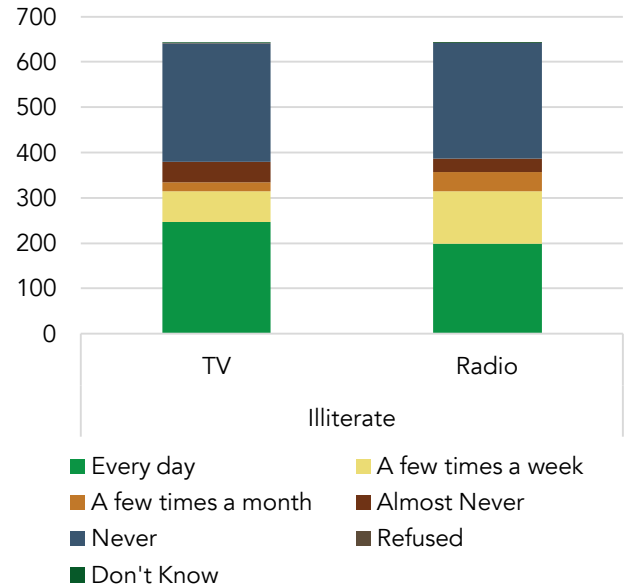
8.2.7 Television & Radio Consumption, by Education Level

As in the other demographics covered, respondents, when disaggregated by education level, showed a clear preference for television programs over radio programs for daily consumption. Further, while a preference exists when programs are consumed on a daily basis, across all education levels, respondents consume TV and radio programs at roughly the same weekly rate.

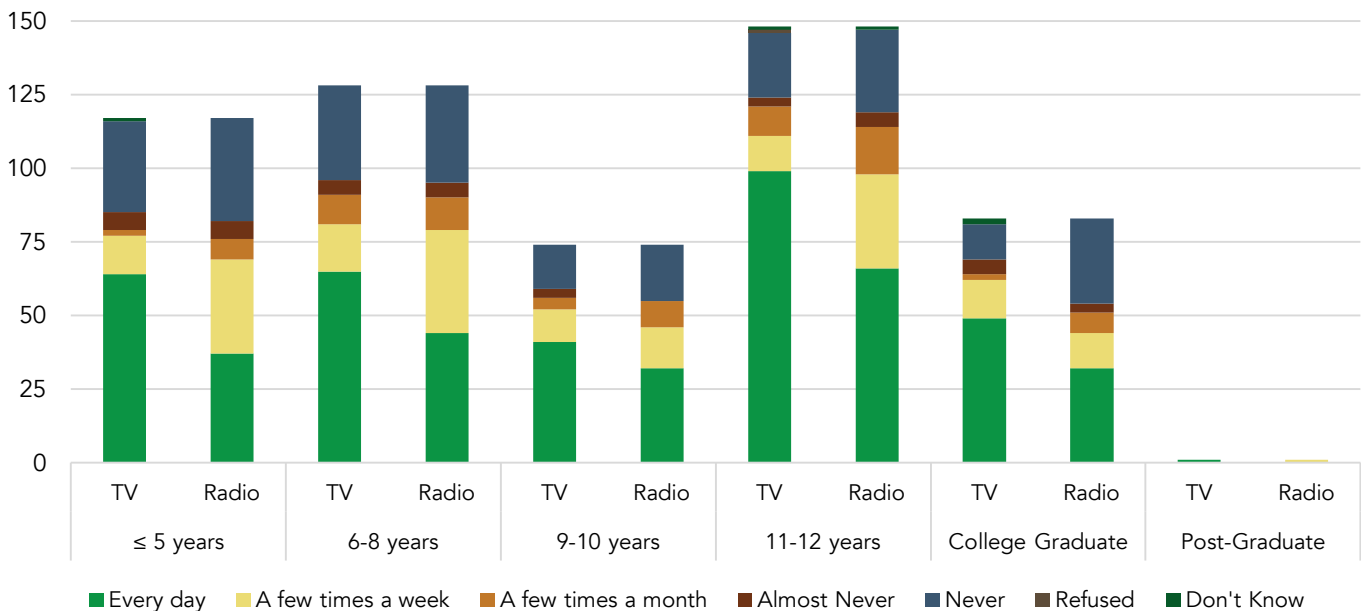
The most notable difference in consumption rates are those of disuse. Among illiterate respondents, roughly 40% consume neither TV or radio programs. Similarly, among all education levels—except college graduates—those who responded that they never consume TV or radio programs is either equal or less than a 5% difference. However, while only 15% of college graduates never watch TV programs, 35% never listen to radio programs.

While this difference could be the result of a variety of factors, from preference to economic parity, it is worth noting that of college graduates who reported not watching TV programs, 32% (6/19) did not own a television. Of those who do not listen to radio programs, 63% (20/32) did not own a radio.

TV & Radio Consumption, by Education Level (Illiterate, n=644)



TV & Radio Consumption, by Education Level (Educated, n=551)

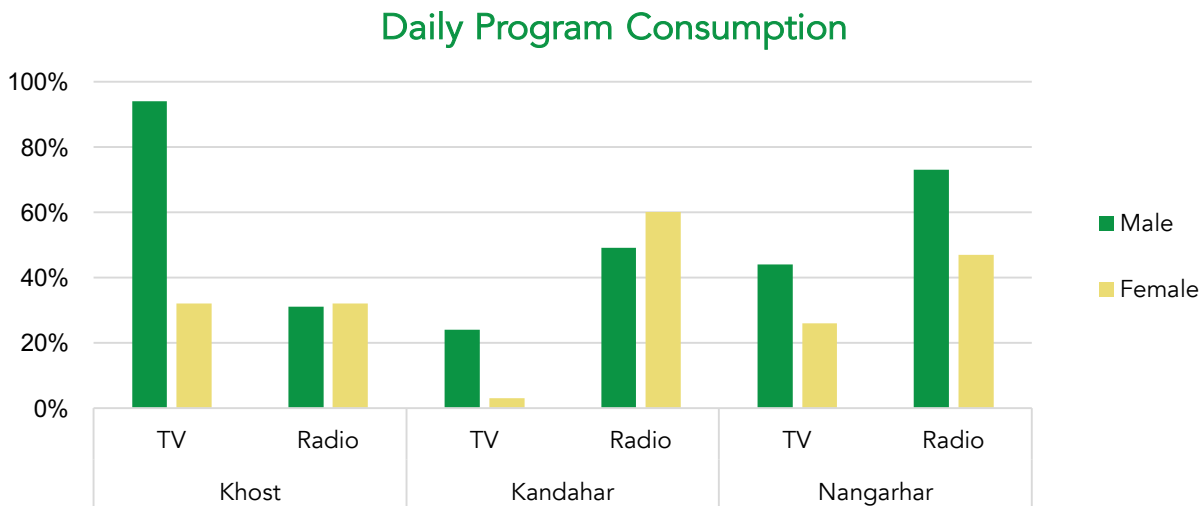


8.2.8 Television vs. Radio Consumption, Implications for OVATV

Although general radio consumption remains high, particularly among rural Afghans, across gender, age, education, income level, and even urban or rural location, Afghans seem to prefer watching programs like OVATV instead of listening to them. **However, this does not necessarily mean radio is inappropriate—although television programs are consumed at a noticeably higher rate than radio programs, significant accessibility concerns continue to make radio the best fit for delivering OVATV messaging.**

Most importantly, females in several provinces have significantly lower access to television than males. These disparities are most notable in Khost, Kandahar, and Nangarhar, where females are 3 times, 8 times, and 1.5 times less likely to watch TV programs on a daily basis than males.

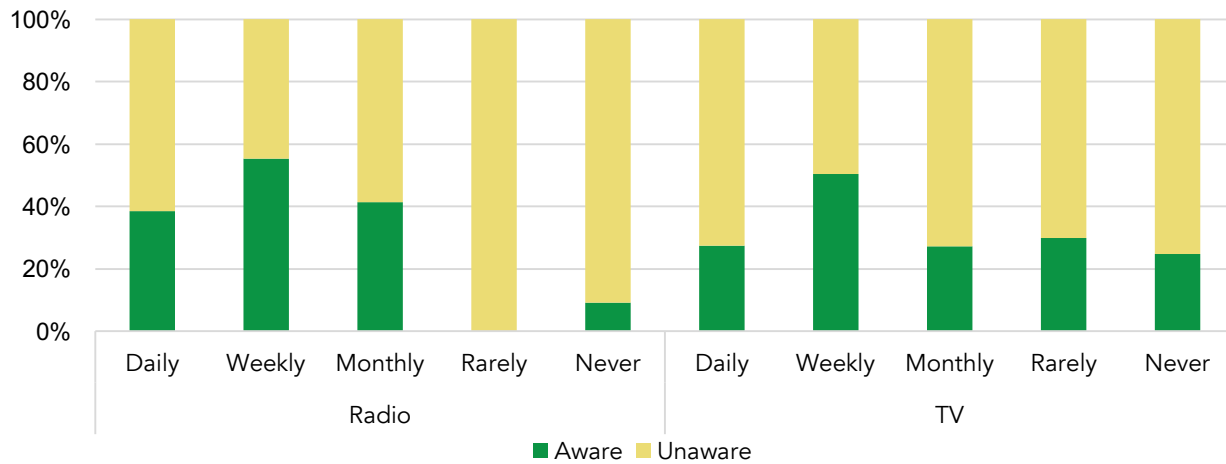
Though not having a TV or electricity are the most commonly cited determinants for whether an Afghan watches TV programs, female viewership in both Khost and Kandahar deviated far enough from the expected rates to be statistically significant, indicating that other influences are likely the source of low utilization among females. Taken together, this data indicates that although Afghans seem to prefer to watch programs instead of listening to them, an important target group (females) of the program risks complete exclusion in many areas in the country were OVATV switched to a TV format.



In fact, the data indicates that the more appropriate issue to address is current levels of advertisement for OVATV. Comparing the rates at which respondents listen to radio and their awareness of OVATV prior to participating in the survey indicates a significant, positive relationship between radio use and awareness of OVATV. Conversely, TV use has no clear relationship with whether respondents were previously aware of OVATV.

This may indicate that radio-based advertising for OVATV makes frequent listeners more aware of, and thus more likely to listen to OVATV. Therefore, it may follow that increased TV-based advertising for OVATV would lead to increased awareness of the program among those who might not otherwise listen to radio programs, ultimately ensuring broader awareness.

Awareness of OVATV based on Radio & TV Use



Finally, when looking more closely at how these assumptions are impacted by gender, the data indicates that female awareness of OVATV was well below expected rates in several provinces, including Badakhshan (11%), Balkh (4%), Bamyan (8%), Kunar (15%), and Nangarhar (2%). Additionally, these differences also presented by gender—particularly in Nangarhar, where the difference in daily radio use to OVATV awareness was significantly lower among females than males ($p=.01$). This signifies that among female radio users, intervening variables may be impacting their awareness of OVATV. Examples could include the types of shows females prefer to listen to, how long they listen in a sitting, or even focus during broadcasting—if a woman is listening to a radio show while cleaning, cooking, or tending her children, she may be less aware of advertisements.

Qualitative findings provided some anecdotal evidence to support these possibilities, as several interviewees commented that chores often kept women and girls from listening to programs. Additionally, two comments provided to surveyors indicated that some females in Kandahar were unable to listen to or watch TV because they were not allowed by the males in their family.

The proportion of women who listen to OVATV is low because most of the time they are busy with their chores and children. Not all women listen to radio—most of them prefer TV and watch similar dramas [to OVATV] on TV channels.

--Female Beneficiary IDI, Kandahar

9 Key Findings and Recommendations

During analysis, the following themes presented across all or most demographics. In this section, those themes will be identified and assessed, as they provide a framework in which OVATV and other RoL programming can center and address future goals and activities. Additionally, some preliminary suggestions have been included based on the data, development models, and the cultural and historical context of Afghanistan.

Bottom-Up Dispute Resolution is Best

"شته نه حاجت يې ته خولې، خلاصيري لاس په چې غوږه"

This common Afghan saying—"do not open nodes by mouth which can be opened by hand,"—was often quoted by Badakhshani male interviewees, encompassing the spirit of Afghan dispute resolution according to interviewees. Across region, gender, income, and education level, Afghans universally found bottom-up dispute resolution the most productive mechanism for sustainable resolutions. Both qualitative and quantitative data indicated that Afghans generally think disputes should be resolved starting first between the conflicting individuals or within the family unit, and slowly progressing outwards, first to trusted elders, then to local councils, on to police, then district court, and provincial legal systems.

Three reasons appear to suggest why this is the preferred method:

- Lack of trust in and of government
- Local resolutions and decisions are more efficient and cost-effective
- Locally resolved issues are more likely to result in peace. When disputes are resolved through government bodies, the judgement is imposed and not agreed to, whereas when resolved locally, through consensus and compromise among disputing parties, residual animosity is less likely to occur.

Similarly, respondents also saw a clear difference between minor and serious disputes or crimes, believing that all minor issues should first be resolved within the community, while some issues, such as murder, should almost always be referred to the government. And to that point, there seems to be generally good knowledge of and willingness among respondents to refer disputes to their related government department. Among listeners, many attributed their ability to correctly refer problems to the correct government department to listening to OVATV. However, most Afghans—listeners and non-listeners alike—still think some disputes should only be resolved within the community.

Recommendations

- ✓ **Continue to create episodes that utilize a variety of formal and informal resolution mechanisms.** Generally, Afghans are well aware of the capabilities of their local shuras and leaders, but less so of government bodies. OVATV should focus knowledge, attitude, and behavior changes on:
 - **Confidence building in local and provincial government abilities**
 - **Continued demonstration of where and how to bring disputes to formal government institutions for resolution**

OVATV is Good for Girls

OVATV, according to qualitative data, appears to have a particularly significant effect on women and girls—if they can listen to it. Furthermore, interviewees across provinces were able to point to specific experiences in which the lessons of OVATV impacted their behavior, resulting in decision-making and thought-processes that may not have occurred in the absence of the radio drama. Although only anecdotal, such outcomes beg the question: If one young girl says that because of OVATV she felt empowered to successfully petition her community to allow girls to go to school, does that adequately show the unquantifiable nature of such programming? If the young men within a community think girls should have just as much access to education as they do, does that show the value of normative change in a single community?

Recommendations

- ✓ **OVATV episode content should be expanded, emphasizing more female-centric subject matter.** Qualitative interviews with OVATV listeners indicated that behavior-modeling is a key way in which listeners apply episode principles and themes to their own lives. OVATV can be used to indirectly combat the stigmatization of women's issues and women in conflict, by giving listeners—who might otherwise not know how to address sensitive issues—examples of how such issues can be discussed and resolved in ways that complement traditional thinking. Discussions with listeners indicate that, without an example to reference, Afghans are often constrained from progressive action by societal pressures to conform. In addition, storylines should continue to address cultural dynamics that prevent the translation of knowledge into behavioral change—primarily norms of familial privacy, which continue to present a stronger influence than RoL knowledge in many circumstances.
- ✓ **Improve women's access.** Findings indicate that despite targeting, males listen to OVATV more frequently and more consistently than females, representing a potentially substantial loss in impact as some of the most salient changes, as reported by listeners across demographics, affect women. Additional efforts should be directed towards identifying efficient and appropriate strategies for increasing women's interaction with OVATV, including program airing, content, and associated social engagement.
- ✓ **Not all stories have happy endings.** OVATV can address sensitive issues like domestic abuse, mental illness, and female suicide indirectly, so that women and girls who may be in or contemplating such situations might have an alternate source of support. While stories already address the successful resolution of forced marriage situations, female suicide could be addressed as a peripheral storyline. For example, a female protagonist who doesn't want to marry someone but also feels she can't speak against her parents' choice or advocate for herself, could passingly reflect on or discuss with a friend, a suicide in a neighboring village, and in doing so find the courage to talk to her parents or a trusted elder in her family or community. Through the passive inclusion of a story without a happy ending, but that reflects a reality Afghans clearly know to be true, the protagonist finds her own agency.

- ✓ **Continue to promote female voices in male-dominated storylines.** OVATV should continue to place females as important conflict mediators within storylines. In general, women seem to have a clear role within small, family-oriented conflicts. While OVATV should continue to emphasize these roles for women and girls, they should also reinforce that females are capable of settling disputes related to property, resources, and inheritance, issues which they continue to be excluded from. Showing that females can achieve more is good for both men and women in society. Furthermore, such storyline could show men positively portrayed in less masculine roles, which can allow for conversations that might otherwise be taboo.

Sources of Conflict

Both obvious causes of conflict—such as property, resource allocation, and inheritance—and socially motivated causes—including lack of education, unemployment, ignorance of rights, inequality, gender based violence, and unequal aid distribution—were the most commonly cited sources of conflict. In fact, lack of education was probably the single most commonly identified cause of conflict among interviewees, followed closely by marriage and engagement disputes.

Additionally, Afghans—primarily male—often identified physical and economic insecurity as issues that cause people within their communities to blow small disagreements out of proportion, to the point that a simple disagreement results in death. Interviewees often attributed this tendency to stress, commenting that both economic worries and decades of conflict had made their community more prone to act out violently.

Finally, while Afghans generally found program content to be highly relevant to their lives, it was often mentioned that **reality is not as simple as depicted by OVATV.**

Recommendations

- ✓ **OVATV subject-matter is generally on-target in addressing issues that matter to Afghans.** The only specific recommendations made by interviewees were to include more storylines that concerned environmental and agricultural practices—however these may be more suited to agriculture development programming and not Rule of Law.
 - Nevertheless, additional storylines related to resources and improving local farm technology could be applicable to OVATV, as **the show could demonstrate how farmers can petition their local government for improved access to technology, education, or a combination of resource.**

“This relates to my community.”

The relatability of OVATV storylines seemed to be key in determining whether Afghans enjoyed a program and how they measured its value. OVATV, even if respondents felt it didn't have significant impact, thought the storylines important and useful. In Kunar, male non-beneficiaries couldn't point to specific ways OVATV had contributed to any changes in their village, but still agreed that the content of the show and the message was useful.

Recommendations

- ✓ **Storylines should continue to emphasize hard work and perseverance in the face of struggles**, as these are themes Afghans identify with and respect. If characters resolve their dispute too easily, it can be difficult to identify with them; on the other hand, if disputes are too difficult or the storyline too complex, listeners could be equally disaffected.

The Pulpit, Media, and Schools

Interviewees were asked to list the three best ways to improve people's knowledge of RoL in their area. The overwhelming consensus was that **outreach would be best served through higher collaboration with religious leaders and community elders, increased media presence, and dedicated formal and informal educational opportunities.**

There was no mention of any current networking or outreach between OVATV and community leaders, who interviewees identified as playing a vital role in bringing RoL messaging to older members of the community. Additionally, research has established that trusted community voices are imperative in local decision-making as well as garnering widespread community support for outside interventions and government.

In terms of media outreach, **OVATV's Facebook and Twitter accounts have been inactive for nearly two years at least; the most recent Facebook posts (summer 2016) have no relationship to OVATV programming and the last related post was from July 2015.**

This is contrary to a recent evaluation of PROMOTE: Women in Government, commissioned by USAID. According to the 2016 report, a central goal of the radio drama is to create an **interactive feedback loop**, primarily achieved using social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter. Feedback would be received through Radio Azadi's OVATV Facebook page, and later discussed and “considered during the design, production, and implementation of radio program... script writers address the listeners' feedback while developing scripts for the radio program...ensuring messages are timely, relevant, and culturally sensitive to address concerns, perceptions, and beliefs about women's contributions to the public sector.”¹⁵

¹⁵ USAID PROMOTE: Women in Government, Project Annual Progress Report, October 2015-September 2016, http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00MM1B.pdf, p. 30

Young and old interviewees alike recognized the importance of utilizing social media to increase knowledge, awareness, and support of OVATV messaging. Furthermore, as previously described, there appears to be a clear positive relationship between radio listening habits and awareness of OVATV, indicating that an increased media presence overall—to include advertising on TV and social media platforms—would likely increase overall awareness of the OVATV program, in turn resulting in higher listenership.

Finally, low education rates in Afghanistan were by far the most commonly cited source of conflict in the country—likewise, **interviewees thought increased educational opportunities to learn about RoL should be implemented** by the government to improve national respect for RoL. Interviewees identified both formal options, such as integrating a RoL or Civics course in all primary education, as well as informal options, such as community seminars to improve the knowledge of adult Afghans.

Recommendations

- ✓ **OVATV programming should establish an outreach network with local and religious leaders**, particularly in more remote areas where either OVATV or educational opportunities are less accessible to the population. These community members should function as social mobilisers, helping to disseminate key program messaging and provide additional information when necessary. Additionally, qualitative findings suggest that while older members of the community can find value in programs like OVATV, they are less likely to internalize the message or see its ability to impact their community. Using traditional voices to communicate RoL messages face to face, is an appropriate and complementary way of furthering OVATV effectiveness in target areas.
- ✓ **Reinvigorate OVATV's social media presence**. Access to internet and social media in Afghanistan has increased dramatically in the last five years, and interviewee comments reflect this as social media outreach was one of the most-recommended ways to engage current and attract new OVATV listeners. Additionally, social media outreach is incredibly cost-effective and can provide an additional platform for listeners to discuss and ask questions related to show content, which despite reports to the contrary, has not happened in nearly two years.
- ✓ **Provide educational opportunities**. Finally, both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries were highly likely to cite lack of education as a leading cause of conflict in Afghanistan. Additionally, listeners across demographics want to see dedicated civics classes integrated into national curriculum and informal learning opportunities for out of school Afghans and increase their knowledge of RoL. While much of this may be outside the purview of OVATV, educational outreach that complements current storylines could be an effective and positive contribution to OVATV programming.

Listening Together is Learning Together

Afghans who listen with other or whose family and friends also listen to OVATV are significantly more likely to report changes in knowledge, attitude, and behavior. While complete analysis and arguments in favor of communal listening will be justified in the conclusion, the following actions are recommended.

Recommendations

- ✓ **Encourage or establish community listening circles.** Because the translation of knowledge acquisition into action appears to be strongly correlated with whether Afghans listen with others and have a network of other listeners, OVATV's strategic planning teams should promote or incentivize the establishment of listening circles, especially in rural or remote communities where access to and expression of outside ideas may be more limited.
- ✓ **Incentives should be participatory, making OVATV an overtly active program.** OVATV is a social program with a base that wants more active, participatory, social outreach. Initiatives or 'competitions' where listening circles could submit their own storylines or host guest experts or show cast members could incentivize communities to come together to achieve common goals, while listening to programming that benefits social progress.

Repetition, Repetition, Repetition

The data indicates a significant, positive relationship between knowledge improvements and listening frequency among beneficiaries. Furthermore, among illiterate listeners, who constitute both the majority of OVATV listeners and Afghans nationally, the discussion program had exceptional impact on perceived knowledge improvements.

Recommendations

- ✓ **Strategize ways to increase listener access, particularly among marginalized groups.** If regular listening frequency leads to significant changes in knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors among listeners, a primary goal of all future programming should be to expand listenership both geographically and demographically. This can be done in a variety of way, including increased and improved outreach through both traditional and technological mediums, as well as innovative solutions to shrink gendered accessibility gaps. In addition, where access gaps are more difficult to fill, OVATV can attempt to bridge the divide through program content itself, in the hopes that changes in knowledge will lead to changes in behavior, thereby improving accessibility or reducing restrictions experienced by marginalized groups.

OVATV Improves Listener Perceptions of the Government

Both quantitative and qualitative data indicate that OVATV had a positive influence on beneficiary attitudes towards the government and their ability to resolve disputes. Although quantitative data showed no overall improvement to beneficiary knowledge, among those who listened most often and thought the program had had a significant impact on their perceptions, they were notably more confident in government capabilities than non-beneficiaries.

Additionally, qualitative interviews generally suggested an improved confidence in government, particularly in resolving issues related to property and resources. When asked the extent to which OVATV had influenced their attitudes, and whether other factors had contributed to these changes, many respondents indicated that before listening to OVATV, they didn't think the government could be fair or impartial.

OVATV has effectively influenced the breaking down of distance between the public and the government, especially the court—it has wiped out people's misunderstandings. In the past, I personally believed that courts were places where cases were decided based on bribery, but when I witnessed it, it was proven to be a false assumption. Azadi Radio and the OVATV Program played a key role in informing the people about the truth of the courts and dispelling misassumptions that had been spread.

--Male Beneficiary FGD, Khost

10 Conclusion: The Counterfactual

Sayara implemented a quasi-experimental evaluation design in the assessment of OVATV, with the intention of answering the question: “What would have been the situation without OVATV?” Using the available data, and bolstered by the responses of listeners themselves, who indicated a significant change in both their personal life and communities because of OVATV, this evaluation concludes that without *One Village, A Thousand Voices*, changes in knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors would gradually change at the individual level. Similarly, change would also occur at the community level, albeit very slowly considering the rigid social traditions that remain at the foundation of many community social structures. Even if a non-beneficiary believes women deserve to have a role in community decision-making, cultural norms may prevent them from voicing their concerns.

As such, perhaps the most important contribution of OVATV is its ability to bring issues that would otherwise remain shrouded in secrecy, into the light. It provides an opportunity for dialogue to begin, contributing to the acceleration of processes that bring youth and females into decision-making. This is evidenced not only by listeners, who explicitly state that OVATV has contributed to such changes, but also through that which is left unsaid by those who have not been exposed to the program. Non-beneficiaries generally did not demonstrate that they understood the nuances of rule-of-law, including the ways in which youth and women could interact within formal and informal institutions and the often-complicated nature of due process. This indicates that non-beneficiaries either have not witnessed such changes within their communities (i.e. youth and women in decision-making roles) or they do not have access to the necessary know-how or tools to effect such change (i.e. access to OVATV). If the former, this supports the assessment that OVATV accelerates progress, and in turn shows how education can impact the latter.

However, individual-level listening is not necessarily enough. Because OVATV messaging filters up from the individual to the community level, widespread listenership is vitally important—just as if a non-beneficiary desired social change but felt constrained from discussing the issues within the community, so too could OVATV listeners internalize messaging but have no viable outlet through which to express their ideas. This can be addressed in part through established community listening circles. The data already indicates that listening with others and having friends and family who also listen has an incredibly significant impact on how a listener perceives their personal knowledge change. OVATV outreach to establish listening circles could both bolster knowledge of and engagement with the program while also providing opportunities to increase listenership.

In closing, among listeners, OVATV seems to be a positive influence and guide in understanding individual and collective rights. The program has shown that it can bring communities together in implementing social change, even when the issue at hand is of a sensitive nature. In and of itself, *One Village, A Thousand Voices* does not create social change among Afghans, rather it provides the knowledge and opportunity for Afghans to create those changes themselves.

11 APPENDIX