HUM LOG STORY FROM CONCEPT TO AFTER-EFFECTS

HUM LOG represented nothing but a truly Indian lifestyle, wrote Abhinav Chaturvedi, who played the role of Nanhe in Hum Log, in his personal diary, December 1985.

HE purpose of the present article is to analyse India's experience with Hum Log (We People), a television soap opera which consciously attempted to combine entertainment with education. We investigate the nature of the entertainment-education strategy in mass communication, and trace the historical roots of Hum Log.

The reasons for Hum Log's popularity are discussed, and the direct and indirect effects of Hum Log are analyzed. The entertainment-education strategy is highly versatile; it has been utilized in television, radio, rock music, the print medium and theatre.

The strategy

A needless dichotomy exists in almost all mass media content: That mass media programmes must either be entertaining or educational (Singhal and Rogers, 1989a; 1989b; 1989c). National governments in many Third World countries often feel obliged to produce educational programme for broadcasting. Such programmes usually require a heavy investment, are perceived by audiences as relatively dull, and receive very low audience attention. Nor are such programmes with popular commercial advertisers.

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On the other hand, entertainment programmes like feature films and television serials generally obtain high audience ratings, and hence are popular with commercial sponsors. So why not use entertainment programmes to educate viewers?

This approach of combining entertainment with education to influence viewers' attitudes and behaviours in a socially desirable direction is called the entertainment-education strategy in mass communication (Singhal, 1990).

Historical roots

While the roots of the entertainment-education strategy go back many thousand years to when storytelling originated, the first major mass media experience with the entertainment-education strategy occurred accidentally in 1969 with the broadcast of the television soap opera Simplemente Maria in Peru.

Simplemente Maria told the ragsto-riches story of Maria, a rural-urban migrant to Lima from the Andes Mountains, who was employed as a maid in a rich urban household, and depicted in the television series as hardworking, idealistic, and a positive role model for upward mobility. Maria asked her employers for free time in the evening to enrol in adult literacy classes, and

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achieved a high socio-economic status because of her sewing skills with a Singer sewing machine (Singhal and Rogers, 1988).

Simplemente Maria achieved very high television ratings in Peru in 1969, and throughout Latin America. Wherever Simplemente Maria was broadcast, housewives reported that young maids employed in their houses showed a sudden interest in learning how to sew, and requested time in the evenings to participate in literacy classes.

The Singer company astutely bought advertising time on Simplemente Maria. Sales of Singer sewing machines increased sharply, as did the number of young women who enrolled in sewing classes. In gratitude, the Singer company presented Ms Saby Kamalich, who played Maria, with a small gold Singer sewing machine.

Sabido's soap operas

Miguel Sabido, a brilliant writerproducer-director at Televisa, the Mexican national television system, closely
monitored the audience success of Simplemente Maria in Mexico. Sabido
had previously produced, with a high
degree of audience success, four
historical-cultural soap operas for
Televisa. Simplemente Maria's
audience popularity and ensuing effects
(such as encouraging young women to
learn sewing) convinced Sabido that
the soap opera format was ideally suited
to perform an educational-development
function in Mexican society.

Soap operas were highly popular in Mexico, achieved spectacular audience ratings, and commercial sponsors were willing to underwrite production costs.

Soap operas in Mexico typically reached viewers for half an hour five days a week, for about one year, providing massive exposure to an educational-development message. The melodrama in soap operas represented a confrontation of "good"

against "bad", offering a unique opportunity to promote "good" behaviour, and dissuade "bad" behaviour.

TABLE 1 Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas broadcast in Mexico

Year	Title	Theme	
1. 1967	La Tormenta (The Storm)	The French invasion of Mexico	
2. 1968	Los Caudillos (The Leaders)	The Mexican struggle for independence	
3. 1969	La Constitucion (The Constitution	Principles	
4. 1970	El Carruaje (The Carriage)	Story of Benito Juarez, a hero of Mexico's freedom	
5. 1975-76	Ven Conmigo (Come With Me)	Adult educa- tion	
6. 1977-78	Acompaname (Come Along With Me)	Family planning	
7. 1979-80	Vamos Juntos (When We Are Together)	Responsible parenthood	
8. 1980	El Combate	Adult educa- tion and literacy	
9. 1980-81	Caminemos (Let's Walk Together)	Sexual respo- nsibility among teenagers	
10. 1981	Nosotras las Mujeres (We the Women)	Status of women	
11. 1981-82		Family planning	
12. 1990	Sangre Joven (Young Blood)	Family planning, AIDS, drug abuse, and teenage sexuality.	

Source: Based in part on Televisa's Institute for Communication Research (1981).

For four years, from 1970 to 1974, Sabido worked with his sister, Irene Sabido (also a television producer at Televisa), creating a methodology for designing commercial soap operas for educational-development purposes. Between 1975 and 1982, Sabido produced seven entertainment-education

soap operas for Televisa, each a spectacular success (Table 1). Sabido's best-known soap operas are *Ven Conmigo* (Come with Me) and *Acompaname* (Accompany Me).

Ven Conmigo promoted adult literacy in Mexico, which in 1975 had 80 lakh illiterate adults (about half of Mexico's labour force). The soap opera reinforced values of adult education, self-teaching (encouraging illiterate adults to study), and social solidarity (encouraging literate adults to help the illiterates to study).

Ven Conmigo achieved average audience ratings of 33 per cent (higher than the average ratings for other soan operas on Televisa), reaching an audience of 40 lakh people just in the metropolitan area of Mexico City. Between November 1975 and December 1976 when Ven Conmigo was broadcast, 8.39.943 illiterates enrolled in adult education classes in Mexico, representing more than nine times the number of enrolments of 1975, and twice the number of enrolments of 1977 (when Ven Conmigo was no longer broadcast) (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research, 1981).

Encouraged by the success of Ven Conmigo in 1975-76, Sabido designed another entertainment-education soap opera, Acompaname (Accompany Me), which promoted family planning. Broadcast by Televisa between August 1977 and April 1978, Acompaname was highly popular with Mexican viewers, achieving average ratings of 29 per cent (Rogers & Antola, 1985.)

33% increase

The broadcasts of Acompaname were supported by the infrastructure of family planning clinics of the Mexican Health Services. The availability of such infrastructural services is crucially important so that an individual motivated by television to perform a certain behaviour is not frustrated.

When Acompaname was on the air, 5,62,464 Mexicans visited

government family planning health clinics in order to adopt contraceptives, an increase of 33 per cent over the previous year. Some 2,500 Mexican women registered as voluntary workers to help implement the Mexican National Plan for Family Planning, an idea promoted by Acompaname (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research 1981).

After Acompaname ended. Sabido produced several entertainment-education television soap operas in Mexico until 1982, each promoting a particular development theme (such as the status of women, sexual responsibility among teenagers, and child development). While the Mexican experience with entertainmenteducation soap operas was highly successful, Sabido's soap opera methodology was unknown in other countries.

And then, in 1984, came along the Indian television soap opera *Hum Log* (We People), representing the first non-Mexican use of Sabido's soap opera methodology.

Hum Log story

David Poindexter, President of Population Communications-International (PC-I), headquartered in New York City, played a key role in the international diffusion of the Mexican entertainment-education soap opera experience to India. The Hum Log story goes back to September 1977 when Poindexter first met Miguel Sabido in Mexico City. Poindexter (then Director of Communication at the Population Institute) was searching for an effective means to utilize mass media communication to promote family planning, and Sabido was having great success with Acompaname.

As Sabido achieved success after success with his entertainmenteducation soap operas, Poindexter became increasingly intrigued and When
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impressed by the idea of using entertainment soap operas to address educational-development problems in Third World countries.

Poindexter's interest in transferring Sabido's soap opera methodology to India was sharpened when, in March 1980, Emilio Azcarraga, President of Televisa, told Poindexter about his desire to meet the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, in order to tell her about Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas.

Borlaug's suggestion

In September 1980, Poindexter arranged a meeting between Emilio Azcarraga and Kurt Waldheim, President of the UN General Assembly, in New York. A 45-minute videotape featuring excerpts from *Acompaname* was viewed. During this meeting, Azcarraga told Poindexter that he should accompany Miguel Sabido (instead of himself) to India. But then, for a year or so, nothing happened.

In September 1981, Dr. Norman Borlaug (Nobel Peace Prize Winner for his role in breeding the miracle wheat varieties that set off the Green Revolution) and Dr M. S. Swaminathan, India's top agricultural scientist, had a coffee break conversation at a population conference in Oslo, Norway. Swaminathan expressed the difficulties involved in implementing India's family planning programme.

Borlaug, who was familiar with Poindexter's understanding of Sabido's entertainment-education television soap operas in Mexico, suggested that Swaminathan invite Poindexter to India in December 1981 for a forthcoming conference on the environment.

Sabido's presentation

Later in September 1981 the topic of the Mexican entertainment-education television soap operas was put on the programme of the International Institute of Communication (IIC) meeting in Strassbourg, France. Sabido made a presentation, showing a videotape featuring a collage of Acompaname and a segment about the theory and methodology of entertainment-education television soap operas.

Some 80 media officials attended Sabido's presentation; the discussion was generally favourable, but concern was expressed about the soap operas being too powerful. What if a Hitler-like political leader utilized the entertainment-education strategy for manipulative purposes (*Brown* and *Singhal*, 1990)?

The closing session for the IIC conference on Friday morning was chaired by Inder Gujral, who, Poindexter learned, had previously served as India's Minister of Information and Broadcasting (I&B). Poindexter learned that Gujral would visit New York in two weeks.

Gujral had not seen the Sabido presentation the previous Wednesday, and so Poindexter showed him the Televisa videotape in his office in New York. Gujral was impressed by the videotape, and agreed to set up a showing of the videotape in his New Delhi home in December 1981 (when Poindexter attended the Swaminathanled conference on the environment).

In December 1981 about 20 Indian media and public health officials met for dinner at Gujral's New Delhi home. The United States Information Agency (USIA) in New Delhi provided a video cassette player, and after dinner Poindexter showed the 45-minute Acompaname collage videotape, leading the ensuing discussion.

Vision of failure

Poindexter felt that the reception to his ideas was not very enthusiastic, and left directly for Palam airport catching his flight back to New York, and feeling that he had failed in his mission to India.

A few weeks later, Jyoti Shankar Singh, Chief of the Information and External Relations Division of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), New York, told Poindexter that he may have misread the reaction to the Televisa videotape in New Delhi, as high-level Indian civil servants seldom show much enthusiasm for a new idea.

Indeed, in April 1982 Poindexter was back in New Delhi to give a two-day workshop, invited by S B Lal, Secretary to the Ministry of I&B. About 20 top Indian radio and television scriptwriters and producers participated.

The reaction towards entertainment-educational soap operas was skeptical, but Lal designated Manzurul Amin, the number two individual at Doordarshan, to explore further the idea of a family planning soap opera. In June 1982 Amin and Poindexter travelled to Mexico City for a briefing by Miguel Sabido.

When Amin left Mexico City, Sabido said he would come to India. But Sabido's trip was postponed twice; first, because of the Asian Games in New Delhi in November 1982, and then due to the New Delhi conference of the Non-Aligned Nations in early 1983.

Sabido visits India

In May 1983, the long-delayed Sabido trip to India occurred. Sabido presented a five-day workshop on entertainment-education soap operas held at Akashvani Bhawan, New Delhi. A problem arose when Sabido insisted that a television soap opera needed to be broadcast five times a week (as is the custom in Latin America) in order to have its desired effects. Indian officials insisted they had only enough resources (equipment, studios, funds, etc.) for a soap opera to be broadcast once a week.

During this India visit, Poindexter and Sabido met Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. She was quite enthusiastic about the idea of an entertainment-education family planning soap opera.

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In September 1983, Poindexter returned to New Delhi to meet S. S. Gill, who was by then appointed Secretary to the Ministry of I & B. Gill had many questions for Poindexter about entertainment-education television soap operas.

In November-December 1983, Gill called a meeting of 25 writers, journalists, producers and directors to suggest changes for improving Doordarshan's programmes in the wake of the impending satellite television expansion in India. Gill's idea of promoting family planning and other socially desirable values in India via a television melodrama (Sabido style) received a negative reaction from most participants. One individual who was intrigued by Gill's proposal was Manohar Shyam Joshi, a Hindi novelist and editor of the Weekend Review.

Joshi commissioned

In December 1983, Gill deputed Rajendra Joshi, media officer in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, to attend a 10-day training workshop on entertainment-education soap operas at Televisa. In January 1984, Gill made a quick trip to Mexico City in order to be briefed by Sabido. Back in New Delhi, he set the ball rolling for Hum Log. Gill hired Manohar Shyam Joshi as Hum Log's scriptwriter, and found him a small office in Mandi House, Doordarshan's headquarters.

Based on his knowledge of the Sabido television soap opera methodology (even though Joshi had never met Miguel Sabido), Joshi cranked out *Hum Log's* storyline, its character sketches, and a summary of the first 39 *Hum Log* episodes in a record 40 days. Doordarshan lacked the resources to produce and sustain a series like *HumLog*, so Shobha Doctor, a Bombay-based advertising agency owner, was called in. She could, it was argued, sell the programme to commercial sponsors. Satish Garg, Controller of Programmes at

Doordarshan, was appointed as the executive producer of *HumLog* and P Kumar Vasudev its director.

For the next several months, work progressed at breakneck speed on *Hum Log*. Actors and actresses were hired, scripts were completed, production schedules were made, and a privately-owned modern television studio was leased in Gurgaon, 25 miles south of New Delhi. Finally, on July 7, 1984, Doordarshan began broadcasting *Hum Log*.

Hum Log was broadcast for 17 months in 1984-85, a total of 156 half-hour episodes. At the close of each episode, film actor Ashok Kumar summarized the episode in an epilogue of 60 to 90 seconds, and provided viewers with appropriate guides to action in their lives (Singhal and Rogers, 1988).

Mid-course correction

The first HumLog episodes earned disappointing ratings. Viewers complained of too-violent dramatic situations, didactic sermons about family planning, indifferent acting, and a story line that was too slow in developing. After the first 13 episodes, Hum Log was given a mid-course correction. The family planning theme was diluted, and themes such as the status of women, family harmony, and national integration were widely promoted.

A sub-story addressing underworld activities and political corruption was also added, which, while popular with the audience, detracted from the soap opera's major purpose (Singhal and Rogers, 1989c). Hum Log rose rapidly in popularity. When it ended on December 17, 1985, there was widespread sentimental protest from many Hum Log viewers.

The present authors used a variety of methods and collected multiple types of data to determine the effects of *Hum Log*. Five types of data were gathered:

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(1) personal interviews with key officials who were involved in *Hum Log*, (2) content analysis of *Hum Log* scripts, (3) field survey of the television audience in India, (4) content analysis of a sample of viewers' letters written in response to *Hum Log*, and (5) a mailed questionnaire to a sample of our letter-writers.

Content analysis

Our content analysis of *Hum Log's* episodes indicated that the television series addressed, to varying degrees, important educational-development themes: Family harmony, the status of women, alcoholism, national integration, family planning, health, problems of urban life, and public welfare services (*Singhal* and *Rogers*, 1989a; *Singhal*, 1990).

Hum Log was highly popular with Indian audiences, commanding audience ratings from 65 to 90 per cent in North India (a predominantly Hindi-speaking area), and between 20 and 45 per cent in the main cities of South India, where Hindi language programmes are less popular. Several factors explain Hum

Log's tremendous audience popularity (Singhal and Rogers, 1989a).

- 1. Timing: Hum Log was broadcast at a time when Doordarshan, the government national television network, was experiencing an unparalleled expansion due to the launch of the Indian National Satellite (INSAT-IB) in 1983, which greatly increased public access to television in India.
- 2. Novelty: Hum Log was Doordarshan's first long-running soap opera, a novel programming genre for Indian audiences.
- 3. Audience identification: Hum Log centered on three generations of a lower-middle class joint family. Many characters seemed real-life, and millions of Indians identified with them, creating a type of para-social interaction.

Para-social interaction is the seemingly face-to-face interpersonal relationship which can develop between a viewer and a mass media personality (Horton and Wohl, 1958). For instance, Badki, a protagonist for female equality, was mobbed on several occasions by young college girls, who said they had also rebelled and she should advise them what to do next.

4. Audience involvement: Mass media communication is usually oneway, from one or a few source individuals to many audience individuals. Hum Log was unusual in that audience feedback via viewers' letters actually helped write and rewrite the storyline, suggesting new twists to the plot.

Some 4,00,000 viewers' letters were received in response to *Hum Log*. For instance, three avid viewers of the *Hum Log* television series wrote a joint letter to scriptwriter Joshi: "Please have mercy on Samdar (the police inspector who lost his eyesight). Poor fellow has got all the bad things in life Give back his eyesight, please." Joshi restored Samdar's eyesight!

- 5. Ashok Kumar's epilogues: Ashok Kumar's epilogues endeared Hum Log to many viewers. Learning from elders is a highly cherished Indian value, and Ashok Kumar, a father figure in India, doled out words of wisdom in his epilogues.
- 6. Hindi language: In writing Hum Log's dialogues, scriptwriter Joshi creatively used Khadi Boli, a much-used and highly popular derivative of the Hindi language. A combination of Khadi Boli and conventional Hindi served as the lowest common denominator for many Hum Log viewers.

Intended effects

We considered McGuire's (1981) classification of the hierarchy of effects (Table 2) in conceptualizing Hum Log's effects. We expected Hum Log to create widespread audience exposure and widespread awareness and information about the message content. Exposure to Hum Log broadcasts was less likely to change the audience's attitudes (about such issues as the status of women), and even fewer individuals were expected to change their overt behaviour. Our finding about Hum Log's modest effects fit well with our conceptualisation of the hierarchy of media effect (McGuire, 1981).

On the average, about 5 crore people watched a *Hum Log* broadcast, and the television soap opera achieved spectacularly high ratings (up to 90 per cent in Hindi-speaking areas). So a very high proportion of the television audience in India was exposed to the *Hum Log* broadcasts.

Eighty-three per cent of our 1,170 respondents watched at least one episode of *HumLog*. A high proportion of our respondents (between 64 and 75 per cent) were aware and informed about the message content of *HumLog* (Table 3).

Further, exposure to Hum Log was found to be positively related to

attitudes (1) towards freedom of choice for women (for example, women should have the freedom to choose their careers, their husbands, and so on), and (2) towards equal opportunities for women (for example, women should have equal say in decisions about household spending,

TABLE 2 The hierarchy of media effects and the sources of possible data about these effects

-	Eumulative Level of I Effects	Media Sources of Possible Data
1	Exposure to the message(s)	TV ratings for example
2	Awareness of the message(s)	Content analysis, audience survey
3	Being informed	Content analysis, audience survey
4	Being persuaded	Content analysis, audience survey
5	Intending to change behaviour	Audience survey
6	Changing behaviour	Audience survey, point-of referral clinic data, condom sales data, and case studies of behaviour change
7		Audience survey, point-of- referral monitoring, and case studies of behaviour change.

TABLE 3 Extent of learning from Hum Log about pro-social issues

P	respondents wi		
1.	Women should have equal opportu- nities		
2.	Women should have the freedom to	70%	
	make their personal decisions in life	68%	
3.	Family size should be limited	71%	
4.	Family harmony should be promoted	75%	
5.	Cultural diversity should be respected	68%	
6.	Women's welfare programmes should be encouraged.		
Cal		64%	
301	urce: Singhal and Rogers (1989a)		

family planning, and so on), despite statistically controlling for several socio-demographic variables (*Singhal*, 1990).

Exposure to *Hum Log* was found to be positively related to behaviours indicating freedom of choice for women. While statistically significant, the effects were all quite small (*Singhal*, 1990).

Behavioural effect

While mass media programmes, by themselves, rarely lead to direct overt behaviour change on the part of audiences, our content analysis of viewers' letters suggests that at least certain Hum Log viewers were behaviourally affected in the intended direction: The president of the Legal Aid Centre for Women in New Delhi, in her letter to Ashok Kumar, said: "Your encouragement on Hum Log boosts our organization's morale. During June-July 1985 (when Hum Log was being broadcast), a record number of women's cases (152) were handled by our office, out of which 56 were new."

The president of a youth club in Chandigarh in his letter to Ashok Kumar said: "After getting inspiration from the Hum Log television series about eye donation, we the members of Chandigarh's Youth Club have launched a campaign to enrol 5,000 prospective eye donors in the next one month ... To date we have enrolled 982 members." While organ donation is extremely rare in India, Hum Log spurred several eye donation campaigns.

In addition to its direct effects, at least three indirect impacts of *Hum Log* occurred:

1. Commercial sponsorship: Hum Log launched the era of commercially-sponsored programmes on Doordarshan. The successful experience of Hum Log's commercial sponsor, Food Specialities Limited, convinced many other advertisers that

television programme sponsorship could be an attractive investment. Commercial sponsorship boomed at Doordarshan thereafter.

2. Serials come of age: Hum Log's commercial success led to a proliferation of domestically-produced television serials on Doordarshan. The main lesson from the Hum Log experience was that indigenous soap operas in India could attract large audiences and big profits.

At any given time, at least one soap opera reigned supreme on Indian television: first it was *Hum Log* (in 1984-85), then *Buniyaad* (in 1986-87), then *Ramayana* (in 1987-88), and then *Mahabharata* (in 1989-90).

3. Delhi-Bombay marriage: The proliferation of domestically-produced serials on Doordarshan spurred Bombay film moghuls to rush to Delhi to get their programmes on Doordarshan. "It is a marriage of convenience between Bombay and Delhi", said Harish Khanna, former Director-General of Doordarshan (Jain, 1985, p.25).

Expansion of TV audience

In sum *HumLog* ushered in a new era on Indian television, which was aided by the simultaneous expansion of the television audience in India via satellite transmission.

While there is little doubt that Hum Log was a big success with both its audiences and advertisers, its success regarding the achievement of its educational-development goals is not so clear cut. However, there is enough research evidence to suggest that Hum Log met at least some of its educational-development goals. Certainly, various worldwide entertainment-education efforts derived useful lessons from India's experience with Hum Log.

The creation of *Hum Log* is of paramount historic importance in that it broke the temporary logiam in the international diffusion of

The creation of Hum Log is of historical importance in that it broke the temporary logiam in the international diffusion of entertainmenteducation soap operas, to live representing the first non-Mexican use of the entertainmenteducation strategy Task and

entertainment-education soap operas, representing the first non-Mexican use of the entertainment-education strategy.

When Hum Log was created in 1984, nine years had passed since Miguel Sabido first utilized his entertainment-education soap opera methodology to create Ven Conmigo in 1975. The Hum Log experience in India showed that another nation could successfully follow Mexico's lead, encouraging Kenya and other countries to follow suit.

Kenya's first family planning television soap opera, *Tushauriani* ("Let's discuss") was broadcast during 1987-88. *Tushauriani* became the most popular programme ever on Kenyan television.

A radio soap opera *Ushikwapo Shikimana* ("When given advice, take it") was broadcast between 1987 and 1989. Both *Tushauriani* and *Ushikwapo*

Shikimana were based on Sabido's soap opera methodology.

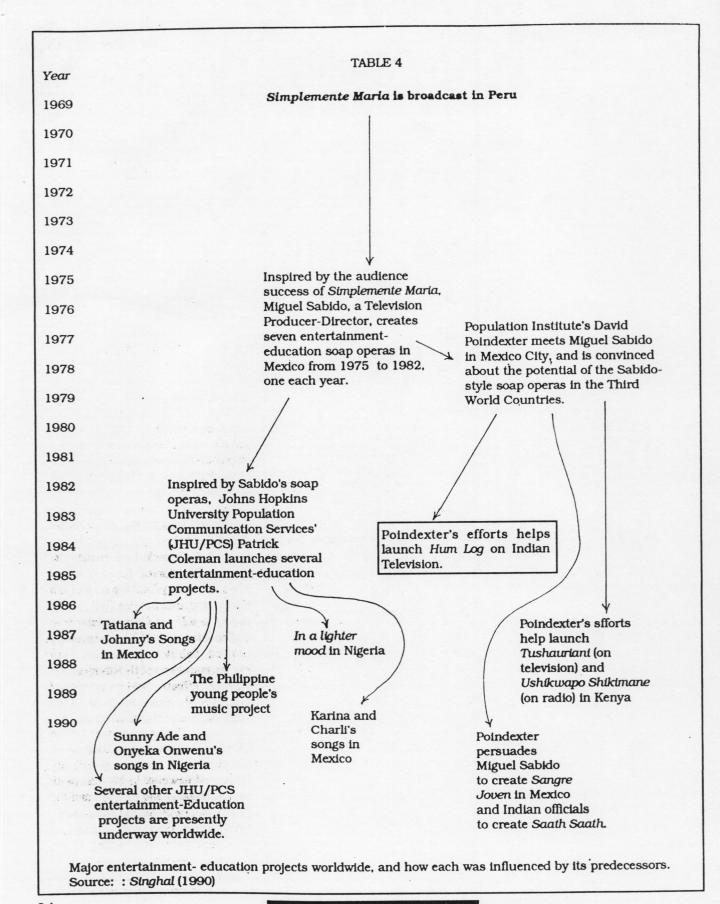
In India, another entertainmenteducation soap opera, Saath Saath ("Together together"), based on Sabido's methodology, was created. Produced by Roger Pereira, a former advertising official in Bombay, Saath Saath was entirely a private effort.

Sabido in Mexico is also producing a family planning/AIDS soap opera, Sangre Joven ("Young blood"), which will be broadcast in 1991 throughout Latin America and in the U.S.A.

Other media

Sabido's accomplishments with the entertainment-education strategy in television have inspired several entertainment-education projects worldwide which utilize other popular media such as rock music, radio, print, and theatre (table 4). Officials of the Hopkins University's Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS), at present a leading institution in implementing entertainment-education projects worldwide, were highly influenced by Sabido's work.

When Patrick L. Coleman, at present Director of Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Service (JHU/PCS), served as a Peace Corps volunteer in El Salvador in the 1970s, he regularly viewed Sabido's television soap operas, and observed their tremendous audience effects. Sold on the idea of combining entertainment with education (so as to gain the advantages of each), Coleman pioneered in utilizing this approach in rock music for promoting sexual responsibility among adolescents in Mexico (with singers Tatiana and Johnny) and the Philippines (with singer Lea Salonga), for promoting responsible parenthood in Nigeria (with singers King Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu), and in various other projects. The relative



success of the entertainment-education strategy in rock music, television, radio, and the print medium has made it highly popular with audiences, policy-makers, media officials, and commercial sponsors.

Content crucial

As mass media audiences continue to expand in Third World countries, the content of media programming becomes a crucial factor in determining whether the mass media will advance national development goals or just be used for entertainment purposes. The entertainment-education strategy in mass communication represents one possible means of accomplishing a

country's educational-development goals.

NOTES

1. The present article draws upon Singhal (1990); Singhal and Rogers (1989a, 1989b, and 1989c); Singhal and Rogers (1988); and the authors' personal interviews with Manohar Shyam Joshi (1986, 1987 and 1988), S. S. Gill (1986), Satish Garg (1986), Inder Gujral (1986), Shobha Doctor (1986), Harish Khanna (1986 and 1987), Abhinav Chaturvedi (1986, 1987 and 1989), David Poindexter (1986, 1987, 1988 and 1989), Miguel Sabido (1986, 1988 and 1989) and other officials who were involved in Hum Log.

2. Prior to Hum Log short, entertainment-education-type television serials were produced and broadcast by the Space Applications Center (SAC) in Ahmedabad to raise consciousness and to initiate local development programmes in Gujarat's Kheda District.

For example, during India's famous Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) in 1975-76, a 20-part series called *Chatur Mota* (Wise elder) was broadcast in Kheda District (SITE Winter School, 1976).

Another 40-part entertainment-education-type series called *Nari tu Narayani* (Wom.n you are powerful) was also broadcast by SAC to raise the status of women.

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