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Using a Participatory Sketching Methodology to Assess Audience Sense-Making after Viewing a Film about Sexual Violence

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By

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Bachelor of Arts

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An abstract of
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Abstract

Using a Participatory Sketching Methodology to Assess Audience Sense-Making after Viewing a Film about Sexual Violence
By Dell McLaughlin

Background: As part of the Scenarios from Africa HIV communication process, scriptwriting competitions are held inviting young people across the continent to contribute ideas for short films about HIV/AIDS. The winning ideas are developed into short films by top African filmmakers. Participatory sketching is a little-known participatory visual research method that uses drawing as an adjunct to interview.

Objective: A participatory sketching methodology was used to understand how young people in Burkina Faso make sense of the Scenarios from Africa film *Essie* with the purpose of informing programmatic practice related to: Scenarios from Africa film production; the response to sexual violence in sub-Saharan Africa; and the potential of the participatory sketching methodology as a research and assessment tool.

Methods: A participatory sketching exercise and interview was performed with forty-one educated young people in Burkina Faso who were shown Scenarios from Africa films with no introduction or facilitated discussion. Transcripts and sketches about the film *Essie,* on the subject of sexual violence, were analyzed thematically using MaxQDA software.

Results: Participants used the film *Essie* to understand prior experiences of friends or family members, and to think about how they might help victims of sexual violence in the future. The majority of participants discussed Essie's rape as resulting from her manner of dress and decision to walk alone at night, but nonetheless learned lessons from the film about empathy and understanding for rape victims. Most participants learned factual information from the film about how to prevent HIV infection in victims of rape. A major concern of many participants was the lack of protection provided to women in Burkina Faso by police and national laws, and the tendency for society to turn its back on victims of rape.

Discussion: Participatory sketching was effective at assessing emotional response and understanding in an audience of educated young people in Burkina Faso. It has the potential to optimize the effectiveness of future Scenarios from Africa films and other Entertainment-Education interventions in the region.

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Finally, I am thankful for the young people in Burkina Faso who gave their time to watch and respond to the Scenarios films.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The epidemic of HIV/AIDS has hit sub-Saharan Africa hard, with nearly 1 out of every 20 adults on the continent HIV positive, and the region's 23.5 million people living with HIV making up 69% of those infected in the world (UNAIDS 2012). Governments and non-governmental organizations have worked to improve HIV education and the availability of preventive and treatment resources and, as of 2011, there have been substantial declines in new HIV infections and AIDS-related deaths (UNAIDS 2012). However, there were still an estimated 1.8 million new HIV infections in sub-Saharan Africa in 2011 and 1.2 million AIDS-related deaths. In 2011, the number of children newly infected with HIV declined in thirty sub-Saharan African countries, but increased in four others (UNAIDS 2012). Stigma and discrimination continue to degrade the lives of those living with HIV/AIDS, with verbal abuse, depression and suicidality, in addition to restricted access to healthcare, reported for those who are HIV positive (UNAIDS 2012). Additionally, gender inequality continues to contribute to women's disproportionate infection rate: women accounted for 58% of all people living with HIV in the region in 2011 (UNAIDS 2012).

Scenarios from Africa

Scenarios from Africa is a communication program that has worked since 1997 to educate young people and their communities about HIV/AIDS and related issues in Africa. Originating in Burkina Faso, Mali, and Senegal, the program has now spread to include participants from over 50 countries. Scenarios from Africa holds scriptwriting

competitions inviting young people around the continent to develop ideas for short films about HIV/AIDS. These ideas are submitted for judging by a multidisciplinary jury in each country; national winners go forward for consideration by an international jury. The international winning ideas are developed into short films by top African filmmakers. These films are 2-20 minutes in length and are translated into over thirty languages. They are distributed for free, shown on national television stations, donated to mobile cinemas or local educational organizations, and available for online viewing. As of 2013, 39 Scenarios films have been made, and the films are estimated to be seen by over 200 million people each year. Those who potentially benefit from this communication process include young contest participants who research and write about HIV/AIDS, multidisciplinary collaborators on the national and international juries, and the eventual viewers of each film (Scenarios from Africa 2013).

Burkina Faso

One of the poorest countries in the world, with a 2012 GDP per capita (PPP) of $1,400, the landlocked West African country of Burkina Faso had an estimated population in 2012 of over 17 million, 74% of whom live in rural areas, and 90% of whom engage in subsistence farming. The country is ethnically and religiously diverse, with 60% of the population Muslim and 20% Catholic. Health indicators are poor, with maternal mortality at 300 deaths/100,000 live births (38th highest in the world), and an infant mortality rate of 79.84 deaths/1,000 live births (9th highest in the world)(CIA 2013).

The HIV infection rate in Burkina Faso is lower than in many sub-Saharan African countries, with an estimated prevalence in 2010 of 1.0%. In 2010, 45.6% of HIV-positive

pregnant women received antiretroviral medications to decrease the risk of vertical transmission to their children, and 38.6% of children born to seropositive mothers were started on prophylactic cotrimoxazole during the two months after birth (UNAIDS 2012). Fifty-five percent of those who are eligible for antiretroviral treatment are estimated to have access to it (UNAIDS 2012). HIV prevalence rates differ by age and gender, with the highest prevalence among women aged 30-34 (Table 1), and an estimated prevalence of 16.5% in the sex worker population (UNAIDS 2012).

Table 1: Burkina Faso: Adult HIV prevalence by age group and gender, 2010

Age group	Female (% positive)	Male (% positive)	Total (% positive)
15-19	0.1	0.4	0.3
20-24	0.4	0.5	0.4
25-29	1.2	0.5	0.9
30-34	2.4	1.1	1.8
40-44	2.0	1.4	1.7
45-49	1.7	1.1	1.4
50-59	na	1.1	na
Total (15-49)	1.2	0.8	1.0
Total (15-59)	na	0.8	na

Source: Rapport d'Activités sur la Riposte au SIDA du Burkina Faso 2012, with data from l'Enquête Démographique et de Santé 2010 (EDS IV). na=not applicable.

Problem Statement

New infections and AIDS-related deaths are slowly declining in sub-Saharan Africa, but the continent remains the area most affected by HIV infection. In addition to continuing education about methods to stop the spread of HIV infection, there is a need to address other factors which contribute to the burden of HIV, such as the stigma of being HIV positive, and the increased risk for women and other at-risk populations.

Short films produced by Scenarios from Africa broach these subjects as well as educate about HIV prevention and treatment. The films are typically shown on television or as part of an educational program in which they are preceded by an introduction and followed by a post-viewing facilitated discussion. They are short and in keeping with the principles of Entertainment-Education, the themes from the films are not presented in a didactic manner, with many using comedic elements such as an intentionally unrealistic storyline. As the number of online viewers of the Scenarios films increases, more people watch them on their own without an introduction or discussion. In this case, the viewer is left to make sense of the film on his or her own.

In order to assess audience members' sense-making following viewing of Scenarios from Africa films, a participatory sketching exercise was undertaken in February of 2010 with forty-one young people in Burkina Faso. The exercise of participatory sketching has been used in assessing audience members' response to health communication programs in other contexts, but it is new to the Scenarios process.

Purpose Statement

This thesis uses a participatory sketching methodology to understand how young people in Burkina Faso make sense of the Scenarios from Africa film *Essie* with the purpose of informing programmatic practice related to: Scenarios from Africa film production; the response to sexual violence in sub-Saharan Africa; and the potential of the participatory sketching methodology as a research and assessment tool.

Significance Statement

HIV and AIDS continue to be a burden to health globally. Scenarios from Africa is a popular communication program on the continent with the highest HIV burden. Understanding audience response to a Scenarios from Africa film will help to optimize the effectiveness of future films.

Assessing audience response to health communication materials is challenging. Although participatory sketching is less well known than other types of participatory visual research, such as PhotoVoice, and commonly limited to use with children or in populations of low literacy, the exercise has the potential to be an engaging and effective addition to current qualitative research in all populations, and particularly well-suited to assessing audience response to health communication.

This thesis assesses audience response to a film about sexual violence. Over and above its significance as a human rights issue, sexual violence plays a major role in HIV transmission. Assessing sense-making around sexual violence among young people in Burkina Faso is important to help guide future work in sexual violence prevention and response in the region.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Audience Ethnography

Entertainment-Education (E-E) interventions such as the Scenarios from Africa films create entertaining media with intentionally placed educational content, with the purpose of encouraging social and behavioral change. With increasing numbers of E-E interventions worldwide, research methods to help assess how audiences make sense of these educational messages have multiplied (Singhal 2002).

Audience ethnography is the use of ethnographic methods to explore how an audience produces meaning from media. Tufte (2002) suggests that audience ethnography be used with a theory of mediation developed by Jesus Martin-Barbero to increase understanding of the process of audience sense-making. Defining mediations as "the set of influences that structure, organize and reorganize the understanding of the reality that an audience lives" (Tufte 2002 p. 2), he argues that placing media in the audience's cultural context and looking at the personal, temporal, and cultural mediations of the audience will provide greater insight into their sense-making process. The educational message "is not a simple message to convey but a deep social, cultural and political problem to address, make visible, put on the public agenda and promote public and private reflection and action upon" (Tufte 2002 p.11). In his own research, Tufte uses participatory observations, in-depth interviews, neighborhood surveys, field diaries, and photo-ethnography to understand audience mediations and the cultural context of a Brazilian telenovela (Tufte 2002).

Agenda for Entertainment-Education

Theories of how best to communicate messages to promote social change originated with Miguel Sabido, who in 1969 analyzed the Peruvian E-E program *Simplement María* to determine why it had been effective. This was a Cinderella story of a poor household domestic employee who becomes rich and famous through her proficiency with a sewing machine. Viewers of the soap opera bought Singer sewing machines and enrolled in adult literacy and sewing classes (Singhal 1999). Sabido's analysis yielded a strategy for E-E programming that drew together elements of communication theory and five key genres of theater to bring out human emotion, archetypal characters, and social learning theory (whereby social behaviors are learned by modeling). Sabido created very successful Mexican soap operas based on his strategy, and his methodology continues to be used and evaluated in other countries and media types (Nariman 1993).

Following decades of use of Sabido's theories, and research into its use primarily in developing countries, Singhal and Rogers in 2002 proposed a theoretical agenda for the field of E-E. This agenda advocates a "close investigation of the rhetorical, play and affective aspects of Entertainment-Education" (Singhal 2002 p. 120), broadening the understanding of changes on individual, group, and social levels, and receptiveness to a variety of methods of effect measurement. Of particular importance to this thesis, Singhal and Rogers argue that investigation of E-E theory should take emotions more seriously. Emotions are overlooked as a trigger for behavior change, and should be considered by researchers (Singhal 2002).

Community-Based Participatory Research

Community-based participatory research (CBPR) has become increasingly popular with the realization that giving community members a voice and agency in their own development improves project outcomes. It allows community members, who have traditionally been research subjects, to become active participants in the research process, allowing for a more equal balance of power between researcher and research participant, and richer, more varied responses reflecting community members' true concerns and interests (Greiner 2012).

The amount and type of participation in CBPR varies widely. Researchers have traditionally organized types of participatory research hierarchically based on level of community engagement. For example, Arnstein's "Ladder of Citizen Participation" described an eight-rung ladder ranging from Therapy and Manipulation at the bottom (described as a pretense of participation serving only to cure or educate participants), to Partnership, Delegated Power, and Citizen Control at the top, which allow equal to majority community power over research (Arnstein 1969). Similarly, Agarwal discusses a typology of participation that ranges from nominal (group membership) to interactive (having voice and influence in group decisions), stating that "achieving effective participation would involve a shift from the lower to the higher levels" (Agarwal 2001 p. 1624 - 1625), and Greiner draws a pyramid of the role of a community member in the interview process, from "respondent" at the top of the pyramid and "researcher" at the base (Greiner 2012 p. 350).

These three descriptions of the levels of participation are arranged along a continuum, and graded from bad to good, indicating that the higher the level of community participation, the better the research. Alternatively, Laws et al. argue that a higher level of

participation should not always be assumed to be better, and that there are many situations where full community control over and participation in research may not be appropriate. Instead of a hierarchical continuum, Laws describes a "Wheel of Community Participation in Research," a non-hierarchical categorization of various participatory options. The degree of appropriate participation will vary depending on the goals of the research, and the time and goals of the community (Laws S 2003).

Participatory visual research

Visual research methods are well-suited to community participation. In contrast to traditional visual research, which consists of outsiders' analysis of visual objects such as photographs, traditional art forms, or film, participatory visual researchers invite community members to be active in the creation, description, and analysis of these visual objects. In addition to allowing a better understanding of the true meanings of these visual objects for the communities involved, the process of creating art may bring out more meaningful narratives.

Visual methods were first used in the social sciences in the early 20th century, and consisted primarily of photography as a part of ethnography, such as photos documenting European colonial subjects and images of European poverty (Pink 2004). Early visual research was criticized for its subjectivity, compared to the perceived objectivity of text. During the 1980s and 1990s a social science-wide debate about objectivity in ethnography concluded that ethnographers and other social scientists must recognize the role of their own subjective feelings in their observations and research. Most textual and visual

research was recognized to be somewhat subjective, mitigating concern about a lack of subjectivity in visual research (Pink 2004).

In a 2002 article, anthropologist Dwight Conquergood challenged the dominance of text in academic research: "What gets squeezed out … is the whole realm of complex, finely nuanced meaning that is embodied, tacit, intoned, gestured, improvised, coexperienced, covert – and all the more deeply meaningful because of its refusal to be spelled out" (Conquergood 2002 p. 146). He argued that textocentrism robs research of meaning that would be provided by the addition of performance, visual art, or photography. This article has often been cited by others in the ten years since as a call for increased participatory visual research.

Current participatory visual research uses a wide-ranging variety of methods and levels of community participation. The Visual Voices project works with youth groups in US cities to create exhibited collections of drawings, paintings, and writings (Yonas 2009; Yonas 2013). PhotoVoice gives a camera to community members. Their photos may come in response to a question, such as "What does safety mean to you?" though in the first use of PhotoVoice by Wang in Yunnan province, China, rural women were simply asked to document their lives through photography (Wang 1996; Wang 1997; Hergenrather 2009).

Participatory sketching

Participatory sketching is a low cost, low technology participatory visual research method. The methodology has been described and used most extensively by Arvind Singhal, who describes his inspiration for participatory sketching and photography as work done by Paulo Freire as part of a literacy project in Peru (Singhal 2010). Singhal has used participatory sketching and photography along with interviews in the Peruvian Amazon, the Philippines, and Sudan, helping empower community members and allowing them to guide conversations to the issues important to them (Singhal 2006; Rattine-Flaherty 2009; Singhal 2010). All of these examples of participatory sketching have been done with children or other groups expected to be low-literacy (Singhal 2006; Prosser 2008; Rattine-Flaherty 2009; Yonas 2009; Singhal 2010).

A further benefit of participatory sketching is that the process and product serve as an episodic elicitation of the participants' ideas. This mirrors an approach used by educators when they are looking for a variety of well-thought out answers from all participants: asking students a question and requesting that they write out multiple answers before anyone discusses any of their responses (Peace Corps 2005). This approach allows students time to formulate responses, and gives students who come to conclusions slowly the same opportunity to answer as those that are quick to raise a hand. Additionally, written answers provide a reference to remind students of their thoughts. Similarly, participatory sketching respondents have time to think deeply about their responses as they are drawing, and can refer to their sketches to remind them of their thoughts during the subsequent interview.

Drawing as a memory aid, helping to access emotion

While drawing tends to generally be thought of as the domain of children, literature supports its use with all populations, as it has been shown to both aid in memory recall and get at emotions that may be hidden during interviews. Guillemin argues for the use of drawing as a research methodology in the general study of health and illness. She describes the process of drawing as one of meaning-making, dependent on the history and present feelings of the artist. Therefore, in her research she focuses both on the artist's process of drawing and on the end product itself. "The process of drawing works to produce women's understanding of menopause and heart disease; at the same time, the drawings act as visual representation of these different ways of understanding" (Guillemin 2004 p. 285).

Other research argues that drawing helps to access memories. For young children who have not yet developed an efficient way to search their memory, drawing has been shown to be effective in memory retrieval. Serving as a prop, a drawing may reduce the load on memory, because it remains visible as a verbal prompt would not (Salmon 2001). After using drawing in children's psychoanalysis, Diem-Wille branched out to use it as an addition to adults' narrative interviews. She describes drawing as a psychoanalytical tool to access deep emotions, and interviews successful contemporary career men and women for social science research, following each interview with a request that they draw their families. In psychoanalytical understanding, the conscious realm is what can be accessed with surveys and interviews. The unconscious realm, which would be more accessible through drawing or painting, is emotion-based and is seen by Diem-Wille as the true

influence on behavior. Through the interviews and drawings, she saw the distinction between these two:

> The difference in censorship between verbal expression and drawing was demonstrated by a manager who had just described his family as idyllic, as living in harmony. After thinking for a few minutes, he drew his mother as a barking dog, commenting: 'My mother is a barking dog. She constantly nagged and complained about us.' (Diem-Wille 2004 p. 17)

Drawing is also an important part of art therapy. For both children and adults, traumatic memories are thought to be based in imagery and bodily sensations, and are therefore more easily remembered and expressed through drawing or other forms of visual art rather than text. Art therapists are licensed professionals who work through their clients' memories in a more complicated and invasive exercise than participatory sketching. However, the premise that memories created during times of stress are best expressed in images argues for the unique appropriateness of participatory sketching in all participants (Wethington 2008; Gray 2011). Even in non-traumatic memory, the multi-sensory experience of art-making has been shown to energize, stimulate the memory of, and free the emotions of older adults (Johnson 2006).

Neuroscience research touches on another link between drawing and memory, that of the theoretical visual-spatial buffer, or working memory "sketchpad." In a classic model of working memory (the part of memory that involves bringing and holding different pieces of information together so that it can be manipulated or thought about), there is a proposed "sketchpad" where this information is held. In memory-guided drawing tasks, functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging demonstrates that the primary visual cortex (a specific area of the brain known to primarily function in processing of visual images) may

be this "sketchpad," functioning even in non-image-based working memory. Likova writes that "drawing is an amazing process that requires precise orchestration of multiple brain mechanisms…perceptual processing, memory, precise motor planning and motor control, spatial transformations, emotions, and other diverse higher cognitive functions" (Likova 2012 p. 1). Therefore, the incorporation of image-based creativity into participatory research may help to access and pull together memories and emotions.

Sexual violence in Burkina Faso

Literature quantifying sexual violence in Burkina Faso is very limited. INTERPOL data from 1998 reports the incidence of rape to be 0.24/100,000 people, compared to 34.4/100,000 in the United States (Winslow 2013), but this is likely a vast underestimate. In the 2012 UNAIDS Global Progress Report for Burkina Faso, the statistic reporting the proportion of women aged 15 to 49 who were married or in a couple who were victims of physical or sexual violence by a partner during the last twelve months is not reported (UNAIDS 2012). The United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality reported on the complexity of measuring violence against women in Burkina Faso. Domestic violence, for example, "remains a taboo subject rarely mentioned outside the family environment" (Kaboré 2008 p. 15). This group reports a rise in rape of young girls, and that rape of women and girls above the age of 15 is "quite frequent but little exposed" (Kaboré 2008 p. 19). Factors cited as contributing to high rates of violence against women including rape in Burkina Faso are a patriarchal system, the belief in the superiority of men, the acceptance of violence as a normal part of culture, reluctance of police to arrest perpetrators of sexual violence, and an inefficient judicial system (Kaboré 2008).

In neighboring Nigeria, 42.3% of women in semi-rural areas of Southeastern Nigeria had experienced sexual violence, only 17% of which had been reported to the police. One-third of the women told no one what had happened to them. Reasons for not reporting included fear of further assault, scandal, blame by others, and harassment (Okonkwo 2013). In Ethiopia, 68% of female secondary school students had experienced at least one instance of sexual violence (Bekele 2011). Worldwide, the vast majority of sexual assaults are committed by a partner or acquaintance in the home (García-Moreno 2005).

Response to sexual violence in Sub-Saharan Africa

The majority of literature about sexual violence in Africa focuses on risk factors, medical and emotional consequences of an attack, and associated HIV risk. Studies describing response to and cultural perception of rape have been conducted in countries neighboring Burkina Faso such as Ghana and Nigeria. A survey of female students in four tertiary schools in Nigeria found that 54% of those who had experienced sexual assault had not reported their experience to anyone. Respondents provided suggestions on how to prevent sexual assault, including avoid/don't trust men, school punishment of culprits, enforcement of dress codes, stiffer government penalties, separate schools for men and women, encouragement of female empowerment, and encouraging school and religious groups to preach against assault (Kulima 2010).

A study investigating the social response to marital rape among Ghanaian university students showed that both male and female respondents had a strong opposition to criminalization of a husband raping his wife. Respondents reported that the "typical [Ghanaian]married woman endures serial victimization in the course of her marriage"

(Adinkrah 2011 p. 989) but 78% of respondents opposed the criminalization of these behaviors. Arguments against a proposed law included: that it was alien to Ghanaian culture; that a husband is entitled to forced marital sex; that such a law would break up families; and the concern that vengeful wives would make false charges against their husbands in abuse of such a law (Adinkrah 2011).

A study conducted in Tanzania looked at the typical social reactions to rape, with the aim of describing these in a non-Western population as opposed to the more frequently studied reactions in Western populations. Rape survivors described twelve types of social reactions, which were then characterized as positive, negative, or mixed. Positive social reactions that rape survivors had experienced were receiving: advice about legal help (experienced by 30% of survivors), advice about medical help (32%), emotional support (76%), information on how to prevent future rapes (28%), and coping information (46%). Negative social reactions that rape survivors had experienced were shaming or degrading (32%), blame (30%), being abandoned or segregated (28%), and receiving comments about potential medical complications (30%). Other social reactions, which were seen as positive by some and negative by others, were advice given to the victim to not disclose the attack (30%), and to ignore it and go on with her life (38%) (Muganyizi 2009).

Feminist theory about rape motivation and social attitudes toward rape is based on research suggesting a relationship between male dominance and sexual aggression; it also places emphasis on rape myths. Rape myths are false beliefs that come from a patriarchal system, and tend to trivialize sexual violence, justify sexual coercion, and demean women who become victims of sexual assault. Rape myths are evident in statements such as “Only

bad girls get raped," "any healthy woman can resist a rapist if she really wants to," and "women ask for it" (Hockett 2009 p. 878). Hockett et al (2009) linked the acceptance of rape myths to higher levels of inter-group dominance (acceptance of social hierarchies, such as male dominance), and gender-based oppression (Hockett 2009). Acceptance of rape myths has also been linked to tolerance of rape and blame of the survivor (Idisis 2007). Most literature applying a feminist theory of rape is based on research in Western cultures. However, Boakye (2009) used feminist theory in Accra, Ghana, to investigate the patriarchal nature of Ghanaian culture, address rape myth acceptance in Ghana, and explore the relative importance of participant characteristics such as age and education in their acceptance of rape myths. Male participants in Ghana were more likely to accept rape myths than females, and were also more likely to trivialize rape and less likely to believe that incidence of rape was increasing (Boakye 2009). This study also showed that while older adults tend to accept rape myths more readily than younger adults, adolescents show even higher levels of rape myth acceptance than older adults (Boakye 2009).

Interest in participatory research is increasing, especially in the assessment of E-E interventions. A proposed agenda for E-E education calls upon researchers to diversify assessment methods, and advocates for increased attention to be paid to emotional aspects of audience response. Participatory sketching is expected to be well-suited to assess these emotional aspects, and to help stimulate memory. In Burkina Faso, sexual violence is reportedly increasing. Studies from other sub-Saharan countries indicate the presence of myths that justify or trivialize rape and of social responses that blame victims.

CHAPTER 3

Methods

The study used a convenience sample. Participants were recruited by a local affiliate of Scenarios from Africa. There were 41 participants, 19 male and 22 female, ranging in age from 15 to 30 years old and living in the capital city of Ouagadougou. All were either students in high school or at the university, or had finished university and were working. None had seen the four films that would be used for the participatory sketching activity.

A Scenarios from Africa researcher discussed the study with the participants, who provided informed consent. Participants viewed four of the newest Scenarios from Africa films: *The Cap* which discusses stigma against HIV-positive individuals, *Tiger, Tigress* a film that addresses gender inequality by showing a male truck driver what happens when men and women switch roles, *The Web,* about the dangers of the internet, and *Essie,* the story of a young woman who is raped. Participants watched the films without any introduction or discussion, and were invited to return the following day for the interview and sketching. On their return, they were asked to think about which film most moved them, made them reflect the longest, or caused the strongest emotions, and to focus their drawings on that film. First, they were to draw the scene from the film that they found most moving. Their second drawing was to be of something from their life relating to that scene, explaining why the scene moved them, and for their third drawing they were asked to draw the link between their first drawings and their future. The participants' interviews were recorded and transcribed. Participants were first asked to recite the plot of the film that they had chosen in the greatest detail possible, then to describe each of their drawings in detail.

After they had discussed their drawings, the participants were asked to give their opinion about what each of the other three films wanted to teach people in Burkina Faso. Participants were asked if they had learned any new information from the films. Finally, they were asked if they had any final points or an appeal to give to the public.

De-identified transcripts of these interviews and their accompanying de-identified sketches were used for analysis. This study addresses participants' responses to one film, *Essie*. Thirteen of the participants chose this film as the most meaningful, and all of them discussed it at some point during their interview. Transcripts were entered in MaxQDA 10 software for qualitative data analysis (Belous 2011). A preliminary reading of the transcripts revealed recurrent themes of sense-making, empathy, aspects of Burkinabè culture, the reason for Essie's rape, and learning new ideas. These were developed into codes, which were used to analyze all sections of transcript related to the film *Essie*. Participants' sketches were viewed alongside their transcribed interviews.

This study was approved by Emory's Institutional Review Board (see letter in Appendix B).

Restrictions of methodology

Participants were a convenience sample of young people with higher than average education. They are not representative of young people in Ouagadougou.

Plot of *Essie,* an 18-minute film

"Close your eyes for a moment. Think about a woman or a girl in your life who you love dearly: Your mother, your sister, your girlfriend, your wife, your daughter." The film

begins showing Essie, a teenaged girl, walking along a street in the dark talking on a cell phone, “We’re getting ready to go back to school next week, so I had to study with some friends.” She is wearing a dress and has a backpack on her back. She finishes her phone conversation and continues walking. Next we see a man climbing on large containers away from Essie, who lies crying on the ground. Her nose is bloody. She pulls her belongings together and gets up, hobbling through the grass as if in pain, still crying. Essie walks up to a gate, where she rings the bell and knocks, then collapses to the ground. A female voice asks, “Who’s that?” and Essie answers, “It’s me.” A woman, older than Essie, opens the door and helps her inside. She asks Essie to tell her what happened. Essie responds that she wants to take a shower, but the woman wants her to first go to see a doctor. Essie does not want to do so, but her friend convinces her to go, telling her in a supportive and understanding way that it is really important. At the hospital, the doctor talks to her after her exam. She says that Essie made an excellent decision to come to the hospital right away, and that she was wise not to shower first. She has no serious injuries, and because she came to the hospital within seventy-two hours, she has the chance to start antiretroviral treatment to prevent HIV infection. She can also take medication for other sexually transmitted infections, and can use the morning-after pill to prevent pregnancy. The doctor takes Essie’s clothing and rape kit to a police sergeant, who states that he has a lot to work with to try to find Essie’s attacker. The doctor tells him to “be sure to nail this guy.” The next day, Essie’s older friend is talking on the phone at her home. When she hangs up, Essie asks worriedly, “What did he say?” The woman explains that the person with whom she was talking was worried about her. Essie exclaims: “He’ll never want to see me again. All this is my fault, I’ve shamed my family.” Her friend reassures her that “One

thing is for sure, this is not your fault. You did nothing wrong…The only person to blame is the guy who attacked you...You did nothing to shame your family… This could happen to anybody." Essie has a flashback to dressing on the day of her attack: "No, I should never have worn that dress, I have disgraced everybody. I shouldn't have been out so late." Her friend again emphasizes that the attack was not her fault, that her whole family loves her, and that she is not responsible for what happened. She insists, "Nobody ever has the right to hurt us! Never! OK?" Later, the doorbell rings, and Essie's friend asks her, "Are you ready?" She lets in an older man, presumably Essie's father. Essie looks dejectedly down at the ground. Her father says "We love you," and hugs her.

Results

After watching four "Scenarios from Africa" films, each of the forty-one participants chose a film that they felt had the greatest impact on him or her. Seven participants chose *The Web,* (four female, three male), sixteen chose *The Cap*, (eight male, eight female) and five (four male, one female) chose *Tiger, Tigress*. Thirteen of the forty-one participants chose *Essie* as the film that was the most moving for them. Of those that chose to focus on *Essie*, nine were female and four male. All of the participants did at one time talk about the film *Essie*, and coded segments from the interview transcripts of all participants were used in analysis.

Ages were known for thirty-four of the forty-one participants; the other seven responded to the question "what is your age?" by reporting only their level of schooling, or did not answer the question. Participants ranged in age from fifteen to thirty years, with a mean of 19.68 years, median of 18 years. Twenty-two participants were female, nineteen

were male. Thirty-three participants were high school students. Of the remaining eight, seven were university students and one was an intern in a pharmacy. Of the students who chose to talk about *Essie*, the mean age was 20 years. Nine were high school students, and four were university students.

Sensemaking

Twenty-six participants (thirteen male, thirteen female) discussed parts of *Essie* as either having greater meaning for them because of their own past experiences, or stated that seeing *Essie* had helped them make sense of their own past experiences. Three participants misinterpreted parts of the film, making sense of them in their own ways. Finally, some participants indicated that the film's messages were not relevant to them.

For eight participants, *Essie* was meaningful because someone important to them had been in Essie's situation. They drew these people in their second drawing, portraying sisters, cousins, neighbors, or classmates that had been victims of rape. Participants who had known a rape victim who was later discovered to be HIV positive or to be pregnant expressed regret that these women had not known to seek early medical care as Essie had. Participants described seeing Essie's attack and her feelings following it as a way to understand how their family or friends felt after they were attacked. A male university student drew a female friend of his at school (Image 1). He described being frustrated with her shyness until he found out from other students that she had been raped at the age of 6. He said that this realization "was beyond me" but that after seeing the film, he understood that "if she still sees men like that, that psychologically doesn't work."

Image 1: Male university student drew a female friend of his who was raped at the age of 6. She says "that was an infamous day in my life," and he responds "try to forget."

Another male participant was led to a greater understanding of the situation of a woman in his village by watching the film. She was one of a number of women who had been raped in the remote area surrounding his village by an HIV positive man, and when she was found to be HIV positive she was abandoned by her husband. He described her in his drawing (Image 2) as

> a mother, one who had been raped. And now she is there at the house, she does not know where to go, because, they say, well, she is infected, she cannot return to the house, and here there is not an infirmary, she does not know where to go, so it's death, she thinks. She confides in Jesus.

This participant learned through the film that rape victims have a seventy-two hour window during which they can be treated to reduce HIV transmission. The meaning of this message was greater for him because of his experience with women in his village who could have benefitted from this information. This realization changed his plans for the future. He realized how devastating a situation this woman was in, and that she could have avoided this fate if she had been able to access antiretroviral medications. He drew his plans for the future (image 3):

> I have decided to always go to the hospital to get information about, above all, HIV. And when I have my vacation, I will go to my village and I will do all I can to make the villagers understand that, well, all that I learn about AIDS, I will do my best to share with them.

Images 2 (top) and 3 (bottom): Male 20-year-old high school student drew a woman in his village (Image 2) who had been raped by an HIV-positive man, found to be HIV-positive, and abandoned by her husband and family. In Image 3, he draws his plans for the future, to go to the hospital to learn all that he can about health topics, particularly HIV, and teach the people in his village about these topics when he goes there during his school vacations.

In total, five female participants and three male participants discussed messages in the films as important to people in their lives. The male participants talked about this in a much deeper way. Girls who talked about a family member or friend reported that they

knew how hard it was for this person, how scared she had been to tell her parents, or how depressed and unsafe the attack had made her feel. Male participants, however, did not seem to know how difficult their friend or family member's life had been, and expressed more deeply and completely how much their viewing of *Essie* helped them understand the situation of that friend or family member, showing a new understanding of the reality of rape.

Three participants did not understand scientific particulars about scenes in the film, and explained them to themselves in ways that made sense to them. A 15-year-old female thought that the film taught viewers not to take a shower before a medical exam because then the doctor may not be able to determine if the rapist was HIV positive or not. Several participants thought that Essie had been diagnosed with HIV during her visit with the doctor. They incorporated this understanding into the rest of the plot of the film, bringing up the theme of acceptance for those with HIV, and explaining that even though she had contracted HIV, the infection was removed by the treatments that the doctor gave her.

Five participants, all male, digested the themes of the film from the perspective of a parent or family member of someone who could be raped. None of these participants reported having had a family member or friend who had previously been raped. They reported that the most important lesson that this film taught people in Burkina Faso was that family members, particularly fathers, of girls who experience rape should be understanding. The most elaborate explanation of this came from a male participant:

> In life, one knows that one is going to have children, one is going to have daughters. When one's daughters get to a certain age, one knows that men are going to want them. It's compulsory. The message is that if your

> daughter is raped, the reality is that she didn't want it, it was by accident. It is necessary to understand that. (Male high school student)

No female participants reported making sense of the film in this way.

Three participants discussed the themes of *Essie* as being important in their own lives. These three were all female. In their comments, they stated the importance of having seen the film because, being women, they are at risk of being victims of rape. From this film they reported having learned that they should dress modestly, and to go directly to the hospital if they are raped. One of the girls hoped that her father would be as understanding as Essie's father if the same thing were to happen to her. An 18-year-old female planned to behave in a way that she thought would allow her to avoid sexual assault, so in her third drawing showed herself dressed modestly, returning home from school without delay as soon as classes had ended (Image 4). She says "I am the future of my parents, so I should not waste my life."

Image 4: 18-year-old female high school student drew herself dressed modestly, returning home from school as soon as class has ended, to avoid being raped. Her classmate asks, "Hey, Rasmata, are you going home already?" Rasmata responds, "Yes, because my class is over." Her classmate thinks, "Ha, besides, she doesn't even know how to dress fashionably."

A further group of participants felt that the message was an important one neither for someone in their lives nor for themselves. These participants, four females and two males, described the educational message of the film as one that was not intended for them; instead, they described the message of this film as one for young girls who dress indecently. Unlike the female participants who thought that the message was relevant to them as women, these females did not refer to the importance of this message for their own lives or say that this could happen to them. A 24-year-old female participant drew a girl at a school party who was "badly" dressed and told her story (Image 5). She reported that, at the party, boys stared at the girl the entire time, and she stayed by herself past the time that her friends left. The girl was raped by six boys late that night in a bathroom of the school. Unlike many of the other participants who had acquaintances who were victims of rape and expressed that the messages in this film would have been helpful to them, this participant told this story to provide an example of the type of person that needs to hear this message. She believed that the girl was attacked because of the clothing that she wore. Two male participants also described the messages in the film as if they were not relevant to them, emphasizing that the messages were for young girls.

Image 5:,A 24-year-old female participant drew the three-part story of a girl (in short orange dress) at a school party. Top section: the girl was indecently dressed. Middle section: she went to the restroom and was raped by six boys. Bottom section: She was found lying in the hallway and taken by the firefighters (BNSP) to the hospital.

Empathy

Thirty (eighteen female, twelve male) of the forty-one participants discussed empathy in reference to *Essie*. The primary comments regarding empathy were a description of Essie's father, and his empathy and understanding of her situation. Participants were surprised that Essie's father had been so understanding, but were happy that he had been. Twenty-seven of the participants talked about her father's empathy, and this was one of the most common scenes sketched from the film. Most of the participants who talked about Essie's father thought that his acceptance of his daughter was one of the main points that the film was trying to get across. A female participant described this:

> The message that the film wants us to see is that you should communicate with your daughter, with your children. Try to understand them, and watch them […], counsel them, and if ever a bad thing happens, do not reject them. Because after all, these are your children. Try to understand them. (female, high school student, age 21)

Secondary to the father's empathy, three participants also thought that the importance of a friend's empathy was one of the main messages that the film aimed to bring to the Burkinabè public. They stressed her friend's insistence on getting her medical care, but also supporting her emotionally. As a 21-year-old male participant described, "her aunt was a good person, she tried to understand where she was coming from."

Two participants also discussed their own feelings of empathy for victims of rape. Some of them did so regarding Essie, expressing that they felt badly for Essie while watching her attack: "in seeing the film, the attack of the girl by the young man was very moving" (male, age 24). Many participants had friends or family members who had been

victims of rape, and they empathically described their difficulties and struggles. For example, this film made a 27-year-old male feel for a friend who had been raped and found to be HIV positive. His second drawing was of her (Image 6), and showed her disheartened, not knowing what to do. Finally, a female participant understood the worries that girls in Essie's situation have. She wanted them to go quickly to the hospital,

> because that permits one to avoid disease, above all, and also unwanted pregnancy. And, they showed through this film also, that the authorities punish people like that. So, people in this situation shouldn't worry, they are in good hands. (Female, high school student)

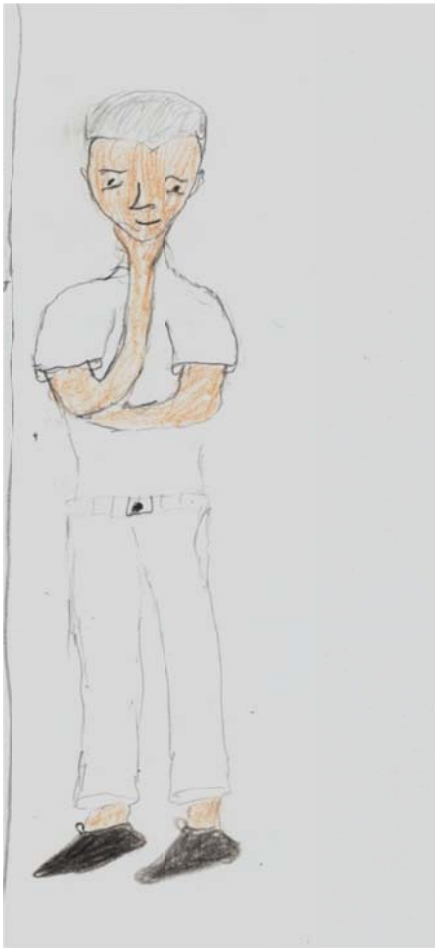

Image 6: Male participant, aged 27, drew a friend of his who had been raped and found to be HIV positive. He shows the victim disheartened and not knowing what to do. (In the interview, the participant originally states that this is a male, but later states that it is a female friend of his).

Finally, a 24-year-old female thought that a lack of empathy was one of the reasons why rapists commit their crimes, and proposed counseling for rapists, to increase their empathy with the girls they might be tempted to attack.

Reason for Essie's Attack

Participants were not asked why Essie was attacked, but a number of them reported a reason for the attack during their interview. For example, one participant started her narrative,

> I think that Essie is a student. One day she goes to school, and she is indecently dressed. On her return, it was very late. At the moment that she was leaving for her house on the side of the road she was stopped by I don't know how many people, and raped in the grass. (female, age 24)

The report of Essie's "indecent" dress as a factual reason for the attack is similar in most other participants' descriptions. Three participants described Essie's feeling of guilt as part of the plot, reporting that she felt that she had brought the attack on herself because she had dressed immodestly. Only one of these three participants also described her aunt's response that it was not Essie's fault or the fault of her dress, and that it could happen to anyone. With the exception of this one participant, those that described Essie's feelings of guilt did not challenge them with reference to her aunt's rebuttal.

The twenty-nine participants who had chosen to focus on other films were asked to describe the main educational message of *Essie*. Twelve of these twenty-nine participants stated that the main educational message of the film was to tell young girls either to dress modestly, or not to go out alone at night. Most concisely: "The principal message for the Burkinabè public is, well, it is necessary to avoid that girls dress themselves halfway"

(female, age 17). Participants stated this message either in compassionate or critical terms. Those who were compassionate expressed concern for girls' well-being, such as a 17-year-old male participant who described the film as,

> an appeal, in fact, to the young sisters, who go out late at night and who don't come back early. It is not all of the time that you will have the good fortune to go out and to return in good health. Bad things can happen to you.

Six of the twelve participants who articulated the message in this way described this message judgmentally or critically, saying that Essie's dress caused the attack, or that she was raped because she was walking alone late at night. In addition to criticizing Essie's actions, one participant described what Essie's parents should have taught her to keep her from being attacked: "It is necessary that parents instill good manners in their children. At the level of dressing, what they wear. It is necessary that children dress decently. Decently, to prevent rapes above all" (female, age 17).

Most of the statements that Essie's attack was a consequence of her dress or behavior were offered as a fact, as part of the description of the plot or the educational message of the film. In contrast, two participants offered their personal opinions of why the attack occurred, both stating that Essie was responsible: "she was walking all alone. The girl was walking all alone in the street, at night even. She was dressed too sexily, if I can express myself that way" (female, age 18); "By my perception, she provoked it" (male, age 20). These two participants' personal judgment of Essie differs from the majority of participants' factual reporting. They were the only participants to personally blame Essie herself. Even though most participants faulted Essie's dress or presence outside at night

for her attack, they still expressed that they felt badly for her, and wanted other girls to learn not to dress like that.

In contrast, four participants stated that the main educational message of the film was to show that the attack on Essie was not her fault. Instead of focusing on why Essie was raped, they talked about her parents' reaction, hoping that people who watch the film will learn not to blame their daughters if something similar happens to them. For example, a 17-year-old female participant said that for her,

> It's the parents, her father, that really touched me. That is to say, he didn't reject her. Because there are certain parents who don't understand certain things... who could say that it's the girl who looked for this to happen […] But certain parents are also understanding. They can understand that…even if the girl hadn't gone out at night like that, maybe that could have happened in the house even. No one knows.

Comparison across gender revealed some differences in response. Of the sixteen total participants that discussed the message of the film in reference to Essie's attack, eight were female and eight male. Among males, five of the eight thought that the main educational goal of the film was to warn girls to dress and act modestly, while three thought that the main educational goal was that a girl who is raped is not at fault. Among female participants, only one of the eight thought that the educational goal was to show that a girl who is raped is not at fault, with the remaining seven responding that the goal was to warn girls to dress and act modestly. Neither male nor female participants tended to be more compassionate or critical of Essie's actions, with participants of both genders expressing either opinion equally. There were no evident differences in discussion of the reason for Essie's attack between those still in high school and those in university or working.

Burkinabé culture or legal system

Thirteen of forty-one participants commented about aspects of Burkinabè culture or the country's legal system in reference to the film *Essie*. Participants described a lack of police and legal protection for women and victims of sexual assault, a lack of knowledge about the damaging effects of sexual assault, and society's tendency to turn its back on rape victims.

Participants' comments about police protection arose during discussion of their third drawing – one that was supposed to represent the future. Participants commented that police should be stationed in dangerous places, and taught that rape is a very harmful crime. A 17-year-old female drew a picture of a police officer next to a middle school, some of which she thinks are dangerous places (Image 7). Other participants drew guards at their homes and secret police informants, who they hoped to station in the streets to help keep women safe.

Image 7: A female participant, age 17, drew three interventions that she believed would keep girls from being raped: police officers stationed outside of middle schools, mandatory school uniforms including pants for girls, and increased arrest and punishment of rapists.

Participants expressed frustration with the lack of punishment for rapists in Burkina Faso. They described this as a problem in relation to both the strength and enforcement of current national laws. A 24-year-old female drew the National Assembly in her third drawing (Image 8), and suggested that "the National Assembly should vote in a law that punishes rapists." Acknowledging that there already was such a law, she

elaborated that she believed that the law was not applied, and that this made rapists bold as they knew that they would not be punished. In addition to concern about lack of policemen and weakness of laws punishing rapists, multiple participants explained that even if police were present, they may not enforce the laws because "even if they find the delinquents, [they] let themselves be corrupted by them" (female, age 17).

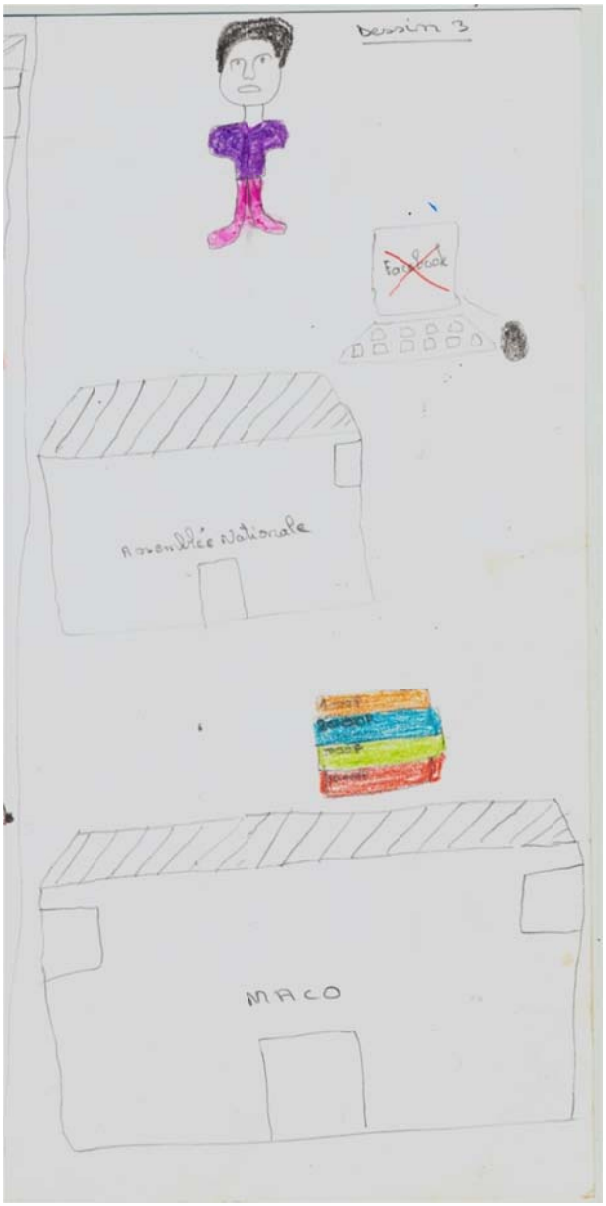

Image 8: A 17-year-old female drew what she would like to see done in the future to reduce rapes: suppression of Facebook, laws passed by the Assemblée Nationale to punish rapists, and fines and prison time for rapists.

A further cultural theme that participants discussed was brought up by Essie's father's reaction to her attack. As described above, participants were struck by the empathy is this scene. In addition to discussing the striking emotion, participants described the father's acceptance of his daughter as an unexpected move, not reflecting typical behavior in Burkina Faso. Describing what he expected to happen, a participant stated that "when she was raped, she thought that… her father …was really going to reject her. And in this African society that's really what happens most often" (male high school student). Although Essie's acceptance by her father was unexpected, participants who described their surprise were also relieved that her father did not reject her. Participants described a general lack of support of victims from both parents and classmates, which led girls not to report a rape to a doctor or to the police. A 17-year-old female participant alluded to the stigma and mockery that victims of rape may face at school:

> Most of the girls in Ouaga, those that are victims of rape are often afraid of the reaction of their parents above all. And after that, they don't have support, above all of the students at school. Because once classmates learn that you were raped, it's over for you. They are going to start to make fun of you, and many of them are going to say that it wasn't real, that you were aware of what was going to happen. If not, you wouldn't have stayed. But you were out in the street late at night.

Two participants, one male and one female expressed a different opinion on the question of whether victims would report a rape; they related that Essie's actions of getting help from a friend and going to the hospital were what most victims of rape in Burkina would do.

Image 9: A 17-year-old female participant drew herself in the future, speaking to police officers to explain to them that rape is not a good thing.

Another common cultural theme was a general lack of knowledge and understanding of rape, and more generally of sexuality, among people in Burkina Faso. As discussed above, two male participants were emotionally moved and educated about what rape is like from their viewing of *Essie.* Three participants advocated for counseling various groups on the effects of rape, thinking that rapists, the police, and young people in general are not aware of these effects. A 24-year-old female would like to counsel rapists "on the effects of rape. Because, in raping girls, that can seriously play with their psychology. Without the rapist knowing." In her third drawing (Image 9), a 17-year-old female drew a picture of herself and a policeman, explaining that in the picture "I have gone to the police to try to explain to them that rape is not a good thing. And they can make more of an effort to stop this type…of crime." A male university student felt that children need to be counseled. He drew an old man, a lawyer, teaching children about sexuality, bad behaviors,

and rape (Image 10). A 24-year-old female expressed the belief that such counseling would be helpful for her:

> I would advise Scenarios from Africa to base themselves more on the education of young people in the next editions. Sometimes in their lives, in society, particularly me, I have had no sexual education. Not in school, not from my mother or father. I am obligated to learn from my friends. I think that if Scenarios from Africa talked about that more, it would be good for me. I suffer from being badly informed.

Multiple participants called for education about the effects of rape, and two male participants described having their eyes opened to what rape is through this film. The film *Essie* helped young men realize how damaging rape can be, and made young women interested in explaining its damaging effects to police and rapists.

Image 10: A male university student drew three important changes that he hopes to see in the future: stricter laws about rape in the Assemblée Nationale, more security from the police, and education of children. Educating the children is an old man, a lawyer, who teaches them about sexuality, bad behaviors, and rape.

These observations vary based on gender. First of all, more women (nine) commented on cultural issues in Burkina than men (five). Of the male participants who discussed cultural issues, one out of five was concerned about the need for more legal or police protection for women. Among the women, five of nine commented on this need.

New information learned

Twenty-seven of the forty-one participants discussed whether they had learned new information from any of the four films that they watched the previous day. Eighteen participants reported learning new information from any of the films; eleven participants reported learning new information from the film *Essie*.

The most common information learned from *Essie* was that a rape victim has a seventy-two hour time period to be treated by a physician to avoid unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections such as HIV. Nine participants reported gaining this new information. Participants reported being surprised and moved by this information, and happy that it had helped Essie. Among those who drew about the film *Essie*, this was the scene most commonly drawn when asked which was the most moving.

Knowledge of this seventy-two hour window of opportunity surprised many participants who believed that they were already well-informed about HIV/AIDS. A 22-year-old female described having been involved in numerous educational campaigns about HIV/AIDS, but yet still "that made me happy… Even with the educational campaigns, I didn't know that." A 20-year-old male participant from a rural area currently attending school in Ouagadougou believed that all people in Burkina Faso were ignorant of this fact. In places like his village, he expressed the belief that people did not even know of any treatment for HIV. Even among this well-educated group of participants, there was limited knowledge about post-exposure prophylaxis.

Two participants reported that the new information that they learned from *Essie* was that a rape victim should not bathe before going to see a doctor. Three participants

reported having learned other new information from *Essie*: that HIV positive people can be accepted by their parents, and what a sexual assault is like. A fifteen-year old male participant misunderstood Essie's situation – he thought that she had been diagnosed with HIV at her doctor's visit. Therefore,

> What I learned from the film is that once one has AIDS, one is not absolutely rejected by one's parents. Because, when her father came to see her… he took her in his arms to tell her… well, he still cares for her, even if she is HIV positive. But I think that is one of the goals of the film, that if one has AIDS, people with AIDS are not absolutely rejected.

This participant misunderstood some of the objective facts from the film, but still absorbed some of the emotional messages of the film: acceptance and understanding.

Two participants reported having learned that what a rape is like from *Essie*. Although they knew that rape exists, they had never seen it, and were disturbed by it. Both of these participants were male.

Four participants stated that they did not learn any new information from any of the films. One of these four participants talked about *Essie* as the most moving film, and in her third drawing showed a girl who is "dressed decently to avoid the regard of boys," near a computer representing the internet, from which she felt that Facebook should be strictly suppressed, due to schoolgirls' habit of looking for boyfriends on the site (female, age 24). Through the interview we did not learn whether her desire to suppress Facebook was a new one grown out of watching the internet-focused film *The Web* or if this was a plan that she had before watching these films.

Comparison between male and female participants and between those in high school and those in university or working did not reveal a difference in the proportion of

participants who stated they had learned new information or in the type of new information they reported they had learned. Of the participants who stated that they did not learn any new information from any of the films, two were male and two were female. Two were still in high school, one was an intern in a pharmacy, and one was a university student.

Chapter 4

Discussion

Sensemaking

Participants made sense of the film in a variety of ways, most relating to experiences that they had in the past or that they imagined may be possible in their future. Audience ethnography assessment of E-E programs shows that viewers identify strongly with characters in emotional stories, and that identification with characters helps viewers make sense of the stories' messages (Tufte 2002). Identifying with characters in *Essie* appears to have been an important way that many participants made sense of the film. Nine of the twelve participants who decided that the film *Essie* was the most thought-provoking or moving of the four films talked about a friend or family member who had been raped. They discussed these stories as if they identified these friends and acquaintances with Essie, in some cases comparing Essie's feelings of guilt to those of their friend. Three female participants showed that they identified with Essie themselves, realizing that they could be in such a situation in the future. Finally, five male participants appeared to identify with Essie's father, and discussed lessons from the film as someone who may have a daughter in the future, who will be at risk of being raped.

Studies from across the culturally and religiously diverse African continent report that sexual violence is a topic that victims and society in general keep quiet about (Bekele 2011, Kaboré 2008, Okonkwo 2013). In previous studies, E-E interventions that broach controversial issues have been found to help break the silence surrounding these issues (Tufte 2002). Participants were not asked about their readiness to discuss sexual violence after viewing the film, but in our interviews, participants were willing to discuss sexual violence and cultural norms. Several male participants disclosed that this film had made them realize what rape was like, and indicated that they had not thought about the reality of rape previously, indicating an increase in personal reflection about a taboo subject.

Empathy

Thirty of the forty-one participants discussed empathy in *Essie*, and thirteen of the twenty-eight participants who were asked about the main educational message of the film emphasized in their response the importance of parents and friends of rape victims being understanding of their difficulties, and not rejecting them. One of the most commonly sketched scenes was that of Essie and her father at the end of the film, when he accepts her and takes her in his arms. This was a highly emotional moment, and Essie's father accepting her was a surprise for participants.

Empathy was the most commonly discussed theme in the film. Although twelve participants discussed Essie's attack being caused by her dress or actions, many more participants (thirty) were moved by Essie's aunt's and father's understanding and forgiveness.

Reason for Essie's Attack

When describing Essie's attack, four of thirteen participants who thought that *Essie* was the most moving or thought-provoking film stated that the character was either dressed "indecently" or walking alone at night and gave this as an explanation for her rape. Additionally, eight of the twenty-eight participants who focused on other films reported that teaching girls to dress modestly and not to walk alone at night in order to avoid being raped was a major message of the film. Although Essie's attack was often described in compassionate terms, the view that it was a result of her dress and behavior was stated as a fact, indicating a deep-seated sentiment that the rape is a consequence of the victim's actions.

The final script of *Essie* was based on ideas by young Africans, was developed over more than a year, and drew on critical review by women from across sub-Saharan Africa who had been raped and by rape service organizations. It was widely pre-tested across the continent. Despite exhaustive pre-testing of the final script across the continent and despite a powerful rebuttal of the blame argument in the closing sections of the film, some respondents nonetheless felt that Essie was to blame for her brutal attack. The audience made sense of Essie's attack with reference to dominant cultural values whereby victims are regularly blamed for being raped, endorsing rape myths, such as that girls who dress indecently get raped, and that it is a rape victim's fault for walking alone at night. Endorsement of rape myths tends to be highest in patriarchal societies (Hockett 2009, Boakye 2009), and the age group with the highest rate of rape myth acceptance has been shown to be teenagers (Boakye 2009). There was no age difference between participants who thought that the film's message was one of empathy and those who thought that it was one of blame.

Eight participants indicated that the educational message of *Essie* was not relevant for them. Realistically, all male and female participants are at risk of sexual assault, and as this film was intended more to help in the response to rape than to prevent it, the messages are relevant for all viewers. According to feminist theory, rape myths encourage and justify sexual coercion, trivialize sexual violence, and demean and devalue women who become victims of sexual assault (Hockett 2009). Belief in rape myths may be part of what is leading these female participants to believe that they are not the intended audience for the film. Rape myths tend to stereotype the victim as someone who acts irresponsibly and brings a rape upon him or herself, and female participants who do not believe that they fit that stereotype may not recognize that they are at risk.

Burkinabé Culture or Legal System

Overall participants called for more protection for women on multiple levels, at the policy level with the National Assembly, with police protection in dangerous places, and a different societal response to sexual assault. Concerns were expressed about police not being concerned about rape, and not going after perpetrators, but also that the police may be corrupt and let the rapists bribe them out of arresting them. Some participants mentioned family and friends, or society in general, turning they back on people who have been raped, especially those who are found to be HIV positive. Multiple participants called for education of the general public about the effects of rape, and two male participants described having their eyes opened to what rape is through this film. This indicates that there is a lack of knowledge about the harmful effects of rape in the country in general,

particularly among males. Male participants' surprise at the violence of rape reflects the lack of knowledge or trivialization of sexual violence seen in those endorsing rape myths.

New Information Learned

Eleven of forty-one participants learned new information from Essie, primarily that a victim of sexual assault has a seventy-two window of opportunity to be treated with antiretroviral medications to prevent HIV infection.

Participatory Sketching

Drawing has been primarily a method used with children, as in children's art therapy or as a way to help them express ideas that may be too complex for their limited vocabularies. Similarly, participatory sketching has been used as a tool primarily with children or in populations that are expected to be of low literacy. In this exercise, participatory sketching was used to assess the sensemaking and understandings of young adults who are well educated and are above the age of those whom we would usually hand crayons and invite to draw. Some participants expressed a reluctance to draw, out of concern that they would not be good at it, but in the end all participants produced images from the film, their past, and their possible future which helped us understand their lives, emotions, and ways of making sense of the film *Essie.*

In their proposed agenda for E-E research, Singhal and Rogers suggest the need for greater focus on emotion (Singhal 2002). This participatory sketching exercise was successful at eliciting description of participants' emotions, and the act of drawing before the interview appears to have helped tap into these emotional responses. Participatory

sketching as a methodology in this exercise gave participants time to sit and reflect on their experiences, bring forth emotions, and make sense of their past experiences and what they had learned from the film. Many of the commonly discussed themes were brought up when discussing the participants' images, either their second drawings from their past or their thoughts and plans for the future. During the participatory sketching exercise, participants used their drawings as a starting point for discussion. Participants' sketches brought up meaningful, emotional stories that helped them make sense of the film and its messages. As emphasized by psychotherapeutic literature, drawing has a unique ability to get at an individual's emotions. Furthermore, drawing and visual imagery is closely related to memory, as the V1 visual cortex has been hypothesized to be the brain's working memory "sketchpad." Bringing these together makes participatory sketching uniquely suited to getting at emotion, providing access to the unconscious thoughts that influence behavior, and stimulating memory. Participatory sketching is an appropriate tool to assess how the audience makes sense of the program, even if the audience consists of literate adults.

Other studies have suggested that both the process and the product of participatory visual research are useful. In this case, participants only shared their sketches with the Scenarios from Africa researcher, but in other participatory sketching exercises the participants have been encouraged to share their drawings and ideas with a group of their peers. This act of reflection with a peer group is reported to encourage wider storytelling and community action. As described by Freire, the theorist who originally inspired participatory sketching, collective knowledge emerges from group members' shared experiences and the social influences of the group that affect individual lives (Wallerstein

1988). A group activity like this may be useful as part of a future Scenarios from Africa assessment.

There were some differences in perception of the film by gender. Female participants overall were more concerned about the lack of legal and physical protection for women, and were more likely to think that the educational goal of the film was to teach girls to dress decently. Females also discussed their interest in educating people about rape, about how it can be physically and psychologically damaging. Only male participants, on the other hand, saw the film as a call for them to eventually be understanding of their daughters if they find themselves in a similar situation to Essie's. They also seemed to be more deeply affected by the portrayal of rape in the film, and indicated that it had helped them to understand how damaging it can be.

Conclusion

Empathy was the most commonly discussed theme in the film, and one of the most commonly sketched scenes was the final scene of the film, when Essie's father takes her in his arms and accepts her. Although a surprising number of participants discussed Essie's attack as resulting from her dress or behavior, a greater number of participants emphasized that Essie's father should not reject her, or that her friend or aunt did well to treat her with such empathy. Awareness of the tenaciousness of the culture of victim blame among some respondents, despite its rebuttal in the film, could be useful for the Scenarios from Africa team as they plan future films.

This participatory sketching exercise brought forth a wide range of participants' understandings of the film *Essie*, and their past experiences and future plans related to

sexual violence. The exercise helped assess participants' understanding of sexual violence, the lessons that they learned from *Essie*, and the cultural context in which they placed the film. These lessons may help to optimize the effectiveness of future health communication about sexual violence. Participatory sketching is a tool well-suited to the challenge of assessing audience response to communication materials in audiences of all ages and literacy levels.

Public Health Recommendations

Participatory sketching is a little-known visual research method, but is well-suited to the assessment of audience sense-making and also applies to other situations in which a deep understanding of emotion and cultural context are desired. Its increased use could be a helpful complement to interview in public health research on a variety of subjects. In particular, further use of participatory sketching as a methodology to understand audience response to Scenarios from Africa films would help the organization to optimize future film production.

Sexual violence is a little-discussed problem in Sub-Saharan Africa. Interventions pertaining to sexual violence in the region must take into the pervasiveness and tenacity of rape myths. Despite the fact that the idea behind *Essie* originated with young Africans, and that the script was pre-tested with rape survivors and rape service organizations, a number of viewers still thought that the film's message was for girls to change their dress and behavior to avoid rape. This suggests that myths that trivialize and justify rape and devalue women are deep-seated and tenacious, at least in those who have not experienced rape first-hand. A greater number of participants correctly identified that the main

message of the film was one of empathy, showing that even in groups with a high level of rape myth belief, emotional or affective themes that modify reaction to sexual violence are successfully communicated. As this study was conducted with a convenience sample of young people in Burkina Faso, these findings cannot be generalized to other groups or locations.

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Appendix A: List of acronyms used

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

CBPR: Community-Based Participatory Research

CIA: United States Central Intelligence Agency

E-E: Entertainment-Education

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

INTERPOL: International Criminal Police Organization

PPP: Purchasing Power Parity

UNAIDS: Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

EMORY UNIVERSITY | Institutional Review Board

TO: Dell McLaughlin, MD
Principal Investigator

DATE: April 25, 2013

RE: **Expedited Approval**
IRB00063895
Qualitative analysis of participatory sketching exercise

Dear Dr. McLaughlin,

Thank you for submitting a new application for this protocol. This research is eligible for expedited review under 45 CFR.46.110 and/or 21 CFR 56.110 because it poses minimal risk and fits the regulatory category F[5] as set forth in the Federal Register. The Emory IRB reviewed it by expedited process on 04/24/2013 and granted approval effective from **04/24/2013** through **04/23/2014**. Thereafter, continuation of human subjects research activities requires the submission of a renewal application, which must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to the expiration date noted above. Please note carefully the following items with respect to this approval:

- Protocol document (Version: 04/11/2013)
- Permission to use data documentation (04/22/2013)

Any reportable events (e.g., unanticipated problems involving risk to subjects or others, noncompliance, breaches of confidentiality, HIPAA violations, protocol deviations) must be reported to the IRB according to our Policies & Procedures at www.irb.emory.edu, immediately, promptly, or periodically. Be sure to check the reporting guidance and contact us if you have questions. Terms and conditions of sponsors, if any, also apply to reporting.

Before implementing any change to this protocol (including but not limited to sample size, informed consent, study design, you must submit an amendment request and secure IRB approval.

In future correspondence about this matter, please refer to the IRB file ID, name of the Principal Investigator, and study title. Thank you

Steven J. Anzalone, M.S.
IRB Research Protocol Analyst
This letter has been digitally signed

CC: