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CHAPTER 12



Entertainment-Education Strategy in Development Communication

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While the entertainment media have a high potential to educate the public about various social problems, for instance, about HIV prevention, maternal and child health, a more equal status for women, and child development, little of this potential has been tapped to date, at least on a global basis. For at least three compelling reasons, national policy-makers, media practitioners, and international donor agencies in both developed and developing countries should more seriously consider the educational potential of entertainment media (Singhal and Rogers, 1999):

(1) Development problems loom large all over the world: ethnic conflicts, environmental catastrophes, infectious diseases, and unsupported population growth. Resources to tackle these problems are scarce. To address such problems, pragmatic media strategies are needed that (a) appeal to the audience members, (b) are commercially viable, and (c) are socially responsible. Using the entertainment media for educational purposes provides an unusual opportunity to achieve these objectives.

- (2) Leisure and entertainment represent one of the most important megatrends of recent decades. Entertainment media, spurred (a) by advances in such new communication technologies as satellite and cable television, VCRs, and multimedia, and (b) by economic progress, reach expanding audiences worldwide. The hard-to-reach rural poor are now increasingly accessible through the mass media, and at a relatively low cost.
- (3) The entertainment media needlessly suffer from the stigma of being a "mindless" genre. Audience research shows that carefully designed entertainment media messages can spur audience reflection, promote public discussion and dialogue on social issues, and move audience membersto consider new patterns of behaviors (Piotrow et al., 1997; Japhet and Goldstein, 1997; Singhal and Brown, 1996; Valente and Saba, 1998). Further, research in many countries shows that viewers prefer to consume more socially responsible and "wholesome" entertainment, if only it were available.

The Entertainment-Education Strategy

McKee (2000) points out that "if entertainers can sing of sexual abstinence and of modifying sexual behavior, while generating income . . . then social and commercial marketing become one. Considering that so much of popular culture supports unhealthy and at-risk life styles, the edutainment movement is one of the greatest communication revolutions of the 20th century" (McKee 2000, 155).

The entertainment-education (or "edutainment") strategy in development communication abrogates the needless dichotomy in almost all mass media content: that mass media programs must either be entertaining or educational (Singhal and Rogers, 1999; Fischer and Melnik, 1979). Entertainment-education is the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, and change overt behavior. The larger purpose of entertainment-education programming is to contribute to the process of directed social change, which can happen at the level of an individual, community, or society. The entertainment-education strategy contributes to social change in two ways:

- (1) It can influence audience awareness, attitudes, and behaviors toward a socially desirable end. Here the anticipated effects are located in the individual audience members. An illustration is provided by a radio soap opera, "Twende na Wakati," in Tanzania that convinced several hundred thousand sexually active adults to adopt HIV prevention behaviors such as using condoms and reducing their number of sexual partners (Rogers et al., 1999).
- (2) It can influence the audience's external environment to help create the necessary conditions for social change at the group or system level. Here the major effects are located in the social-political sphere of the audience's external environment. The entertainment-education media can serve as a social

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mobilizer, an advocate, or agenda-setter, influencing public and policy initiatives in a socially desirable direction (Atkin and Wallack, 1990). The case of Lutsaan, the Indian village that rejected dowry as a result of community-based listening of a radio soap opera, "Tinka Tinka Sukh," illustrates the system-level social changes resulting from entertainment-education (Papa et al., 2001).

The present chapter analyzes the entertainment-education strategy in development communication. The recent rise of the entertainment-education strategy is chronicled, and the key elements of an entertainment-education initiative are analyzed. The most recent *Soul City* edutainment initiative in South Africa is investigated, and lessons are gleaned about how entertainment-education initiatives can benefit through ground-based partnerships, social mobilization activities, and media advocacy.

The Rise of Entertainment-Education

The idea of combining entertainment with education is not new: It goes as far back in human history as the timeless art of storytelling. For thousands of years, music, drama, dance, and various folk media have been used in many countries for recreation, devotion, reformation, and instructional purposes. So while the concept of combining entertainment with education is not new, "entertainment-education" via modern mass media is a relatively new concept. Its use in radio, television, comic books, and popular music, at least when designed according to communication and social psychological theories, has been increasing in the past three decades (Singhal and Rogers, 1999; Valente et al., 1994).

In radio, the earliest well-known illustration of the entertainment-education strategy occurred in 1951, when the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) began broadcasting The Archers, a radio soap opera that carried educational messages about agricultural development. The Archers continues to be broadcast in 2001, addressing contemporary educational issues like HIV/AIDS prevention, environmental conservation, and the like. The entertainment-education strategy in television was discovered more-or-less by accident in Peru in 1969, when the television soap opera Simplemente María was broadcast (Singhal, Obregon, and Rogers, 1994). The main character, María, a migrant to the capital city, faced tragic setbacks, like becoming a single mother. María worked during the day, and enrolled in adult literacy classes in the evening. She then climbed the socioeconomic ladder of success through her hard work, strong motivation, and through her skills with a Singer sewing machine. Simplemente María attracted very high audience ratings, and the sale of Singer sewing machines boomed in Peru. So did the number of young girls enrolling in adult literacy and sewing classes. When Simplemente Maria was broadcast in other Latin American nations, there were similar effects. Audience identification with María was very

strong, especially among poor, working-class women: She represented a Cinder-ella role model for upward social mobility.

Inspired by the audience success and the (unintended) educational effects of Simplemente Maria, Miguel Sabido, a television writer-producer-director in Mexico, developed a methodology for entertainment-education soap operas. Between 1975 and 1982, Sabido produced seven entertainment-education television soap operas (one each year), which helped motivate enrollment in adult literacy classes, encourage the adoption of family planning, promote gender equality, and so forth (Nariman, 1993). Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas were also commercial hits for Televisa, the Mexican television network, demonstrating that educational messages do not limit the popularity of entertainment programs.

Through these events of the past several decades, the idea of combining education with entertainment in the mass media was born and has since spread to over one hundred projects in fifty countries, spurred by the efforts of institutions like Population Communications International (PCI), a nongovernmental organization headquartered in New York City, and Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services. The entertainment-education strategy has been widely invented and recreated in television, radio, film, print, and theater, including the well-known, multimedia Soul City edutainment series in South Africa, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Key Elements in Creating Entertainment-Education

While there exist many different approaches to creating entertainmenteducation programs, the key elements include the following:

Creating a Moral Framework and Values Grid

Prior to launching an entertainment-education intervention, a "moral framework" of the specific educational issues to be emphasized in an entertainment-education intervention, and a values grid for the educational messages should be created (Singhal and Rogers, 2001). The moral framework can be derived from a nation's constitution, its legal statutes, or from documents such as the UN Declaration of Human Rights, to which the country is a signatory. For instance, a constitutional right expressed as "All citizens will have an equal opportunity for personal and professional development" provides the moral basis to produce media messages about gender equality. The values grid, in turn, is derived from the moral framework and contains various positive and negative statements such as "It is good to send a girl child to school" and "It is bad to not send a girl child to school." The values grid specifies the exact behavior changes that are to be encouraged or discouraged in the entertainment-education project such as a soap opera, and constitutes a formal statement signed by government, religious, and media officials pledging their support of the educational values promoted in the

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bining educe spread to f institutions ental organity's Populaty has been theater, inn South Afintervention. For example, Sabido asked Catholic Church leaders in Mexico to help develop the values grid for his telenovela about family planning. Both these documents contribute to the consistency of the characters and storyline with the intended goals of the entertainment-education intervention.

Formative Evaluation Research

Once a moral framework and values grid are available, formative evaluation research is conducted with the intended audience to design the entertainment-education intervention. Formative evaluation is a type of research that is conducted while an activity, process, or system is being developed or is ongoing, in order to improve its effectiveness (Rogers 1986, 193). Research-based information about the characteristics, needs, and preferences of a target audience can sharpen the design of entertainment-education. For example, a formative evaluation survey in Tanzania in 1992 found that many adults, including those using the rhythm method of contraception, did not know the days in the women's menstrual cycle when fertility was most likely. Correct information was then provided in a radio soap opera, *Twende na Wakati* or Let's Go With the Times.

Theory-Based Message Design

The messages for the entertainment-education intervention are designed on the basis of various theories of behavior change. Human communication theories are seldom used in designing most media messages. At the heart of understanding the process of entertainment-education is Albert Bandura's social learning theory (1977; 1997), which states that learning can occur through observing media role-models, and that this vicarious learning usually is more effective and efficient than direct experiential learning. For instance, why should a couple produce more children than they can afford, suffer economic hardship throughout their lives, to realize eventually that not adopting a family planning method was a mistake? They could learn this lesson by observing the rewards and punshments that accrue to positive and negative role models for family planning in television soap opera. So each time a positive role model performs the socially esirable behavior (such as adopting family planning, for example), they are ewarded immediately in the storyline. Each time a negative role model performs socially undesirable behavior, he/she is immediately punished. For example, in he Tanzanian radio soap opera, Twende na Wakati, Mkwaju (literally "walking tick") is a negative role model for sexual responsibility; he is a truck driver who promiscuous, sleeps with commercial sex workers, and contracts AIDS. He is unished by losing his prestigious job, his family, and eventually his life (Rogers tal., 1999).

Multimedia Broadcasts and Campaign Activities

Launching a multimedia broadcast and various supportive activities is crucial to realizing an effective entertainment-education campaign. The effects of entertainment-education are greater when various supplementary activities are part of an integrated communication campaign. For instance, when, in the late 1980s, Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services utilized rock music songs to promote sexual responsibility among teenagers in the Philippines, the songs were accompanied by print and broadcast advertisements, personal appearances by the two singers, label buttons urging "Say No to Sex," posters, and a telephone hotline ("Dial-A-Friend"). These messages constituted a coordinated communication campaign, rather than just a popular song featuring lyrics with an educational message (Piotrow et al., 1997). While the cost and effort invested in a total campaign is greater than for just the entertainment-education message, the synergy of the communication campaign elements leads to greater effects in changing human behavior.

Process and Summative Evaluation

Entertainment-education campaigns can be strengthened through such process evaluation activities as analysis of audience letters, monitoring of clinic data (to track family planning adoption, for example), and content analysis of the entertainment-education messages (to determine if the scripts are consistent with the moral framework and the values grid). Feedback can thus be provided in a timely manner to entertainment-education producers for appropriate midcourse corrections. Summative evaluation research can measure the effects of the entertainment-education campaign on audience behaviors. Often multimethod triangulation is employed to ascertain effects. For example, an entertainment-education radio soap opera, *Tinka Tinka Sukh* (Happiness Lies in Small Pleasures), in Hindi-speaking India was evaluated by a field experiment (using pre-post, treatment-control audience surveys), content analysis of the episodes and viewers' letters, and a case study of one village in which the program had strong effects (Papa et al., 2001).

In the next section, we profile an entertainment-education initiative in South Africa, which exemplifies how to creatively harness the entertainment-education strategy in development communication.

Soul City in South Africa: Harnessing the Power of Entertainment-Education

South Africa faces enormous health and development challenges: An estimated eight percent of South African adults (over 5 million people) are HIV positive. For children under five years of age, the biggest single cause of death is

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diarrhea. This dismal health record existed despite a highly developed mass media system in South Africa: Some 98 percent of South Africans regularly listen to radio, 65 percent regularly watch television, and over 40 percent regularly read newspapers and magazines.

The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, a non-governmental organization headquartered in Houghton (a suburb of Johannesburg), was established in 1992 to harness the power of mass media for health and development in South Africa. In the realm of entertainment-education programming, Soul City has pioneered several new directions, including the strategy of having an "on-going" multimedia vehicle to address high priority national health issues. Each year a series of mass media interventions are implemented, including the flagship Soul City, a 13-part prime-time television drama series broadcast on South Africa's most popular television channel, a 60-episode prime-time radio drama series broadcast in nine South African languages, covering all regional stations, and some 2.5 million health education booklets, designed around the popularity of the TV series' characters, which are serialized by 11 major newspapers and distributed nationally. The ability of the Soul City Project, including its various media components to attract advertising revenue allows an unusual opportunity to recover the costs of media production.

The first Soul City series in 1994 focused on maternal and child health and HIV prevention and control. The second Soul City series in 1996 focused on HIV prevention and control, housing and urban reform, alcohol abuse, and domestic violence. The third Soul City series in 1997 dealt with HIV prevention and control, alcohol abuse, and domestic violence. The fourth Soul City series in 1999 focused primarily on violence against women, and included a treatment of youth sexuality and AIDS, hypertension, personal finance, and small business management.

Here we describe and analyze our experience in designing and implementing the Soul City IV entertainment-education series, especially focusing on its programmatic, social mobilization, and advocacy components to reduce domestic violence. As one in four South African women is a victim of domestic violence, partnerships with ground-based organizations were needed to supplement the multimedia edutainment vehicle.

Ground-Based Partnerships

Soul City IV extended on the core edutainment vehicle to include a partnership with the National Network on Violence Against Women (NNVAW), a coalition of over 1,500 activists and community organizations in South Africa. The five main objectives of this partnership were:

- (1) To inform audiences about women's rights, spur interpersonal discussions about the topic, and change audience attitudes, practices, and social norms about gender-based violence.
- (2) To connect audience members to a toll-free domestic violence telephone helpline, which provided crisis counseling and referral to community-based support structures.
- (3) To harness the *Soul City* media intervention and the NNVAW network to spark individual and community action to combat domestic violence.
- (4) To harness the *Soul City* media intervention and the NNVAW network to advocate for enabling legislation, thereby creating a supportive policy environment to combat domestic violence.
- (5) To develop training materials on gender-based violence for counselors, the police, the judiciary, and health workers in South Africa.

The partnership between Soul City and the NNVAW aimed to impact some of the entrenched structural barriers to change, for instance, a gender insensitive and highly cumbersome police and judicial system. In 1998, a year prior to the launch of the Soul City-NNVAW partnership, the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) was passed in parliament, but its implementation was inordinately delayed. So a key purpose of the Soul City-NNVAW partnership was to ensure the speedy and effective implementation of the DVA. Advocacy activities included direct lobbying of the government, media advocacy (to generate maximum campaign coverage in the news media), and social mobilization in the form of community mass meetings and public marches.

Formative Research and Message Design

Extensive formative research was conducted to design the Soul City IV series, including an extensive literature review on domestic violence, as well as focus groups and in-depth interviews with audience members, activists, and various gatekeepers to assess prevailing knowledge, attitudes, practices, and social norms related to domestic violence. Formative research suggested that there was widespread belief among both men and women that domestic violence was "normal" and "justified," that it was "a private affair," and that the abused women were expected to "endure" the violence in order to "make the relationship work." These insights helped shape the storyline of the Soul City IV multimedia materials.

In the Soul City IV television series, Thabang, a respected teacher and the husband of the much-loved Matlakala becomes abusive, resulting in severe consequences for her and their children. Audiences see Matlakala's self-esteem plummet and her highly depressive state in the wake of mounting family pressure to "make her marriage work" and "endure" her predicament. With the support of friends, community, and a telephone helpline, she learns about her legal rights as

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V series, as focus various usocial activas a woman, and other forms of social support for victims of domestic violence. Matlakala files and wins a judicial case against Thabang for domestic abuse, and begins an inspiring journey to reclaim her life, founding a crisis center for abused women in the last episode. In prison, Thabang goes through a journey of self-examination as his life crumbles around him. He vows to mend his ways when his son Bheki gets into trouble at school and blames Thabang for teaching him the way of violence. The series also depicts the community's shift from "silent collusion" with the abuse to its active opposition. In one dramatic instance, when Thabang is beating Matlakala, several dozen community members gather around his home and banged their pots and pans in protest (Usdin et al., 2000). By banging pots, the community expressed solidarity with Matlakala, bringing a hitherto private affair squarely into the realm of community discourse and action.

Impact of Soul City IV

The impact of the Soul City IV multimedia series and the Soul City-NNVAW partnership was independently evaluated through a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods: A before-and-after national sample survey, communitybased studies of two sentinel sites, ethnographic observations, focus groups and in-depth interviews, local and national media monitoring, and service statistics from the NNVAW network and other agencies. Several studies were conducted to make an independent evaluation of the Soul City IV series. These include (1) "An Evaluation of Soul City 4" by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), T. Samuels, J. Mollentz, R. Olusanya, M. Claassens, S. Braehmenr and Z. Kimmie, October 2000; (2) "Soul City Series 4-Qualitative Impact Assessment," data collection and data processing by Social Surveys, under supervision of K. Hall and K. Daniels, Audience Reception analysis by E. Scheepers, Violence Against Women analysis by E. Scheepers and K. Daniels, October 2000; (3) "Soul City Series 4-Quantitative Impact Assessment," data collection and data processing by Social Surveys, under supervision of K. Hall and K. Daniels, analysis by E. Scheepers, October 2000; (4) "Impact Evaluation of Soul City in partnership with the NNVAW," researched for Soul City by Women's Health Project, N. Christofides, January 2001; and (5) "Impact of the Soul City / NNVAW Partnership on Policy Implementation and Provincial Government," researched for Soul City by Strategy and Tactics, M. J. Smith, January 2001. This triangulated approach to data collection was designed to assess the impact of Soul City IV at the level of the individual, community, and society. Here the key results from the Soul City IV impact evaluation are presented.

Soul City IV reached an estimated 16.2 million people in South Africa through radio, television, and print, achieving a 79 percent penetration among its target audience and a 62 percent penetration among rural audiences. The television series consistently achieved top audience ratings, winning six coveted Avanti Awards, including the prize for South Africa's Best Television Drama. Soul City

recognizes that overt behavior change is facilitated when audience members talk to one another. So each year, after the television and radio series are broadcast, several campaign activities are implemented to keep people talking. Initiatives such as the "Soul City Search for Stars" (to recruit talent for next year's television and radio series), the "Soul City Health Care Worker of the Year" (to recognize outstanding outreach workers), and "Soul Citizens" (recognizing outstanding youth who engage in community development activities) keeps the buzz going.

An analysis of the quantitative data showed that knowledge about the various aspects of the law on domestic violence increased significantly among the Soul City IV audience members. Those exposed to the media intervention were significantly more likely to say that domestic violence is not a "private affair," and that abused women should not "put up with it," compared to those not exposed to the Soul City series. Audience members with higher levels of exposure to the Soul City IV were more likely to recognize ill-treatment as "abuse," more likely to disclose abusive experiences, and more likely to reflect on how to stop abusive behaviors. Qualitative insights, such as the following statement from a married male member in a rural area, provided additional support for such a claim:

Since I have started watching Soul City I have realized that I am an abuser.... I have tried to change and it's not that easy.... Because I have that picture of abuse in my mind whenever I think of doing it, I stop. It's quite tough to make that conscious decision but you have to stick to it and as time goes by it will be easy just to talk about your problem without even resulting to violence.

An analysis of the qualitative data suggested that Soul City IV's audience members identified with role models in the TV series (such as Matlakala), and learned various plausible alternatives and coping strategies to combat domestic violence. The quantitative data showed that the Soul City IV series also stimulated public discussion and dialogue on domestic violence. Some 36 percent of the audience members talked to someone about domestic violence in the period during and shortly after exposure to the series. Overall, audience members credited Soul City with enhancing their self and collective efficacy, and for creating a supportive environment for individuals and communities to take action.

Those exposed to the Soul City IV series were significantly more likely to tell the abused person about the telephone helpline, and significantly more likely to call the police in the event of someone being abused. The quantitative data shows that the Soul City IV series influenced audience members to help other victims of domestic violence, as well as to help themselves. Some 14 percent of the respondents said that they did something to stop domestic violence in their lives, or in the lives of someone close to them, in the period shortly after the Soul City TV series went off air. For instance, an urban female viewer noted:

Soul City has really helped people a lot. The first time when I started watching it, it was when there was abuse, and at that time I had a friend who was being

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abused by her husband . . . I told her that she should watch [Soul City] and see what happens if a man does not look after his family. She did not want to come but then I did not take "no" for an answer. She eventually came, and when she saw it, she was very grateful. And then after the show, she said, "you know, Soul City has shown me something. From now on I know that when he starts to beat me, I must go to the police station and report him." I said to her even if he beats you inside your home, always remember that I will help you. I can even ask the support of other women, like what those women did in Soul City when they made a noise [by banging pots] outside that woman's home when her husband was beating her.

The Pot Banging and Telephone Helpline "Markers"

There were two unique "markers" (or identifiable characteristics) that were introduced by the *Soul City*-NNVAW partnership in the *Soul City* IV series, which helped in assessing its direct effects: (1) the pot-banging incident in which Matlakala's neighbors voice their public protest again Thabang's abuse, and (2) the telephone helpline.

Survey results showed that those exposed to the Soul City IV series were significantly more likely to stand outside the house of an abuser and bang pots. Anecdotal reports of pot or bottle banging were noted in various communities. For example, patrons at a local pub in Gauteng collectively banged bottles upon witnessing a man abusing his girlfriend. Some 4 percent of the respondents said they had made a noise in public to protest against domestic violence.

Further, the Soul City-NNVAW partnership was highly effective in raising the audience members' knowledge and awareness of organizations working to stop domestic violence, enhancing access to local support services through the telephone helpline. Some 39 percent of the survey respondents knew about the helpline. Among those who knew, 16 percent of the women and 13 percent of the men had saved the telephone number for future use. Four percent of those who knew about the helpline said that they had called the helpline at least once. Some 150,000 calls were answered by the telephone helpline in the five months after the Soul City TV series began broadcasting (the series itself was broadcast over a three month period). Funding constraints restricted the number of available telephone lines, resulting in a large number of calls not being answered. Telephone records show that, in one province, some 95 percent of the attempted calls could not be answered during peak times. When these results were fed back to policymakers, additional funds were generated to expand the number of telephone helplines and to continue this service on a permanent basis.

Advocacy and Mobilization

The advocacy component of the Soul City IV series (in partnership with NNVAW) led to a speedy implementation of the Domestic Violence Act (DVA)

in South Africa on December 15, 1999, a few weeks after the Soul City IV television series had completed its broadcasts. The Soul City IV multimedia intervention played a key role in raising awareness of domestic violence as a national priority among government departments, expediting the implementation of DVA. The social mobilization at grassroots level through the NNVAW network and the media advocacy campaign elements contributed to the implementation of this desired legislative action. As a female viewer in KwaMhlanga stated: "Soul City influenced us to organize the citizen's march, emotions were high." A representative of the South African Police Service noted: "There were pressures [to implement the DVA] from occasions where people held marches and stuff like that."

A preliminary analysis of print media coverage over the intervention period (during the second half of 1999) shows that more than 3,700 articles on violence against women appeared in approximately 280 mainstream print publications (including magazines and newspapers) nationally. These preliminary results are underestimates, as they do not include electronic media analysis or mentions of the NNVAW. Some one in six articles (or 15 percent) directly referred to *Soul City* as being the interventionist. Government departments involved in the implementation of DVA identified the extensive mass media coverage as being an important motivator in shaping their response.

Overall, the results of the *Soul City IV* evaluation suggest the great potential of entertainment-education programs, backed by social mobilization and advocacy activities, to significantly impact individual, community, and societal changes.

Conclusions

The entertainment-education approach is a promising development communication strategy. This versatile strategy can be utilized in a variety of media and media genres, to address a variety of development problems (for instance, illiteracy, gender inequality, or racial intolerance), on a local, regional, or national level, and as one or more components in a multimedia campaign. If implemented correctly, as the *Soul City* experience demonstrates, the entertainment-education strategy can offer important advantages to development officials of national governments, broadcasting networks, educators, commercial sponsors, and to audiences. The entertainment-education strategy often provides an opportunity for an educational message to pay for itself.

However, implementers of the entertainment-education strategy must be mindful of the ethical dilemmas embodied in the question: Who should determine what is right for whom (Brown and Singhal, 1990)? Entertainment-education can take several proactive steps to mitigate this dilemma. For instance, establishing a moral framework for the entertainment-education initiative can ensure that the values promoted are enshrined in the country's constitution and its legal statutes.

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The use of local writers and creative teams, as is the case with the Soul City project in South Africa, can help ensure that the edutainment program is culturally sensitive and incorporates local language. The use of subject-matter specialists to review program scripts can ensure that the technical information provided in the program is accurate. The systematic depiction of positive and negative role models of behaviors, and realistic consequences of these behaviors, allows the audience to draw their own conclusions, rather than being preached to in a didactic manner. Further, the conduct of formative and summative evaluation research can help (1) in analyzing the target audience's needs and aspirations, (2) in producing relevant and user-friendly media materials, and (3) in understanding the intended and unintended effects of the entertainment-education intervention.