Findings from KEEP II Pilot study

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Executive Summary

Within its KEEP II girls education programme in the Dadaab and Kakuma areas of Kenya, World University Service of Canada (WUSC) commissioned Africa's Voices Foundation (AVF) to pilot an innovative approach using interactive radio for community engagement and evidence-driven adaptive social and behaviour change programming. This project sought to whether test the interactive radio approach would allow for a more grounded understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics that drive stubborn social norms affecting girls’ educational outcomes, while delivering these insights in a timely and actionable manner to programme partners. This pilot also aimed to determine whether the approach was replicable, scalable and offered value for money.

The findings suggest that using interactive radio in the contexts of Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps and their host communities is challenging but nevertheless can provide a valuable community engagement model that delivers timely and actionable insights on collective beliefs. Moreover, a well-curated radio discussion format can offer a valuable channel for evidence-based social and behaviour change communications.

Interactive radio in Kakuma and Dadaab: engagement lessons

Both host and refugee communities in the Kakuma and Dadaab areas are not easy to access. Unsurprisingly, the pilot evidenced challenges in ensuring substantial, diverse and meaningful audience engagement via SMS with the radio shows. This owed both to the demographics and media landscape of both locations. The diversity of ethnicities and nationalities in Kakuma refugee camp resulted in limited listenership to the local radio station and thus poor participation in the first phase of radio shows. Confirming its hypothesis that media consumption was a key barrier, AVF was able to significantly improve audience engagement in a second phase by implementing listening groups (LGs) and diversifying radio show guests. In Dadaab, participation was promising in quantity and quality, albeit slightly skewed towards men and largely skewed towards inhabitants of the refugee camp - very little engagement came from the host community. Generally, audience participation is constrained by the limited broadcasting capacity of the radio stations and their loyalty base. AVF tested tactics to address these issues by working closely with radio presenters to improve relevance and thus, participation. Despite these challenges, AVF’s media engagement strategies resulted into sample sizes that, although limited, supported the hypothesis that grounded, credible and timely social insights can be generated. Moreover, the interactive radio format, when deployed strategically, is valued by communities and provides a strong engagement and dissemination medium. Therefore, the insights from this study have most value when seen as part of an iterative process of adaptive programming.

Social norms and girls’ education: Using interactive radio for timely, actionable and scalable insights

AVF’s pilot identified barriers and potential entry points to improve behaviours favouring girls’ education. Overall, both in Kakuma and Dadaab, the collective beliefs
largely disapprove of early marriage and keeping girls out of school to support with domestic chores. On the contrary, most participants were in favour of keeping girls in school. However, there is a mismatch between these normative expectations (the extent to which people disapprove of a behaviour) and the perceived practiced behaviours (empirical expectations). For example, whereas respondents largely disapprove of early marriage, over half of those in Kakuma still think most or all girls younger than 16 years old are married and out of school. This is similar in Dadaab. Although in theory condemned by most, the practice is still seen as frequent.

Equally, there are important differences between Kakuma and Dadaab in the collective beliefs supporting early marriage. Financial constraints are an important driver behind the practice in Kakuma, whereas religious and cultural values are more prominent in Dadaab.

In Kakuma, the dowry gained from marrying a young girl is seen as a significant, often necessary, financial gain. However, there are also strong collective beliefs that see education as a better longer-term investment for both the girl and the family. The tension between these beliefs needs to be further explored to understand if the need for financial gain from marriage can be addressed through stressing the longer term value of investment in education or whether more pragmatic solutions such as incentives (e.g. cash transfers) might be more impactful. Religious and cultural values supporting early marriage are another important barrier but, at the same time, coexist with opposite cultural values that see these practices as anachronistic. Such views can be harnessed for behaviour change through messaging that invokes the community’s own voices and influencers.

In Dadaab, religious and cultural values that emphasise the need to respect and obey parents emerge as more important. However, there are also religious and cultural views used to reject early marriage, such as believing that God -rather than the dowry- will provide, whilst emphasising the importance of progress for a culture.

Both in Kakuma and Dadaab, women and youth are more likely to disapprove of early marriage, suggesting that their views should be reinforced and they should be championed as role models.

The legal and rights-based approach to girls’ education emerges as another strong normative belief, especially in Kakuma, that can counteract existing barriers. In scenarios where families are faced with financial dilemmas, respondents said that marrying a girl young or taking her out of school to help at home was illegal and against her rights.

The reasons why parents keep girls at home to help with house chores seem more surmountable in both Kakuma and Dadaab, since financial gain does not emerge as a strong reason. Many suggested a girl can both go to school and help at home. However, further qualitative research can help to sharpen the mismatch between these favourable views to girls’ education and the perceived practice.
Although the limited sample sizes in follow-up surveys prevent us from drawing statistically robust conclusions, these insights provide clear pointers for action, which can be further sharpened through insight generation workshops with implementing partners or additional research methods (such as focus groups discussions). There is also potential for sustaining some of the strategies implemented during the study, such as continuing to implement listening groups as a valued space for discussion in itself which can further clarify the tensions identified and inform programming.

AVF’s approach itself can be further iterated to narrow down some of the scenarios presented in the radio shows, thus providing speed and scale to the process in order to identify more nuance in the collective beliefs for and against a girl staying in school.

**Replicability, scalability and value-for-money**

On balance, the AVF team felt this pilot proved the promise of using interactive radio in both Kakuma and Dadaab as a replicable and scalable approach to community engagement, insight generation and adaptive programming. This was less because the approach was an unqualified success, and more because the pilot unpacked, and began to address, obstacles to engagement in these very challenging contexts. Just as was in the case between phase 1 and phase 2 of the pilot, implementing lessons learnt from the pilot - on show format and design, on audience mobilisation strategies, on deepening integration into existing programme interventions and working more closely with partners - should yield substantial improvements in the scale and quality of engagement. However, whether the trajectory of building greater value over time from this approach - a trajectory which the pilot suggested is possible - offers value-for-money is not self-evident. Using interactive radio for engagement and evidence is resource intensive: the risks of operational failure and poor quality insights are high without a comprehensive approach. Rewards can be substantial if the approach is as strand of programming intervention in its own right, thoughtfully woven into other programming efforts.
## List of acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AVF</td>
<td>Africa's Voices Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEEP</td>
<td>Kenya Equity in Education Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>Listening Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WUSC</td>
<td>World University Service Canada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Introduction

1.1 Context

World University Service of Canada (WUSC) is a Canadian non-profit organization dedicated to improving education, employment, and empowerment opportunities for youth around the world. WUSC and its partners are implementing the Kenya Equity in Education Project (KEEP) in Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps and surrounding host communities in Garissa and Turkana counties in northern Kenya. They concluded the first Phase which ran from 2013 to 2017 and are currently implementing the second Phase (KEEP II), which runs from 2018 to 2023. The project aims to create conditions of learning that will allow marginalised refugee girls to attend school for as long as possible, achieve better learning outcomes, and make successful transitions throughout their school career and to post-secondary education or employment.

In its first Phase, KEEP research identified attitudinal barriers and behavioral norms that commonly keep girls out of school, including an unfair chore burden within the home, expectations of early marriage, concerns of early pregnancy, and lowered academic expectations for girls across the board. As part of KEEP I, multimedia campaigns through local radio broadcasts and community film screenings were designed to address these barriers with the aim of generating support for girls’ education. The project included a rigorous external evaluation, which concluded that, although community outreach interventions successfully raised awareness of the importance of educating girls, they were unsuccessful in driving behavior change. Although community members expressed their belief in the importance of educating girls, negative behavioral norms continue to keep girls out of school.

1.2 The AVF KEEP II pilot project

As part of the KEEP II project, WUSC partnered with Africa’s Voices Foundation (AVF) to conduct a pilot to test if an innovative approach for community engagement and social research through interactive radio can be applied in the context of KEEP. This pilot project sought to test if this approach would allow for a more nuanced understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics that drive social norms that can also deliver timely and actionable insights for adapting program interventions and communication for social and behaviour change that are targeted, culturally-sensitive and context-specific. The primary evaluative criteria for this pilot are: (i) community engagement through interactive radio is inclusive and rich; (ii) the approach generates meaningful and robust insights from the community; (iii) these insights and help to adapt can inform programming by KEEP II implementing partners; (iv) the model is replicable and in line with the principles of value-for-money.

1.4 Africa’s Voices Foundation (AVF)

Africa’s Voices Foundation is inspired by this simple idea: listen first and listen intelligently. We have developed a unique way for citizens to be heard by decision-makers. We curate and spark engaging and inclusive discussions through interactive media and digital channels, enabling citizens to share their voices. We then use innovative data analysis
techniques to deliver robust, timely and actionable social evidence that strengthens the impact of development, humanitarian, and governance actors.

Spun out of cutting-edge research at the University of Cambridge, we have an established presence in East Africa and beyond, with a growing team based in Nairobi. In three years, we have amplified the voices of over 200,000 citizens in evidence-based programming in Somalia, Kenya, South Africa, Uganda, and Cape Verde on priorities ranging from health and immunization, child protection and gender, WASH, cash transfers, local governance, and tax justice.
2. Approach

2.1 Pilot study design: Objectives

1. To get a deeper understanding of contextually specific barriers to girls’ education; identify the barriers that are negotiable and can act as entry-points for shifting norms; and identify key influencers in the community regarding girls’ education.

2. To deliver timely, relevant and actionable insights for adaptive programming.

3. To evaluate the pilot against criteria for success. The following were the proposed criteria by which to measure the success of this pilot project:

   I. Does engagement through interactive radio work in this refugee camp setting?
      A. Did we reach the people we needed to reach?
      B. Did we have sufficient meaningful participation?
      C. Who was excluded from this channel and can this be addressed?

   II. Can we get robust, relevant and interesting insights?

   III. Are these insights relevant to KEEP II partner programming decisions?

   IV. Could this intervention be replicable, scalable and value-for-money for KEEP II?

2.1 Approach

AVF’s KEEP II pilot project was conducted in two phases to test its interactive radio approach for inclusive conversation (combining radio shows with SMS feedback) and mixed-methods and technology-driven data analysis (see figure 1)\(^1\).

- **Phase I (Kakuma):** The first Phase of the pilot took place in Kakuma. It targeted both the refugee and the host communities, and AVF worked with radio stations Ata Nayeche (in the refugee camp) and Bibilia Husema (in the host community). This first Phase consisted of one season with a series of 6 interactive radio shows in each of the two stations, therefore resulting in 12 radio shows in total. In addition, radio shows were recorded and re-broadcast on a different day/time on Biblia Husema. AVF designed, in collaboration with WUSC, the research questions for the study as well as the questions to be posed in the radio shows to engage audiences in meaningful conversations addressing the project’s objectives.

\(^1\) See section 4 for a description of the analysis approach used to explore normative behaviour related to girls’ education and how this approach informed the questions that listeners were asked in the SMS follow-up survey. This follow-up survey was triggered after listeners’ initial SMS response to the radio show discussion.
**Figure 1:** AVF approach to using interactive radio for insightful rigorous research to inform programming

- **Phase II (Kakuma -including Listening Groups- and Dadaab):** An assessment of Phase I revealed that the interactive radio shows had a lower engagement than expected (see section 3.1). As a result, AVF, in consultation with WUSC, proceeded to a Phase II in Kakuma (and the host community of Lokichogio) by repeating the two most popular radio shows (covering barriers to education related to early marriage and domestic chores), but with an added innovation: Listening Groups (LGs). These LGs were expected to drive higher and more targeted engagement. In addition, it was agreed to expand the project to Dadaab to test whether engagement in this different context was more viable -given higher homogeneity in terms of language and ethnic origin- and to increase the potential for insights generation.

**Radio scripts**

In order to elicit collective beliefs during the radio shows, AVF employed the use of vignettes in the radio questions. Vignettes are a technique used in qualitative research and have been defined by Finch (1987:105) as “short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond.”

These vignettes covered the range of barriers to girls’ education that emerged from KEEP I. They elicited yes/no answers followed by the reason why the girl should be in school or not. The answers to these vignettes triggered a demographics SMS survey and a follow up SMS survey to explore the nature and strength of the normative behaviours elicited through the vignettes (see section 4 for more detail on the conceptualisation of the follow up survey). The list below illustrates this through the examples of the vignettes used in Kakuma.

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Radio show 1: Early marriage

Vignette: [RITA/AKIRU] is 12 years old and has been spotted by a man who wants to marry her. The family of the man have approached her parents with an offer to marry her. The groom's family would like to go with her and keep her with the parents of the man until they feel she is ready, then they will move in together with the man. Rita's parents are very poor and have been struggling to provide for the family, the dowry they receive for her marriage would help them to support the rest of the family.

Radio question: In your opinion, should her parents accept this offer of marriage? Yes/No? Why?

Radio show 2: House chores

Vignette: [MARY/AROP] is the first-born child in a family of 6 children and the family lives in [Lokichogio/Kakuma]. They have animals in the homestead and they also live with her ailing grand-parents. She had been going to school but the chores in the home are increasingly difficult for her mother to handle.

Radio question: In your opinion, should she continue going to school [yes], or should she stay at home to support her mother in taking care of the homestead, the younger children as well as her grandparents [no]? Why?

Radio show 3: Economic value of educating girls

Vignette: [EBEI/JOHN] is a father of 5 children and he lives in [Lokichogio/Kakuma] with his family. His first three children are boys and they are currently in school. The two youngest are girls and they are not yet in school but are almost reaching the age of going to school. Ebei has been thinking about whether or not to enrol his daughters in school, especially because he is already under a heavy financial strain to keep the 3 boys in school. He is wondering whether there will be any value in educating the girls especially because, they will eventually get married anyway and leave the family.

Radio question: Do you think there is any value in educating his girls? Yes/no? Why?

Radio show 4: Value of education

Vignette: (For Kakuma refugee camp) [GIRL] Many people alleged that after educating girls they leave and get married, that girls don't help their parents after educating them and that, after educating girls, they help their husbands only thus no value in educating them.

Vignette: (For Lokigochio) [AKAI] A family that lives in Lokichogio have four children, three boys and one girl called Akai. Akai is the youngest and has now reached the age of
starting school. All her older brothers are already in school. Her parents are unsure whether to send her to school because they want her to have an education, but they are worried about the negative influence of her peers and the environment in school.

Radio question: In your opinion, do you think there is any value in educating girls? Yes/No? Why?

2.2 Media landscape and demographic makeup of target areas

The media landscape in both Turkana and Garissa counties, where Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps lie respectively, is weak. There exists a limited number of radio stations in both counties with the few options available being small radio stations struggling with capacity and administrative issues.

After visiting both the camp and host community, AVF identified that many living in the refugee camp had limited or no access to radio. Those with access to a radio struggle to purchase batteries to power it. This affects radio listenership. Both Kakuma and Dadaab suffer from low literacy levels and many are not able to read and write - this affects both refugees and the host community. However, a majority can access mobile phones, which are used mostly for calling. The few who are literate, mostly young, also use their phones to text and, if they have a smartphone, to access social media and send emails.

Kakuma refugee camp and the host community are home to over 185,000 people. There are two main radio stations: Ata Nayeche (refugee camp) and Bibilia Husema (host community) which broadcast in Swahili and Turkana, leaving out those who cannot understand any of these two languages, mostly refugees. The diverse origin and nationalities of refugees in Kakuma, including their diverse languages, make it difficult to run interactive radio programs able to include everyone.

In Dadaab, the population of both refugees and the host community stands at over 235,000 and a majority speak the Somali language. This makes it easier to run interactive radio shows though it is important to consider the effects of low literacy levels in this context. The main risk, however, comes with the choice of station: only one radio station broadcasts from Dadaab, Radio Gargaar. The other radio stations that cover the area operate from Nairobi, which make it difficult to include guests in the show knowledgeable about the context and who are trustworthy to the community living in the camp.

2.3 Risks identified and strategies used - Kakuma Phase I

Prior to the pilot implementation, AVF visited both the refugee camp and host communities in Kakuma to assess the potential and challenges for media engagement (ie. listenership, radio performance, engagement history). We identified the following as the main risks to the broadcasting of the interactive radio shows:

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4 [https://www.unhcr.org/ke/kakuma-refugee-camp](https://www.unhcr.org/ke/kakuma-refugee-camp)

1. Weak radio stations: low capacity, inexperienced radio presenters (especially in running interactive shows);
2. Audience needed mobilising to participate: both stations have very low audience engagement history;
3. Perceived SMS cost: although SMS were sent to a free shortcode, there was a fear in the community that texting would be costly;
4. Broadcast language in Kakuma: broadcasting the shows in Swahili could leave refugees from diverse origins who speak other languages out;
5. Time of broadcasting: different segments of listeners (for example of age or gender) vary in the time slots that they listen to radio - this mainly affected Kakuma.

AVF developed strategies listed in the table below to guide the approach in enhancing participation. The strategies and their effect are summarised below and discussed in more detail in the next section.

**Table 1: Audience participation (Kakuma Phase I): risks identified and strategies implemented**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Risks Identified</th>
<th>Participation Enhancing Strategies</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Effectiveness for SMS participation (see section 3.1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Weak radio stations</td>
<td>Radio presenters trained</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Audience needs mobilising</td>
<td>On-the-ground mobilisation: Community Mobilisers and Windle Trust Filmaid Kenya in Kakuma</td>
<td>Weak: despite agreeing and planning to do so, mobilisers did not work on the ground and only used social media.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chiefs’ Barazas and Church Leaders in Kakuma</td>
<td>Weak: highly dependent on individual mobilisers</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Understanding SMS has no cost</td>
<td>Communicate that SMS are free</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Language of broadcasting</td>
<td>Use three languages: English, Swahili and Turkana</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>Not effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Time of broadcasting</td>
<td>Use most preferred time slots identified, e.g. two slots on Biblia Radio (morning and evening).</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>Not effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Weak or inexperienced guests</td>
<td>Briefing and prepping guests on the shows</td>
<td>Completed</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Evaluation of Media and Engagement

3.1 Kakuma Phase I

Interactive Radio shows
In June and July 2018, AVF partnered with radio stations *Ata Nayech* (Kakuma) and *Biblia* (Lokichogio) to broadcast a total of 12 interactive radios shows: 6 shows per station over a period of six weeks. Each show had a topic as described in section 2.1 (i.e. early marriage, domestic chores, etc) and a script (see Annex 1) to guide the presenter. There was at least one or more guests attending every show to respond live to issues raised by listeners via SMS and calls. Each interactive radio show was to take one hour but in most cases the shows lasted for at least one and a half hours. During the live show, listeners were reminded on several occasions to respond to the main question via a free SMS shortcode.

The interactive radio shows were mainly broadcasted in Swahili, yet the question discussed was read in Swahili, Turkana and English, either by the presenter or guests speaking the relevant languages.

Participation
With the risks and strategies to enhance participation discussed earlier in this report, we envisaged a moderate performance in terms of audience participation. Our target was 100 messages per show. However this was not attained. The audience participation in each interactive show is summarised in the tables below:

**Table 2**: Kakuma Phase I participation (raw data) / Radio *Ata Nayech* (Kakuma)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WK 1</th>
<th>WK 2</th>
<th>WK 3</th>
<th>WK 4</th>
<th>WK 5</th>
<th>WK 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants (unique phone numbers)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMS received</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3**: Kakuma Phase I participation (raw data) / Radio *Biblia Husema* (Lokichogio)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>WK 1</th>
<th>WK 2</th>
<th>WK 3</th>
<th>WK 4</th>
<th>WK 5</th>
<th>WK 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants (unique phone numbers)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMS received</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After cleaning the dataset, we drew the following conclusions from the Kakuma Phase I engagement with the radio shows:
• Low participation: the data included only 46 unique participants in June and 16 in July.

• Limited quality: Only 12% of the messages received were relevant. Of a total of 626 SMS in June, only 68 were ‘relevant’ (11% relevance). In July, of 270 SMS, only 38 were relevant (14% relevance).

• Hard-to-reach target groups: A large proportion of Kakuma messages were from Kenyan nationals, which excluded the refugee community.

Learnings and new strategy
Phase I was a clear failure in terms of audience participation in the interactive shows. To identify the causes of the low engagement despite the risks identified before broadcasting and the strategies taken to address them, a small number of community members were interviewed in Kakuma and Lokichogio following the first Phase of broadcasting. The interviews revealed that the refugee community in Kakuma does not listen to radio *Ata Nayeche* not only because the station broadcasts in Swahili but also because the station’s programming does not cover issues affecting the refugee population. In addition, those who listen don’t participate via SMS due to low literacy levels for some and a preference for calls over texting for others.

Similarly, in Lokichogio, the majority of the people we interviewed indicated they listen to *Radio Bibilia* however they don’t participate via SMS either because of low literacy or because they are not used to texting. While in the field we also established that *Radio Bibilia* is not on air consistently, thus has not been able to build a stable listenership. Administrative and infrastructure challenges, like lack of power for long periods, means the station is off air at times for over a month, which makes it difficult to build a loyal audience.

On the other hand, during the field visits both in Kakuma and Lokichogio, the AVF team identified listeners of the interactive radio shows, mostly Kenyans of Turkana origin, who said they liked the shows and found them very educative.

Therefore, in view of a potential for listenership, mostly among the host community, but low levels of engagement, AVF, in consultation with WUSC, agreed the following strategy which formed the basis of Phase II:

1. Start a second Phase in which the radio broadcasts continue in Kakuma and Lokichogio by repeating the two most popular themes (early marriage and domestic chores) but with an added innovation: Listening Groups (LGs). The LGs were to help mobilize other communities, mainly the refugee communities, to listen to the shows and participate.

2. Expand the project to Dadaab to test whether engagement in this context is more viable (considering the different media landscape and homogenous language) in order to increase the potential for data-driven insights generation.
3.2 Kakuma Phase II

The most significant change in Phase II in Kakuma was the testing of listening groups (LGs). In addition, some changes were made to the media production as well, namely around language and the training and preparation of guests.

Interactive Radio shows

With the same vignettes as Phase I, AVF broadcasted a total of four interactive radio shows: two shows per station over a period of two weeks. Each show had a topic and a script to guide the presenter. In addition, there were two guests attending every show to respond to issues raised by listeners via SMS and calls on the show. Each interactive radio show took one hour. Similar to Phase I, listeners were reminded at various intervals on air to respond to the question being discussed by sending an SMS to a free short-code.

In Kakuma, at radio *Ata Nayeche*, the radio shows were mainly broadcasted in Swahili. The questions were, however, read in Swahili, Turkana, Juba-arabic, Somali and English to reach non-Swahili speakers that had been excluded in Phase I. This approach was more inclusive than Phase I, although it still left out other refugees who don't speak the above mentioned languages, such as Congolese or Ethiopians. Furthermore, the LGs helped non-swahili speakers to discuss the topics with the facilitator’s guidance, which helped connect a more diverse base of listeners with the shows. For Lokichogio (radio *Bibilia Husema*), the shows were mainly broadcasted in Turkana but the question was read in Turkana and Swahili. Listeners from Lokichogio were also able to take part in discussions on the show through listening groups.

Listening Groups: design and approach

Listening groups (LGs) were designed after the low participation and media landscape challenges encountered in Phase I to catalyse reach from target populations in the refugee camp and the host community of Lokigochio. Table 6 below presents the size and diversity of the groups in order to achieve this higher and more diverse engagement.

Table 6: Listening Groups composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Refugee camp</th>
<th>Host community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>Turkana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>WK 1 WK 2 WK 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-40 yrs</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20 20 18-40 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+ yrs</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22 20 40+ yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>18-40 yrs 21 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-40 yrs</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21 20 18-40 yrs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The LGs were implemented in partnership with the radio station, responsible for ensuring some of the views of the LG participants were heard in the show; mobilisers in the community, who would facilitate the LG and appoint one participant to act as secretaries (capture contact information and take notes); and, finally, WUSC, Windle Trust and AVF teams to support coordination and monitor quality.

**Kakuma Phase II audience participation**

During this Phase there was a notable increase in participation and the data suggests the LGs played a crucial role in this change. The audience participation in each interactive show was summarised as below:

**Table 4: Participation (raw data) / Kakuma Phase II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Radio Ata Nayeche (Kakuma):</th>
<th>Radio Bibilia Husema (Lokichogio):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WK 1</td>
<td>WK 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants (Unique numbers)</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messages</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following data cleaning and analysis, we drew the following conclusions from the Kakuma Phase II engagement with the radio shows:

- **Quantity of participation:** During Phase II (September - October 2018), participation was higher and SMS received from those who took part in the LGs was double the number of messages received by those who did not take part in LGs.

- **Quality of participation:** During Phase II, the relevance of the SMS sent to the radio show increased in proportion to the relevance in Phase I.

**Figure 2:** The role of Listening Groups (LG) in driving engagement: total of relevant messages received in Kakuma Phase I and II
Figure 3: The proportion of relevant messages (by month, not show) increased in Kakuma Phase II after implementing media engagement strategies.

Kakuma overall participation (Phase I and Phase II)
Following data cleaning and analysis for all participation in Kakuma (including both Phase I and Phase II), the percentage of relevant messages received was at 24% (resulting from an average between 12% in Phase I and 35% in Phase II). This is a positive percentage (as many unique respondents sent additional “chatter” messages (such as ‘Thank you’ or questions about upcoming programmes) that are part of the conversation catalysed by the interactive radio approach but which are coded as non-relevant for the purpose of understanding collective beliefs and social norms during analysis. More importantly, then, across Kakuma, the percentage of unique IDs who sent relevant messages was at 90% (see table 5), indicating a high quality engagement.

Table 5: Kakuma Phase I and II participation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total messages</th>
<th>% Relevant messages</th>
<th>Total unique participants</th>
<th>% Unique participants who sent relevant messages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2316</td>
<td>24% (n= 562)</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>90% (n=385)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reaching the intended target groups**

The demographic analysis of Kakuma data shows that the actions taken under Phase II, largely driven by the implementation of the listening groups, helped to reach the target audience.

An analysis of the LG participants who engaged in the radio show about early marriage shows the diversity of listeners with regards to their nationality or ethnic origin and age.

**Figure 4:** Origins of participants at the radio show on early marriage who took part in a listening group
Table 7: Age distribution of participants at the radio show on early marriage who took part in a listening group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Turkana (n=48)</th>
<th>South Sudanese (n=34)</th>
<th>Somali (n=29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-40</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 above</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Learnings from implementing Listening Groups

In addition to driving higher, more relevant and more diverse engagement, the following was concluded on the value and challenges of conducting Listening Groups (LGs).

- A valued space for discussion in itself: LGs have a value in their own right as a community space for discussion. Feedback from participants indicated the value of the space for discussing relevant issues for the community. Some of the members we talked to told us that being part of the group helped them correct basic misconceptions about early marriage and about the value of educating a girl. Many reported having limited knowledge on these issues prior to being involved in a listening group.

- A space that added value to the radio shows: The listening groups added value to the interactive radio shows by providing a space in which group members discussed and sought clarification on the radio broadcast. The time for discussion helped members consolidate learning and exchange ideas and viewpoints.

- Further understanding of the media landscape and the value of the shows content The listening groups provided insight into media consumption habits. For example, the radio stations were not listened to due to their unreliable broadcasting or non-relevant radio shows but the content of the interactive radio shows curated by AVF was valued when participants got the opportunity to listen to them in the context of the listening group.
Despite the positive learning outlined above, the following challenges need to be considered:

- The LGs allowed for a more diverse engagement but it still excluded other communities (such as Ugandans or Ethiopians).

- It cannot be taken for granted that LGs will expand a radio station’s listenership but the findings suggest that they can help to catalyse it overtime if the content is relevant and engaging.

- The representation in the LGs can be biased and reflect power relations. For example, there is a risk that only those who already are part of the network of the mobilisers are recruited.

- Mobilisation is difficult without incentives. Participants expect compensation for sparing their time to attend the group which can be both costly and result into unintended consequences in the community dynamics.

- Social desirability bias might be an issue, because LGs are ‘interventional’. This means that the opinions that participants might share on their SMS can be influenced by the perception of what is expected as a ‘positive behaviour’ by the peers, facilitator or LG organiser.

- Some people share the same phone number, which has implications for data automation and analysis. This can result in some voices being hidden under someone else’s (ie. the opinion of a female participant being translated into the dataset as a message from a male spouse or a duplicate entry if they shared the same number). AVF is aware of this and has put in place mechanisms to mitigate such issues but it is not always possible to identify these cases, which the LGs helped to reveal more clearly.
Listening group participants in Lokichogio (host community)

The use of listening groups shows that they are highly compatible with the Kakuma refugee camp context and, if used at scale, they could be a valuable asset to WUSC and other project implementing organisations within this context.

- LGs are a very good way to unlock engagement with an interactive media space in a context like Kakuma but operationally can be challenging and costly.
- There is a need to ensure inclusivity when mobilising participants and communities.
- There is a potential for sustainability and programmatic development. LGs offer a space for community engagement and discussion that can be taken up by implementers and partners to sustain behaviour change work across a number of issues or as a space for listening from communities to inform programming. Approaches can be considered to allow for scale-up of the LGs in a sustained way, such as developing a peer-based network of LG facilitators.

3.3 Dadaab

Interactive Radio shows

As mentioned earlier in the report, at the planning stage of Phase II, we had envisaged working with two radio stations in Dadaab, radio Gargaar and Midnimo - the two main radio stations in the area. However on visiting the camp to assess the media landscape and radio presence we identified that radio Midnimo did not have a studio in Dadaab but operates from Nairobi. In additional to a weaker understanding of the local context, the logistics of bringing guests to interactive radio shows weekly from Dadaab to Nairobi and back also made it impossible to work with radio Midnimo. Radio Gargaar was thus the only option. It broadcasts from Dadaab covering both the refugee camp and the host community. Feedback gathered during our visit to the camp suggested this was a well-known and listened to radio station by the target audience.

Similar to Kakuma (see section 2.1), each radio show had a topic and a script to guide the presenter. In addition, there were two guests attending every show to respond to issues raised by listeners via SMS and calls on the show. Each interactive radio show took one hour.

Listeners were reminded several times at various intervals on air to respond to the question being discussed by sending an SMS to a free short-code. The presenter would read some of the messages on air, acknowledge the sender and allow the guests to respond to some of the issues being raised by listeners. The interactive radio shows were broadcasted in Somali, the main language used in Dadaab refugee camp and host community.

Participation

The engagement for the interactive radio shows in Dadaab achieved AVF’s targets, which were cautious considering the low literacy levels in Dadaab and Garissa county. The proportion of relevant messages sent was particularly high (55%). The tables below summarise the main participation indicators:
Table 8: Dadaab participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total messages</th>
<th>% Relevant messages</th>
<th>Total unique participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>55% (n= 1056)</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most successful topics

The radio show about early marriage was the most successful in terms of total messages received, although the episode tackling house chores (see figure 6) received the higher percentage of relevant messages. AVF put emphasis in tracking participation as it happened and liaising with the presenter to increase it. This included adding mentions about the radio show in previous programmes aired at the station. It is therefore plausible that this engagement with the radio station to improve participation might have contributed to the increase of relevant messages over time.

Figure 5: Topics with the most total and relevant messages

Reaching the target groups

Unlike Kakuma, gender participation in Dadaab was slightly skewed towards men (60%) and largely to participants from the refugee camp (92%). Lower female participation can be due to cultural norms that place radio as belonging to a man and which do not approve of women sitting in the same place as a man to listen to the radio. Literacy levels are also

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6 These were the topics already identified as most successful in Kakuma Phase I, and the two repeated in Kakuma Phase II.
low among women in Dadaab. These insights emerged from focus group discussions with Somali women. With regards to reaching the population in the host communities around Dadaab’s refugee camp, it was found that the radio station broadcasts content that is particularly relevant to issues in the refugee camp, thus pushing away potential listeners from the host community who do not find this content relevant.

**Table 9: Dadaab participants demographics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unique participants (n=393)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male (n=209)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Learnings for the future**

The more homogeneous cultural background of the refugees in Dadaab refugee camp, largely Somali population speaking the same language, made it easier to engage listeners.

However, in Dadaab it was difficult to reach the host community and there is a small gender gap in participation. There is therefore still room for mobilisation, either through Listening Groups, as piloted in Kakuma, or through schools, mosques, food distribution centres, etc. to raise interest on the radio shows.
4. Social Analysis

4.1 Data collection method: Radio and SMS

KEEP I identified a discrepancy in knowledge and attitudes to girls’ schooling versus actual behaviour, suggesting the importance of social norms in influencing whether families would take girls to school. It also identified a set of barriers, namely related to early marriage practices, household chores and the economic value placed on educating girls. Based on these barriers, KEEP II employed the use of vignettes and qualitative questions to explore the influence of norms on that behaviour. AVF adapted the CARE US SNAP approach to help design the vignettes and identify social norms and created scripts to present the scenarios during the radio shows with the aim of sparking listeners’ responses via SMS through the presence of guests and the discussion of some of the SMS sent by listeners, as explained in section 2.

The scenario presented during the radio show through the vignettes is a hypothetical context in which the behaviour or practice takes place. It is presented to the listeners, who are asked to text back with their views on what the practice should be in that scenario and why. The SMS sent by the listener triggers a short demographic survey, also via SMS, and then a follow up SMS survey.

This follow up survey explores participants’ empirical (what the respondent think most people do) and normative expectations (whether the respondent approves or not of this practice) related to that behaviour or practice. Next, it introduces a twist in the narration: the main character or another character does not comply with the desired norm (i.e. parent decides to marry daughter off instead of keeping her in school) that sets the stage for a question on the sanctions (how strong is the community disapproval of the practice as perceived by the respondent) that participants anticipate for the non-complying character. Finally, it includes a question that explores reference groups for entry points to behaviour change. Figure 6, overleaf, illustrates this process through the vignette related to early marriage:

Once the norms are identified through mixed-methods analysis (see 4.2), we seek to understand the strength of the norm by looking at frequencies as well as analysing for associations between beliefs and perceived behaviours.

To identify key influencers and entry points, analysis includes associations between beliefs and different demographic groups where possible (the sample sizes decrease as data is disaggregated, which can hinder the possibility of statistical analysis).

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7 “The Social Norms Analysis Plot – SNAP” was a tool developed by CARE US that can help practitioners design vignettes, drawing upon the different characteristics of a social norm.
4.2 Data analysis

AVF uses a mixed method approach combining qualitative thematic analysis and data science techniques. This allows us to gain insights from local language data on a scale that would otherwise be difficult to attain through using qualitative methods only.

Data processing

The raw audience data first undergoes pre-processing, involving de-identification of phone numbers to ensure data privacy. This is followed by data cleaning to filter out spam and non-relevant messages. Numerical and categorical variables such as age, gender, location, urban/rural are cleaned using regular expressions or regexes and thereafter verified manually, while open questions with short answers are coded manually.

Qualitative thematic analysis

Next, a thematic analysis is undertaken to organise the textual data (answers to radio questions) into themes. Thematic analysis is a search for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon. The process involves the identification of themes through ‘careful reading and re-reading of the data’. It is a form of pattern recognition within the data, where themes identified become the categories for analysis. (Fereday & Cochrane, 2006). The thematic analysis began with data exploration, that is reading and re-reading the messages received, with the goal of creating a coding framework which is considered final when no more themes emerge from reading new
messages, thus reaching a saturation point. Once this saturation point is reached, the list of themes in the coding framework is revisited to ensure all codes are mutually exclusive, meaning that there is little room for doubt on what codes apply to each message, therefore increasing intercoder reliability. This sometimes requires merging codes or breaking down others into more specific ones. Once this is done, the coding framework is then applied to label all the messages.

**Quantitative analysis**

The resulting dataset consists of messages labelled with one or more themes, and is then analysed for associations with socio-demographic groups. The insights from this quantitative analysis are finally complemented with further qualitative interrogation and thick description of the data, with insights illustrated by a selection of text messages translated to English.

The insights that follow reflect the social reality of radio discussions and their participants. As the group of participants is heterogeneous and inclusive, this study allows us to capture sets of beliefs that are prevalent in different groups. Contrary to surveys, this approach gathers opinions in their natural context and through a conversational mode, which is more aligned to the socio-cognitive processes that generate and shape these opinions.

**4.3 Limits of the approach**

The study design is prone to coverage error – the difference between the target population (population of the target areas - Kakuma and Dadaab) and the accessible population (listeners of radio shows). Among those reached by the radio station, a limited group listened to the particular show depending on their media habits, availability, and interest in the topic. From those, a minority participated in the radio shows. The participants are self-selected and therefore non-representative of the population of listeners of the radio shows. Factors related to access to mobile phones, literacy, gender roles, and dynamics of participation influence participation.

However, our research questions refer to discovery and exploring of social norms shared among subgroups of participants and the beliefs that sustain those norms. Social norms are widespread ideas in society about what constitutes acceptable behaviour (Cialdini et al, 1991). They are important determinants of behaviour because they guide people on how they should behave. Social norms can be (1) descriptive - people behave in a certain way because it is how others with whom they identify behave, (2) injunctive - people behave in certain ways because they perceive as being approved of by others important in their life. This distinction corresponds to empirical expectations and normative expectations respectively (Bicchieri, 2006). Social norms hold more power to influence individual behaviour when these two beliefs converge.

The role of sanctions is central to sustain social norms. Individuals can have self-imposing sanctions such as moral discomfort if their actions conflict with their values. Or they can experience real or imagined external sanctions from others if they behave in ways contrary to the norms of their groups or communities. In the latter, norms can hinder the behaviour even if others are not present, through the realization that the behaviour is conflicting with expectations of others. Both internal and external norms have the power

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of deter the individual to behave in certain ways, particularly when the identification with specific groups is strong (family, friends, religious, or other).

The description of beliefs is not exhaustive: while radio shows encourage participation from certain groups, others not heard may hold different beliefs. The results allows us to understand the relevance of certain beliefs for girls’ education. As we are answering questions about association between beliefs and practices, the lack of representativeness of this study does threaten the validity of its conclusions. On the other hand, this limitation is less applicable in this case, because AVF's analysis focuses on associations between beliefs rather than extrapolating percentages into the broader population.

The insights about collective beliefs and social norms contained in this report can be used to inform WUSC programming when the targets are groups of the population that share the same social, demographic, and geographical characteristics/identities, media habits of participants in radio shows.

4.4 Insights

This section provides the insights resulting from the analysis approach outlined above. The analysis in this section seeks to answer the following objective:

1. To get a deeper understanding of contextually specific barriers to girls' education, identify the barriers that are negotiable and can be entry-points for shifting norms, as well as identify key influencers in the community regarding girls' education.

The insights are presented by the topics that were already identified as critical in understanding the norms hindering girls education in KEEP I: early marriage, household chores, and economic and overall value placed on girls' education. Within each of these, the insights are given separately for Kakuma and Dadaab, due to the contextual differences of both the communities as well as the quality and quantity of the data gathered as outlined in section 3.

4.4.1 Early Marriage (Kakuma)

Listeners were presented with the following vignette in the radio show.

[AKIRU/RITA] is 12-year-old and has been noticed by a man who wants to marry her. The family of the man have approached her parents with an offer to marry her.

The groom's family would like to go with her and keep her with the parents of the man until they feel she is ready, then they will move her in together with the man.

Rita's parents are very poor and have been struggling to provide for the family. The dowry they receive for her marriage would help them to support the rest of the family.

They were then asked by the radio presenter whether the parents should accept the offer of marriage. Overall, listeners overwhelmingly (89%) thought she should not be married.
This was particularly the case for female respondents (82% of male respondents and 97% of female respondents did) and from those in the host community (95% compared to 84% in the refugee camp).9 This view was also more predominant among those aged below 25 years old10 (see table 10).

### Table 10: Views on the question on early marriage across demographics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LG (n=179)</th>
<th>non LG (n=105)</th>
<th>Male (n=98)</th>
<th>Female (n=116)</th>
<th>&lt;=18 (n=16)</th>
<th>&gt;18 and &lt;=25 (n=73)</th>
<th>&gt;25 and &lt;=35 (n=77)</th>
<th>&gt;35</th>
<th>Refugee camp (n=146)</th>
<th>Host community (n=138)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes (should accept marriage)</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No (should stay in school)</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Barriers and drivers to schooling in the context of early marriage**

In addition to texting ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to the question, listeners also responded with their reasons for the answer. These given reasons went through a process of qualitative analysis to develop key themes, which were used to code all messages in preparation for quantitative analysis. The graphs below show that financial gain is the main reason (40% of all labelled messages) why some listeners still support early marriage as opposed to schooling. On the other hand, arguments related to the girl being ‘too young’ (37%) are the reasons why people say the girl should not be married, followed by education being important for the better future of the girl and the family.

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9 These differences between gender categories, location categories, and (non-)membership to LGs are statistically significant at <.05 (p value resulting from Chi-square statistical calculation).

10 The sample size for some age groups is too small to confirm statistical significance.
Figure 8: Frequencies of reasons in favour and against early marriage over schooling

Table 11 illustrates the main themes (codes) developed under the ‘Early marriage’ scenario.

Table 11: Themes and sub-themes on early marriage and schooling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organising themes/Categories</th>
<th>Themes (used for labelling)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>YES (MARRIAGE)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial benefit</td>
<td>Financial gain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Better future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion and cultural values</td>
<td>Acceptable in culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religion allows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shame to family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source of pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral safeguarding</td>
<td>Having children when young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avoid prostitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NO (SCHOOL)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (too young)</td>
<td>Too young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To protect her health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marriage can wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better long-term investment</td>
<td>Better future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life/education more important than money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benefit others (immediate family)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self reliant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legality and rights</td>
<td>Against the law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Right to education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It is for her to decide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal benefits</td>
<td>Societal benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural values</td>
<td>To avoid shame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The messages below illustrate some of the voices behind the themes that support early marriage over the education of the girl.

**[FINANCIAL BENEFIT]**

“Yes she should get married so that her family can escape poverty”
Female, 40 year old, Lokichogio

“Yes should accept the marriage offer because they are poor and there is no reason for them to turn down dowry so they should take it.”
Male, Kakuma

**[RELIGION AND CULTURAL VALUES]**

“Causes of early marriages are based on African cultural beliefs. What is the justification for making the age of consent 18? What is the difference between 18 and 16? It’s all the same. These are arbitrary western views being imposed upon us.”
Unknown

“The communities are different and for us we marry off young girls because our religion allows”
60 year old, Kakuma

**[MORAL SAFEGUARDING]**

We marry young girls to avoid prostitution.”
Male, 25 year old, Lokichogio

However, many more supported education over marriage. These are some of the voices under the relevant themes:

**[AGE, TOO YOUNG]**

“Should not accept to get married because she is still too young and needs to study so that she can help her parents in the future”
Male, 24 years old, Kakuma

“She should be taken to school she is too young”
30 years old, Lokichogio

**[BETTER LONG TERM INVESTMENT]**

“Should go back to school so that she could come and help herself in whatever she will want in the future as well as helping her parent more than how the man could help them”
Female, Kakuma

“The parents should allow this girl to go to school because she has a bright future ahead and she will be beneficial to them”
21 year old, Lokichogio

**[LEGALITY AND RIGHTS]**
“She’s too young to get married and that’s violating her rights as a child”
Female, 19 year old, Lokichogio

“She must be given rights to education. This early marriage thing must be fought with dedicated effort and likewise be treated as capital offence.”
Male, 38 year old, Kakuma

[SOCIAL BENEFITS]
“She should go to school because educating a girl is like educating a whole nation”
Male, 39 year old, Lokichogio

[CULTURE AND VALUES]
“Our culture is static. We should help embrace education”
Male, 20 years old, Lokichogio

Empirical vs normative expectations on early marriage
A behaviour is more likely to be practiced when empirical (what someone perceives as most practiced in the community) and normative expectations (when the person approves or disapproves of the practice) align, as mentioned in section 4.1.

In Kakuma, the 30 respondents\textsuperscript{11} who answered ‘no’ to the scenario\textsuperscript{12} and who also answered the follow-up survey, overwhelmingly (90\%) disapproved of early marriage (normative expectations). They also thought (76\%) that most people in the community would disapprove (sanctions). However, more than half (59\%) still think either all or most girls in the community below sixteen years old are married young (empirical expectations). There is therefore a mismatch between empirical expectations (the perceived practiced behaviours) and normative expectations -or the extent to which this behaviour is approved of- (see Figure 9).

\textbf{Figure 9:} Expectations and sanctions among those against early marriage (Kakuma)

\textsuperscript{11} Response rates dropped as listeners were sent the demographics and the follow-up survey after they sent their initial response to the scenario presented in the radio show. This means that the analysis of the social norms presented here needs to be treated with caution. No significant statistical conclusions can be drawn from this sample size (25 to 32 responses).

\textsuperscript{12} Only two of the 30 respondents who answered ‘yes’ to early marriage completed the follow-up survey. For this reason, the analysis on normative and empirical expectations is based on those who answered ‘no’ to early marriage, who were also a majority (89\%).
This suggests that although early marriage is generally viewed as wrong, it can still be normal for people in Kakuma to choose it over girls’ education, mostly due to financial reasons and, to a lesser extent, supported by religion and cultural values that make it acceptable to some. Programmatic efforts should concentrate in identifying the tension points which make this practice normal despite not being approved of. They should also explore whether the drivers (such as education being a better long-term investment or new cultural values making early marriage a thing of the past) can be harnessed to shift these tension points or whether other incentives (such as cash transfers) are needed to tackle the barriers related to financial constraints.

Influencers

Due to sample sizes, it is not possible to reach conclusions derived from how these empirical and normative associations vary by demographics. However, it is important to remember that women were more significantly likely to favour schooling over early marriage, and the data suggests that so did the younger segments of the population. This suggests that reinforcing the drivers and the voice of these population segments are potential avenues for identifying entry points and influencers for positive behaviours.

4.4.2 Early Marriage (Dadaab)

The same scenario presented in Kakuma was presented to listeners in Dadaab after changing the names of the characters in the vignettes to make them relevant to the context.

Figure 10: Percentage in favour and against the girl staying in school rather than leaving to help at home (Dadaab)
A majority of listeners said the parents should not accept the offer of marriage (71%) but to a lesser extent than in Kakuma (89%). This lower percentage from Kakuma could be driven by the fact that the sample for Dadaab is skewed towards men, who are significantly less likely than women to reject early marriage. As seen in Kakuma, in Dadaab women (83% compared to 64% of men) and those aged below 20 years old (76% say no compared to 48% of those aged above 25) are more likely to respond as being against the offer of marriage (see figure 11).13

Figure 11: Women and younger age brackets are more supportive of girls’ education over early marriage (Dadaab)

Barriers and drivers in the context of early marriage (Dadaab)
Among those who support early marriage, the reasons are more related to religious and cultural values rather than financial gain (see figure 12). However, the drivers for girls’ education identified in the themes are similar to those in Kakuma in that they emphasise the implications of the girl being too young as well as the importance of education for her future over money. Importantly, there are also beliefs associated to religion that can counteract the religious arguments for early marriage such as those who see God as the only provider, arguing that the girl should go to school and that God, rather than dowry, will provide for the family.

Figure 12: The themes supporting early marriage in Dadaab are more related to religious and cultural values.

13 Both the differences between gender and age groups are statistically significant at 95% confidence level.

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The messages below illustrate the nuance behind some of the themes favouring school over early marriage:

[AGE, TOO YOUNG]
“If the girls gets married at an early age she might get complications during childbirth”
Female, Hagardera

[BETTER LONG TERM INVESTMENT]
“The money received as dowry will end but education will last a lifetime with her”
Female, Ifo

[GOD IS THE PROVIDER]
“No, I think no one should marry off their daughter to get dowry because money will finish and Allah is the provider for all”
Male, Abakeyle

[SOCIETAL BENEFITS]
“They should not accept the marriage offer and educate their daughter because an educated girl is like the whole society is educating”
Female, Dagahley

[CULTURE AND VALUES]
“No and I advice my people to get rid of this retrogressive culture and allow girls to get educated so that we can progress”
Male, Ifo

The examples below illustrate some of the voices supporting early marriage. Whereas in Kakuma the importance of financial gain was a prominent theme, in Dadaab there is a lot more nuance and richness in the cluster of religion and values, including themes related to the importance of obeying parents. Some messages reflected the view that education for a girl has no use:

[RELIGION]
“Yes they should accept the offer because it is allowed in our religion because the
Prophet himself married Lady Aisha at the age of 9 years”
Male, Hagardera

[RESPECTING AND OBEYING PARENTS]
“Yes she should get married because if she obeys her parents everything will be easy for her”
Male, Hagardera

“If your family is facing problems she should get married and once you get your parents blessings you have already made progress in life”
Male, Ifo

[EDUCATION HAS NO USE]
“Yes should accept the offer because firstly it is allowed by the religion and also I am a girl I have two certificates and my life has no progress”
Female, Ifo

Empirical vs normative expectations on early marriage
Similar to Kakuma, in Dadaab there is also a mismatch between empirical expectations and normative expectations. This means that, although a majority disapprove of early marriage, many think it is a frequent practice. The pattern is similar among those who support early marriage\(^{14}\), suggesting there is general disapproval of the practice and an understanding that others disapprove too even among those who support it.

However, this view (63%) that other disapprove (sanctions) is not as strong as in Kakuma (76%), suggesting it might be harder to push against some of the barriers to girls’ education if the perception of disapproval is not as strong.

Figure 13: Expectations and sanctions among those against early marriage in Dadaab

\(^{14}\) This is not included in a graph due to the limited sample size of this group.
4.4.3 House chores (Kakuma)

On the topic of the choice between a girl helping in the house or going to school, listeners were presented with the following vignette:

[MARY/AROP] is the first-born child in a family of 6 children and the family lives in Lokichogio. They have animals in the homestead and they also live with her ailing grand-parents.

She had been going to school but the chores in the home are increasingly difficult for her mother to handle.

Listeners were then asked whether the girl should continue going to school. Overall, listeners overwhelmingly (95%) thought she should continue going to school.

Figure 14: Percentage in favour and against the girl staying in school rather than leaving to help at home

Table 12 shows the proportion of ‘yes’ and ‘no’ answers across demographics but the sample sizes and differences between groups are not big enough to produce statistically significant results.

Table 12: Views on the question on house chores across demographics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LG (n=87)</th>
<th>non LG (n=67)</th>
<th>Male (n=76)</th>
<th>Female (n=35)</th>
<th>&lt;= 18 (n=111)</th>
<th>&gt;18 and &lt;= 25 (n=47)</th>
<th>&gt;25 and &lt;= 35 (n=26)</th>
<th>&gt;35 (n=21)</th>
<th>Refuge camp (n=112)</th>
<th>Host community (n=42)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes (should stay in school)</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No (should leave to help at home)</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Barriers and drivers in the context of house chores

In addition to texting ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to the question, listeners were also encouraged to explain the reason for their answer. As described earlier in this report, these given reasons went through a process of qualitative analysis to develop key themes, which were used to code all messages in preparation for quantitative analysis. The graphs below show that the importance of having a better future is the main reason (34% of all labelled messages) why listeners support schooling over staying at home to help. This is followed by an emphasis on the benefits for the family that schooling the girl brings (12%). The sample size of those who think the girl should leave school to help at home is too small to draw conclusions on the reasons. Only 8 messages were received supporting staying at home and, of those 8, most argued that the girl had to help out parents without providing much nuance to the reasons for staying at home. Only one message referred to the belief that the girl would drop out of school anyways.

Figure 15: Frequencies of reasons in favour of schooling over house chores in Kakuma (n=146)

The table below illustrates the main themes developed as codes under the ‘house chores’ scenario.

Table 13: Themes and sub-themes on house chores and schooling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organising themes/Categories</th>
<th>Themes (used for labelling)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>YES (SCHOOL)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better future</td>
<td>Better future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self reliant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It will benefit others (immediate family)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education is more important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can do both (school and help at home)</td>
<td>She can do both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal benefits</td>
<td>Societal benefits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The messages below illustrate some of the voices behind the themes that support school over staying at home.

[BETTER FUTURE]
“Girls have to go to school so that they can build their lives after school”
Female, 26 years old, Lochere

[CAN DO BOTH]
“Yes, she should continue with the studies but when she come back from school in the evening she can now help the parent to do some remaining work”
Male, 22 years old, Kakuma

[SOCIETAL BENEFITS]
“The benefit of educating a girl is very important because it is educating the society of today’s generation”
Male, 21 years old, Kakuma

Although only eight relevant messages were captured advocating that the girl should stay at home, they mostly stated that she had to help, with one mentioning that the girl might drop out anyways.

[NEED TO HELP PARENTS]
“Mary must not go to school because her grandmother is old and no one can help her since Mary is the first born”
Male, 21 years old, Kakuma

[RISK OF DROP OUT]
“I don’t support (staying in school) since many young ladies waste their time on the telephone rather than concentrating on their studies”
Female, 40 years old, Lokichogio

**Empirical vs normative expectations on house chores**

As mentioned earlier, it is preferable that empirical (what someone perceives as most practiced in the community) and normative expectations (when the person approves or disapproves of the practice) align for a behaviour to be more likely to be practiced.
In Kakuma, the 49 respondents who answered ‘yes’ to the scenario and who also answered the follow-up survey overwhelmingly disapproved (normative expectations) that the girl stayed at home (91% said it was bad). They also thought (78%) that most people in the community would disapprove (sanctions). However, as we have seen under the ‘early marriage’ scenario, more than half (55%) still think either all or most girls in the community stay at home to help with the household chores (empirical expectations). Once again, there is a mismatch between empirical expectations (the perceived practiced behaviours) and normative expectations -or the extent to which this behaviour is approved of.-

Since many still see this as a frequently practiced behaviour, it can be more difficult for parents to keep the girl in school rather than helping at home, even if generally there is an understanding that this is bad. Therefore, programmes trying to shift this behaviour should explore how the drivers for education, such as education being a better future for both the girl and the family, can be reinforced, especially since the themes supporting that the girl stayed at home suggest they are more easily surmountable (needing help at home, which many thought could be combined with school) than the themes identified under the ‘early marriage’ scenario (financial gain and cultural and religious values).

**Figure 16:** Expectations, and sanctions among those supporting school over house chores (Kakuma)

4.4.4 House chores (Dadaab)

As in Kakuma, the scenario was also presented in Dadaab to elicit responses from listeners on whether the girl should stay in school or leave to go back and help at home.

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15 Response rates dropped as listeners were sent the demographics and the follow-up survey after they sent their initial response to the scenario presented in the radio show. This means that the analysis of the social norms presented here needs to be treated with caution. No significant statistical conclusions can be drawn from this sample size (25 to 32 responses).

16 Only 1 person who answered ‘no’ to staying in school’ answered the follow up survey. For this reason, the analysis of normative and empirical expectations and sanctions is based on those who answered ‘yes’ to the girl staying in school and who were also a majority (95%).
Figure 17: Percentage in favour and against the girl staying in school rather than leaving to help at home (Dadaab)

A majority (78%) responded that the girl should stay in school, a lesser proportion than in Kakuma (95%). However, there was clearly a lower proportion of support in Dadaab than Kakuma. This could have been influenced by the higher presence of men in the sample. As in Kakuma, women in Dadaab (96% compared to 68% of men) are significantly\(^\text{17}\) more likely to support school over working at home.

Figure 18: Women are more supportive of girls’ education over staying at home to help (Dadaab)

Barriers and drivers in the context of house chores
In Dadaab, the themes identified to favour the girl staying at home to help are similar to those identified under the ‘early marriage’ scenario, namely the benefit of receiving the parents blessings if she stays to help and the importance of obeying parents. Other

\(^{17}\) This significance is at 99% confidence level as the p-value was 0.000001. The differences across age were not statistically significant at this sample size.
themes identified show concerns around risks for the girl staying in school and also mention the preference for Islamic school over secular school.

On the other hand, among the majority who replied that the girl should stay in school, the main reason is, as in Kakuma, that the girl can do both: go to school and help at home when she is back. The other reasons revolve around the importance of education, the benefits of school for both the girl and her parents, and the societal benefits of education.

Empirical vs normative expectations on house chores

With regards to expectations and sanctions, the patterns are similar to Kakuma’s. A majority disapprove of the girl leaving school to stay at home and think others would disapprove too. However, 53% of those who think the girl should stay in school think that most or some girls are at home to work.\(^\text{18}\) Once more, we observe a mismatch between the normative expectations (whether people approve or disapprove) and the empirical expectations (the perceived practice).

4.4.5 Economic and overall value of educating girls (Kakuma)

The remaining two vignettes referred to the economic and overall value of educating girls.

‘Value of education’ scenario
A family that lives in [Lokichogio/Kakuma] have four children, three boys and one girl called Akai. Akai is the youngest and has now reached the age of starting school. All her older brothers are already in school. Her parents are unsure whether to send her to school because they want her to have an education, but they are worried about the negative influence of her peers and the environment in school.

‘Economic value of education’ scenario
Ebei is a father of 5 children and he lives in [Lokichogio/Kakuma] with his family. His first three children are boys and they are currently in school. The two youngest are girls and they are not yet in school but are almost reaching the age of going to school. Ebei has been thinking about whether or not to enrol his daughters in school, especially because he is already under a heavy financial strain to keep the 3 boys in school. He is wondering whether there will be any value in educating the girls especially because, they will eventually get married anyway and leave the family.

The data from the two radio shows was merged due to the small sample sizes.

In total, 39 relevant answers were analysed. Of those, 92% support schooling, whereas only three messages were against it. Further analysis by demographics is not possible due to the small sample size.

\(^{18}\) The pattern is similar among those who think the girl should be at home, but data is not given due to the limited sample size (only eight people who answered ‘no’ to the scenario replied to the follow-up survey.)
However, the themes largely replicate the themes already identified under the previous two radio shows (early marriage and house chores), with the difference that the theme ‘Legality and rights’, including both the codes ‘right to education’ and ‘it is against the law’ is the most frequent (55%), followed by ‘Better future’ (17%).

This suggests that, when faced with barriers to schooling related to poverty and financial constraints, themes around the better investment of education and around education being required as a right and by law can be stronger pulls towards attitudes, and potentially behaviours, that support education.

4.4.6 Economic and overall value of educating girls (Dadaab)

In Dadaab, similar to Kakuma, we can see overwhelming support for the girl getting education in the two remaining scenarios related to the value of educating girls.

The themes do not differ much from those identified in the Kakuma data. The ‘benefit of education’, the importance of ‘equality’ and the ‘societal benefits’ of education are prominent. In addition, some listeners refer to education as ‘light’ in their responses, a language not identified in Kakuma.

Those who reject the value of education mention that the place of a girl is in the kitchen, that she should go to Islamic school instead of secular school, or refer to the bad influences of school for a girl.

The patterns around normative expectations and sanctions vs the perceived actual behaviours (empirical expectations) are similar to the ones identified in the other scenarios for both Kakuma and Dadaab: a majority disapprove of a girl not being in school and think others do as well.

4.4.7 Summary of key insights

Section 4 has presented the research insights to answer the following study objective:

1. To get a deeper understanding of contextually specific barriers to girls’ education, identify the barriers that are negotiable and can be entry-points for shifting norms, as well as identify key influencers in the community regarding girls’ education.

Tables 14 and 15 summarise the key findings:

Table 14: Key insights (Kakuma)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kakuma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>● A majority of respondents disapprove of taking a girl out of school to be married young (89%). Women and those below 25 years old were more likely to say so.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● A majority of respondents (95%) also disapprove of taking a girl out of school to help at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Poverty and financial constraints are the main reasons why some parents marry their girls young. However, beliefs related to the education of the girl being a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
better long term investment for both the girl and the family emerge as a strong driver against financial barriers.

- Religion and cultural values are also strongly mentioned among those who support early marriage. However, other views contrast with these beliefs by presenting these values as a thing of the past.

- The reasons why parents keep girls at home to help with house chores seem more surmountable, since financial gain does not emerge as a strong reason and many say a girl can both go to school and help at home.

- Legal and rights-based views (marrying a girl young as illegal and education as a right) also emerge as dominant themes which may work to counteract more pragmatic beliefs (such as financial constraints) hindering girls education.

- Across scenarios, there is a mismatch between normative expectations (what people approve of) and empirical expectations (the perceived practiced behaviour). For example, although a majority disapprove of early marriage and think others would disapprove too, many think most or all girls are married young.

- Further research should explore the tensions between empirical and normative expectations to understand to what extent the barriers can be addressed by reinforcing the drivers identified or whether more pragmatic solutions (such as cash transfers) might be needed to address barriers related to financial constraints.

### Table 15: Key insights (Dadaab)

**Dadaab**

- A majority of respondents disapprove of taking a girl out of school to be married young (71%). Women and those below 25 years old were more likely to say so. Since the Dadaab sample is slightly skewed towards men, this might explain the lower percentage when compared to Kakuma (89%).

- A majority of respondents (78%) also disapprove of taking a girl out of school to help at home. Women are significantly more likely to say so (96% compared to 68% of men)

- Unlike Kakuma, where financial constraints were very important, religious and cultural values (such as the need to obey the parents) are the main reasons why some parents marry their girls young in Dadaab. However, other religious beliefs, such as thinking that it is God who will provide, are used to reject the dowry and early marriage. There are also cultural reasons used to reject early marriage which argue cultures need to change and progress.

- Receiving the parents blessings and the importance of obeying are also the main themes identified among those who support the girl staying at home to help with house chores. Other themes identified show concerns for the risks for the girl of staying in school and also mention the preference for Islamic school over secular school.

- Other views to support the value of girls’ education refer to the benefits it has
for her, the family and for society. Some respondents in Dadaab refer to education as ‘light’.

- Equality and education as a right is also mentioned under the scenarios where the parents already have other children in school and are questioning whether to take the girl too.

- As found in Kakuma, a majority disapprove of a girl not receiving education but the findings suggest is still seen as relatively common. Further iterations of research can narrow down these tensions to inform the best approaches for behaviour change.
5. Programmatic learning

This section covers the answers to the remaining objectives of the study conducted by AVF for the second Phase of the KEEP project implemented by WUSC:

2. Deliver timely, relevant and actionable insights for adaptive programming (see section 5.1).

3. Evaluate the pilot against criteria for success (see section 5.2).

5.1 Actionable insights for adaptive programming

The findings show that, despite limited data, particularly in Kakuma, strong impressions emerge from the data to inform programming. This research study proves the value of implementing iterative processes of applying rigorous research for adaptive programming.

1. The revised listening groups and media strategy approach helped to drive listenership and SMS engagement with target groups, thus providing higher sample sizes for a more robust analysis and actionable insights.

2. The listening groups also provided insight into their value as a space for discussion not only to drive media engagement but also for WUSC and its implementing partners to inform and sustain social and behaviour change activities.

3. The research design and its theoretical underpinning helped to explore in a nuanced way the strength of the social norms influencing girls’ education and the potential entry points to address those norms acting as barriers. See section 4.4.7 for a summary of these insights.

4. The insights from this first season point to opportunities to redesign scenarios and questions to more sharply get at social norm tensions affecting girls’ education, particularly to solve the mismatch between empirical expectations (what people perceive the behaviour to be) and normative expectations (whether the behaviour is approved of).

5. Limited sample sizes in follow-up surveys prevents statistically robust conclusions. However, the findings have provided grounded and timely hypothesis that can be further explored through additional research methods (focus groups discussions, household surveys, etc.). For example:

   a. The disconnect between empirical expectations and normative expectations/social sanctions on early marriage points to a tension between accepted norms and values on girls’ education and other norms driven by other needs (such as financial) and values (such as cultural and religious).

   b. Financial gain becomes acceptable in a context of need: it can be challenged normatively, by emphasising community narratives on the longer term investment of education, the legal/rights arguments, and harnessing existing social norms, which generally favour girls’ education; or through more pragmatic financial incentivisation.
c. Barriers to girls’ education related to tradition, culture and religion can be challenged by emphasising community narratives that see girls’ schooling as a way forward for a society and which deem early marriage as a thing of the past.

**Figure 19:** The insights provide grounded hypothesis on addressing the barriers to girls’ education. This figure suggests potential paths for behaviour change that need to be further explored.

![Diagram showing barriers and drivers related to girls' education](image)

### 5.2 Evaluation of the approach (against criteria for success)

The criteria for success for this study established the following questions:

I. Does engagement through interactive radio work in this refugee camp setting?
   A. Did we reach the people we needed to reach?
   B. Did we have sufficient meaningful participation?
   C. Who was excluded from this channel and can this be addressed?

II. Can we get robust, relevant and interesting insights?

III. Are these insights relevant to KEEP II partner programming decisions?

IV. Could this intervention be replicable, scalable and value-for-money for KEEP II?

The first three questions have been covered under sections 3, 4 and 5.1 respectively. The interactive radio method, even where participation samples are small, does yield nuanced and valuable insights. There are sufficient nuanced insights into why negative social norms persist in both contexts coming from the interactive radio approach to take forward with WUSC and KEEP II programme partners in a workshop format. These can be enhanced by growing community engagement and audience participation over time through valued and relevant media content and on the ground mobilisation strategies.

The findings show that conversations can be held in this space (Kakuma and Dadaab) and that there is a plurality of views and can be used to shape collective discussions. It is also clear that any social & behaviour change communications (SBCC) programming at scale in Kakuma and Dadaab faces access and reach barriers. Not only can radio, if deployed...
effectively, can help to surmount these barriers, interactive radio as a social discussion format provides an appropriate vehicle for normative change at community level.

With regard to the fourth question on replicability, scale and value for money, AVF judges that the evidence favours the case for a sustained investment in interactive radio. Replicability is strong, with one caveat: the need for investing the operational deployment of listening groups in Kakuma. This is best done by WUSC implementing partners but would need to be incorporated fully into planning and accountability processes. As regards scale, there is solid evidence from the pilot that engagement can be built over time. In Kakuma, communities valued the radio shows when they were made aware of them, when they found the content accessible and when they were supported to engage with the shows in a trusted social setting. In Dadaab, efforts must be put into engaging the host community, which may include using a second radio station.

The crucial question of value-for-money, to our mind, turns on deploying the interactive radio methodology to tackle two outcome areas concurrently: for rapid and nuanced social insights to drive wider adaptive programming by KEEP II partners; as an innovative discussion-driven approach to social and behaviour change programming. The pilot project operated largely independently of the wider KEEP II programme cycle and with only limited integration into the activities and evidence needs of KEEP II implementing partners. With deeper integration into programming, the interactive radio can be a strong - and good value - component of the programme in the coming years.
6. Conclusions & recommendations

This pilot project by Africa’s Voices Foundation aimed at testing if the use of interactive radio for community engagement and grounded and rigorous social insight could be applied to the work done by WUSC under its KEEP programme.

The study explored if this approach could provide a nuanced understanding of the collective beliefs driving norms around girls’ education and offer timely and actionable insights that were also replicable and scalable.

The findings included in this report show that using interactive radio in the contexts of Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps and their host communities has allowed for rigorous and actionable research insights to inform WUSC’s programmes and partners.

In a Phase I of the pilot in Kakuma, AVF found challenges to media engagement, which resulted in limited data for analysis, due to factors related to the diverse ethnic and linguistic background of the population and due to issues of capacity and audience base in the radio stations that was possible to work with.

However, AVF implemented strategies to address these challenges, such as listening groups to reach the target population and changes in the set-up of the radio shows. These resulted into higher and more relevant participation both in terms of the demographics of the listeners who engaged and in terms of the quality of the SMS. AVF also agreed with WUSC to test the interactive radio approach in Dadaab, where it was expected that the more homogeneous population would allow for higher participation and thus improve the sample sizes for rigorous analysis.

The data provides rich nuance into a diverse array of collective beliefs which listeners expressed to support or reject the value of educating girls. The norms were tested through the use of four vignettes or scenarios that were posed as dilemmas in the radio shows to elicit listeners’ answers. These dilemmas included early marriage and keeping a girl out of school to help in the homestead, which emerged as important barriers to education in previous research.

Listeners overwhelmingly support girls’ education across all four scenarios, especially women. Most listeners also largely disapprove of it and think others would too. However, the data shows that girls being forced out of school to help in the homestead or because they are married is still seen as a frequent practice. There is a mismatch between what people think is the right thing to do and what they think is actually happening.

The data also reveals tensions that people face, such as the importance placed in Kakuma on the dowry from early marriage to help with financial constraints or the importance in Dadaab of religion and of cultural values that emphasise the need to obey one’s parents.

The data from the interactive radio approach also points to potential avenues to harness key drivers for girls’ education. Listeners who texted their answers to the radio show
scenario use arguments also based on financial value or religion and culture to support the importance of girls’ education. Therefore, barriers to education related to financial gain might be counteracted with the view expressed by listeners that education as a better long term investment for both the girl and the parents. Similarly religious arguments to justify the marrying a girl or taking her out of school to help at home could be counteracted with other religious views who believe it is God who provides, not the dowry, or views which emphasise that marriage is a thing of the past and which place importance in cultures changing and progressing.

However, further research is needed to further test some of these tensions. For example, it may be that financial constraints might be better addressed through pragmatic approaches, such as cash transfers, rather than normative social and behaviour change work. Further research should help clarify these tensions and also help to sharpen the entry points for social and behaviour change approaches to support girls’ education.
Annex 1.

WUSC - Kakuma 2018
Radio Show Script - Week 6
Topic: Domestic chore burden
Radio Station: Biblia Husema

Part 1: Introduction (5 mins)

● Greet audience as norm
● Last week’s show was great and we had very good messages from you our listeners. Thank you!
● And today’s show is not different it’s all about your views. We want your voice on our show. We would love to hear your opinion on this issue. So get ready to SMS us your views today. We value your opinion.
● We will read out messages from some of you on air!
● Your responses will be used for research on how domestic chore burden affect girl’s education
● So your voice really counts! Don’t hold back, please participate. All voices are welcome. All your SMS messages that you send are FREE - no cost.
● The research is being done by Africa’s Voices, who are trying to understand better how domestic chore burden affect girl’s education
● To get the conversation going, let’s think about to this scenario:

Part 2: Read scenario (2-5 mins)

Arop is the first-born child in a family of 6 children and the family lives in Lokichogio. They have animals in the homestead and they also live with her ailing grand-parents. She had been going to school but the chores in the home are increasingly difficult for her mother to handle.

In your opinion, should she continue going to school, or should she stay at home to support her mother in taking care of the homestead, the younger children as well as her grandparents? Why?

Text your answers to this cost-free number: 21406 starting with the word Arop

Part 3: Discussion (15 mins)

● You just heard about a girl called Arop from Lokichogio. Arop is the first-born child in a family of 6 children and the family lives in Lokichogio. They have animals in the homestead and they also live with her ailing grand-parents. She had been going to school but the chores in the home are increasingly difficult for her mother to handle.

In your opinion, should she continue going to school, or should she stay at home to support her mother in taking care of the homestead, the younger children as well as her grandparents? Why?
● Text your answers to this toll-free number: 21406 starting with the word Arop
Motivational message

- We want to hear all of your opinions so together we can help girls in our community. Your voice counts
- Text your answers to this toll-free number: 21406 starting with the word Arop
- We want to get you responses to the question we asked earlier. Text your answers to this toll-free number: 21406 starting with the word Arop.

Half way through the discussion

Arop is the first-born child in a family of 6 children and the family lives in Lokichogio. They have animals in the homestead and they also live with her ailing grand-parents. She had been going to school but the chores in the home are increasingly difficult for her mother to handle.

In your opinion, should she continue going to school, or should she stay at home to support her mother in taking care of the homestead, the younger children as well as her grandparents? Why?

Text your answers to this cost-free number: 21406 starting with the word Arop

Part 4: End (5mins)

Wow, what an interesting discussion - thanks for texting in your views about this problem. Hearing from you all made this show a real discussion of the community's views. We value your contribution and love to hear your voice. Please join us for next week's discussion too, when your voice can be heard on air again.

After this show we shall have a follow up survey on SMS, where a researcher will send some more questions via SMS and request for your kind responses which shall be used for research purposes, please participate.
Radio Show Script - Week 1
Topic: Economic value of educating girls

Radio Show Script Episode 1 - 20th October 2018

Total scripted time: 60 minutes

Part 1: Introduction (5 mins)

- Greet audience as normal and introduce the show and guests
- Last week's show was great and we had very good messages from you our listeners. Thank you!
- And today's show is not different it's all about your views. We want your voice on our show. We want to hear your opinion on this issue. So get ready to SMS us your views today. We value your opinion.
- We will read out messages from some of you on air!
- Your responses will be used for research on the economic value for educating girls.
- So your voice really counts! Don't hold back, please participate. All voices are welcome. All your SMS messages that you send are FREE - no cost.
- The research is being done by Africa's Voices, who are trying to understand better the value of educating girls.

Part 2: Read question (2 mins)
To start this week's program let's think about this scenario:
A family that lives in Dadaab has four children, three boys and one girl called Amina. Amina is the youngest and has now reached the age of starting school. All her older brothers are already in school. Her parents are unsure whether to send her to school because they want her to have an education, but they are worried about the negative influence of her peers and the environment in school.

Would you advise her parents to take her to school? Yes or No? Why?

To make sure your answer counts, write the word Amina followed by YES or NO and your opinion into your mobile phone. Send this SMS to the number 21406. This message is free of charge. By texting in you are agreeing to take part in the KEEP project.

Part 3: Reading of responses (5 mins)
(Read out 3-5 messages)
Allow guests to respond to the questions

Part 4: Motivational message (2 min)
This show is all about you our listeners and we want to capture your views via sms, we are going to keep reading some of the views here on air as the guests help us discuss. Feel free to sms to be part of this discussion, the sms is free of charge.

Part 5: Read question (2 mins)
A family that lives in Dadaab have four children, three boys and one girl called Amina. Amina is the youngest and has now reached the age of starting school. All her older brothers are already in school. Her parents are unsure whether to send her to school because they want her to have an education, but they are worried about the negative influence of her peers and the environment in school.
Would you advise her parents to take her to school? Yes or No? Why?

To make sure your answer counts, write the word Amina followed by YES or NO and your opinion into your mobile phone. Send this SMS to the number 21406. This message is free of charge. You can use any telecom provider. By texting in you are agreeing to take part in the KEEP project.

Part 6: Reading of responses (5 mins)
(Read out 3-5 messages)

Allow guests to respond to the messages read on air.

Part 7: Motivational message (2 min)

This show is all about you our listeners and we want to capture your views via sms, we are going to keep reading some of the views here on air as the guests help us discuss. Feel free to sms to be part of this discussion, the sms is free of charge.

Part 8: Read question (2 min)

A family that lives in Dadaab have four children, three boys and one girl called Amina. Amina is the youngest and has now reached the age of starting school. All her older brothers are already in school. Her parents are unsure whether to send her to school because they want her to have an education, but they are worried about the negative influence of her peers and the environment in school.

Would you advise her parents to take her to school? Yes or No? Why?

To make sure your answer counts, write the word Amina followed by YES or NO and your opinion into your mobile phone. Send this SMS to the number 21406. This message is free of charge. You can use any telecom provider. By texting in you are agreeing to take part in the KEEP project.

Part 9: Reading of sms responses (5 min)
(Read out 3 - 5 messages)

Allow guests to respond to the messages read on air and give their final views summarising the show.

Part 10: Read question (2 min)

A family that lives in Dadaab have four children, three boys and one girl called Amina. Amina is the youngest and has now reached the age of starting school. All her older brothers are already in school. Her parents are unsure whether to send her to school because they want her to have an education, but they are worried about the negative influence of her peers and the environment in school.

Would you advise her parents to take her to school? Yes or No? Why?

To make sure your answer counts, write the word Amina followed by YES or NO and your opinion into your mobile phone. Send this SMS to the number 21406. This message is free of charge. You can use any telecom provider. By texting in you are agreeing to take part in the KEEP project.
Part 11: Closing the show (5 mins)

This was an interesting discussion dear listeners - thanks for texting in your views. We value your response very much. Your responses will be kept confidential. Your answers will be used for project to improve girls education in your community.

After this show you will receive a follow up survey from us. We will text you some question on sms and request for your kind responses which shall be used for research purposes please keep participating. Tomorrow same time there will be a repeat show, keep texting in your responses, please participate. By texting in you are agreeing to take part in the KEEP project.

Thank you again and join us next week on Saturday same time for another show.