

Entertainment-Education Media: An Opportunity for Enhancing Japan's Leadership Role in Third World Development

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Political revolutions, economic uncertainties, impending environmental catastrophes, infectious diseases, and unsupported population growth are but a few of the enormous challenges that face developing countries in the 1990s. The rapid political, social, and economic transitions in second and third world nations are producing a critical demand for effective, equitable, and socially acceptable mass communication systems that will benefit society. The use of the media to solve human problems and improve the quality of life depends on the successful implementation of mass communication strategies that promote development. The present article investigates the use of entertainment-education mass media strategies for development and discusses their potential use by Japan as an important development tool in the 1990s. During the four decades after the close of World War II the United States dominated the design and implementation of communication and development assistance programs throughout the world. The development of advanced communication technologies coupled with a strong economy enabled the U.S. to have tremendous worldwide political, social, and economic influence through mass media communication and change strategies (Schramm & Lerner, 1976; Schramm, 1977).

However, during the 1990s Japan has become the world's leader in economic assistance to developing nations (Yasutomo, 1989). In 25 years Japan went from being one of the largest receivers of foreign aid to the world's largest

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donor of foreign aid (Orr, 1989). Japan's new role has been encouraged by the U.S., who is reducing foreign aid in the 1990s due to enormous deficits (Orr, 1988). Japan has already cultivated very strong development assistance programs in the Asian-Pacific region, providing one-half of the Philippines total development aid (Rowley, 1990), 810 million yen (US\$5.4 billion) in aid to China in a five-year package ("The Houston Two-Step," 1990), 500 million yen to rebuild Cambodia's agricultural industry ("Cambodia to get," 1992), and over 25 percent of Indonesia's foreign investment since 1967 (Schwarz, 1990).

Japan's leadership role as an economic power and producer of advanced communication technologies will enable it to emerge as a new team player in the design of communication and development programs to the Third World. The vision of 21st century Japan is not limited to that of an economic power. Takeshita's "international cooperative initiative" launched in 1988 emphasizes Japan's role in cultural exchanges and development assistance and goes beyond simply giving money to needy countries (Yasutomo, 1989). For example, the Japan International Cooperation Agency is conducting AIDS prevention research in Thailand ("AIDS Cases," 1992), and in 1994 Japan will host the 10th International AIDS Convention in Yokohama ("Govt Council Recommends," 1992).

Japan also has become an important producer of media messages and information technology. Already Japan is the second largest television program-producing nation in the world, and will continue to emerge as a leading exporter of information and popular culture (Ito, 1990). As Japan takes on new responsibilities in creating communication and development programs to solve world problems such as AIDS, illiteracy, and unplanned population growth, Japanese scholars and policy planners can learn from some of the successes and failures of programs implemented by nations like the U.S. The present article explicates one successful strategy that combines educational and entertainment uses of the media to produce effective communication change agents that promote development. The promises and problems associated with this strategy and their potential use by media planners in Japan is also discussed.

Entertainment-Education for Development

The idea of combining entertainment and education to produce social change has existed since the advent of the mass media's use in providing public information. However, it was not until the 1970s that nations began to design entertainment media to promote socially desirable beliefs and practices, often referred to as prosocial messages (Brown, 1992b). To illustrate the concept of combining entertainment with education, consider the following examples of entertainment media programs which promote prosocial, educational messages:

In several nations of Southeast Asia, people gather around television sets to see how "Ikkyusan," a wise clever young Buddhist monk, will solve a difficult but common family problem. Through his innovative ideas and wit, "Ikkyusan" saves his family from ruin.

In a highly popular television soap opera, "*Hum Log*" ("We People"), the daughter of an Indian family rejects the husband that her parents have chosen for her to marry, and insists on leaving home to pursue a career. An audience survey shows that many of the young Indian women who identify with their television counterpart are convinced that a working career represents an alternative to marriage at an early age (Singhal, 1990; Rogers & Singhal, in press).

In Mexico, two young rock singers, Tatiana and Johnny, perform a song called "*Cuando Estemos Juntos*" ("When We Are Together"), whose words encourage teenagers to abstain from sexual relationships. Played an average of 14 times per day over a three month period by the average Mexican radio station, the song raises consciousness among Mexican young people about the issue, leading to more responsible sexual behaviors among teenagers (Kincaid, Jara, Coleman, & Segura, 1988).

In a 1989 episode of "My Two Dads," a popular U.S. television series, the two dads get drunk and then drive home together in their inebriated condition. Their irresponsible drinking and driving angers their daughter, who tells them they should have decided who would be the "designated driver" before they began drinking. Similar prosocial messages encouraging the designated driver concept were included in 76 other U.S. television programs as part of a two-month campaign between Thanksgiving and New Years (the heavy drinking season in the U.S.) of 1989, causing an increase in viewer awareness of the designated driver concept (Dejong & Winston, 1990; Rogers & Singhal, in press).

What all four of these examples of popular entertainment media programs have in common is that they convey important educational messages. In the case of the popular animated television series "Ikkyusan," the educational messages are incidental rather than planned (Ito, October 22, 1992, personal communication). In the three other examples, the educational messages were predetermined as part of an organized communication campaign designed to educate viewers about certain social issues. This type of media program, variously called *prodevelopment*, *prosocial*, *enter-education*, *edu-tainment*, and *info-tainment*, infuses persuasive educational messages within the content of an entertainment medium such as a television soap opera, music video, or comic book, for the

purpose of promoting specific prosocial values, beliefs, and practices. We more generally call this approach of using entertainment for educational purposes as the *entertainment-education* strategy in mass communication.

The purpose of the present article is to investigate the entertainment-education strategy in mass communication, and show how this strategy can be used by Japan as a development tool. We discuss the advantages of utilizing an entertainment medium for disseminating education, and review recent worldwide experiences of the entertainment-education strategy in radio, television, music, print, film, and folk media. The promises, problems, and prospects of entertainment-education media strategies are presented.

Why Entertainment?

The entertainment media are endowed with at least seven qualities which make them especially appropriate for disseminating prosocial messages that provide education and advance development goals (Piotrow, 1990; Singhal, in press). An analysis of entertainment media indicates entertainment programs are (1) *popular*, (2) *pervasive*, (3) *personal*, (4) *persuasive*, (5) *passionate*, (6) *profitable*, and (7) *practical*. Each one of these qualities will be briefly explained.

Entertainment programs are *popular* because people in general like to be entertained. Given a choice between a lecture and a movie on a development topic, the audience will invariably opt for the movie. The entertainment media are *pervasive* because radio, television, film, video, comic books, etc. have a wide reach. Even in rural, remote areas of the world, entertainment programs on radio and television are influencing the lives of many different social groups. The ubiquitous entertainment media are one of the most effective means of disseminating development messages to large audiences around the world.

Entertainment programs can present development topics in a more *personal* manner than is often possible in real-life. For instance, while a personal friend might conceal information about various family planning options, a character in a television soap opera can more openly share such personal information. Issues that may be difficult to discuss interpersonally such as the mistreatment of children, contraception, AIDS, illiteracy, and spouse abuse can be directly addressed through media characters on entertainment programs. Entertainment media characters and messages *persuade* audiences in various ways, influencing how they dress, speak, think, behave, etc. For instance, many young Iranian women who identified with the television character "Oshin" as a positive role model for women, openly discussed what they had learned from "Oshin" and how she had impacted their lives on radio programs and in classrooms in Iran (Mowlana & Rad, 1992; Tehranian, 1992).

Entertainment programs are *passionate* in the sense that they can stir strong

audience emotions about a development topic. For example, the specter of AIDS in a television soap opera is not that of "300,000 dead and 3 million affected," but of Charlie who is dying of AIDS, who loves Mollie, and whose suffering is also the suffering of his family (Lozano & Singhal, 1992). Unlike educational programs which earn relatively low audience ratings, entertainment programs earn high audience ratings, are more attractive to commercial sponsors, and are usually *profitable*. "*Cuando Estemos Juntos*", a song on sexual responsibility sung by Tatiana and Johnny, was so popular that an estimated 1 million hours of free radio and broadcasting time was provided by broadcasting stations in Latin America to play and discuss the song (Coleman, 1988).

Entertainment programs represent a *practical* way of carrying educational-development messages to audiences as they are popular, pervasive, personal, persuasive, passionate, and profitable. Many Third World nations are now capitalizing on the practical feasibility of creating and implementing entertainment-education programs through a variety of media (Brown, 1992b; Singhal, Rogers, & Brown, 1992), which will now be discussed.

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Radio

With two billion radio receivers in the world, roughly one for every three people, radio reaches out to larger audiences worldwide than television films, print media, or other mass media. In Third World countries where resources are generally scarce, radio represents an especially viable medium to carry entertainment-education messages. Radio receivers are relatively inexpensive, portable, and carry educational-development information which can be tailored to meet specific local needs. Radio programming can be produced cheaply, quickly, and can be easily duplicated, stored, retrieved, and distributed on audiotapes (*Population Reports, 1986*).

The entertainment-education communication strategy in radio began about four decades ago in England, when in 1951 the BBC began broadcasting "The Archers," a radio soap opera promoting agricultural innovations among British farmers. Through an entertaining storyline, "The Archers" provided a wealth of educational information to the farming community such as new crop-planting techniques, new methods to boost crop yields, pest control strategies, and animal disease prevention (Food and Agricultural Organization, 1987). At the peak of its popularity in 1955, "The Archers" was regularly heard by two out of every three adults in Britain. Although the diffusion of television in Britain during the 1950s and 1960s reduced "The Archer's" audience, the radio soap opera continues to be broadcast in 1991, making it the longest running radio soap opera anywhere in the world (Singhal, 1990). Research evidence suggests that "The Archers" played an important role in the rural transformation of Britain, help-

ing a relatively small-scale, inefficient British agricultural economy to become one of the most efficient today (Food & Agricultural Organization, 1987; Singhal, 1990).

In various countries, radio entertainment formats such as soap operas, comedies, music programs, and talk shows have been utilized to convey educational-development messages. In Jamaica, since 1959 radio scriptwriter Elaine Perkins has created several highly popular radio soap operas addressing a variety of educational-development issues. For example, "Raymond, the Sprayman" promoted the government's mosquito eradication campaign in 1959; "Hopeful Village" promoted integrated rural development from 1963 to 1976; "Stella" addressed social issues important to the middle-class in 1967 and 1968; "Dulcimina" addressed problems faced by rural-to-urban migrants from 1967 to 1980; "Life at the Mimosa Hotel" promoted tourism in Jamaica during 1984; and "Naseberry Street" promoted family planning and encouraged sexual responsibility from 1985 to 1989 (Hazzard & Cambridge, 1988; Singhal, 1990). Research indicates that Perkins' radio soap operas have been highly popular with radio audiences, and also have met a wide variety of educational goals (Hazzard & Cambridge, 1988; Stone, 1986).

Similar examples of entertainment-education radio soap operas have been broadcast in other countries. In Indonesia, a highly popular radio soap opera called "*Butir Pasir Di Laut*" ("Grains of Sand in the Sea"), has promoted family planning since 1977 (*Population Reports*, 1986; Sumarsono, 1989). In Kenya, "*Ushikwapo Shikimana*" ("When Given Advice, Take It"), a radio soap opera inspired by Miguel Sabido's pro development television soap operas in Mexico, promoted family planning from 1987 to 1989 (Kazunga, personal communication, 1989; Rogers, Aikat, Soonbum, Poppe, & Sopory, 1989; Singhal, 1990). In Zimbabwe, a highly popular radio soap opera called "*Akarumwa Neckekuchera*" ("Man is His Own Worst Enemy") also promoted family planning in 1989. In 1990, the soap opera "*Tres Hambres Sin Fronteras*" ("Three Men Without Borders") was broadcast on Spanish-speaking radio stations in the U.S. to educate migrant Latino workers about the perils of AIDS (Puig, 1990). For the past two decades, Costa Rica has broadcast a highly entertaining radio talk show called "*Dialogo*" ("Dialogue") to provide sex education (*Population Reports*, 1986; Risopatron & Spain, 1980).

In sum, the entertainment-education communication strategy in radio has been implemented previously in a number of countries, using a variety of radio formats, with generally positive outcomes.

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Television

Entertainment-education television programs are having a tremendous im-

pact on large audiences throughout the world, especially in developing nations. Television audiences have expanded rapidly in nations like the People's Republic of China, which has over 700 million television viewers, India, which has over 300 million television viewers, and Mexico, which has over 70 million television viewers. Millions of new television viewers are adding to the world television audience each year from several Asian, Latin American, and African nations such as Malaysia, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Brazil, Columbia, Peru, Nigeria, Egypt, and Kenya.

One common characteristic of television in these developing nations is the growing popularity of entertainment programs such as television soap operas (Brown, 1992a). Soap operas are the most watched type of television programs in Latin America (Rogers & Antola, 1985) and are rapidly becoming the most popular genre of television in Asia (Brown, 1990). More people now watch soap operas in India than the entire population of the United States. An average of 300 million television viewers watched the epic television serial, "Mahabharata," which through an entertaining story line educated viewers on such issues as morality and ethics. Popular television soap operas in Brazil have attracted as many as 60 million viewers (Singhal & Rogers, 1988).

Television soap operas have been used to promote a wide range of educational-development goals. Mexico produced six series of *telenovelas* (soap operas in Latin America) from 1975 to 1981 to educate the public about important values, beliefs, and practices intended to advance development in Mexico. These Latin American programs promoted adult education and literacy, family planning, sex education, nationalism, women's status, and better treatment of children (Brown, Singhal, & Rogers, 1988).

Nigeria broadcast a 30-minute weekly dramatic television serial called "Cock Crow at Dawn" in 1980 and 1981 to promote the adoption of modern agricultural practices among middle and upper class farmers. A study of the impact of the program indicated that its entertainment and educational content influenced regular viewers to increase their use of better farming practices.

In 1984 and 1985 "*Hum Log*" was broadcast throughout India, the nation's first long-running television soap opera. The educational messages in "*Hum Log*" promoted fair and equitable treatment of women, family harmony, appreciation of cultural diversity, family planning, and national unity (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). Extensive research indicated "*Hum Log*" had significant prosocial effects on the beliefs and behaviors of Indian television viewers (Brown, 1990, Brown & Cody, 1991, Singhal, 1990).

In 1987 Kenya began broadcasts of "*Tushauriani*" ("Let's Discuss"), the country's first indigenously-produced television soap opera. The development objective of the program was to promote family planning. "*Tushauriani*" quickly became the most popular television program in the history of Kenyan television. Audience ratings of the program remained high until the series ended in

late 1988 (Brown & Singhal, 1990). Research of the program's effects on family planning practices in Kenya have not been published to date. Turkey produced a similar prodevelopment soap opera called "Sparrows Don't Migrate" during the same time period. The Turkish program portrayed the plight of families migrating from rural to urban areas, and carried family planning messages to some 20 million television viewers, about 60 percent of all television viewers in Turkey (Singhal & Rogers, 1989b).

Other important Third World soap operas with educational-development messages include Mexico's "Polite Society," which promoted sexual responsibility, Brazil's "High Stakes," which encouraged viewers to overcome drinking problems and help alcoholics, Pakistan's "*Hawwa Ki Beti*" ("Daughter of Eve"), which promoted self-reliance, dignity, and adult literacy among the underprivileged in Pakistan (Zuberi, 1991), and China's "*Ke Wang*" ("Aspirations"), which promoted family harmony, women's status, volunteerism, and respect for elders (Wang & Singhal, 1992).

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Music

The worldwide popularity of music endows it with a special ability to carry educational-development messages to audiences. Unfortunately, barring a few exceptions, the entertainment potential of music has rarely been tapped for education. Only in recent years, certain attempts have been made to utilize music as part of an integrated communication campaign to educate viewers about prosocial issues. For instance, from 1982 to 1986, the Jamaican National Family Planning Board ran an integrated family planning communication campaign which included a hit song, "Before you be a mother, you got to be a women," promoting sexual responsibility. Sung by Gem Myers and the Fab Five, a reggae group in Jamaica, this song was highly popular among teenage Jamaican audiences, and led to more favorable attitudes toward sexual responsibility. As is the case in Jamaica, early pregnancy is a major social problem in many countries, especially in Latin America. The main targets for contraceptive messages, preteens and teenagers, however, are difficult to reach through conventional communication channels.

In 1986, a unique entertainment-education project utilizing rock music was launched in Spanish-speaking Latin American countries: Two rock music videos which promoted sexual abstinence and contraception, entitled "*Cuando Estemas Juntos*" ("When We Are Together") and "*Detente*" ("Wait"). The first song was number one on the pop music charts within six weeks of its release in Mexico, and became a top-rated song in 11 other Latin American countries.

Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS), a worldwide leader in implementing entertainment-education

projects, provided the impetus for "*Cuando Estemos Juntos*." Formative evaluation showed that the common denominator for young people throughout Latin America was rock music. The lyrics of the songs and the two singers were carefully selected. The two teenage singers, Tatiana, a 16-year old singer from Mexico, and Johnny, a 17-year old Puerto Rican singer, urged their teenage audience not to have sex, a much more effective strategy than having the message emanate from parents. Radio and television stations could play the song without paying a broadcast fee if they accompanied the music with an announcement of the address and telephone number of a local family planning clinic that offered contraceptive services to teenagers. This localization helped channel the teenage audiences' knowledge and attitudes into action.

In Mexico alone, Tatiana's album featuring "*Cuando Estemos Juntos*" sold over 500,000 copies. A typical Mexican radio station played the song about 14 times per day for about four months, providing massive audience exposure to the sexual responsibility messages. An evaluation of the song's effects in Mexico indicated that it encouraged teenagers to talk more freely about teenage sex, reinforced teenagers who already had decided to use restraint, sensitized younger viewers to the importance of the topic, and disseminated information about contraception (Kincaid et al, 1988).

Building on the prior experience of Tatiana and Johnny in Latin America, JHU/PCS, in 1988, launched a popular music campaign in the Philippines to promote sexual responsibility among Filipino teenagers. Two songs, "That Situation" and "I Still Believe," sung by a 16-year old Filipino artist Lea Salonga and members of the Puerto Rico-based rock group Menudo were produced, each of which became number one on the popular music charts in the Philippines (Coleman and Meyer, 1990). JHU/PCS's entertainment-education efforts in the Philippines had two components: commercial and institutional. The commercial component established each song as a commercial hit with a social message, and the institutional component linked the songs and their messages to a telephone hotline, where young adults received information, counselling, and referrals about their problems. In addition, television spots (centered around sequences of "That Situation" and "I Still Believe") showed teenage crisis situations associated with premarital sex and unwanted pregnancy, encouraging the teenagers to "Dial-a-Friend" for counselling. Trained professional counsellors manned four telephone hotlines which averaged over 1,000 telephone calls a week. A research evaluation showed that the songs positively influenced knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors related to sexual responsibility among Filipino teenagers (Silayan-Go, 1989).

In 1989, JHU/PCS launched two popular music videos titled "Choices" and "Wait For Me" in Nigeria, which promoted family planning. Sung by King Sunny Ade, a famous singer of West African music, and Onyeka Onwenu, a popular singer, these two songs were part of an integrated communication cam-

paign. Research indicated the songs were highly popular both in urban and rural areas, encouraged couples talk more freely about sex and family planning and even persuaded couples to adopt contraceptives (Kincaid, Rimon, Piotrow, & Coleman, 1992).

Another function of music in development is represented in its power to shape public opinion. The power of music in shaping public opinion was recognized as many as 4,000 years ago when Emperors of China's Hsia dynasty commanded court officials to carefully listen to workers' songs to gauge their level of unrest (Wang, 1935). Common topics of such "politically-motivated" music include protest against exploitation, aspiration toward a better life, commemoration of popular struggles, expression of working class solidarity, protests against racial and sexual stereotyping, and expression of environmental concerns (Ashraf, 1975; Dunaway, 1987).

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Film

Despite the rapid growth of television and video services, feature films remain a popular mode of entertainment in many countries. Driven by motives of profits and box-office sales, commercial feature films rarely promote educational-development themes in a conscious manner. Educational themes are usually a by-product of the film's entertainment appeal. Examples are Richard Attenbrough's "Cry Freedom" about Apartheid in South Africa, "Gorillas in the Mist" about preserving the environment, "Mississippi Burning" about the civil rights movement in the South, and "Children of a Lesser God" about physically disabled people.

However, in recent years, several filmmakers have consciously implemented the entertainment-education strategy in films. In the U.S., Randall Frederick, a Los Angeles-based producer, has produced several entertaining films on topics of alcoholism, drug dependency, and substance abuse (Television and Families, 1989). John Riber, a Zimbabwe-based filmmaker, has produced numerous entertainment-education films in India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe, and Uganda, each a big commercial success. Riber's films have addressed such development themes as family planning ("Consequences"), AIDS prevention ("It's Not Easy"), status-of-women ("Neria"), literacy ("Bar Halo, Oar Kho10"), and oral rehydration therapy (ORT) ("Sonamoni") (Singhal, in press).

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Print

The entertainment-education strategy in print can take many forms. Various examples are available of entertaining stories in print which derive moral-

educational lessons for the reader: For instance, the Aesop's Fables, the Panchtantra (a collection of five books with 84 entertainment-education style short stories) in India, and Dr. Seuss' children books in the U.S. Comic books represent another potential vehicle for entertainment-educational messages. In India, the "*Amar Chitra Katha*" ("Eternal Picture Stories") comic book series uses a narrative technique to present historical events, the lives of great people, and mythological figures, all in an entertaining manner. Mexico also has a long tradition of using comic books for cultural and educational functions. Rooted in realism rather than fantasy, comic books in Mexico registered sales of nearly two billion copies in 1992. Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services is working with publishers in many Third World countries to create comic books about AIDS prevention, teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, prostitution, gambling, and other issues (Singhal, 1990).

Preparing fun-to-read, informational booklets represents another unique form of entertainment-education in print. For example, by presenting information in picture-art form, health concepts can be made more "accessible and understandable" to the public. This entertainment-education strategy has spawned a new profession of the information architect, whose task is to present complex and dull educational information in an interesting manner.

Another popular mechanism of implementing the entertainment-education strategy in print is through feature stories, which help focus the attention of the readers toward an educational-development topic. Often such stories are found in the lives of celebrities (Rogers et al., 1989). For example, a 1988 feature story about actress Elizabeth Taylor's dependency on pain-killers created widespread awareness of this problem among readers. In an earlier decade, a story about John Wayne's struggle with cancer helped spread awareness about cancer detection and cure. Similarly, stories about Rock Hudson's struggle with AIDS (Rogers & Dearing, 1988) and Magic Johnson's HIV infection (Basil, Brown, & Hariguchi, 1992) put the issue of that epidemic on the American mass media, public, and policy agenda. Stories about celebrities concerning health-related issues, the environment, and drug and alcohol abuse gain widespread audience attention.

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Folk Media

In rural, remote areas of Third World countries where mass media penetration is often limited, folk media can serve as ideal carriers of educational-development messages. Coseteng (1981) defines folk media as communication forms familiar to and accepted by common people for the purpose of "entertaining, informing, enlightening, instructing, and educating." Within the scope of this definition include the cultural communicative forms of songs, drama, dance, poetry,

mime, art, puppetry, clowns, pantomime, proverbs, and storytelling (Valbuena, 1988).

During the 1970s public policy planners and media scholars from a number of nations began discussing strategies for using the traditional or folk media to advance development goals (Valbuena, 1987, p. 1). Folk traditions such as dance, drama, music, and puppets have been used since the late 1800s in the Philippines, Indonesia, and India to diffuse political and social messages during periods of foreign domination (Bonifacio, 1972; Ranganath, 1980). Religious beliefs and practices have been communicated through folk media for centuries. A good example is the Passion Play which has been performed each year in Oberammergau, Germany, since 1634. The books of the Jewish Cannon or Old Testament of the Bible are also filled with powerful prophecies, admonitions and social guidelines communicated through folk media like dance, drama, music and poetry.

Folk arts and media have been used successfully in rural areas of the Third World to advertise new products and disseminate development messages. Innovative folk traditions such as magic shows effectively promoted the awareness and adoption of agricultural products and political messages in India (Rajan, 1991). Development messages created by a group of communication scholars at the Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre were effectively diffused through folk drama and music presentations in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand in 1986. Research indicated the traditional folk media successfully promoted environmental awareness in all three nations, resulting in improved health and conservation practices (Valbuena, 1987, pp. 27-31).

SPARTA, a non-profit Indian organization, utilized the services of Bauls, a group of itinerant folk singers in the India-Bangladesh border region, to carry development information on new farming methods, immunization, family planning, and public health from village-to-village. Opinion surveys showed that Baul performances are highly popular among village audiences, and message comprehension is high. The high respectability and credibility enjoyed by Baul performers boosted audience effects (Mukhopadhyay, 1991; Singhal, in press) The Center for Development Research & Training in Madras, India, produced Street plays and puppet shows that effectively promoted the adoption of health practices in rural Indian villages.

Political and social activists have often used drama and its various forms (pantomime, puppets, and street performers) to address issues such as women's status, dowry deaths, class struggle, political corruption, and other development issues (Srikandath, 1991). In the 1970s, the Community Theatre Movement in Nicaragua utilized elements of drama, music, and dance to organize campesinos (farmers), eventually overthrowing President Anastasia Somoza, Nicaragua's long-standing dictator. In Mexico, the Instituto Mexicano para el Desarrollo Comunitario (IMDEC) utilized popular theater to carry educational-development

messages to poor, rural communities, mobilizing them to combat oppression, and to fight for their civil rights (Singhal, 1990).

During the past two decades modern development communication scholars have been promoting a decentralized and participatory approach to development communication, citing the widespread and systematic failures of the centralized mass media approach promoted by Western nations during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s (Closepet & Tsui, 1991; Nair & White, 1987; Rogers, 1976, 1987; Wang & Dissanayake, 1982). Use of traditional folk media for development is consistent with the new decentralized participatory approach. The United Nations Environment Programme encourages the use of the folk media to disseminate development messages, especially in rural areas (Valbuena, 1987, p. 3).

Promises and Problems of Entertainment-Education Media Strategies

Research of media effects reveals the promises, problems, and prospects associated with the use of entertainment-education media strategies for development. The promises of entertainment-education are that media-based programs can effectively be used in underdeveloped areas of the world to improve health, provide education, increase agricultural productivity, reduce illiteracy, promote prosocial values, and improve the overall quality of life. The rapid multiplication of entertainment programs provides development planners with an unparalleled opportunity to reach millions of people with prodevelopment messages. The ubiquitous nature of entertainment through every media form known to man can be used to educate people groups in every social, political, economic, and geographical environment.

The promises of entertainment-education are not unlike the hopes expressed by media scholars throughout the twentieth century. However, the tremendous potential of using entertainment-education media strategies to benefit societies also presents potential problems. Two critical problems have to do with who will control development media and how will unintended effects of entertainment-education messages be addressed. In multicultural societies where ethnic, religious, and political tensions are great, it is difficult to determine what values, beliefs, and practices are considered to be prosocial and which ones will be controversial, creating social conflict (Brown, 1992a).

Lessons from "Oshindrome"

The "Oshin fad" or "Oshindrome" that occurred during the mid- 1980s provides a good example of how it is difficult to predict how educational messages will affect audiences in different social and cultural environments. The powerful effects of "Oshin" on television audiences in a diversity of nations, includ-

ing mainland China (Lull, 1991, pp. 175-181), Poland ("Saikin warushawa fuuzoku," 1985), Thailand (Akagi, 1985), and Iran (Mowlana & Rad, 1992), were surprising both to the producers of "Oshin" and to those who imported the television series from Japan.

For example, the unexpected popularity of "Oshin" in Iran as a positive role model for women's emancipation so incensed the Ayatollah Khomeini that he punished the Director of Iran's broadcasting agency with 50 lashes (Tehrani, 1992). Although the program promoted the values of hard work and self-determination, regarded highly in Iran, the character "Oshin" conflicted with the role of women in Islamic society. The unintentional effects of "Oshin" in Iran, as in other nations where the program was exported, were regarded as positive by most television viewers and national leaders, but also negative by some government officials who objected to "Oshin's" message about women's status.

Three important lessons emerge from the "Oshindrome" phenomenon.

First, research on "Oshin" indicates that entertainment media programs with educational messages can have powerful audience effects, especially in nations such as Iran and China where the mass media is perceived as an important educational and ideological tool (Lull, 1991, pp. 175-181; Mowlana & Rad, 1992; Wang & Singhal, 1992).

Second, these effects are difficult to predict. "Oshin" was not expected to achieve the high audience ratings of 50 percent in Japan (Ito, 1990), 70 percent in Poland ("Saikin warushawa fuuzoku," 1985), and 70 percent in Iran (Mowlana & Rad, 1992). The 16 different countries outside of Japan that have imported "Oshin" demonstrates the program's widespread popularity (Ito, 1991).

The third lesson from "Oshindrome" is that entertainment-education programs can have unintended effects perceived as negative by certain audience segments. For example, "Oshin" was not intended to promote women's status in Iran in opposition to Islamic norms, just as the U.S. television program "Miami Vice" was not intended to promote the sale of semi-automatic weapons (Brown & Singhal, 1990). Likewise, the entertainment-education soap opera "Hum Log" was not intended to commercialize India's television industry, yet commercial sponsors flocked to sponsor over 30 soap operas broadcast during the two-year period that followed "Hum Log" (Singhal & Rogers, 1989c). The problem of unintended effects as exemplified by "Oshindrome" and similar programs must be considered when weighing the benefits of the entertainment-education media strategy.

Prospects: Reasons for Employing the Entertainment-Education Strategy

The prospects for the future of entertainment-education media strategies for development to a great extent will be determined by how well media planners learn the important lessons of the past. Japan, the U.S., and other nations who export communication and development messages can greatly benefit by learning a number of valuable lessons derived from the past two decades of research on entertainment-education media. We highlight ten important reasons why media planners and producers of entertainment programs in Japan should employ the entertainment-education strategy to promote development

First, the seven unique qualities of entertainment programs demonstrates that the entertainment media represent the most effective means to diffuse development messages. Multinational corporations of the world already promote consumerism through entertainment, and governments of the world promote political and economic ideologies through entertainment. More important than these uses, nations should promote education through the entertainment media.

Second, the mixture of entertainment and educational content can serve to attract large audiences to the media, and thus earn high profits from advertising and/or sales. One desirable outcome of high profits is private corporations could fund more educational programs.

Third, entertainment-education media campaigns employ principles of commercial and social marketing for increasing their effectiveness. Thus a stronger theoretical foundation for understanding social influence through the media is developed.

Fourth, use of the entertainment-education strategy in mass communication is especially effective in creating knowledge and increasing the awareness of an educational issue. It is less effective in inducing overt behavior changes.

Fifth, by combining entertainment with educational content, the entertainment-education strategy can appeal both to the emotions (thus increasing the likelihood of cognitive and behavioral changes) of audience members as well as to the intellects of audience members.

Sixth, entertainment-education media programs can be combined with supplementary multi-media messages to form an integrated communication campaign. For example, the rock video promoting teenage sexual abstinence in the Philippines was combined with a telephone hotline, television commercials, and counselling centers (Coleman & Meyer, 1990).

Seventh, formative evaluation research is regularly used to design entertainment-education programs, thus increasing their effects on audiences. Eighth, the design process often promotes collaboration between creative professionals and social science researchers.

Ninth, entertainment-educational media programs offer tremendous econ-

omies of scale in delivering messages to target audiences. For example, the cost of reaching one audience member per episode of "*Hum Log*," India's prodevelopment soap opera, came to 0.02 cents (U.S.).

Finally, a tenth reason for using the entertainment-education communication strategy is that public health officials, broadcast media officials, development planners, religious organizations, commercial sponsors, and other involved parties work collaboratively.

Conclusion

These ten reasons provide a strong rationale for considering the use of the entertainment-education communication strategy to promote development in the Third World. During the remainder of this decade Japan will be sponsoring, designing, and implementing communication and development assistance programs in many nations, especially in Southeast Asia. It is also expected that the flow of popular culture and information from Japan to developing nations will continue to increase (Ito, 1990). By paying attention to the lessons of past development communication strategies, and working together with other nations who produce and export communication products, Japan can more effectively use its influence and resources to promote development.

The entertainment-education strategy in mass communication is one method Japan should now seek to utilize as it continues to help other nations deal with critical problems. The unintended educational benefits of popular television programs like "Oshin" and "Ikkyusan" in Third World nations indicates the tremendous positive influence Japan can have by purposefully producing entertainment films, television programs, plays, music videos, comic books, and other popular media to promote specific educational messages. Japan's involvement in AIDS education in Thailand represents one example of the new opportunities that await for implementing the powerful entertainment-education strategy ("AIDS cases," 1992; Brown & Basil, 1992).

Along with the AIDS epidemic, other critical social, environmental, and health dilemmas facing the Third World will require innovative approaches to development. The entertainment-education mass communication strategy is one such approach that can enable Japan to increase its leadership role in promoting development and advancing the quality of life in many nations.

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