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# Unfurling the **VOICEBOOK** of *Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon*

Real-Time Audience Engagement, Rising Fandom, and Spurring of Prosocial Actions

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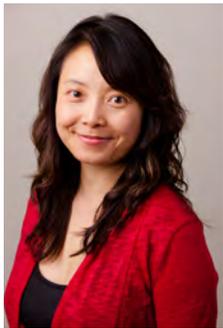
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Dr. Arvind Singhal is the Samuel Shirley and Edna Holt Marston Endowed Professor of Communication and the Director of Social Justice Initiative at The University of Texas at El Paso. He is also appointed as the William J. Clinton Distinguished Fellow at the Clinton School of Public Service in Little Rock, AR and Professor 2 in the Faculty of Business Administration at Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences in Norway. He is author of several seminal scholarly texts on entertainment-education (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, National Communication Association Distinguished Book Award; Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido, 2004; Lacayo & Singhal, 2008), and winner of the First Everett M. Rogers Award for Outstanding Contributions to Entertainment-Education in 2005 by the University of Southern California's Norman Lear Center. He has advised and carried out research on entertainment-education projects in several dozen countries, including pioneering work in India, starting with the hit television serial *Hum Log* in the mid-1980s (Singhal & Rogers, 1988, 2001).

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## ► Executive Summary

*Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon* (MKBKSH)—I, A Woman, Can Achieve Anything—is an ongoing entertainment-education initiative launched by the Population Foundation of India, beginning in 2014. It purposefully uses the power of storytelling in popular media to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women by addressing health and social issues such as child marriage, family planning, sex selection, and violence against women and girls. In the two seasons it has completed, MKBKSH adopted a 360° communication approach, attracting an audience of 400 million through a television and radio drama serial, an interactive voice response system (IVRS), social media outlets, and on-the-ground activities.

This research report represents a rigorous independent analysis by the present authors of the pioneering use of the IVRS to engage MKBKSH audience members in real time across the 29-month period (Season 1 and 2) of the MKBKSH initiative. The IVRS successfully leveraged the high penetration of mobile telephony in India to allow less privileged audience members to call in, provide feedback, listen to curated content, answer questions, and record their own opinions about salient social issues. The IVRS registered 1.7 million calls from more than 390,000 unique phone numbers across 29 out of 36 India's states. No media initiative, anywhere in the world, has received such a high level of audience participation in real time at such a scale.

Our analysis of this mega IVRS database offers strong empirical evidence on the breadth and depth of MKBKSH's audience engagement, its sustainable growth of fandom, as well as various prosocial actions spurred by the inspiring characters and storylines in the serial. We found equal participation among women and men, high involvement of youth, more participation from students and homemakers, and expansive coverage in priority states such as Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Significantly, the IVRS was instrumental in reaching the “media dark” areas through Mobile Vaani networks and Community Radio Stations.

In sum, the IVRS played a critical role in the effectiveness of the MKBKSH initiative for social change. Not only did it provide timely and authentic, user-generated feedback for programmatic improvement, its innovative use as a real-time tracker of audience engagement represents a trendsetter in the practice and research on entertainment-education.

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## Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon: A 360° Communication Approach



With a staggering audience of 400 million, *Main Kuch Bhi Kar Sakti Hoon* (MKBKSH) – I, A Woman, Can Achieve Anything – is an ongoing entertainment-education initiative launched by the Population Foundation of India, beginning in 2014 (Das, 2017). It purposefully uses the power of storytelling in popular media to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women by addressing health and social issues such as child marriage, family planning, sex selection, prenatal and perinatal care, and violence against women and girls.



Building on previous success of entertainment-education in Latin America, Asia, and Africa (Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido, 2004; Singhal & Rogers, 1999), MKBKSH incorporated an asset-based positive deviance inquiry in its formative research to enhance its narrative development and to portray positive behavioral models of what was already working in communities (Anand & Batra, 2016; Singhal, 2013).

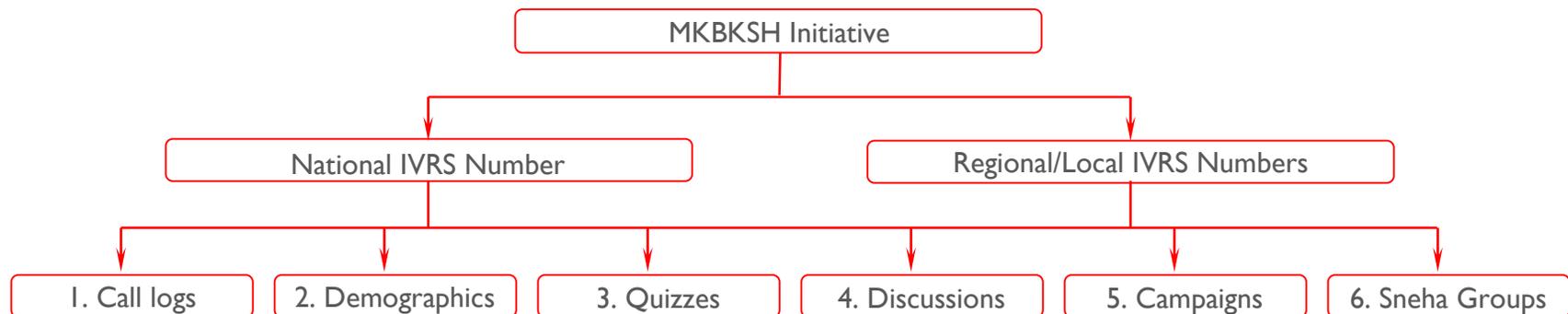
MKBKSH adopted a 360° approach across a wide range of communication platforms to engage the audience through a television and radio serial, an interactive voice response system, social media outlets, and on-the-ground activities (Ramasubban, 2016).

## Our Purpose: Unfurling the Pioneering Use of IVRS

The use of interactive voice response system (IVRS) in the MKBKSH initiative may be the first time ever that IVRS has been used in entertainment-education to facilitate and track audience engagement at scale. The team at an innovative technology company, Gram Vaani, pioneered the IVRS model with the Population Foundation of India to leverage the country's vast mobile telephony infrastructure to reach rural residents, empower local communities, and enable prosocial actions (Moitra, et al., 2016).

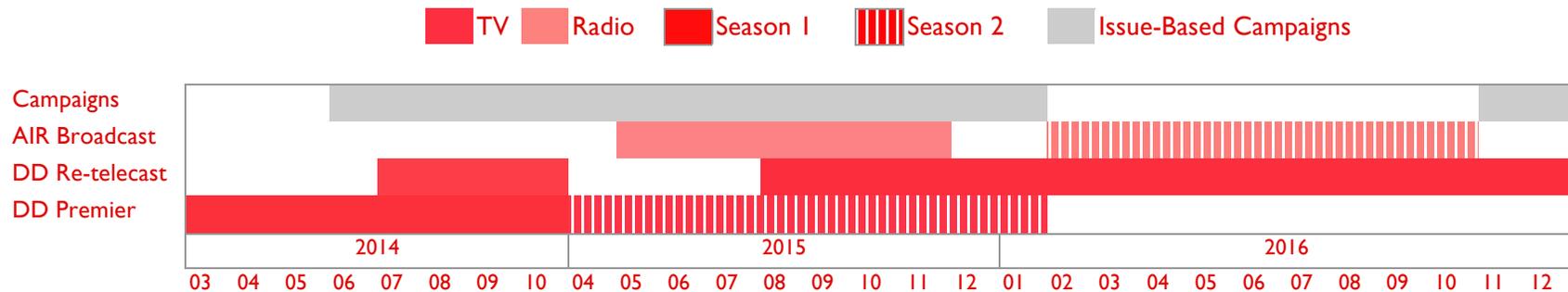
We used 2017 Excel and SPSS V24 to clean, modify, and analyze the raw data; and 2017 Excel, Word, and Tableau Pro to generate the graphics in the present report. We add value to previous IVRS reports from Gram Vaani (2014, 2016) and the Population Foundation of India (2016) by featuring the most up-to-date trends over time, key characteristics for sustainable audience engagement, impact in targeted geographic areas, and practical recommendations for future improvement.

A toll-free number was advertised during the MKBKSH broadcasts that audience could give a “missed” call to receive a call back and participate in different activities. Callers could provide feedback by pressing numeric keys or recording voice messages. This helped create the six types of IVRS data listed below and structured our analysis and sections of this report. Although these callers are not representative of MKBKSH general audience, their unfiltered responses provide unique and invaluable insights.

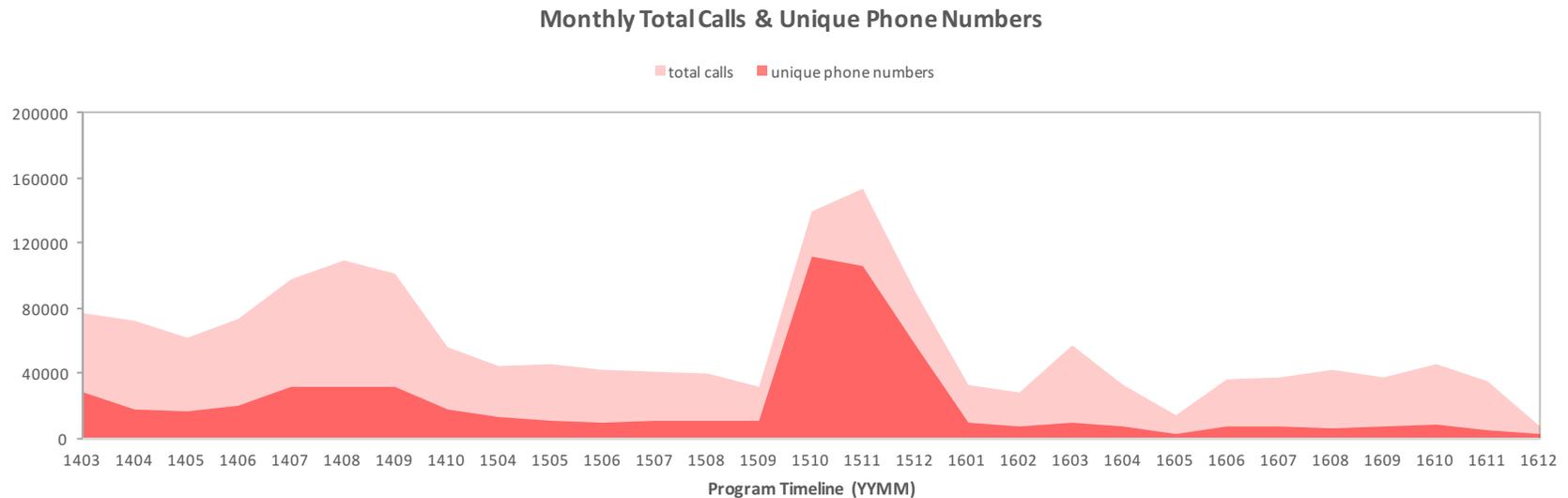


## Engaging and Tracking the Audience in Real Time

The MKBKSH initiative included many components: A flagship television drama serial of 130 episodes broadcast over two seasons that premiered on Doordarshan (DD-1)—52 episodes in Season 1 from March to October 2014 and 78 episodes in Season 2 from April 2015 to January 2016. They have been subsequently re-telecast on Doordarshan in Hindi and dubbed in 13 regional languages. An adapted version was broadcast on 216 All India Radio (AIR) stations with Season 1 running from May to November 2015 and Season 2 from February to October 2016. The content and several corresponding issue-based campaigns were also made available through Mobile Vaani networks and Community Radio Stations to reach India’s “media dark” areas. The chart below shows the timeline of various broadcast schedules of MKBKSH on different platforms across its duration of 29 months.

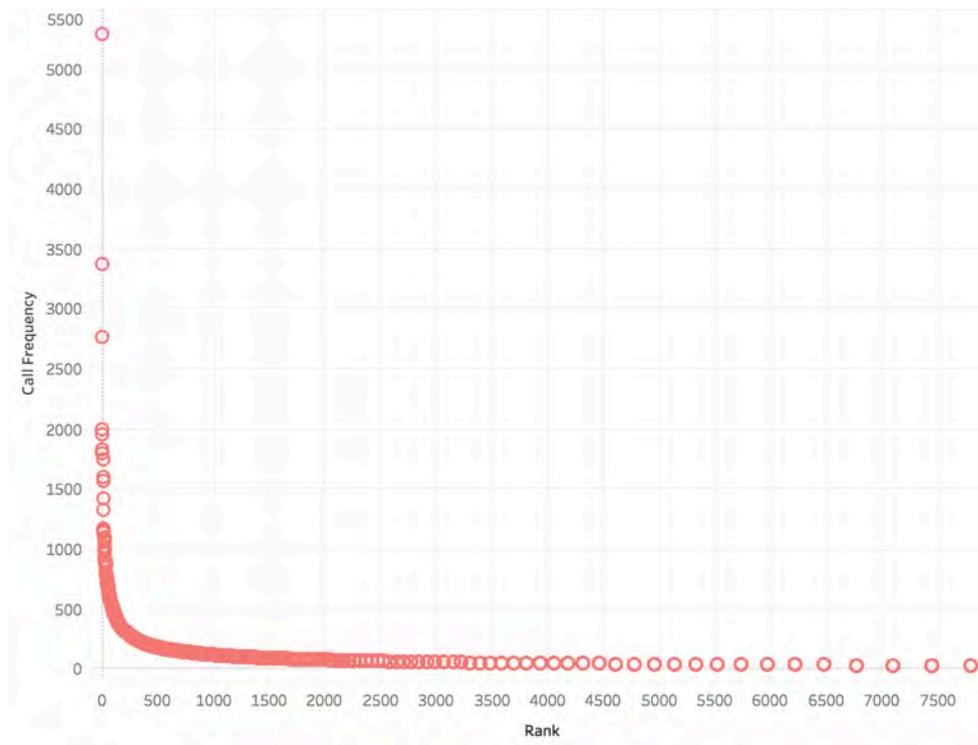


## Staggering Audience Participation at a Large Scale Over Time



The area chart above shows the total number of calls and the unique phone numbers recorded on IVRS for each of the 29 months of the MKBKSH initiative. A total of 1,678,857 calls came from 390,710 unique phone numbers with the following breakdown: Season 1 elicited 647,539 calls from 146,911 unique phone numbers and Season 2 elicited 1,031,318 calls from 341,084 unique phone numbers. The calls spiked around October 2015 when MKBKSH's promotional activities peaked with Bollywood celebrity Farhan Akhtar announcing his appearance as the epilogue-giver in Season 2, starting in episode 99. A pledge contest was subsequently announced in episode 102 with attractive prizes including an opportunity to meet Akhtar. Such star power attracted record call volumes in October and November 2015 (293,462 calls in 2 months).

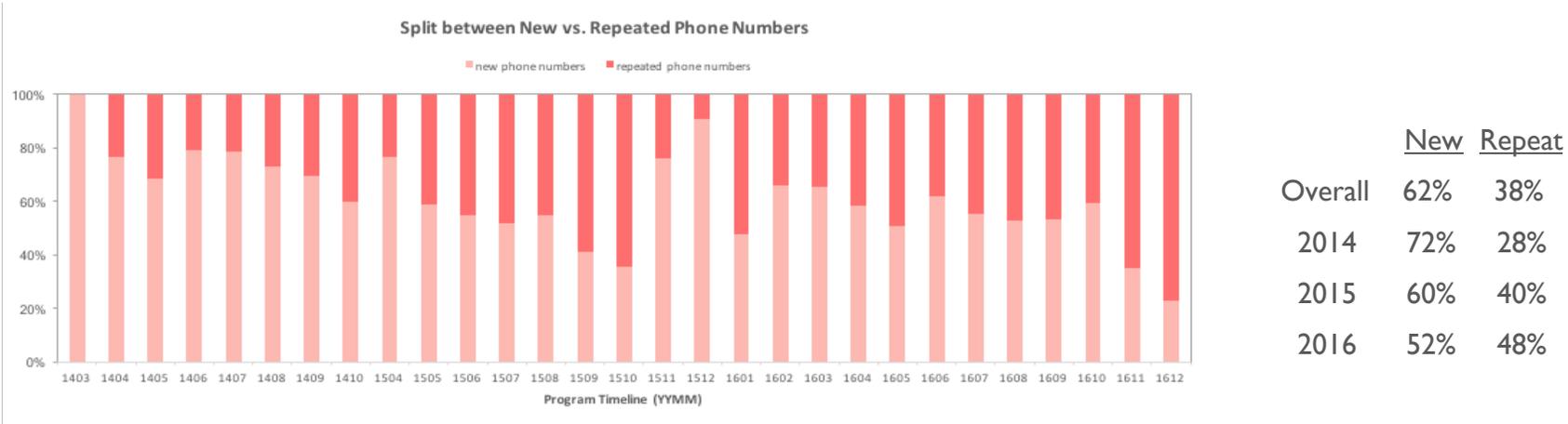
## Rising Fandom Ahead of the Long Tail



The IVRS caller participation followed the long-tailed distribution where a very small group made significantly higher number of calls than the majority of them. This is a common phenomenon for technology-facilitated social participation. Overall, 53% of the IVRS participants called only once, 26% called two or three times, and 21% called four or more times.

However, the top 2% of most frequent IVRS callers—some 7,626 of them—represent MKBKSH fans in our analysis. They included 33 people who, on average, called at least once a day; 851 who, on average, called at least once a week; and 6,742 who, on average, called at least once a month during the 29-month time period of the MKBKSH initiative. Interestingly, even within this small group of MKSKBH fans, the call frequency distribution followed the power law, as shown in the scatter plot on the left. The highest call frequency was 5,290 times, followed by 23 callers with over 1,000 times, and 1,246 callers in the hundreds.

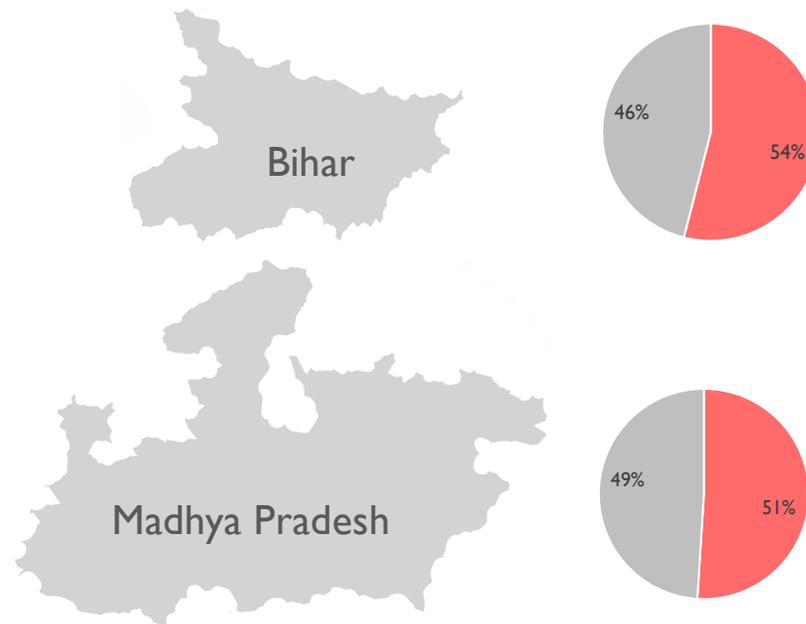
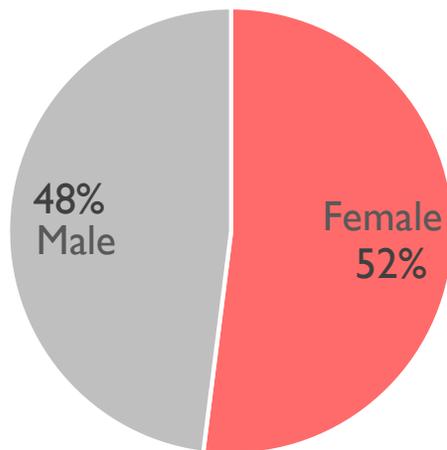
# The Sustainable Growth of a Fan Community



Our analysis shows that MKBKSH maintained a healthy balance between cultivating a fan base with repeated callers and attracting new callers to participate via IVRS. The stacked column chart above shows the split between new and repeated unique phone numbers on IVRS for each of the 29 months of the MKBKSH initiative. Note that a phone number is only considered new the first month it appeared in the call logs, then it became a repeat when it appeared in subsequent months. Therefore, this chart shows the dynamic between these two groups overtime. The percentage change from 2014 to 2016 also demonstrates that MKBKSH kept a steady pace at growing a community of fans who repeatedly called into the IVRS for more information and to offer feedback. Meanwhile a substantial number of new phone numbers continued to be added to the pool, indicating the expanding involvement of MKBKSH audience members.

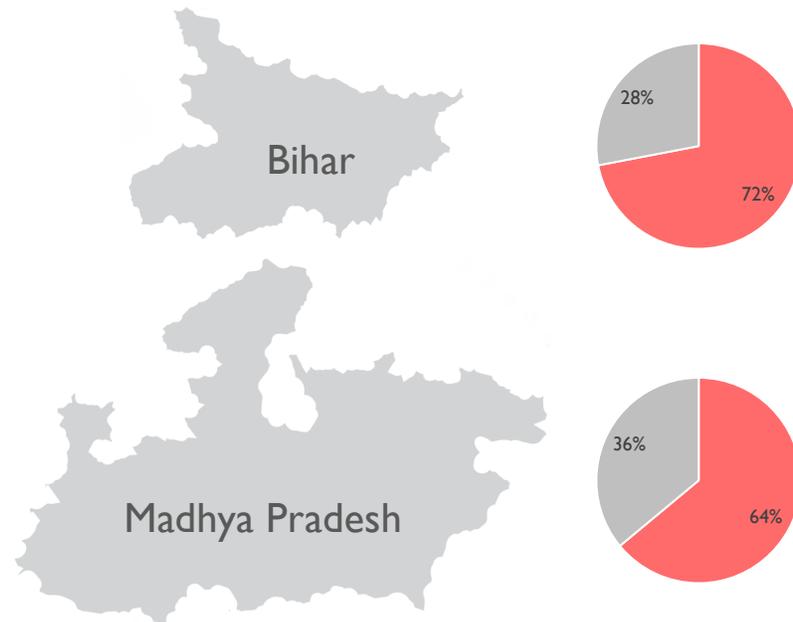
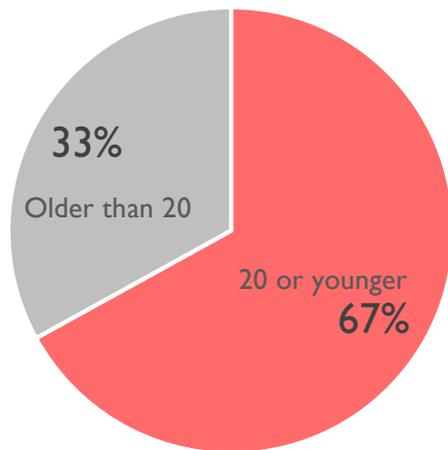


## Tracking by Gender: Equal Participation by Women and Men



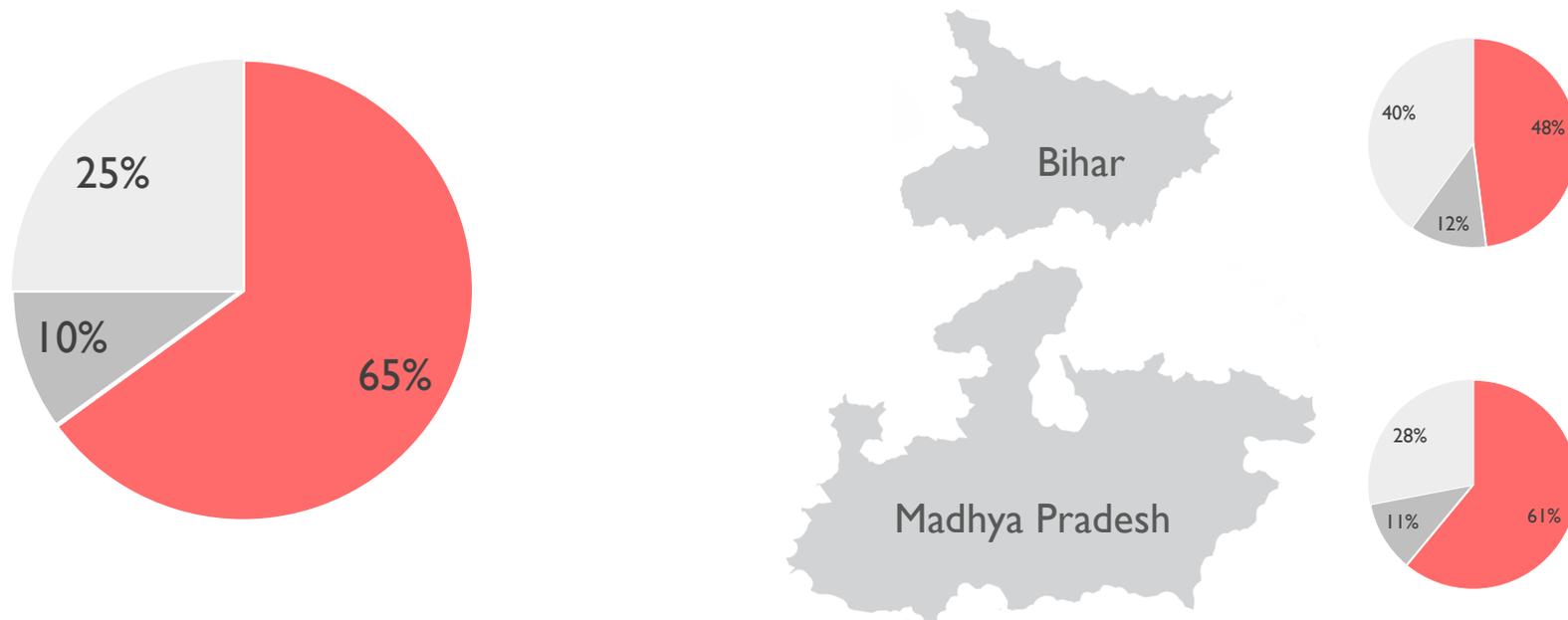
Our analysis shows equal participation from both women and men. Of the 75,711 IVRS participants who indicated their gender during a demographic survey, 52% were female and 48% were male. Of the 11,028 IVRS participants from Bihar, 54% were female and 46% were male. Of the 9,156 IVRS participants from Madhya Pradesh, 51% were female and 49% were male. These trends were consistent across different groups on IVRS.

## Tracking by Age: High Involvement among Youth



Our analysis shows about two thirds of the IVRS callers were 20 or younger. Of the 52,160 IVRS participants who indicated their age during a demographic survey, 67% were 20 years old or younger ( $M = 21.61$ ,  $SD = 12.22$ ). Of the 6,678 IVRS participants from Bihar, 72% were 20 or younger ( $M = 21.29$ ,  $SD = 13.75$ ). Of the 5,976 IVRS participants from Madhya Pradesh, 64% were 20 or younger ( $M = 21.98$ ,  $SD = 12.41$ ). These trends were consistent across different groups on IVRS.

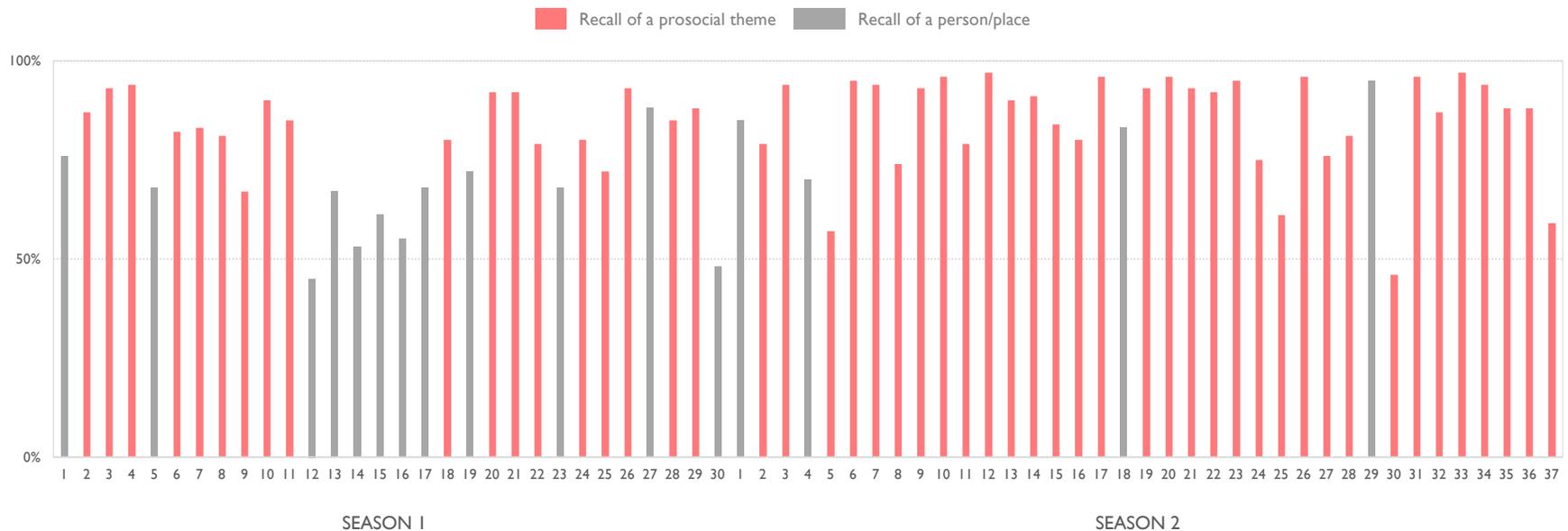
## Tracking by Occupation: Students and Homemakers in the Majority



Our analysis shows that students and homemakers dominated the calls on IVRS. Of the 48,778 IVRS participants who indicated their occupation during a demographic survey, 65% were students and 10% were homemakers. Of the 7,081 IVRS participants from Bihar, 48% were students and 12% were homemakers. Of the 6,243 IVRS participants from Madhya Pradesh, 61% were students and 11% were homemakers. These trends were consistent across different groups on IVRS.

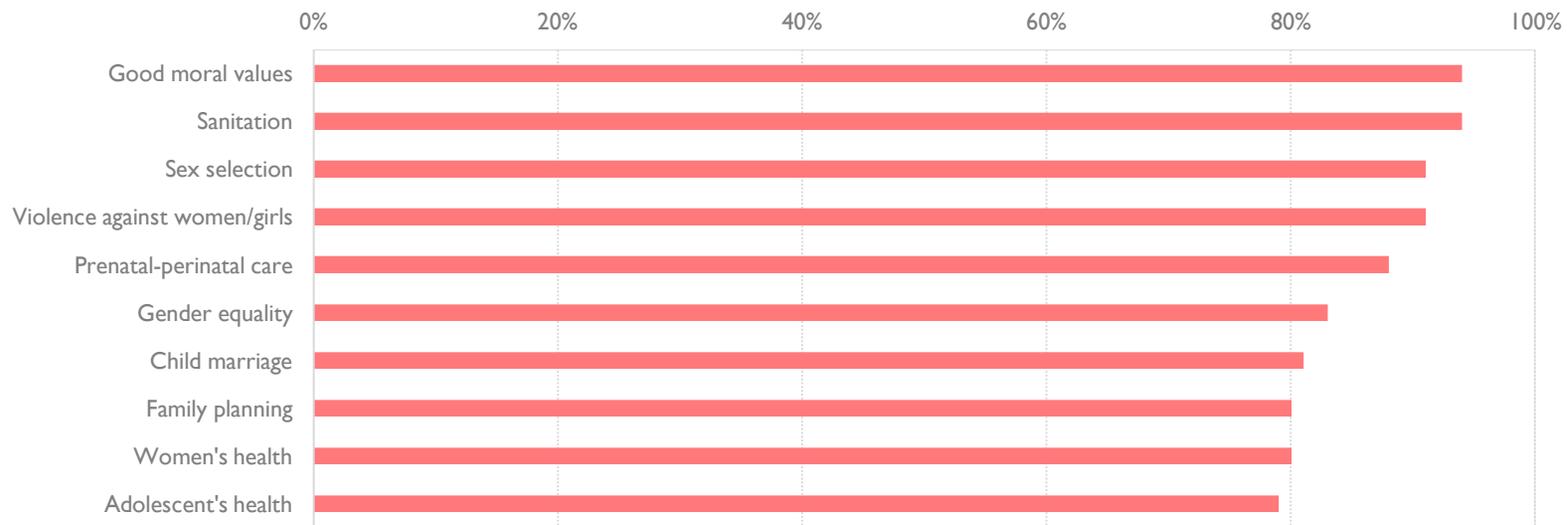


## Better Recalls of Prosocial Themes: Getting the Quizzes Right



Our analysis shows that IVRS callers were better at recalling facts directly related to the prosocial themes addressed in the serial than recalling the name of a person/place. Some 30% of the IVRS callers during Season 1 and 50% during Season 2 chose to answer the single question quiz asked of MKBKSH audience members. The bar chart above shows the percentage of participants in each quiz who answered the question correctly. A total of 169,235 callers answered the quizzes correctly (81%). The different colors indicate the two types of questions, asked—i.e., recall of a prosocial theme or a person/place in MKBKSH. Interestingly, the correct answer rate was much higher for the prosocial themed questions (85%) than the simple recalls of a person/place (69%).

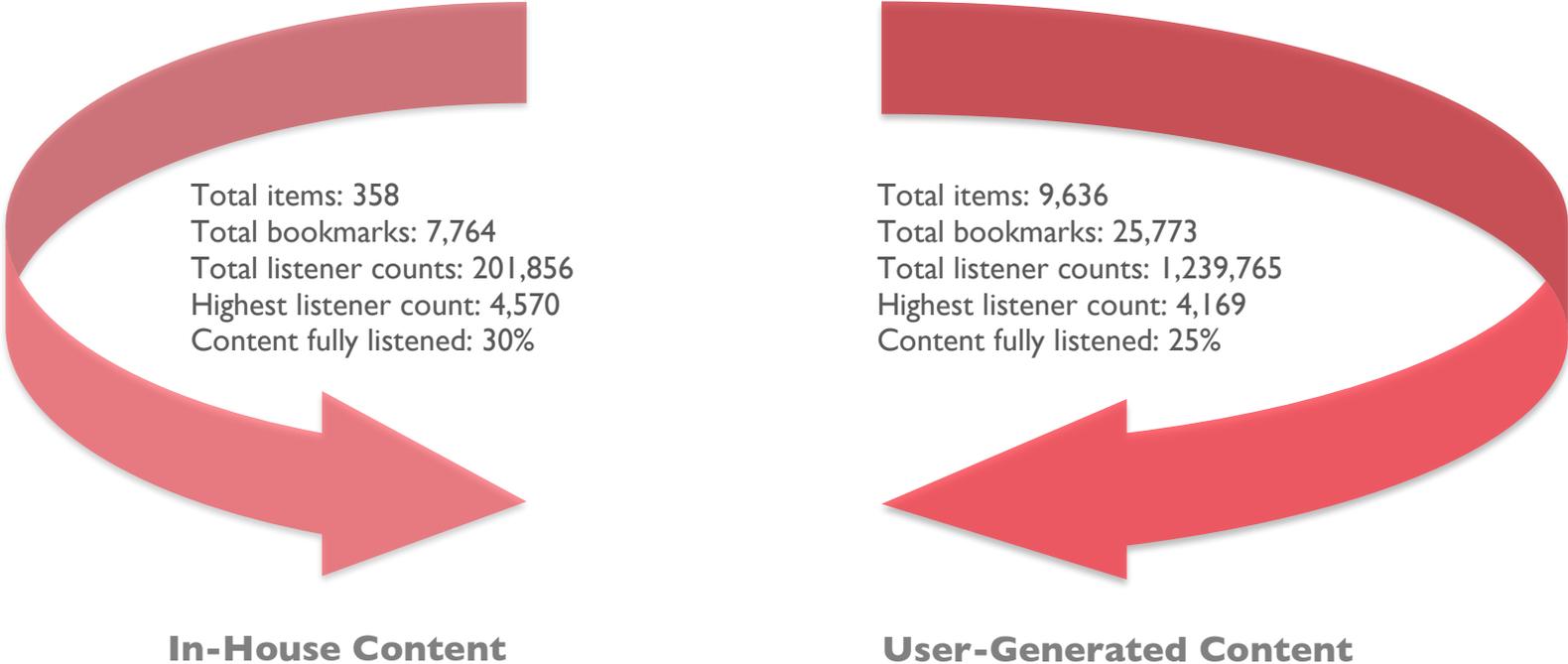
## Prosocial Theme Breakdown: Recalling Life-Saving Information



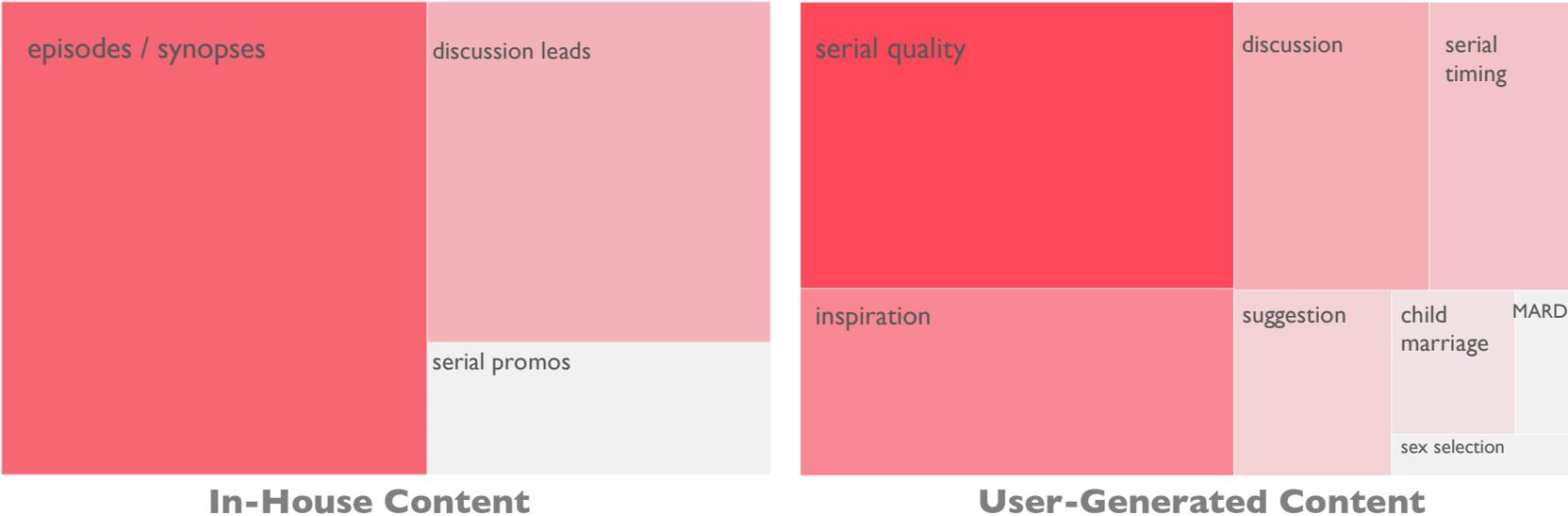
A great majority of IVRS participants answered questions correctly when they were directly related to the themes of public health and social justice: Good moral values (94%), sanitation (94%), sex selection (91%), violence against women and girls (91%), prenatal-perinatal care (88%), gender equality (83%), child marriage (81%), family planning (80%), women's health (80%), and adolescent's health (79%). Each listed topic had multiple questions and the reported percentages represent the average scores.

## IVRS Enabled Two-Way Communication

A main purpose for the use of IVRS in the MKBKSH initiative was to reverse the normal information flow of mass communication and offer the audience a platform to raise their own voice through “discussions” prompted by the in-house content as well as user-generated content by other audience members. Our analysis shows that, on average, the in-house content was longer, ranging from 8 to 455 seconds (M = 185.43, SD = 149.52) while the user-generated content was shorter, ranging from 2 to 212 seconds (M = 50.83, SD = 35.68); both were well received.



## What IVRS Callers Chose: Popular Content Categories and Tags



Of the 358 in-house content items that were made available on the IVRS, 56 items (16%) were listened by IVRS participants over 1,000 times. Of these, 55% were MKBKSH episodes/synopses, 32% were discussion leads/questions, and 13% were MKBKSH promos. However, some 35 categories needed to be employed to tag user-generated content items. Of these, 8 categories were tagged over 100 times, including the high quality of MKBKSH, inspiration derived for prosocial actions, suggestions to the producers, as well as the prosocial topics of child marriage and sex selection and the Man Against Rape and Discrimination (or MARD). The treemaps above show the top categories of both the in-house content and the user-generated content, where the shaded blocks demonstrate the most popular content proportionally in descending order.

## Voicebook of MKBKSH Fans: In Their Own Words

Our transcription and analysis of the top 100 user-generated discussion items on the IVRS suggest that an MKBKSH fever was raging among its audience. There was a huge demand for doubling the duration of each episode, increasing the frequency of broadcast, and dubbing in regional languages. The callers expressed deep gratitude and great admiration for having such a high-quality program that entertained and enlightened them. They loved the serial for its fresh perspectives, inspiring characters, and a platform for their own voice. Here we feature a number of selected quotes from the MKBKSH fans who articulated their opinions and shared their personal stories related to the prosocial themes in a compelling way.

*"This serial is giving birth to a revolution in the society!"* Kathanav Bob from Banaras

*"No amount of praise can justify my admiration. I learn something new in every episode and they leave an imprint on my mind and in my heart..."* Mohsin Khan from Jodhpur, Rajasthan

*A man is a real man  
Only when he supports women  
During their joys and sorrows  
A real man helps women  
In doing domestic chores  
A real man respects women  
And honor them in society  
When he saves her  
From abuse and mischief  
Only then  
Can he be a real man  
-- a poem based on the  
learning from MKBKSH,  
Mukta Deewan  
from Lehri, Punjab*

*"Watching and listening to MKBKSH feels like my family members guiding me. We will never find a show like this again."*  
Mohism Khan



## Voicebook of MKBKSH Fans: In Their Own Words

*“Greetings to everyone and so grateful to the creators of this serial. I am blind and have enjoyed listening to MKBKSH on the radio. I urge everyone in this country to take the time and listen. This show honors women. Inspiring girls to progress is important for the nation to progress. No girls should be killed in the womb. Parents should ensure their daughter good education. Child marriage must stop.”*

*“Daughters are like beautiful flowers...a stream of compassion, a symbol of motherhood, a form of goddess Laksmi. Why should they be ill-treated?” Saraswati Gupta from Gumla, Jhankhand*

*“The role of Dr. Sneha is brilliant! MKBKSH is trying to show the reality of our country...if we can see the reality, then we can bring the change.”  
Shankar Prasad from  
Tata Nagar, Jamshedpur*

*“Thank you, Sneha didi and your team! MKBKSH gave me a lot of courage. I am 20 years old and got married at 17. My father passed away 5 months after my marriage. Since then, my in-laws harassed me constantly. I fearlessly faced them and taught them a lesson that they would never repeat their actions ever again with anyone.” A woman from Madanpali, Chitrapur*

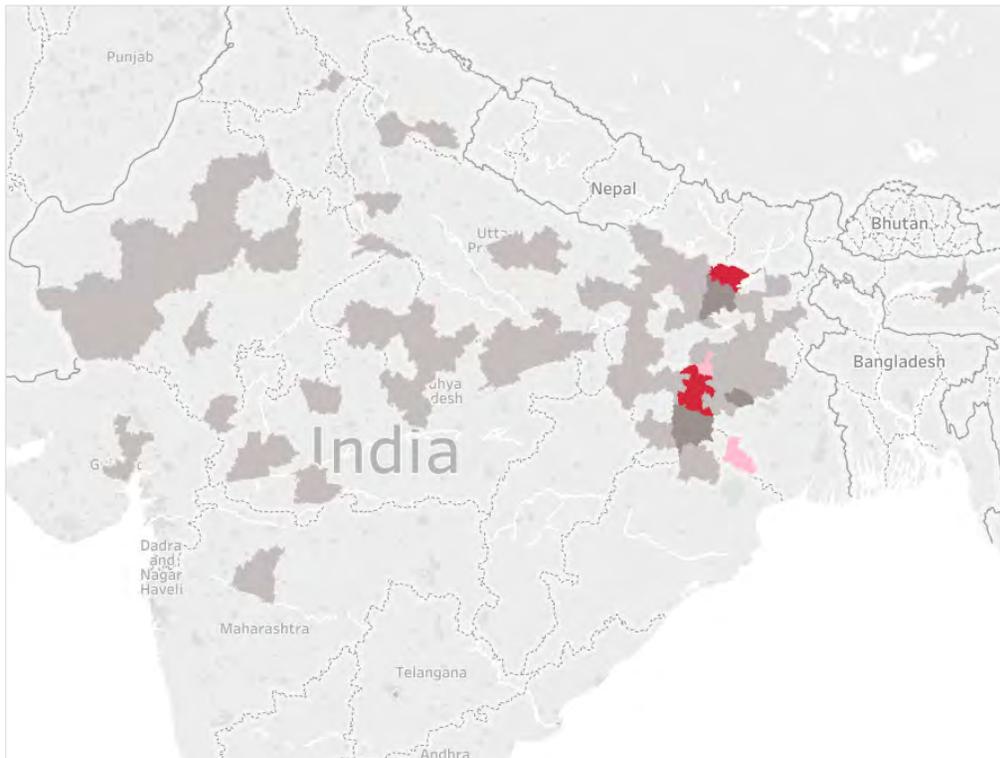


## Analysis of MKBKSH Issue-Based Campaigns

During the 29-month duration of the MKBKSH initiative, five issue-based campaigns were run on different platforms at different time periods to amplify the serial’s reach and impact. These campaigns were launched around special events such as the World Health Day and themed around *Desh Ko Badalna Hai To Mard Ko Badlna Hoga* (“To change a nation, one must change its menfolk”)—a campaign introducing Bollywood star Farhan Akhtar in Season 2); *Who's Your Favorite Character in MKBKSH* and *Why* (Season Finale); *Kishor Ka Shor* (“The voice of the youth”), inviting adolescents to ask sensitive questions about sexuality and health; and *Narrate Your Story*, encouraging callers to share their stories of trying to make a difference (akin to Dr. Sneha’s efforts in MKBKSH). The table below provides details on each of the five campaigns, the number of items made available on IVRS, the number of callers who listened in, the total number of times heard, total duration of content heard (in seconds), and the nature of the content heard (i.e., opinion, information, and experience sharing). Taken together, a total of 7,335 user-generated content items were shared via IVRS that attracted 624,042 participants to listen 1,125,370 times for 1,001,244 seconds (or 278 hours). A majority of them were to express opinions, some provided information, and a few shared personal experiences. Other than one person talking, many of these items took on a novel format such as poetry (214), stories (67), songs (56), and interviews (41). Selected examples have been provided in IVRS reports by Gram Vaani (2014, 2016).

	Campaign Time Periods	# of Items	# of Listeners	# of Times Heard	Duration Heard	Nature of the Content		
						Opinion	Information	Experience
1	2014/06-2014/12	1,334	42,878	66,311	32,675	43%	40%	5%
2	2015/04-2016/02	2,869	220,784	390,666	346,170	78%	13%	5%
3	2015/09-2016/02	309	15,464	45,535	80,227	50%	25%	11%
4	2016/02-2016/09	2,534	313,445	566,416	352,833	96%	2%	1%
5	2016/11-2016/12	289	31,471	56,442	189,339	91%	3%	1%

## MKBKSH Campaign Communication Platforms and Geographic Coverage



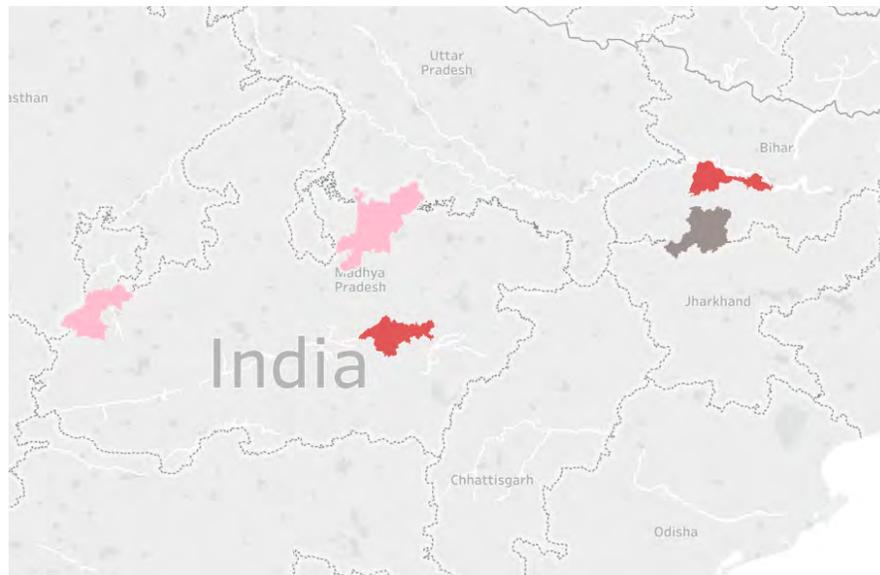
These five campaigns to amplify MKBKSH's reach and impact were run mainly through the national IVRS (88%) with the remaining 12% orchestrated on the Mobile Vaani networks in Bihar (8%), Jharkhand (3%), and Madhya Pradesh (1%). The filled map on the left shows the geographic coverage of these campaigns across 78 districts in 8 states, particularly in Madhubani, Bihar (226); East Singhbhum, Jharkhand (153); Koderma, Jharkhand (137); Hazaribagh, Jharkhand (111); Darbhanga, Bihar (80); Dhanbad, Jharkhand (74); Samastipur, Bihar (49); and Ranchi, Jharkhand (43). Other states included Assam, Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh despite the low frequency of contributions. There were slightly more male participants (54.5%) than female participants (45.5%). But the user-generated content was overwhelmingly positive (97%) as opposed to neutral (2%) or negative (1%).

## User-Generated Prosocial Content in MKBKSH Campaigns



The bar chart above shows the seven prosocial issues highlighted in the campaign user-generated content: (a) Gender-based violence including gender discrimination (672), violence against women (393), sex selection (387), alcoholism (137), dowry (135), and education (126); (b) women empowerment by promoting gender equality; (c) child marriage including women's health (156), poverty (73), patriarchy (36), age at marriage (27), and economic independence (12); (d) sexual and reproductive health including myths and misconceptions (90), adolescent's health (88), contraceptive choices (54), counseling (47), and alternative contraceptive choices (3); (e) substance abuse including criminal activities (124), alcohol (85), and drugs (32); (f) women and child health including quality of care (116), access to healthcare (79), nutrition (28), immunization (7), and exclusive breastfeeding (2); and (g) family planning including women and child health (73), birth spacing (33), contraceptives (5), and quality of care (1).

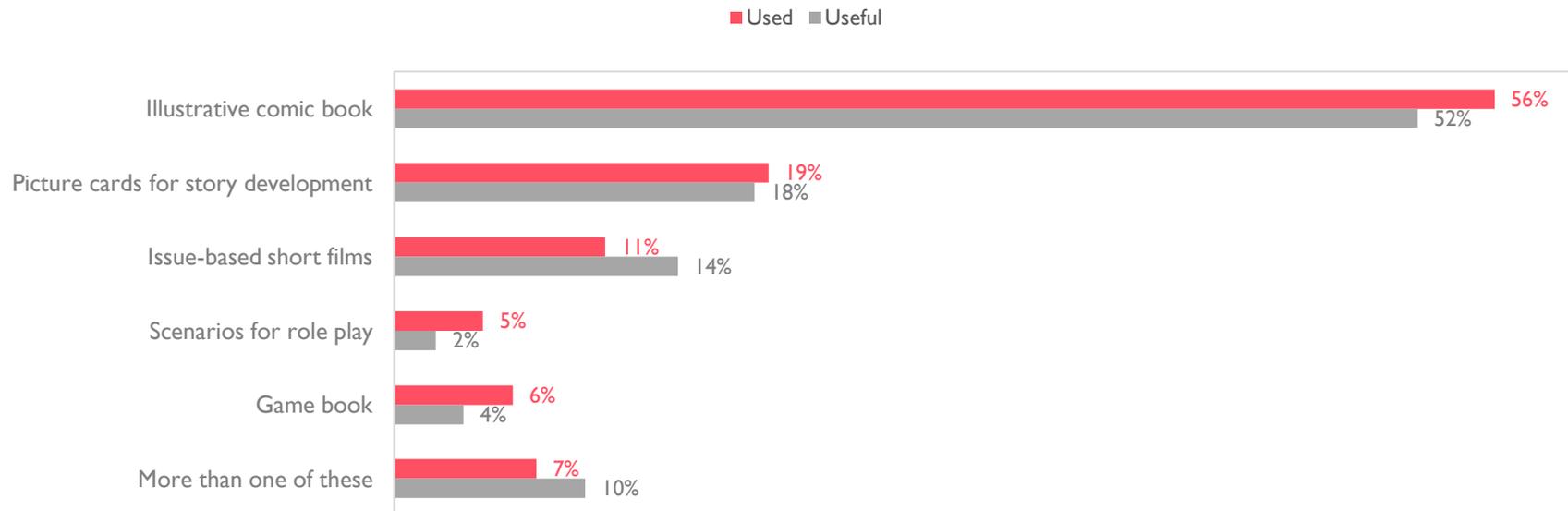
## Complementing On-Air Broadcast with On-the-Ground Actions



MKBKSH also partnered with 10 non-governmental organizations in the states of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh to infuse MKBKSH viewing/listening with 738 community outreach groups: 202 groups in 3 Districts of Bihar and 536 groups in 5 Districts of Madhya Pradesh. These groups were called Snehha Groups, named after Dr. Sneha, the protagonist in MKBKSH. The filled map on the left shows the geographic coverage of 1,239 IVRS participants whose unique group ID was able to be matched with the designated locations of these groups:

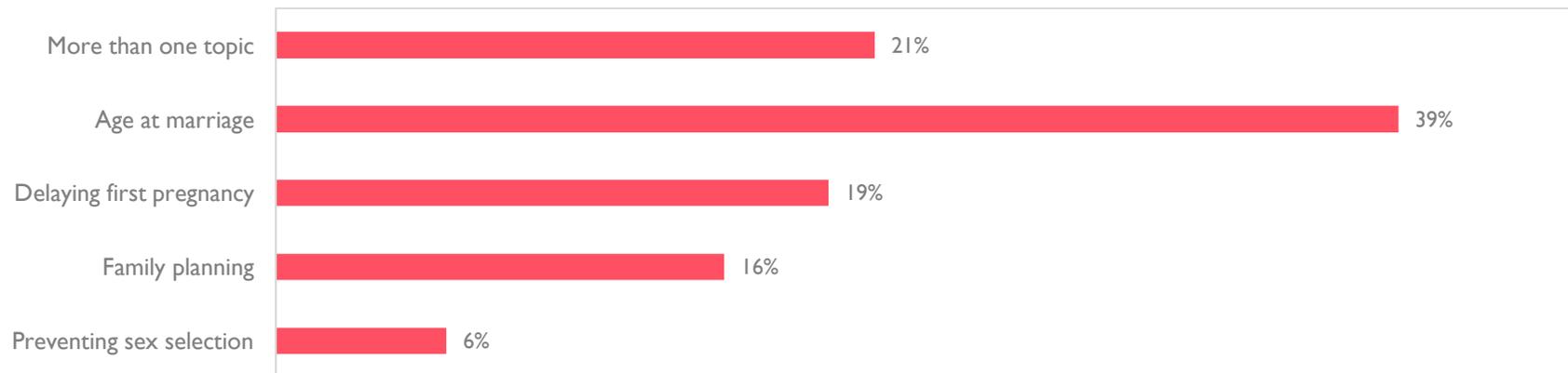
- Gaya, Bihar (3)
- Patna, Bihar (473)
- Chatarpur, Madhya Pradesh (111)
- Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh (476)
- Ratlam, Madhya Pradesh (176)

## The Use and Usefulness of Sneha Group Discussion Materials



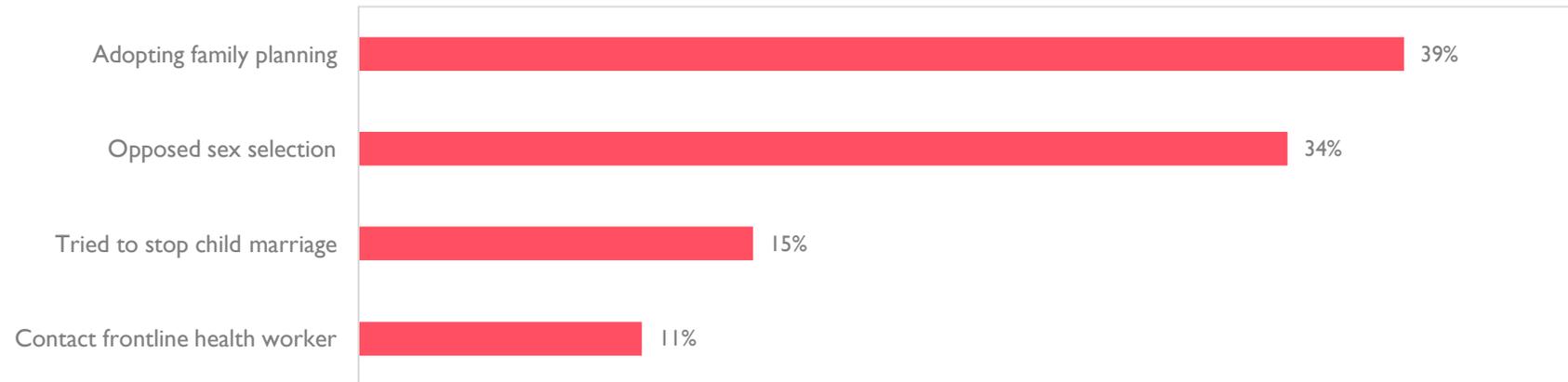
The facilitators of these 738 Sneha groups were trained to use a variety of supplementary MKBKSH materials for education and discussion at these group meetings. This bar chart shows how much each type of materials was used and how much they were perceived to be useful for the discussions. The illustrative comic book was the most popular and effective tool, followed by the picture cards and short films. The role play and game book were the least favorable. Some 10% of the IVRS callers were exposed to multiple materials and found them to be helpful.

## Prosocial Themes Discussed in Sneha Group Meetings



A total of 1,614 participants in 249 unique Sneha groups shared their experience via IVRS (42% in Bihar, 58% in Madhya Pradesh). In terms of frequency of their monthly meetings, 58% reported having more than two meetings a month; 39% reported having one or two meetings a month, and 3% reported that they didn't meet in the last 30 days. In terms of their own MKBKSH viewing/listening frequency, 25% reported weekly, 66% reported sometimes, and 8% admitted that they had not watched the show. Here we see the value of those Sneha groups in expanding MKBKSH outreach beyond viewers and listeners. The bar chart above shows the percentages of the topics discussed at these Sneha group meetings.

## Spurring of Conversations and Prosocial Actions by Sneha Group Members



Our analysis suggests that the MKBKSH initiative spurred interpersonal conversations and prosocial actions by the Sneha group members, the positive behavioral change outcomes that entertainment-education programs aim to accomplish through role modeling and narrative engagement. When asked whom they had talked to about the issues they discussed during these meetings, almost 48% reported talking to family, 37% reported talking to friends, and 13% also talked ASHAs (Accredited Social Health Activists) or the frontline health workers. When asked what actions they had taken as a result of these group meetings and discussions, 39% reported having adopted family planning methods, 34% reported having opposed sex determination and selection; 15% reported having tried to stop child marriage; and 11% reported having contacted frontline health workers.

## ► Conclusion

Our independent analysis of the IVRS data over the 29-month period of the MKBKSH initiative (spanning both Seasons 1 and 2) suggests strong evidence of real-time audience engagement, the sustainable growth of a fan community, as well as prosocial actions spurred by the serial's inspiring characters and storylines.

This pioneering use of the IVRS platform effectively leveraged the high penetration of mobile telephony in India, giving voice to less privileged audience members. It added an innovative component to MKBKSH's 360° approach that bridged communication at the macro and the micro levels, complementing the on-air mass media broadcast with localized community networks and on-the-ground activities. These thoughtful and coordinated efforts attracted 1.7 million calls from more than 390,000 unique phone numbers across 29 out of 36 India's states.

Although technology-centered entertainment-education platforms often appeal more to middle-aged, urban elite audiences, our analysis of MKBKSH's IVRS data indicated rather equal participation among women and men, high involvement of youth, more participation from students and homemakers, and expansive coverage in priority states like Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. IVRS was also instrumental in reaching “media dark” areas through Mobile Vaani networks and Community Radio Stations.

The IVRS provided MKBKSH's audience a wide range of accessible options to participate by listening in to curated content, answering questions, and recording their own voices. IVRS callers fared better in recalling the MKBKSH prosocial themes than the name of a person/place in the serial; they responded strongly to user-generated content on the moderated discussion forum; they collectively spent hundreds of hours tuning in to hear other audience members' opinions on issues featured in the MKBKSH campaigns; and a substantial number of MKBKSH's Sneha group members reported taking prosocial actions.

In sum, the IVRS played a critical role in the effectiveness of the MKBKSH initiative for social change. Not only did it provide timely and authentic, user-generated feedback for programmatic improvement, its use as a real-time tracker of audience engagement represents a trendsetter in the practice and research on entertainment-education.

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## ► Recommendations

Our research and analysis of the IVRS data from Season 1 and Season 2 yielded some insights and recommendations for the implementation of IVRS for MKBKSH Season 3 (now in the planning stage).

- I. Given the high volume of repeated callers on the IVRS, and the diverse types of information collected from individual callers at different points in time, at least two standard questions should be introduced in the system protocol to generate a unique identifier for each caller. Such is vital in order to merge the various types IVRS data. These questions may be about their date of birth and/or the first three letters of their given name. Taken together, they can help distinguish different individuals who may share the same phone line to call into the IVRS.

In the present report, we deliberately chose the term “unique phone numbers” when reporting on the monthly call logs given our demographic surveys indicated that sometimes individuals with very different socio-demographic characteristics were calling from the same phone number. We removed the duplicates manually to the extent possible, but this issue can be easily addressed through the above suggestion.

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## ► Recommendations

2. The creators and producers of MKBKSH are familiar with the notion of “markers”—distinctive elements of a message such as a new term or a novel behavior that didn’t exist prior to the entertainment-education initiative. They should be easily identifiable and attributed to its source to help reframe and rescript the critical health and social issues (Singhal, 2013). For the purpose of program monitoring and evaluation, it is equally important to incorporate markers in the entertainment programming as well as to include them in the evaluation questions such as the popular quizzes on IVRS.

An example of a marker in MKBKSH was *Saathiya*, meaning “a trusted friend,” a term that was used in Season 2 to rebrand the peer educators under the National Health’s Mission’s *Rashtriya Kishor Swasthya Karyakram* program. Our analysis of the quizzes shows that 88% of the IVRS callers that week (N = 2,991) were able to correctly identify the name of the program that Dr. Sneha introduced among adolescents. In the following week, some 88% of IVRS callers (N = 2,032) were able to accurately answer the question on the role of *Saathiya* i.e., talking with adolescents regarding health. And 59% of IVRS callers who participated in the subsequent quiz (N = 1,414) provided the right answer that 6 days would be the required training time to for an adolescent to become a *Saathiya*.

Another excellent marker in MKBKSH was *Mastbandi*, meaning “pleasurable constricted flow,” a play on words for *Nasbandi*, the common term referring to male vasectomy (technically, “closing of pipes”). It would have been useful to include some questions on this (and other) marker(s) to provide empirical evidence of program attribution and audience uptake of new terminology.

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