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The Status of Entertainment-Education Worldwide[1]

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Detective Vijay is commissioned by an urban Indian family to check out the background of a young rural woman, whom they wish their son to marry. When Vijay arrives in her village, he discovers the young woman is missing and her family is trying to cover up her disappearance. When her body is found in the village well, Vijay investigates the death. Through a maze of intrigue and suspense, Vijay discovers that the young woman was a childhood friend of a village outcast who was ostracized by the community because he was HIV-positive (Photo 1.1). She was killed because of her association with an HIV-positive person.

The above plot is part of a 120-episode entertainment-education detective series titled *Jasoos Vijay* (Detective Vijay), broadcast in India[2] to raise

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[1] This chapter draws upon Singhal and Rogers (1999; 2002).

[2] *Jasoos Vijay* is part of an intensive HIV/AIDS media initiative involving the Indian government's National AIDS Control Organization (NACO), Prasar Bharati (the Indian national broadcaster), and the BBC World Service Trust (BBC WST). This HIV/AIDS initiative, funded by the British government's Department of International Development (DFID), focused on five low HIV-prevalence Indian states: Rajasthan, Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttaranchal. The India HIV/AIDS initiative, the largest media health initiative ever funded by DFID, includes a strong entertainment-education component: (1) the detective television
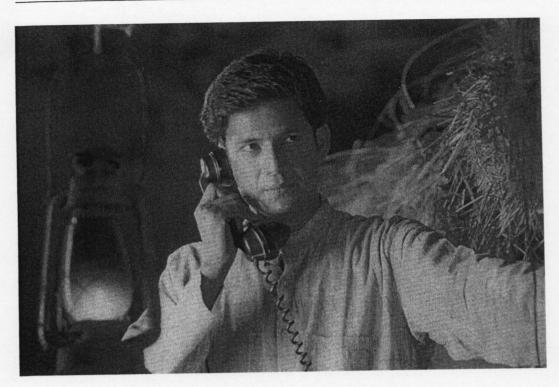
PHOTO 1.1.   Detective Vijay played by actor Adil Khandkar. (*Source*: BBC
World Service Trust. Used with permission.)

awareness about HIV/AIDS, to shift social norms about the disease, and to
reduce stigma (Singhal & Rogers, 2003). Watched regularly by 125 million
viewers, *Jasoos Vijay* is among the Top Ten rated television programs in India,
and a major revenue earner for Doordarshan, the Indian national television
network. Broadcast for 10 months from June 2002 to April 2003,[3] each month,
Vijay solves one case. So *Jasoos Vijay* is really a collection of 10 detective
case stories.[4] In this interactive, fast-paced drama series, each episode ends
with a cliffhanger and an epilogue delivered by Om Puri, a famous Indian film
celebrity. Puri summarizes plot developments, focuses viewers' attention on
the key HIV/AIDS dilemmas, and urges viewers to send a written response to
the central question posed. Puri receives 1,000 letters and e-mails each week.

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series, (2) a reality-based television program that follows the lives of 80 youthful audience mem-
bers who journey on buses across the four states, (3) radio talk shows, and (4) public service
announcements on HIV prevention.

[3]In the five low HIV-prevalence Indian states—Rajasthan, Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and
Uttaranchal—*Jasoos Vijay* is broadcast thrice a week in 10-minute segments. The weekly omnibus
of 30 minutes length is broadcast on Doordarshan's national network each Sunday night.

[4]This description of *Jasoos Vijay* draws upon author Singhal's conversations with Peter Gill,
Lori McDougall, Sangeeta Sharma Mehta, and Jyoti Mehra of the BBC World Service Trust in New
Delhi in 2001 and 2002. Author Singhal participated in the message design workshop for this
HIV/AIDS media initiative in New Delhi in January, 2002.

Jasoos Vijay represents an innovative entertainment-education vehicle. It is comprised of engaging narratives centering on a key protagonist, with multiple cliffhangers and denouements. Various theory-based strategies are employed to enhance the entertainment-education narrative: the use of a celebrity epilogue-giver; the posing of multiple dilemmas (such as "How did she die?") to stimulate audience reflection and elaboration; an emphasis on mystery to build suspense and audience involvement; and the raising of key social dilemmas surrounding HIV/AIDS, designed to deconstruct prevailing social values, beliefs, and norms about HIV/AIDS. A study of *Jasoos Vijay* in five North Indian states—Rajasthan, Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttaranchal—estimated a viewing audience of 36 million in these five states. Of these, an estimated 5.6 million (16%) reported a positive change in their sexual behavior four months after the broadcasts of *Jasoos Vijay* began. The cost per behavioral change was 5 cents (U.S.) (personal communication, Lori McDougall, December 9, 2002).

Jasoos Vijay shows that the entertainment-education strategy continues to evolve and reinvent itself around the globe. This chapter overviews the current status of entertainment-education interventions as they are implemented around the world. We show that this strategy is currently widespread and growing.

WHAT IS E-E AND WHAT CAN IT DO?

Entertainment-education (E-E) 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, shift social norms, and change overt behavior (Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Singhal & Rogers, 2002). Entertainment-education is not a theory of communication. Rather, it is a communication strategy to bring about behavioral and social change. Several communication theories, however, provide a basis for the E-E strategy.

The general purpose of entertainment-education interventions is to contribute to the process of directed social change, which can occur at the level of an individual, community, or society. The entertainment-education strategy contributes to social change in two ways. First, it can influence members' awareness, attitudes, and behavior 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* (Let's Go with the Times), 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). Second, it can

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influence the audience's external environment to help create the necessary conditions for social change at the system level. Here the major effects are located in the interpersonal and social–political sphere of the audience's external environment. The entertainment-education media can serve as a social mobilizer, an advocate, or an agenda-setter, influencing public and policy initiatives in a socially-desirable direction (Wallack, 1990). Soul City's domestic violence series mobilized community action, women's marches, and speeded passage of domestic violence legislation in South Africa through media, public, and policy advocacy (see the chapter by Shereen Usdin and others in this volume).

E-E projects benefit from formative, process, and summative research, which amounts to approximately 10% of the total budget of these projects. Formative evaluation research is conducted with the intended audience in order to design the entertainment-education intervention. *Formative research* is conducted while an activity, process, or system is being developed or is ongoing, in order to improve its effectiveness (Singhal & Rogers, 2001). Research-based information about the characteristics, needs, and preferences of a target audience sharpens the design of entertainment-education (see the chapter by Shereen Usdin and others in this volume).

Entertainment-education interventions are further strengthened through such process evaluation activities as the 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 desired educational goals). Feedback can thus be provided in a timely manner to entertainment-education media producers for appropriate mid-course corrections.

Summative evaluation research measures the effects of the entertainment-education campaign on audience behavior. For example, an entertainment-education radio soap opera, *Tinka Tinka Sukh* (Happiness Lies in Small Pleasures), in Hindi-speaking North India was evaluated by a field experiment (using pre-post, treatment-control audience surveys), content analysis of the episodes and of listeners' letters, and a case study of one village in which the program had strong effects (Papa et al., 2000).

GROWING INSTITUTIONAL INTEREST IN E-E PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

The authors of this chapter, Arvind Singhal and Everett M. Rogers, became involved in investigating the impacts of E-E soap operas in developing nations relatively early (beginning in 1984–85), and have since followed the evolution of this genre closely, providing overviews and syntheses of research on E-E

(Singhal & Rogers, 1999, 2002). Since our involvement in E-E began in the mid-1980s, over 200 E-E interventions, mainly for health-related educational issues and mostly broadcast as radio or television soap operas, have been implemented, mainly in the developing countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

In the initial era of E-E, two main organizations drove the international diffusion of E-E projects: Population Communications International (PCI), a non-governmental organization headquartered in New York City, and Johns Hopkins University's Center for Communication Programs (JHU/CCP). PCI helped launch television soap operas such as *Hum Log* (We People) in India, and radio soap operas like *Ushikwapo Shikimana* (When Given Advice, Take It) in Kenya, *Twende na Wakati* (Let's Go With the Times) in Tanzania, and *Taru* in India (see David Poindexter's chapter in this volume; and Arvind Singhal and others' chapter in this volume). Johns Hopkins University's Center for Communication Programs (JHU/CCP) launched several dozen entertainment-education projects in numerous countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (see the Phyllis T. Piotrow and Esta de Fossard chapter in this volume).

Today, numerous other organizations are involved in utilizing and diffusing the E-E strategy. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in Atlanta, as part of its Global AIDS Program, utilizes entertainment-education soap operas in its MARCH (Modeling and Reinforcement to Combat HIV) Project in four African countries: Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, and Zimbabwe (Galavotti, Pappas-DeLuca, & Lansky, 2001). The BBC World Service Trust, in cooperation with the Indian government's National AIDS Control Organization (NACO) and Prasar Bharati (the Indian broadcasting agency), launched a major E-E initiative in India in 2002, which included the *Jasoos Vijay* series (discussed at the top of this chapter). The Population Media Center, an NGO headquartered in Burlington, Vermont, has E-E initiatives underway in Ethiopia, Philippines, Sudan, and Swaziland (see the William Ryerson and Negussie Teffera chapter in this volume).

The entertainment-education strategy has been widely invented and recreated by media professionals in various countries. Notable is the work of the Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication in South Africa, Media for Development Trust in Zimbabwe, Africa Radio Drama Association in Nigeria, Puentos de Encuentro in Nicaragua, Minga Peru in Peru, and the Netherlands Entertainment-Education Foundation in the Netherlands. Soul City materials, through local in-country partnerships, are being produced and distributed in neighboring Botswana, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia, and Zambia.

Several communication departments are now particularly oriented to studying or teaching about the E-E strategy. The Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Southern California, since 1999, has taken the study of entertainment as its main theme by establishing the Norman Lear

Center.[5] Also, the College of Communication at Ohio University; the Department of Communication and Journalism at the University of New Mexico; Johns Hopkins University's Bloomberg School of Public Health; the College of Communication and the Arts, Regent University; the Department of Film and Media Studies at the University of Copenhagen; the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal, Durban, South Africa; and various other institutions around the world are increasingly engaged in teaching and research on entertainment-education. Today a map of the world would show E-E almost everywhere.

THE RISE OF MULTIPLE FORMS OF E-E

The E-E strategy began in developing countries, mainly in the form of radio and television soap operas dealing with health-related topics, where donor support was often provided, and where societies were not media saturated. Today there exist multiple types of E-E, and the E-E strategy has been applied very widely.

Some E-E interventions are national campaigns, while others are designed for a very specific, local audience. Yet others go beyond a national scope to include a much broader "cultural" space. For example, the Soul City E-E intervention reaches 80% of its target audience in South Africa (Soul City, 2001). In contrast, E-E street theater interventions in India and in Bolivia reached only a few hundred people per performance (Valente & Bharath, 1999; Valente, Poppe, Alva, de Briceno, & Cases, 1995), although over a period of several years one South Indian street theater group, Nalamdana, reached over one million people (Singhal & Rogers, 2003). Other E-E campaigns, such as the UNICEF-sponsored *Meena* Project, were targeted to a "cultural" space comprising several South Asian countries (see the Neil McKee and others' chapter in this volume). Similarly, *Heart and Soul*, an E-E radio and television soap opera produced in Kenya in 2002 through a collaborative arrangement among 25 UN agencies, reached an audience of over 50 million people in 23 African countries.

E-E programs vary widely in terms of the extent to which they use (1) formative research, and (2) human communication theories in their message design. For instance, E-E interventions like *Soul City* in South Africa spend 18 months to develop one annual campaign cycle[6] by conducting extensive formative research (see the chapter by Shereen Usdin and others

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[5]In fact, the entire University of Southern California adopted entertainment as its core specialty. Thus, the USC Law School offers a specialization in entertainment law, the USC Engineering School focuses on the technology of entertainment production, and so forth.

[6]One *Soul City* campaign cycle includes a 13-episode prime-time television series, a 60-episode radio series in nine different languages, and one million copies each of three glossy

in this volume). Detailed message design and planning processes are carried out, including thorough pretesting of messages and materials. Also, E-E soap operas, especially those patterned after Miguel Sabido's methodology (for example, *Hum Log* in 1984–1985 in India), purposely incorporated principles of Bandura's social learning theory in the design of positive, negative, and transitional role models (Nariman, 1993; Singhal & Rogers, 1999). On the other hand, some E-E interventions incorporate little formative research or theoretical inputs, and rely heavily on the intuition and creativity of the production staff.

E-E interventions also vary widely in terms of their intensity and their ability to deliver dose effects (in which greater audience exposure to the intervention leads to stronger effects). E-E messages may be incorporated as a few lines of dialogue in an existing media program (as in the case of the designated driver concept, promoted in the Harvard Alcohol Project, which was incorporated in the episodes of 75 television programs in the late 1980s). The E-E strategy may be used in one episode of a popular prime-time series, such as the discussion of Walter's vasectomy in the CBS sitcom *Maude*, or in a long-running E-E series such as the BBC's *The Archers*, which broadcast over 8,000 episodes since its launch in 1951. The effects of these E-E interventions vary considerably depending on whether audiences experience a one-time, live street theater performance versus an ongoing, long-running television E-E soap opera.

E-E interventions operate in very different contexts. The situated context of an E-E intervention undoubtedly impacts <u>what</u> effects they have and <u>how</u> and <u>why</u>. For instance, E-E faces special challenges and resistances in media-saturated societies such as the United States (Sherry, 2002).

Currently, a wider range of E-E forms are being implemented and evaluated both overseas and in the United States (see Bradley Greenberg and others'; Suruchi Sood and others'; Antonio Pastina and others'; Yasar Yaser's; and Doug Storey & Tom Jacobson's chapters in this volume). The CDC Sentinel Health Awards for Daytime Drama, bestowed at the annual Soap Summits hosted by Population Communications International in Los Angeles and New York, reward the effective application of the E-E strategy in Hollywood soap operas. For example, in 2002 the Sentinel Award went to *The Bold & the Beautiful* episodes about Tony, a young American who is diagnosed with HIV/AIDS (see the Vicki Beck and others' chapter in the present volume). Celebrities can play an important role in E-E by providing positive role models for healthy behavior (see the William Brown and Benson Fraser chapter in this volume). Oral rehydration therapy (ORT) television spots in Egypt effectively illustrate the E-E strategy and the use of celebrity performers (see the Rasha Abdullah chapter in this volume).

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comic booklets (total 3 million), each distributed through 10 partner newspapers, NGOs, and government departments.

Incorporating Reality Television in E-E[7]

Reality television series such as *Survivor*, *Temptation Island*, and *Big Brother* obtain very high audience ratings worldwide, but valorize lewdness, sexual irresponsibility, greed, and other antisocial messages. Can entertainment-education practitioners leverage the popularity of the reality television format for disseminating educational messages?

Complementing the *Jasoos Vijay* entertainment-education detective series in India (discussed at the top of the present chapter) and designed to promote HIV/AIDS prevention, care, and support, is a youth reality television show, *Haath Se Haath Milaa* (Hand in Hand Together), set aboard two buses (one for boys, one for girls) that journey over five targeted low HIV-prevalence Indian states—Rajasthan, Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttaranchal. Each bus, at any given time, carries two *humsafars* (cotravelers), with each pair of *humsafars* spending no more than two weeks on the bus (Photo 1.2). The buses, equipped with bunk beds, cooking facilities, television cameras, and a presenter, visit cities, villages, university campuses, ancient forts, farms, and temples, signifying the youth journey of a lifetime. During this journey, the *humsafars* learn the skills to live life to the fullest, to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS, and to have more compassion for those living with AIDS. Each week,

PHOTO 1.2. The two *Haath Se Haath Milaa* buses, each equipped with bunk beds, cooking facilities, television cameras, and a presenter. (*Source*: BBC World Service Trust. Used with permission.)

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[7]This case draws upon Singhal and Rogers (2003, p. 329).

PHOTO 1.3.   Daman (left) and Sugandha (right), the two presenters that accompany the male and female *Haath Se Haath Milaa* buses, respectively. (*Source*: BBC World Service Trust. Used with permission.)

the presenters provide the *humsafars* with a creative, entertaining challenge: for instance, who is least embarrassed to buy a condom; a role-playing game wherein each repulses the advances of the opposite sex; and so forth.

The boys' and the girls' buses take different routes but come together at various locations for interaction between the two groups. While on separate-sex buses, boys were asked questions about girls, and girls about boys. Each week, the reality-based sequences were filmed, edited, and broadcast in forty 30-minute episodes during the 10-month period in 2002 to 2003 overlapping with *Jasoos Vijay's* broadcasts. The bus-based reality television presentation is complemented with a *Haath Se Haath Milaa* media fair, including performances by local musicians, village poets, and Bombay film-based celebrities. Celebrity endorsements for HIV/AIDS prevention are also included in each week's episode, and competitions are held for audience members on the issues of AIDS, health, and lifeskills (Photo 1.3). Finally, after 40 weeks, the buses, carrying all 80 *humsafars* (40 boys and 40 girls) arrived in Delhi to meet with the Prime Minister of India.

Haath Se Haath Milaa is an exemplar of how popular entertainment formats can be suitably adapted for educational purposes. This program had 8 million viewers in the five North Indian states in which it was broadcast. An estimated 1.1 million (12%) reported a positive change in sexual behavior four months after the broadcasts began. The cost per behavior change was 13 cents (U.S.) (personal correspondence, Lori McDougall, December 9, 2002).

INCREASING THEORETICAL VIGOR AND SOPHISTICATION

Barring some exceptions, the dominant theoretical basis for most E-E research in the past was Bandura's social learning theory (also called social cognitive theory). Today, connections are formed by entertainment-education with additional theories, involving a wider range of communication scholars.

How did social learning theory initially dominate E-E theorizing and practice? The modern history of E-E is revealing in this respect. When the first recognizable entertainment-education (E-E) interventions were launched on radio with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's *The Lawsons* (in 1944),[8] the BBC radio series *The Archers* (in 1951), and then the Peruvian *telenovela* (television soap opera) *Simplemente Mariá* (in 1969), communication scholars were not involved in the design or in the evaluation of effects (Singhal, Obregón, & Rogers, 1994). The communication discipline was not yet involved. Theorizing about E-E was yet to begin.

After the broadcast of *Simplemente Mariá* in Mexico in 1970, Miguel Sabido, a creative writer–producer–director at Televisa, the private Mexican television network, carefully deconstructed this Peruvian *telenovela* in order to understand its theoretical basis, so that he could then produce a series of seven E-E television programs for Televisa (the Mexican television network), which were each evaluated as to their impacts (Nariman, 1993; Singhal & Rogers, 1999). In designing his E-E *telenovelas*, Sabido drew especially on Albert Bandura's (1977; 1997) social learning theory (which later evolved into social cognitive theory). This theoretical approach has since tended to dominate most theoretical writing and research about entertainment-education, and Sabido's methodology for the design of E-E programs, especially soap operas, influenced most later work on entertainment-education by communication professionals around the world. A natural fit exists between Bandura's theory and entertainment-education interventions, which often seek to influence audience behavior change by providing positive and negative role models to the audience.

Theoretical understanding of entertainment-education interventions has been considerably broadened by inviting consideration of social cognitive

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[8]*The Lawsons* was an entertainment-education radio serial broadcast by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) in its *Country Hour* program, beginning in 1944. Pre-dating the well-known BBC radio series, *The Archers*, by seven years, *The Lawsons* was designed to promote the diffusion of agricultural innovations among Australian farm families. In 1949, *The Lawsons* evolved into *Blue Hills*, another E-E serial that was also broadcast daily in ABC's *Country Hour* for 6,000 episodes over 27 years. Both *The Lawsons* and *Blue Hills* were written by Gwen Meredith, based on extensive research on agricultural and other development topics (personal correspondence, Esta de Fossard, May 15, 2002), and played a role in inspiring the highly acclaimed BBC radio series *The Archers* which began broadcasting in 1951.

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theory (see the Sood et al. chapter in this volume) as well as other communication theories that have, or may, contribute to improved understanding or to the design of future E-E programs: social learning/social cognitive theory (see Albert Bandura's chapter in this volume); the elaboration likelihood model (Slater & Rouner, 2002); audience involvement (Sood, 2002); dramatic theories (Kincaid, 2002); social constructivism (Sypher et al., 2002); uses and gratifications, agenda-setting, knowledge-gap, cultivation analysis, and diffusion of innovations (Sherry, 2002); and Habermas' theory of communicative action (see the Storey and Jacobson chapter in this volume).

Past investigations of E-E largely provided cognitive and rational explanations of effects, utilizing the hierarchy-of-effects, stages-of-change, and other models. E-E investigations today are focusing more on the rhetorical, play, and affective aspects of E-E, which emphasize the entertainment, rather than the education, aspects of E-E (Stephenson, 1988; Singhal & Rogers, 2002).

E-E almost necessarily involves the use of narratives, suggesting the possibility of utilizing Walter Fisher's (1987) "narrative" theory to investigate the rhetorical nature of E-E discourses. Most E-E programs deal with the affective and emotional aspects of human communication (Papa et al., 2000; Rogers et al., 1999). Theoretical investigations of E-E are currently taking the role of emotions more seriously (Singhal & Rogers, 2002). Emotions are an important form of human experience, which can trigger, for instance, changes in preventive health behaviors. This potential is often underestimated, understated, and overlooked (Zillman & Vorderer, 2000). For instance, witnessing the death from AIDS of a favorite soap opera character, and seeing the grief of his parents, infected widow, and child, may serve as a more powerful trigger for adopting a prevention behavior than rationally-structured media messages promoting condom use and other safer sex behaviors (Airhihenbuwa, 1999; Singhal, 2001).

UNDERSTANDING RESISTANCES TO E-E

E-E scholars and practitioners are now more mindful about potential resistances to entertainment-education by message producers in the message environment, and in message reception by audiences.

On the message production side, strong resistance exists to initiating E-E interventions. Most commercial broadcasters fear charting what they perceive to be unknown territories. Time-tested media formulae generate audience ratings and profits. Commercial broadcasters fear that advertisers and audiences will be turned off if a radio or television program is perceived as playing an educational role. They are apprehensive about possible controversy, and thus losing their audience. Such resistances operate particularly in more media-saturated commercial broadcasting environments, such as the United States,

where the total audience is relatively fragmented (see the Greenberg et al. chapter in this volume).

E-E scholars and practitioners are mindful of resistances on the message production side, and increasingly pay attention to how E-E projects are formulated, funded, researched, produced, distributed, and broadcast (Bouman, 2002). Martine Bouman's chapter in this volume pays attention to possible means of bridging the divide between "peacocks" (television professionals) versus "turtles" (health communication experts).

Most E-E scholars acknowledge that entertainment-education is only one of many competing, and conflicting, discourses that exist in a given message environment. In highly-saturated media societies like the United States, and to a lesser degree in many developing countries, entertainment-education messages face competition from, and are resisted by, other media programs (Sherry, 2002). These are often of the "entertainment-degradation" or "entertainment-perversion" type. Examples in the United States include television programs such as the *Jerry Springer Show*, and reality television shows like *Survivor*.

Resistance also operates at the message-reception end of the process as audience members selectively expose themselves to E-E messages, selectively perceive them, selectively recall them, and selectively use them for their own purposes. One example of such audience-centered resistance is the *Archie Bunker effect*, defined as the degree to which certain audience individuals identify with negative role models in E-E interventions (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). In investigating Norman Lear's popular situation comedy *All in the Family*, Vidmar and Rokeach (1974) noted that Archie Bunker, a bigoted character, reinforced, rather than reduced, racial and ethnic prejudice for certain already prejudiced viewers. Highly-prejudiced persons, as compared to lowly-prejudiced individuals, were more likely to watch the television program, and to perceive Archie as a "lovable, down-to-earth, honest, and predictable" person. They were more likely to condone his use of racial slurs than were low-prejudiced viewers (Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974). An Archie Bunker-type effect has been observed in many entertainment-education programs, although it usually is characteristic of only a very small percent of the audience. For instance, some women viewers of the Indian television soap opera, *Hum Log*, identified Bhagwanti, a negative role model for gender equality, as the character most worthy of emulation.

FROM INDIVIDUAL TO MULTILEVEL EXPLANATIONS OF BEHAVIOR CHANGE

Theoretical investigations of entertainment-education go beyond the exclusive use of individual-level theories and models of preventive health behaviors

such as stages-of-change, the hierarchy-of-effects model, and social cognitive theory to more multilevel, cultural, and contextual theoretical explanations (McKinlay & Marceau, 1999). Metaphorically speaking, entertainment-education scholars are increasingly moving beyond investigating the bobbing of individual corks on surface waters, so as to focus on understanding the strong undercurrents that determine where cork clusters are deposited along a shoreline (McMichael, 1995).

Some recent E-E investigations have gone beyond studying individual-level behavioral changes to investigate E-E-instigated changes at the system or community level (for example, Papa et al., 2000). In an ongoing community-level investigation in the Indian State of Bihar, a popular E-E radio soap opera *Taru*, accompanied by such ground-based activities as folk performances, group listening, and the availability of local health services, brings about changes in group, community, and organizational norms (see the Arvind Singhal and others' chapter in this volume). This year-long E-E radio soap opera is leading to enhanced levels of *collective efficacy*, defined as the degree to which people in a system believe they can organize and execute courses of action required to achieve collective goals (Bandura, 1997). Deeply-ingrained cultural norms can be altered only by concerted action of the collectivity. Seldom can a system's norms be altered only by individual efforts.

E-E interventions can model either (or both) individual *self-efficacy* (defined as an individual's perception of his or her capability to deal effectively with a situation, and one's sense of perceived control over a situation) or collective efficacy. In the popular E-E television series *Soul City* in South Africa, a new collective behavior was modeled to portray how neighbors might intervene in a domestic violence situation (see the Shereen Usdin and others' chapter in this volume).

In essence, theoretical investigations of E-E now focus not only on *what* effects E-E programs have, but also try to better understand *how* and *why* entertainment-education has such effects. There is an increased focus on how audience members negotiate the message content, especially as the message reception environment hinders or enables the impact of the E-E message (see the Thomas Tufte chapter in this volume). There is growing evidence that interpersonal communication of E-E message content, once it is received by audience individuals from a mass media channel, can greatly magnify E-E effects on behavior change (Rogers et al., 1999).

METHODOLOGICAL PLURALISM

Most past research on entertainment-education effects relied mainly on audience surveys, sometimes coupled with content analyses of E-E messages,

and with analyses of audience letters. Singhal and Rogers (1999) and Sypher and others (2002) pointed to the advantages of employing methodological pluralism in complementing survey techniques with more qualitative methods, including the use of focus group interviews, participant observation, in-depth interviews, letters from audience members, and semiotic analyses.

Audience letters and e-mails represent a rather "pure" form of audience feedback, and E-E scholars should consider tapping the research potential of these messages more fully. Such letters are usually unsolicited, unprompted (and hence free of possible researchers' biases), and in the writer's own language, and thus provide rich insights about how an E-E intervention affects the audience (Law & Singhal, 1999; Sood & Rogers, 2000). Such data also cost very little to gather. Over 400,000 letters from viewers were received by Doordarshan, the government television network in India, in response to an E-E soap opera, *Hum Log*, providing rich insights about the program's popularity and its effects on highly involved audiences (Singhal & Rogers, 1999).

In the Amazon rainforest of Peru, the entertainment-education program *Bienvenida Salud!* attracted hundreds of letters each month (Sypher et al., 2002; Elias, 2002). Many letters are written on tree bark (one letter was about a meter long) with vegetable, stone, and natural colors used as ink. Minga Peru, the nongovernmental organization that produces the radio program, made arrangements with boat companies to ferry listeners' letters from the interior of the Amazon jungle to Iquitos, the headquarters of Minga Peru. Letter-writers do not pay for this postal service; Minga Peru pays a small fee for each letter that is delivered. When one of the present authors (Singhal) asked Eliana Elias, Executive Director of Minga Peru, about this emphasis on audience letters, she replied: "Asking for letters is not only a strategy to measure audience effects, it is also a way to prepare the scripts of the programs and a way to change the passive consumers of the program into active producers" (personal conversation, October 16, 2002). Indeed, the educational theme of each episode of *Bienvenida Salud!*, produced in-house in the organization's well-equipped studio in Iquitos, is carefully distilled from previous audience letters.

Telephone hotlines also represent a useful means for obtaining feedback from audiences in E-E interventions. A popular song, "I Still Believe," performed by Lea Salonga in the Philippines, was used to encourage telephone calls from adolescents to "Dial-a-Friend," where they could receive personal information and advice about contraception and other sexually-related topics. Trained professional counselors maintained four hotlines, which averaged over 1,000 calls per week (Rimon, 1989). Telephone helplines for abused women also supplemented the *Soul City* prime-time television series on domestic violence in South Africa. Some 180,000 calls were answered in five months (when the *Soul City* series on domestic violence was broadcast in late

1999). Monitoring of the call data suggested that in places like Johannesburg, only 5 percent of the calls could be answered during peak times; the remaining 95% encountered a busy signal (Soul City, 2000).

E-E researchers increasingly realize the importance of measuring the degree to which E-E interventions spur interpersonal communication between audience and non-audience members (a measure of the indirect effects of an E-E intervention in a version of the two-step flow process). To more adequately gauge these indirect effects of E-E interventions, we recommend that during the production of E-E messages, markers should be incorporated in the E-E intervention. Markers are distinctive elements of a message that are uniquely identifiable (Singhal & Rogers, 2002). The simplest way of introducing a marker in an E-E intervention is to rename an existing product. For instance, in the popular St. Lucian family planning radio soap opera *Apwe Plezi* (After the Pleasure), a new condom brand called "Catapult" was introduced. This new name was identified by 28% of the radio program's listeners, validating their claim of direct exposure to the radio program, and by 13% of the nonlisteners, suggesting that the message diffused via interpersonal channels (thus providing a test of diffusion of innovations theory) (Vaughan, Regis, & St. Catherine, 2000).

Alternatively, a marker or tracer might consist of creatively naming characters in an E-E program, like the skirt-chasing character Scattershot in *Nasebery Street*, a radio soap opera about sexually responsible fatherhood in Jamaica (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). Scattershot became a common term in Jamaican discourse, as in "Oh, you Scattershot you," providing an opportunity for researchers to trace the direct and indirect effects among audience individuals of listening to the radio program.

The most powerful markers model new culturally-appropriate realities to break oppressive power structures in society, exemplified by the collective pot banging by neighbors in the South African entertainment-education series, *Soul City*, so as to stop wife/partner abuse. Markers, which model new realities, not only enhance the message content of an E-E intervention, but also provide additional validation for whether or not audience members were directly or indirectly exposed to the E-E intervention.

CONCLUSIONS

E-E today is a worldwide phenomenon, with almost every nation having, or having had, an E-E project. Diverse opinions now characterize the E-E field, including the voices of enthusiasts, dissenters, and skeptics. More organizations are engaged in E-E practice, and teaching and scholarship on E-E now occurs in university-based schools of communication, public health, and international development. Evaluations of these E-E interventions have become

increasingly sophisticated, employing multiple theoretical perspectives and research methods. In the past decade or so, the E-E strategy emerged as an important issue in the fields of communication, health, and development practice and research.

In the future, E-E will more closely integrate "modern" and "traditional" entertainment outlets, and "big" and "little" media technologies. The Internet opened new possibilities with respect to conveying E-E interventions (see the Everett Rogers chapter in this volume). Such Web-based delivery of an E-E intervention allows for tailoring, defined as the individualization of a communication message to audience members (Singhal & Rogers, 2003).

The field of entertainment-education will go beyond its mass-mediated (television, radio, film, video, and print) formats to include crafts, art, textiles, murals, toys, and other creative expressions. For instance, in South Africa, "positive pottery" (made by HIV-positive people) includes colorful AIDS ribbons etched with traditional African motifs.

In the future, E-E interventions are likely to see more integration with participatory communication approaches (see the Arvind Singhal chapter in this volume). The work of Brazilian theater director Augusto Boal, who founded the Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) movement, is particularly relevant here. TO's techniques, based on Paulo Freire's principles of dialogue, interaction, problem-posing, reflection, and conscientization, are designed to activate spectators ("spect-actors") to take control of situations, rather than to passively allow actions to happen to them (Boal, 1979).

In the future, we believe entertainment-education will also go beyond the boundaries of its mainstay messages—reproductive health, family planning, and HIV prevention—to include other pressing social issues such as peace, conflict mediation, terrorism, race relations, and reconstruction. The role of E-E will likely be further realized in understanding the struggles for liberation and empowerment, especially the use of songs and other expressions as means of protest, resistance, dialogue, debate, and coping.

In essence, the future of E-E practice and research is one of exciting possibilities, challenges, and debates, as evidenced by the chapters that follow.

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