

Television soap operas for development in India¹

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Introduction

We analyze India's experience with '*Hum Log*', the first indigenous soap opera on Doordarshan, the government national television network in India. This television series was patterned after previous experiences with soap operas for development in Mexico. '*Hum Log*' was immensely popular with both its audience and its advertisers during the 17 months of its broadcast in 1984-85. '*Hum Log*'s very high ratings (up to 90 in North India) contributed to (1) a proliferation of domestically-produced television serials on Indian television, (2) increased commercialization of the Indian television industry, and (3) a shift of talent from the Bombay movie industry into television production. Prospects for pro-development television soap operas in other Third World countries, drawing on the Indian experience, seem promising.

During the 1980s, television audiences have expanded tremendously in such Third World nations as Mexico, Brazil, the People's Republic of China (Rogers and others, 1985), and India. For the first time, television broadcasting is reaching a sizeable audience in Third World countries: For example, approximately half of China's 1 billion population, and 80 million of India's 800 million people. These millions of new television viewers offer a huge potential audience for development communication messages. However, most television programming which is broadcast in the Third World consists of entertainment, including imported reruns from the United States like 'I love Lucy', 'Kojak', and 'Dallas'.

Such broadcasts contribute little of a positive nature toward the development goals of Third World nations. Much of the broadcast content may actually be anti-development, such as advertising and entertainment programs that encourage consumerism, and create frustration among the poor and disadvantaged viewers' in reaching material goals.

Pro-development soap operas are one bright spot in the generally unfulfilled potential of contemporary television in the Third World. They represent a unique combination of education and entertainment-style programming. India recently broadcast a prodevelopment soap opera called '*Hum Log*' ('We People'), which sparked a programming and commercial 'revolution' of sorts at Doordarshan, ² the government-run national television in India. The present article analyzes the Indian experience with '*Hum Log*', in the context of the recent expansion of the Indian television audience. We identify the reasons for '*Hum Log*'s' popularity with its audiences and with its' advertisers, and trace the impacts that '*Hum Log*' has had (1) in the proliferation of soap operas broadcast on Doordarshan, (2) in commercializing Indian television, and (3) in the potential threat posed by television to the Bombay movie industry.

Our present analysis is in part based upon data gathered from a 1987 survey of 1,170 adult respondents residing in three areas of India: (1) in and around Delhi (where our sample numbered 599), a Hindi-speaking area in North India, (2) in and around Pune (N=332), a Marathi-speaking area in Western India, near Bombay, and (3) in and around Madras (N=239), a Tamil-speaking area in South India. About 83 percent of our total sample resides in urban areas, and 17 percent in rural areas (we oversampled in urban areas because 75 percent of all TV sets in India are located in urban areas).

Pro-development soap operas

A soap opera is a dramatic serial broadcast that is mainly intended to entertain. In the U.S., 50 million Americans consider themselves fans of one or more soap operas (Whetmore and Kielwasser, 1983). Most past research on soap operas focused on their con-

tent, the size of the audiences that are reached, or on' audience characteristics.³ Cantor and Pingree (1983, p. 17) claimed that 'the soap opera has been studied only intermittently and atheoretically.' In Latin America, soap operas (*telenovelas*)⁴ are the most popular genre of television programming (Rogers and Antola, 1985), and they are of at least some importance in most nations. However, soap operas were not used on India national television until 1984.⁵

Pro-development television soap operas in Third World nations are quite" different from television soap operas in the United States. A *pro-development soap opera* is a melodramatic serial that is broadcast in order to entertain and to convey subtly an educational theme to promote development. Rogers (1976, p. 133) defined *development* as 'a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment.' So pro-development soap operas are intended to contribute toward development in a Third World nation.

The conception of a pro-development soap opera originated in 1974 in Televisa, the Mexican commercial television network. Since then, Televisa's Miguel Sabido has produced a series of six television soap operas, each of which reached very large audiences, subtly conveyed an educational theme, and which were supported by commercial advertising (Televisa's Institute of Communication Research, 1981).⁶ These pro-development soap operas in Mexico promoted knowledge and values to the viewing audience so that these individuals could better understand the reality of their social problems, and seek possible solutions.

The Mexican prodevelopment soap operas capitalized on a lesson learned accidentally from a 1969 Peruvian soap opera, '*Simplemente María*.' This television series told the rags-to-riches story of a migrant girl, María, who succeeds in "achieving socio-economic status because of her sewing skills with a Singer sewing machine.⁷ María, a rural-urban migrant to Lima, was depicted in the television series as hardworking, idealistic, and as a positive role model for upward mobility. The television series depicted certain real-life problems faced by migrants to urban areas, and

addressed issues such as the liberation of low-income migrant women, inter-class conflict, and intermarriage between the urban-rich and the migrant-poor.

"*Simplemente María*" achieved very high television ratings in Peru, and when it was exported in the early 1970s, throughout Latin America. The sale of Singer sewing machines boomed accordingly. In fact, the Singer company purchased advertising in the broadcasts of '*Simplemente María*' in most Latin American nations. By 1977, '*Simplemente María*' had earned net profits of 20 million dollars. The lesson of '*Simplemente María*' was simple:

Soap operas in Latin America could attract large audiences (and profits), and could also convey an educational theme that contributed to national development.

Inspired by lessons drawn from the audience success of '*Simplemente María*', Televisa's Miguel Sabido began to design prodevelopment soap operas in Mexico in the mid-1970s. Sabido emphasized five essential components of an effective pro-development soap opera: (1) appeal to a large audience, (2) emphasize cultural archetypes and stereotypes, (3) represent an emotive genre, (4) promote socially desirable values, and (5) provide a vehicle for social learning (Berrueta, 1986).

Pro-development soap operas are an unusual type of media message, in that their design is based on human communication theories. For example, the theoretical basis for the Mexican prodevelopment soap operas lay in elements of communication theory, dramatic theory, and social learning theory. Bentley's (1967) dramatic theory treated the television soap opera as a melodrama, with a structure, tone, anecdote, theme, and characters organized to affect its audience. Melodrama is an emotive genre that confronts moral behavior in discord, emphasizing the anecdote and producing identification between the audience and certain characters. Bandura's (1977) social learning theory was incorporated in the Mexican soap operas in the sense that the television viewers learned the intended behaviors and values from positive and negative models depicted in the television series. Identification is a process through which an individual's thoughts, feelings, and actions are shaped by those of another person who serves as a model (Bandura, 1986). Through such identification,

countries to serve their national development goals. Poindexter arranged for officials from India, Egypt, Nigeria, Kenya, and Brazil to visit Mexico City to meet with Miguel Sabido and his staff. The Indian team, led by the Secretary in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, S.S. Gill, engaged in joint meetings with their Mexican counterparts in 1983, resulting in planning for '*Hum Log*'.

Convinced that India could emulate the Mexican experience, and improve upon it, Gill assembled a four-member team: Manohar Shyam Joshi, scriptwriter; P. Kumar Vasudev, director; Satish Garg, executive producer; and Mrs. Shobha Doctor, producer, who created an independent television production company called Time and Video Space Corporation. Doordarshan, the Indian government network, broadcast '*Hum Log*' throughout the nation. The first episodes of '*Hum Log*' cost about \$6,000 (U.S.) to produce; later this figure rose to about \$12,000 (U.S.). The incomes to cover these production expenses came from commercial advertisers.

What was '*Hum Log*'?

'*Hum Log*' was an attempt to blend Doordarshan's stated objectives of providing entertainment to its audience, while strengthening social values of a pro-development nature. The television series combined entertainment and education. Our content analysis of the 156 episodes of '*Hum Log*' indicates that the television series addressed many of the important social and moral issues confronting Indian society: Amelioration of women's status, family harmony, family planning, national integration, maintenance of traditional culture, problems of urban life, dowry, and alcoholism. The episodes were broadcast in Hindi, each lasting 22 minutes. At the close of each episode, a famous actor in Hindi films, Ashok Kumar,' summarized that episode in the series, providing viewers with appropriate guides to action.

The first broadcast of '*Hum Log*' was on July 7, 1984. The early broadcasts fared poorly in television ratings. Viewers in 40 viewing clubs, set up by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to monitor '*Hum Log*' and to provide feedback, com-

plained of didactic family planning sermons, indifferent acting, and a slowly developing story line. The family planning theme was first diluted, and then almost dropped from *'Hum Log'* after the 13th episode.¹⁰ Our content analysis of all 156 episodes indicates that after the 13th episode, such other social themes as the status of women, family harmony, national integration, sustenance of indigenous culture, and health, became central to *'Hum Log'*. The soap opera's plot centered around the joys and sorrows of a lower-middle class joint family, with a parallel story strand addressing smuggling, political corruption, and underworld activities. *'Hum Log'* rose rapidly in popularity. When it ended on December 17, 1985, after 156 episodes, its departure was marked by sentimental protests from many viewers. Over the 17 months of its broadcasts, *'Hum Log'* commanded audience ratings from 65 to 90 in North India (which is predominantly Hindi-speaking), and between 20 and 45 percent in the main cities of South India, where most Hindi programs are rejected by television viewers.¹¹ An audience of 50 million people watched the average *'Hum Log'* broadcast. Doordarshan's Audience Research Group estimated that *'Hum Log'* attracted 2,140 million viewer-hours during the 17 months of its broadcast (Mitra, 1986).

Results from our 1987 survey of 1,170 Indian adults show that 96 percent of our respondents reported liking *'Hum Log'*. Ninety-four percent thought it was entertaining, 83 percent said it was educational, and 91 percent said it addressed social problems. In Madras, which is in South India (and non-Hindi speaking), only 48 percent of our respondents had seen at least one episode of *'Hum Log'*, which is understandable given that *'Hum Log'* was broadcast in Hindi. Even then, 37 percent of those who had seen *'Hum Log'* liked it a lot, and another 56 percent liked it somewhat.

Why was *'Hum Log'* popular?

Indian Market Research Bureau's (1985) study indicated that *'Hum Log'* registered its highest ratings in Delhi and Bombay, and its lower ratings in Calcutta and Madras.¹² Delhi and Bombay are primarily Hindi-speaking, one reason for *'Hum Log's'* relatively

greater popularity in these cities. *'Hum Log'* was popular among all age groups, with a slight decline in viewership with increased age of the viewer. This soap opera was popular across all income groups, but slightly more so with lower and middle income people than with either the very poor or very rich (Indian Market Research Bureau, 1985).

Timing

'Hum Log' was broadcast at a time when Doordarshan, the government national television network, was experiencing an unparalleled expansion. Black-and-white television was changed to color at the time of the Asian Games, held in Delhi in late 1982. Launch of the Indian National Satellite (INSAT-IB) in 1983, resulted in a large-scale expansion of television access to rural, remote areas in India.

At the beginning of 1984, there were 42 television transmitters in India. At the end of 1985, there were 175 transmitters, and in 1987, there were 186 transmitters.¹³ As a result, the number of people who could access television signals increased from 28 percent of India's population at the beginning of 1984, to 53 percent by the end of 1985, to 62 percent in 1987 (*Television in India*, 1986). The number of television viewers increased from 30 million to 80 million, and the number of television sets in India tripled (Figure 1). During 1987, five television sets were sold in India every minute.¹⁴

Audience identification

For many viewers, *'Hum Log'* blurred the line between image and reality. *'Hum Log'* centered on three generations in a lower-middle class joint family. These characters seemed real-life, and millions of Indians identified with them. *'Hum Log's'* immense popularity with its viewers' was due in part to the themes it emphasized: Family relationships between grandfather/grandson, mother-in-law/daughter-in-law, husband/wife, father/son, and mother/child. The *'Hum Log'* characters embodied many of their

was a striking case in *which* audience feedback helped write the story, suggesting new twists to the plot line and new characterizations. Doordarshan received an average of 400 letters a day from *'Hum Log'* viewers during the 17 months of its broadcasting, a total of about 200,000 letters. Such an outpouring was unprecedented in the history of Indian television.

Our content analysis of a sample of 500 viewers' letters¹⁵ show that they (1) were mostly addressed to Ashok Kumar, who provided a final comment to each episode, (2) came primarily from urban and suburban (rather than village) viewers, (3) were written in the Hindi language, and (4) addressed a wide variety of issues depicted in *'Hum Log'*. The viewers' letters stressed the importance of family harmony and family solidarity, and voiced concern about such social ills as dowry, drinking, political and administrative corruption, etc. Many letters pleaded for opening new women's welfare organizations, encouraging eye donations, and for gathering resources for treating cancer patients (an eye transplant operation and a death due to cancer were part of the *'Hum Log'* story).

Overall, viewers' letters suggest a high degree of liking for the television series, and a strong identification with two female characters: Badki, the hardworking, brilliant, and plain-looking eldest daughter, and Bhagwanti, the self-effacing, long-suffering mother, who was all-giving to her husband and children, and was generally treated by her other family members as a doormat. Bhagwanti was intended to be a negative role model for female equality.¹⁶ *'Hum Log'* viewers thus identified with both a positive, and a negative female character (that is positive and negative in the sense of the educational purpose of this television series). The intent of a pro-development soap opera is to foster viewers' identification with mainly positive characters, so *'Hum Log'* was successful on some counts, but less so on others. *'Hum Log'* engendered a high level of viewer involvement, creating a type of para-social interaction. For example, many young women wrote to Badki to tell her that she should resolve her indecision about marrying her boy friend Ashwini. Doordarshan received threatening letters from viewers who urged that Badki be punished for defying certain Indian social traditions. The day that the two got married on television, some shops and bazaars in north India

closed early for the celebration. Doordarshan received many telegrams and handmade cards wishing the couple a happy married life (Jain, 1985).

'Hum Log' seemed to get under the skin of so many audience members because it was perceived as lifelike. Will Badki ever get married? Will Majhli achieve Bombay film stardom? Will grandmother die of cancer? Such questions were debated animatedly in many Indian households following the *'Hum Log'* broadcasts, our respondents reported.

Impacts of *'Hum Log'*

'Hum Log' helped launch commercially sponsored programs on Doordarshan, in which an advertiser bears the production of the program, in return for a few minutes of spot announcements, before, during, or after the broadcast of the program. The Singer Sewing machines of *'Hum Log'* were Maggi 2 Minute Noodles, a product of a Nestle subsidiary called Food Specialities Limited, which were launched in India in a big way via advertising sponsorship of *'Hum Log'*. Noodles were an unknown and alien concept in India, as were quick-preparation convenience foods. Today, Maggi Noodles are widely sold in India. Results from our 1987 survey of 1,170 adults show that of the 84 percent of our respondents who had heard about Maggi Noodles, 50 percent had consumed this product at home. About 58 percent of the users started using Maggi Noodles after viewing television advertisements for this new product. To cope with consumer demand, the production of Maggi Noodles increased from none in 1982, to 1,600 tons in 1983, to 2,600 tons in 1984, to 4,200 tons in 1985, to 5,100 tons in 1986.¹⁷ The successful experience of the sponsors of *'Hum Log'*, Food Specialities Limited, with this new product convinced other advertisers that television program sponsorship was a lucrative investment.

When *'Hum Log'* began broadcasting in 1984, it was difficult to find advertisers. But by 1987, Doordarshan faced strong pressure from advertisers who wanted more time on television. A 12 months' wait before advertisers could get a slot existed. 'Doordarshan is acting like a rationing agency, not a marketing agency,'

complained one advertizer (Sarin; 1985, p. 31).

The growth of Doordarshan's revenues over the past ten years show the extent of commercialization occurring in Indian television. Since 1976, when the first commercial spots were aired, and since 1980, when the earliest advertising sponsors were allowed, Doordarshan changed from being a 'revenue-guzzler,' to becoming a 'revenue creator' for the Indian government. Doordarshan had an almost 120-fold increase in its yearly revenues through advertising spots since Doordarshan decided to commercialize: From \$640,000 (U.S.) in 1976, to 80 million dollars (U.S.) in 1986.¹⁸ In the 17 months that '*Hum Log*' was on-the-air, Doordarshan's revenue nearly doubled. Doordarshan's commercial revenue projections for 1987 are estimated at \$150 million (U.S.), and projections for 1990 are for over \$250 million (U.S.).

When advertisers increase their expenditures on television, other media (especially print) receive less advertising. In 1983, advertisers spent 80 percent of their budget on print media, and 5 to 6 percent each on radio, television, and film. In 1986, advertisers spent about 47 percent of their budget on print media, 40 percent on television, and the remaining 13 percent on radio and films (Chowla, 1986).

The commercialization of Indian television has sparked a nation-wide policy debate. McQuail (1986) defined *commercialization* as the production and supply of cultural and communication products within a market structure for profit.¹⁹ Those in favor of the commercialization of television in India claim that program sponsorship provides funding for production, and improves the quality of entertainment programs. Detractors argue that such program quality comes at a very high price. Advertising of consumer products creates expectations that cannot be filled, especially among the socio-economically disadvantaged. Commercial advertisers exert a strong influence on mass media content. The goal of profit maximization leads to competition for the largest possible audiences, which can lead to a neglect of minority interests. In India in 1987, 75 percent of television sets were in urban areas. Commercial television's urban bias, critics argue, widens, rather than reduces, the gap between the rich and the poor (Contractor, Singhal, and Rogers, 1986).

Proliferation of indigenous soap operas

'*Hum Log*'s' commercial success led to a proliferation of domestically-produced television serials on Doordarshan. When '*Hum Log*' went on the air in 1984, it was the first indigenous television serial to be broadcast on national television. By 1987, there were over 40 such domestically-produced serials on Doordarshan (mostly produced in Bombay): Sitcoms, soap operas, detective serials, educational serials, quiz shows, biographies, and news and current affairs. Indian serials are more popular than foreign (imported) serials. Our 1987 survey showed that 88 percent of the 1,170 respondents said they liked Hindi serials, and 55 percent of our respondents said they did not like foreign serials.

The proliferation of domestically-produced serials on Doordarshan occurred with important inputs from the Bombay film industry. Bombay film moguls, once apprehensive about sponsored television serials, have rushed to Delhi to get their programs approved or their story lines cleared by the Doordarshan authorities. Television's expansion created a need for the film industry's equipment, studio facilities, and creative talent. Said Harish Khanna, former Director-General of Doordarshan: 'It is a marriage of convenience between Bombay and Delhi' (Jain; 1985, p. 25).

The international diffusion of pro-development soap operas

'*Hum Log*' is now off-the-air, and its effects in promoting equal status for women, family harmony, family planning, national integration, and health are yet unknown (the present authors are pursuing such effects questions).²⁰ A second Indian soap opera on family planning is being planned for broadcast in 1988.

In 1986, David Poindexter, President of the Center for Population Communications-International, and Roger Pereira, an Indian advertising official, convinced J .R.D. Tata, a leading Indian industrialist, to pledge his conglomerate's financial support for a family planning successor to '*Hum Log*'.²¹ Pereira and his television production team participated in a pro-development soap opera workshop at Televisa in Mexico City in December, 1986. The Indian soap opera team is integrating elements of Indian

socio-cultural values in the soap opera's story line.²² The soap opera will be called '*Saath Saath*' ('Together Together'), and will begin its broadcast in 1988.

'*Hum Log*' demonstrated that India could adapt the Mexican strategy of pro-development soap operas to its specific socio-cultural needs. So can other Third World countries. Kenya went on-the-air with its first family planning television soap opera, '*Tushauriani*' ('Let's Discuss'), in May, 1987. '*Tushauriani*' is broadcast in Swahili, the lingua franca of Kenya, and is scheduled to run for a total of 197 episodes. Nigeria has a pro-development soap opera on the drawing boards, and is currently conducting research on Nigerian family values, and Nigerian cultural archetypes and stereotypes. Mexico's Televisa is planning another family planning soap opera in 1988, this time to be broadcast throughout Latin America.²³ An epilogue at the end of each episode will be delivered by a national 'superstar' in each country. Argentina, Egypt, Brazil, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Turkey, Thailand, Indonesia, and Zaire plan to produce television soap operas for family planning in coming years.

Conclusions

'*Hum Log*' ushered in a new era on Indian television, which was aided by the simultaneous expansion of the television audience in India via satellite transmission. '*Hum Log*' was a success with both its audiences and its advertisers. Its success in realizing its development goals are being determined by our ongoing research project. As national television systems expand in Third World nations in the 1980s, the content of television programming becomes a crucial factor in determining whether television broadcasting will advance national development. Pro-development soap operas may provide a means of utilizing television's expanding audiences for reaching development goals.

Notes

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2. Doordarshan is the Hindi word for television (*door* + *darshan* = far + vision).
3. See Herzog (1944), Thurber (1948), Downing (1974), Porter (1977), Cantor (1979), Campesi (1980), Chesebro and Glenn (1982), Cantor and Pingree (1983), Modleski (1984), and Allen (1985).
4. *Telenovelas* are literally 'television novels' or soap operas.
5. Prior to '*Hum Log*', development-oriented television serials were produced and broadcast by the Space Application Center (SAC) in Ahmedabad to raise consciousness, and to initiate development programs in Gujrat's Kheda District. For example, during the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment in 1975-76, a 20-part series called '*Chatur Mota*' ('Wise Elder') was broadcast (SITE Winter School, 1976). *Chatur Mota* started out as an orthodox negative character, and as the series developed, *Chatur Mota* increasingly became a positive role model. In 1983-84, SAC broadcast another 40-part pro-development series called '*Nari tu Narayani*' ('Women You Are Powerful') to viewers of Kheda District (Bhatia and Karnik, 1985). The objective of this series was to raise the status of women by achieving economic independence from men. This television series motivated women at the village level to form co-operatives.
6. Other formats used by Televisa in Mexico to reinforce positive values include game shows, commercials, newscasts, and commentaries.
7. Maria represents the 'Cinderella' role that Thurber (1948) found to be characteristic of many U.S. radio soap operas: A beautiful and talented daughter from lower-class parents who marries a man far above her in socio-economic status.
8. Televisa created, as well as evaluated, its pro-development soap operas in Mexico, and thus their claims of very strong effects might be questioned by some critics. Our evaluation 'of '*Hum Log*' is being conducted by researchers outside of Indian television.
9. Ashok Kumar is the doyen of the Indian film industry, something akin to Burt Lancaster in Hollywood.
10. Personal conversation with S.S. Gill. Another reason for dropping the family planning theme was the main character, Rajjo, through whom the theme of family planning was going to be promoted, actually became pregnant in real-life, and had to be dropped from the cast.
11. In the absence of competing television channels, viewership levels on Doordarshan's monopoly network are generally high.
12. '*Hum Log's*' low ratings in Madras and Calcutta support the notion that India's multicultural and multilingual audience limits the mass

- appeal of national television' programs.
13. By the end of 1990, Doordarshan plans to have over 370 transmitters covering 80 percent of India's population. The number of television sets in India is expected to grow to 25 million by the end of 1990, an estimated compound annual growth rate of 30 percent.
 14. The high price of a television set and the low purchasing power of the Indian people limit audience expansion and access to television.
 15. Our sample of 500 letters was randomly chosen from the 20,000 letters made available to the authors by Manohar Shyam Joshi, scriptwriter for the '*Hum Log*' television series.
 16. Personal conversation with Manohar Shyam Joshi, scriptwriter for '*Hum Log*', and Shobha Doctor, producer of '*Hum Log*', in India in August, 1986.
 17. Personal conversation with Sangita Talwar, Manager, Maggi Products, New Delhi, April, 1987.
 18. While Doordarshan's commercial revenues are growing, so is the cost of operating Doordarshan. Doordarshan's yearly budget increased from 21 million dollars (U.S.) in 1981, to 98 million dollars (U.S.) in 1985, to an anticipated 204 million dollars (U.S.) in 1987 (*Television in India*, 1986). Doordarshan's budget expenditures have always been much higher than incomes from commercial advertising in the past.
 19. McQuail (1986) provided a detailed discussion of positive and negative consequences of the commercialization of broadcast media. McQuail argued that all advertising is not anti-development. Advertising helps moves goods and services and serves a fundamental need for economic growth. In Third World countries, however, there is danger of commercialization upsetting the balance between the socio-cultural goals of the mass media, and the mass consumer goals of the national economy.
 20. The authors are currently evaluating the effect of '*Hum Log*' in improving women's status, in promoting small family norms, family harmony, national integration, and health in India with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. We are conducting: (1) a content analysis of the 17 months of 156 '*Hum Log*' programs, and of 500 viewers' letters, (2) an audience survey (a) to gauge viewer effects of '*Hum Log*', and (b) to measure their behaviors and attitudes toward the status of women, family harmony, family planning, health, and national integration, (3) before-after small group studies of '*Hum Log*'s' effects on experimental groups of videotape viewers, and (4) analysis of archival data on change in women's status and family planning in India before, during, and after the broadcast of '*Hum Log*'. We utilize multiple data-sources in a triangulation strategy to measure the effects of '*Hum Log*'.
 21. Personal conversation with David Poindexter in Los Angeles in April, 1986, and in India in August, 1986.
 22. Personal conversation with Roger Pereira in Mexico City in December, 1986, and in India in April, 1987.
 23. Personal conversation with David Poindexter in Los Angeles, April, 1987.

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