

## **Fighting Polio: Why Radio Dramas Failed in Pakistan?**

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### **Abstract**

Entertainment Education strategies have been successfully used in health campaigns for the prevention of different diseases across the globe, especially in the under-developed countries. Radio drama is an important instrument of the Entertainment Education strategies. Radio dramas have been used in successful health campaigns in Africa and Asia. Radio dramas have been particularly successful in targeting the underprivileged population. Deutsche Welle (DW), the German international broadcaster, keeping in mind the effectiveness of radio dramas in bringing social change, introduced this genre of drama in Pakistan in 2012. The radio station produced and aired radio dramas targeting Pakhtoon population that resides in Northwestern province of Pakistan. The Pakhtoon population traditionally lives in the tribal setup; they lag in terms of socio-economic and political development. These dramas were aimed at creating awareness about health and bringing positive changes in social behavior and general well-being of the targeted population. This paper presents a discourse analysis of radio dramas. The study attempts to determine whether the dramas' scripts adhere to any theoretical framework of the EE or health campaigns strategies? Other questions addressed by the authors include: What messages were included in the radio broadcasts analyzed? Was the production process based on any theoretical foundation? What themes were developed in the radio broadcasts analyzed? What types of characters were featured in the broadcasts? It is argued that the production process was not based on any theoretical framework. The dramas did not adhere to the basic principles of the Education Entertainment strategies and health communication campaigns.

**Keywords:** Entertainment Education; Radio Dramas; Pakistan; DW; Health Campaigns; Polio

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### **Introduction**

Poliovirus remains endemic in two countries—Pakistan and Afghanistan. During the first four months of 2016, eight polio cases were recorded in Pakistan and two in Afghanistan. Majority of the cases in Pakistan emerged in the ethnically

Pakhtun-dominated areas of Pakistan: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), bordering Afghanistan. From January 2014 to April 2016, 368 cases of poliovirus emerged in Pakistan; 77.17 per cent (284) of these were recorded in the FATA and Pakhtunkhwa province. The Pakistani government and the international community are facing a stern resistance in the vaccination plans against polio, especially after the assassination of al-Qaeda chief Osama bin Laden.

Resistance to the polio vaccination has been attributed to different reasons including insecurity in the area and the “war on terror,” vaccination fatigue, religious beliefs of the people, local culture and traditions, and the CIA’s alleged use of vaccination workers to track down Bin Ladin in 2011 (Owais, Khowaja, Ali, & Zaidi, 2013; Closser, 2010; Ahmad, Bux, Yousuf, 2015; Closser, 2012). The government and the international community have devised many strategies to eradicate polio in Pakistan. These included administrative, political, and communication strategies. High-level officials from the government of Pakistan are participating in the anti-polio campaigns; while police officials have been deployed for the security of polio vaccine workers. The political and administrative strategies are being supported by communication strategies devised by the government and the international non-governmental organizations with media campaigns as a major part of it. The media strategies included delivering messages through billboards, advertisements, and radio and television productions.

Resident of FATA and Pakhtunkhwa province rely on different radio stations for news and information on current affairs. Radio is popular among the people due to lack of accessibility to newspapers or cable television, low-literacy rates, and economic problems, among other reasons. According to FATA Development Household Indicator Survey (2015), Radio Free Europe (Pashto service), Voice of America (Pashto service), BBC (Pashto service), Deutsche Welle (Pashto service), and Radio Pakistan are the most popular radio channels in FATA.

Deutsche Welle (DW) started its ‘Learning by Ear’ project in Pakistan in 2012. The German news organization teamed up with more than 63 FM radio stations from Pakistan to broadcast its radio dramas throughout the country to bring a social change and to create awareness about critical issues such as child labor polio vaccination and mother-child care (DW, 2012). In 2012, DW radio’s Urdu and Pashto services aired a series of radio dramas that were targeted at bringing about a social change to Pakhtunkhwa and FATA. Producers and writers of the series claimed that the dramas were specifically aimed at changing behaviors of the target audience about polio vaccination and mother-child health. DW was the first radio organization in Pakistan that tried to bring awareness about vaccination

campaigns to its audience. The organization claimed that its radio dramas reached 90 per cent of the listeners in Pakistan through its partners. However, no research has so far been conducted to evaluate the content of these dramas or their effectiveness. This paper aims to analyze the radio dramas produced by DW and broadcasted by its partner FM radios in Pakistan to find out:

- RQ1.** What messages were included in the radio broadcasts analyzed?
- RQ2.** Was the production process based on any theoretical foundation?
- RQ3.** What themes were developed in the radio broadcasts analyzed?
- RQ4.** What types of characters were featured in the broadcasts?

## **REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON EDUCATION ENTERTAINMENT**

### **A. Entertainment Education and Social Change**

Entertainment Education (EE) strategy has been shown to be a successful tool for bringing social change and reducing health disparities among the less privileged communities of the less developed countries (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). The EE strategy involves production of radio dramas, television dramas, music, songs, telenovelas and other genres to educate the people about different social issues. Radio dramas have been used in the developing and underdeveloped countries like Pakistan, Turkey, Mexico, Tanzania, and others to create awareness about mother-child health issues, HIV/AIDS, and sexual responsibility (Singhal & Rogers, 1989, 1999; Kincaid, Yun, Piotrow, & Yaser, 1993). The EE strategy has its roots in Bandura's (1977) Social Cognitive Theory. The theory states that perceived self-efficacy plays an important driving force in human behavior.

EE characters are created to serve as positive role models, negative role models, or transitional models that start off with poor behavior and then move to positive, desired behaviors. "The role modeling by the characters is thought to affect perceptions of the self-efficacy among listeners" (Farr, Witte, & Menard, 2006). Radio dramas have been especially successful as entertainment education strategies because of their ability to involve listeners in the storyline and helping the listeners in making reflexive moves about their health.

Radio dramas are one of the important entertainment education tools that have been used to bring social change in Asia and Africa (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). Karmacharya (1999) analyzed a theory-based multimedia reproductive health campaign in Nepal that consisted of radio dramas. The researcher found that radio dramas helped improve clients' self-efficacy to deal with providers and improved their attitudes towards health services. However, Pant, Singhal, and Bhasin (2002) argue that dramas could only achieve desired goals if attention is paid to "production and reception factors." They cited examples of the radio

drama “Dehleez” (Threshold), a 52-episode radio drama broadcast by All India Radio; the drama addressed issues like teenage sexuality and HIV/AIDS. The drama was well received by the audience and is considered as a successful EE intervention. Farr, Witte, Jarato, and Menard (2006) explored the level of exposure of people in Ethiopia to the radio drama “Journey of Life.” They found that the drama appeared to have strong effects and high listenership.

### **B. Theoretical Foundation of EE: Social Cognitive Theory**

Bandura (2005) posited that an individual learns through two different ways - through direct experience or by the way of social modeling. He argues that “modeling influence serves diverse functions in promoting personal and social change” that includes instructive, motivational, social prompting, and social construction functions. “Observers learn to fear that which frightened or injured models, to dislike what repulsed them ... Seeing others gain desired outcomes can create outcome expectations that serve as positive motivators” (Bandura, 2005).

Humans learn from social environment and role models however other factors also play an important role in deciding whether an individual will perform the actions s/he learnt or not. One of the most important factors, according to Bandura (1997), is perceived self-efficacy that provides individuals the determination to overcome the barriers hindering performance of certain actions. Therefore, one of the main goals of EE interventions is to provide individuals with the efficacy to perform certain actions (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). Individuals’ beliefs can be influenced in four ways: “1) through mastery experiences, 2) social modeling, 3) social persuasion, or 4) construal of physical and emotional states,” (Bandura, 2005).

Social Cognitive Theory also posits that along with an individual’s self-efficacy, collective self-efficacy also helps individuals perform certain actions. If members of a group or tribe think that together they have the agency to overcome certain difficulties and bring a change to their lifestyle, they are going to perform the actions. Bandura (2005) argued that “people’s shared belief in their collective power to realize the futures they seek is a key ingredient of collective agency.”

### **C. Audience Involvement in EE strategies**

Moyer-Guse’ (2008) radio dramas involve audiences on the strength of their narrative structure. She argued that EE messages are designed in ways that involve the audience in the storyline. Green and Brock (2000) labeled audience involvement in the plot of a radio drama as “transportation.” They argued that as the drama unfolds, the audience show cognitive and emotional responses and immerse themselves in the unfolding events of the dramas rather than their immediate environments. Moyer-Guse (2008) used audience involvement as an

overarching category of concepts that “consists of identification, wishful identification, similarity, para-social interaction, and liking.”

*Identification:* Identification is a mechanism through which the audience starts seeing themselves as a part of the plot and events that unfold in a drama and receives the message and interprets it from the inside (Cohen, 1999). In the process of identification, the audience becomes part of the narrative and imagine themselves as the character they admire. Marley (1992) argues that media text couldn't have an effect without the process of identification.

*Wishful Identification:* Giles (2002) posited that wishful identification takes place when a listener tries to be like a character or wishes to emulate a character. Bandura (1986) explored that audience members try to emulate attractive models in EE programs.

*Similarity:* Cohen (2001) argued that similarity is a pre-requisite for identification. Similarity refers to the audience's perception of their proximity to the characters. Eyal and Rubin (2003) identified perceived similarity as attributed to physical and demographic variables, beliefs, or values.

*Liking:* Giles (2002) described liking as social attraction toward someone or having a positive opinion of a character.

*Parasocial Interaction:* Explaining Parasocial Interaction, Papa et al. (2000) listed the prime objective of EE programs as creating socially desirable attitudes and beliefs among the audience. They argued that in a parasocial relationship, a media consumer looks at a character as a role model due to his/her positive appreciation of the values of that character.

#### **D. Education, Health Campaigns, and Health Interventions**

Health campaigns have more chance of success when planners develop plans that consider critical information about the cultural and behavioral orientations of the target audience through formative research (Maibach & Kreps, 2002; Noar, 2006). The planners should base their interventions on a theory that explains the behaviors of their targeted audience and provides directions on what kind of message should be produced to change their behaviors (Maibach & Kreps, 2002; Noar, 2006). Literature suggests that health campaigns planners should design messages that are novel and would create interpersonal discussions (Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Noar, 2006). One of the most important aspects of the creation of health campaign messages is that they should be relevant to the cultures of the target audience (Maibach & Parrott, 1995). The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981) asserts that individuals are more likely to

process information if they think that it is personally relevant to them. Therefore, formative research, audience segmentation, message development, and theoretical foundations become vital points of health communication strategies including EE.

### **3. Methodology**

In 2012-13, Deutsche Welle (DW) radio's (Urdu and Pashto services) aired a series of radio dramas aimed at changing behaviors of the residents of FATA and Pakhtunkhwa about polio vaccination and mother-child health. The dramas targeted three main issues: 1) Polio vaccination; 2) Importance of female education; and 3) Importance of technical education for people living in the rural areas. For this study, we chose the radio drama series "Loye Jazbe" (High Desires), since it aimed at changing behaviors about polio vaccination among its listeners. The drama consisted of 10 episodes. Each episode consisted of five scenes. Each episode was five minutes long. The drama was aired in Pashto language and later on translated and produced in Urdu language for the Urdu-speaking listeners in Pakistan.

For this study, all the episodes were transcribed into Pashto by the researcher and then translated back into English. To make sure the translation was error-free and was the actual representation of the Pashto version, the researcher hired services of a professional translator in Pakistan who was expert in translations from Pashto into English. The translator translated the script from Pashto to English and then back-translated into Pashto.

The researcher also obtained access to the documents detailing the production process of the radio dramas. The documents included the process of writing the dramas, recording them, and producing them. The documents also included a list of the actors who played different roles in the drama and their demographics. The script was then analyzed using discourse analysis (Lupton, 1992). Van Dijk (1988) argued that discourse analysis not only helps the researchers look at the structure of discourse, but it also relates structural dimensions of a discourse to the broader, social, cultural, and political discourse. Lupton (1992) explained that textual discourse is concerned with micro elements of a discourse such as grammar, syntax, sound forms, and rhetorical devices; whereas contextual dimensions pay attention to the reproduction of ideologies and "the link between discourse structure and social interactions and relations." The researcher argues that the way in which a character performs, or an issue is rhetorically represented or said is more important than the number of times the issue is discussed in a discourse (Van Dijk, 1990).

Discourse analysis helped analyze the process of the production of these dramas in-depth, which other methods could not allow. Also, discourse analysis allowed us to analyze the scripts and the production process of the EE interventions in a way that has not been studied previously.

## **Results**

The drama addresses three issues at a time: 1) mother and child health; 2) primary vaccinations; 3) and polio vaccination. The story revolves around three families living in a village where no basic health facilities are available.

Family 1: Jalal Khan, a feudal lord, is the head of the village. He has a wife, Zar Begum, and a son, Wadan Khan. Khan's son was born fifteen years after his marriage. He loves his son. Khan is against polio vaccination in the village. He also resists other health campaigns initiated by the government and non-governmental organizations in the area. No health campaign could achieve its targets in the village due the opposition of the Khan and his family.

Family 2: Ajmal Khan is the first cousin of Jalal Khan, the feudal lord. He has two daughters and one son. He has enrolled his children in a school. Ajmal's elder daughter, Raheela, is married to a doctor, Saeed, the protagonist. The doctor lives with his family in the metropolis. He often visits his wife's village. He is worried about the deteriorating health conditions of the children living in the village. He is also concerned with the failure of health campaigns in the area. He informs his father-in-law that rejection of the polio drops, and other campaigns initiated by the government can result in epidemic diseases in the village.

Family 3: Wajid also lives in the same village with his family. He belongs to a poor and "uneducated" family. He has only one son, Kamran. Wajid arranges Kamran's marriage with his niece, Shagufta, at a very young age. Wajid spends all his savings on Kamran's wedding. Kamran and his wife both are adolescents; it is very hard for them to understand each other at this young age. As a result of these quarrels, many times Kamran's wife went back to her mother's house but Wajid always convinced her to come back.

Life goes on, and Kamran's wife becomes pregnant. Unfortunately, both Kamran and his wife do not know how to handle this situation. His wife does her routine household work, without the awareness of her condition. She does not receive prenatal care. She experiences complications at the time of delivery. The doctors manage to save the lives of both the mother and the child. On the advice of Jalal Khan, the feudal lord, both Kamran and his wife refuse to vaccinate their only child. They believe the vaccinations are hazardous to health. Their child gets hepatitis. They take the kid to a hospital in the city, where they meet Dr. Saeed.

Dr. Saeed treats the child and advises them to vaccinate their children regularly in the future in order to avoid further complications.

After this incident, Dr. Saeed, with the support of his wife and father-in-law, starts a vaccination campaign in the village. Initially, he faces opposition from Jalal Khan, the feudal lord. However, he continues the campaign with dedication. Meanwhile Jalal Khan's own son falls prey to polio. Khan realizes his mistakes and starts supporting health campaigns in the village. With the help of Dr. Saeed, Jalal Khan and local people, the government manages to eradicate the menace of polio from the village.

**RQ1:** Was the production based on any formative research?

The documents show that the producers did not do any formative research before production of the drama. The producers and scriptwriters assumed that since they themselves were ethnically Pakhtuns, they knew everything about Pakhtun values and culture. All the crew of the drama, from producers, script writers, to actors were from Peshawar city, the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province but the target audience of the drama were mainly people living in the rural areas of the province and FATA. The documents describe the target audience as "uneducated". Formative research would have helped the producers hire writers who understood the cultural nuances of the people living in the rural areas of the province. The values and cultures of the Pakhtuns living in rural areas of Pakistan and FATA are different from those living in urban areas. The drama is based on a stereotypical image of the residents of Peshawar that feudal lords rule villages in the rural areas of Pakistan and FATA. Formative research would have helped them realize that feudalism does not exist in the Pakhtun villages. Instead, the clergy is influential in stopping people from vaccinating their children.

**RQ2.** What messages were included in the radio broadcast?

The drama tried to create awareness about polio vaccination campaigns. However, due to lack of any theoretical guidance, the script failed to deliver the message properly. Bandura's (1986) Social Cognitive Theory posits that an individual is more likely to act on a message if s/he feels the self-efficacy to perform that action. However, the messages delivered by the drama rather than creating self-efficacy, presents common residents of rural areas as dependent on feudal lords, and having no agency. For example, in episode one, scene three, Jalal Khan, the feudal lord, claims, "nothing can be done in the village without his orders." In episode eight, scene one, the feudal lord again warns his brother that nothing can be done in the village without his permission. He says, "Listen carefully, I don't have time for useless things, and you cannot convince me. You



cannot establish a hospital in the village without my permission.” In the fourth episode, scene five, a person informs the protagonist, Dr. Saeed: “Khan won’t let us establish a hospital in the village.”

In the last episode, eventually, the protagonist manages to successfully run a vaccination campaign in the village, but after obtaining the permission of the feudal lord. The feudal lord gives permission when his son is attacked by poliovirus. Bandura (2005) argues that individuals are more likely to perform an action when they feel they have the individual and collective agency to perform the desired action. The message delivered by the drama is that individuals cannot change their social conditions unless supported by the feudal (“Khans” in this case).

**RQ3.** What themes were developed in the radio broadcast analyzed?

The researchers analyzed script of the drama for themes. The themes emerging from the script are given below.

*Vaccination can save lives of children but...:* The drama revolves around the theme that children could be saved from diseases, especially polio, if vaccinated. It discusses the importance of vaccination in all five episodes. For example, in the last episode (episode 10), the feudal’s son is diagnosed with polio. He is taken to the hospital in a critical condition. There the protagonist Dr. Saeed tells his wife that “the feudal’s son will be paralyzed for whole life due to polio attack.” In the last scene of episode 10, the feudal feels remorse that he did not vaccinate his kid against polio. He says: “I feel guilty that I did not vaccinate my son. He is paralyzed due to polio attack. However, I promise that I will try my level best to eradicate polio from our village, our country, and our world.”

*People living in rural areas have no agency:* In almost every episode the drama gives a message that people living in the rural areas have no agency to change their conditions. It conveys a message that people are dependent on the approval of feudal lords even to get basic health facilities. The drama also conveys a message that even the government is helpless and cannot confront powerful feudal lords. The last scene of the third episode summarizes this message perfectly. In the scene, two characters (Rashid, a servant of Jalal Khan, and Seelay, a midwife) talk about health facilities in the village:

Seelay: Rasheed, don’t you think it would have been great if we had a hospital in the village. I would render my services to the hospital.

Rasheed: Stop daydreaming. Our village cannot have a hospital so long as the Khan is alive.

*Only educated and well-off women have agency:* The characters are developed in a way that promotes stereotypical understanding of women's issues in the rural areas of Pakistan. The drama promotes the view that only daughters of privileged people can think of or get access to education, while women belonging to underprivileged community stay at home. The daughters of Ajmal Khan, cousin of the feudal lord, are portrayed as girls who are educated and are empowered to share their thoughts with their parents and follow their dreams. A conversation between Sadaf, daughter of Ajmal Khan, and her mother goes like this:

“Jameela (mother): Your father and brother will be home soon. Make arrangements for their dinner.

Sadaf (Daughter): Dear mother, just two more hours. I finish my schoolwork first and then will take care of them.

Jameela: You never get time to do anything else except reading books. Whenever I ask you to do household work, you start doing school assignments.

Sadaf: This Saturday my examination starts, and I have to get good numbers. I want to get admission to a medical school (Episode 3).

On the other hand, Saghufta, who is the same age as Sadaf and belongs to a poor family, is portrayed as an obedient wife who follows the instructions of her husband and has no agency to take any decisions. In scene two, episode three, Sadaf asks her husband “If I take rest who will take care of the house?” The drama associated agency with wealth and conveyed the message that women belonging to wealthy families are empowered to make their own decisions and are educated, whereas women belonging to underprivileged families cannot make their own decisions and are always dependent on their husbands, even to make decisions about their own health. Associating agency and self-efficacy with wealth, gives a negative message to the women belonging to the underprivileged community.

**RQ4.** Were characters in the drama associated with cultures of the target audience?

The documents of the production process were analyzed to see whether the writers and the actors shared demographics with the target audience. The documents revealed that all the writers and actors were residents of Peshawar, capital city of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. The only common feature between the writers, actors, and the target audience was their language— Pashto.

However, Pashto has many dialects. Pashto spoken in the urban areas is distinctively different from Pashto spoken in the rural areas of Pakistan and FATA. The dialects differ in the way words are spoken. Pashto spoken in the urban areas is influenced by Urdu language, whereas Pashto spoken in FATA is influenced by Persian and the Pashto dialect that is spoken in Afghanistan.

The characters of the dramas in no way portrayed the culture of the rural areas of Pakhtunkhwa or FATA. The characters were built on the stereotypical image of life in the rural areas and FATA. The analysis of one of the main characters, Jalal Khan, helps in exploring the characterizations in the drama. The character is in contrast with the realities on the ground. In rural areas of Pakhtunkhwa and FATA, by and large there is no tradition of feudalism. The character is borrowed from Urdu language dramas broadcast on national television that portray culture in the Punjab and Balochistan provinces of Pakistan. The culture of feudalism does not exist in FATA and the rural areas of Pakistan. Therefore, there are very few chances that the target audience will identify with this character.

### **Discussion**

The analysis of the radio drama “*Loye Jazbe*” (High Desires), broadcast by DW, showed that basic entertainment-education techniques were not followed during its production. The main goals of entertainment education interventions are to create social role models for the audience and provide individuals with the self-efficacy to emulate actions of the social role models (Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Bandura, 2000). However, the drama does not contain the messages that could give individuals the feelings of empowerment or self-efficacy. Papa et al., (2000) posit, “An entertainment-education program provides audience members with examples of behaviors that are socially desirable or undesirable through positive and negative role models. These role models enact behaviors that are appealing or unappealing to audience members.” The producers managed to create positive and negative characters successfully; however, the character of villain in the story was empowered to an extent that it disenfranchised the protagonist who wanted to improve health systems in the village. The drama also showed other characters without any agency. The setting of the plot makes a stereotypical presentation of life in FATA, a representation that has been defining this part of the world since long. For development and social change there is a need for a futuristic approach that could give the audience hope and reason for action. The drama remains loyal to the present prejudice within the media structure and the national narrative, but fails to give a picture of the future that signifies social change.

Collective self-efficacy is the notion that members of a community can unite and achieve their desired goals (Bandura, 2000), can also motivate individuals to strive to achieve their targets. The drama writers, however, did not include any

message that could promote and increase collective self-efficacy among the members of the target audience. The drama scripts, rather, helped support the status quo. The drama shows that all the villagers were hapless in the face of the feudal lord. The writers make the audience believe that neither the government nor any other individual could save them and help bring social change, unless God wanted this to happen; the message strengthens fatalistic beliefs. The feudal lord (villain) in the story is only convinced to let the doctor open a hospital in the village when his own son is diagnosed with polio and he thinks that God punished him for doing harm to the people of the village by not letting them have a health facility.

Documents of the production process of the drama also showed that the producers and the writers did not do any formative research. Literature shows that EE interventions are successful when the audience identifies with the characters and perceive themselves to be a part of the character (Cohen, 2001; Papa et al., 2000). The audience only identifies with the character when they feel similarity to the character. Eyal and Rubin (2003) argued that similarity could be cultural, physical or geographical. However, the producers of the drama did not make sure that the actors shared similarities with the target audience. The actors who performed different roles in the drama did not share any cultural, economic, or political similarities with the target audience.

The value of language, sound, and accent becomes very important in radio production. The utterance of words and sentences make a big difference in radio. The dialects and accent of the people of rural areas of Pakhtunkhwa and FATA are different from the people living in cities, like Peshawar. In the absence of any formative research, the producers hired writers and actors who were also residents of the city and did not speak Pashto the way the target audience speaks it. This circumstance reduced the chances of audiences identifying with different characters. The characters remained “others” to the audience. The producers did not involve members of the target community at any stage of the production process. Involvement of the community members in the production phase could have helped improve the message of the drama.

### **Conclusion**

Basic principles of health campaigns and entertainment-education strategies were violated during the production of the radio drama “Loye Jazbe” (High Desires). The characters of the drama did not bear any similarity with the values of the target audience. Formative research (Noar, 2006) could have improved qualities of the drama. In addition to the entertainment-education strategies recommended by EE experts (Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Bandura, 2005), the production of radio

dramas could also benefit from the principles of Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) (Israel, Scholz, & Parker, 2005).

CBPR is a process by which the community members, in this case, the target audience, and organizational representatives, in this case producers, equitably contribute expertise, share decision making, and ownership of data (Israel, et al., 2008). The community involvement can help in developing messages appropriate to the cultures of the target audience. The community members can also be invited to perform different characters in these dramas. The more community members are involved in these dramas, the more the target communities will identify with characters. Involving community members in the dramas and letting them perform different characters can also improve the para-social interaction between the audience and the actors that is regarded as vital for the success of entertainment-education interventions.

In this research, only one radio drama was critically analyzed. In 2014, WHO reported highest number of polio cases, 306, in the history of Pakistan. It shows that not only the radio dramas failed to make any impact, but also other communication strategies used by the government of Pakistan and international organizations failed to convince people to vaccinate their children. The government of Pakistan in collaboration with international donor agencies has been using other strategies of intervention to eradicate polio by changing behavior of the people. For example, public service messages on radio, television, newspapers, billboards and banners were regularly employed. A near true picture of whether entertainment-education campaigns are successful in bringing a social change will require an analysis of the entire genre. Besides, the government has also engaged religious scholars in the campaign to counter propaganda against vaccination and convince the people that it is a religious obligation to vaccinate their children. The overall media discourse on the issue remains elitist and elusive. The drama fits into the faulty national media narrative. It is part of the overall discourse structure, which is not very successful. For being useful it should have been audience centered and research oriented.

However, this research can help the government of Pakistan and other organizations to make their health campaigns more effective by producing research-based programing. This research also shows that how important it is for producers, writers, and performers of social change interventions to have a cultural competence. Cultural competence enables strategists to understand cultural nuances and shape their interventions accordingly. Moreover, the strategists are also required to avoid being home blind by becoming part of the elitist discourse on social issues. Entertainment-education practitioners need to have a “marginal gaze where things look strange enough to present themselves as

puzzles” (Neumann 2008). Thus, social change campaigns require planners to have an insider-outsider perspective to accentuate taken-for-granted negative behaviors and, at the same time, to not lose attention of the audience by paying close attention of cultural nuances.

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