

ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES
FOR DEVELOPMENT

Volume I

by

Arvind Singhal

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Dissertation Abstract

The present dissertation reviews recent experiences worldwide with the entertainment-education communication strategy in rock music, television, radio, film, print, and theater. Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas in Mexico are investigated, as is the Indian experience with the entertainment-education strategy in the form of the "Hum Log" television series in 1984-85. We present the history of "Hum Log's" creation, our methodology and data-collection procedures to evaluate "Hum Log's" effects, reasons for the tremendous audience involvement in "Hum Log", and the intended and unintended effects of "Hum Log".

Main lessons learned to date about implementing the entertainment-education strategy in Third World and Western industrialized countries are discussed. Ethical dilemmas associated with the use of the entertainment-education communication strategy are also presented.

This dissertation is dedicated to Dr. Robert William Hodge (1937-1989), who believed in entertainment-education and who helped me get the present research underway.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
PREFACE.....	1
PART I: EXPERIENCES WITH THE ENTERTAINMENT- EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGY.....	18
Chapter 1: ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPMENT.....	19
THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY.....	21
Entertainment-Education: Typology and Definition.....	23
WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT?.....	27
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGY.....	29
ENTERTAINMENT: A FIELD IN FLUX.....	36
Entertainment and Technology.....	39
PLAN OF THE PRESENT DISSERTATION.....	40
Chapter 2: THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN ROCK MUSIC.....	43
ROCK MUSIC TO PROMOTE SEXUAL RESPONSIBILITY.....	43
Tatiana and Johnny: Rock Music for Teenage Sexual Abstinence in Latin America.....	44
Tatiana Palacios: Gymnast Turned Singer.....	51

	Pages
Lea Salonga and Menudo: Promoting Sexual Responsibility among Filipino Teenagers.....	53
Lea Salonga: Meteoric Rise to Stardom.....	58
Karina and Charlie: A Relatively Unsuccessful Campaign.....	60
Promoting Responsible Parenthood in Nigeria.....	61
OTHER ROCK MUSIC EFFORTS.....	64
Gem Myers and Fab Five: Reggae Music for Sexual Responsibility in Jamaica.....	64
Indonesia's " <u>Janjan Dulu</u> ".....	66
Ringing the Democracy Bell in Mongolia.....	67
Remo Fernandez: Rock Music With a Message.....	68
POPULAR MUSIC IN THE U.S.....	71
Suzi Landolphi: Musical Show on AIDS Prevention.	73
CONCLUSIONS.....	74
Chapter 3: THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN TELEVISION.....	77
ENTERTAINMENT VERSUS EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION IN THE U.S.: A FALSE DICHOTOMY.....	80
THE "HOLLYWOOD LOBBYISTS".....	82
The Population Institute.....	85
Norman Fleishman's Microsecond.....	86
The Harvard Alcohol Project: A Designated Driver Campaign.....	88
Celebrity Endorsement.....	90

	Pages
CHILDREN'S TELEVISION.....	91
"Sesame Street": The Longest Street in the World.....	92
Prix-Jeunesse International.....	100
PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE: COMMITTED TO EXCELLENCE.....	101
"Feeling Good".....	102
" <u>Canción de la Raza</u> ".....	104
THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN THIRD WORLD TELEVISION.....	107
Nigeria's "Cock Crow at Dawn".....	108
Nigeria's "In a Lighter Mood".....	115
Egypt's " <u>Ana Zananna</u> ".....	116
Mohammed Fadel: Egyptian Television Genius.....	119
Israel's "Neighbors".....	124
Turkey's "Sparrows Don't Migrate".....	125
CONCLUSIONS.....	126
Chapter 4: THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN RADIO.....	130
RADIO: THE MAGIC MULTIPLIER.....	130
BBC's "The Archers: An Everyday Story of Country Folk".....	133
TALK RADIO.....	142
Costa Rica's " <u>Dialogo</u> ".....	143

	Pages
ELAINE PERKINS: JAMAICA'S BRILLIANT RADIO SCRIPTWRITER	146
"Raymond, the Sprayman".....	149
"Hopeful Village".....	151
"Stella" and "Dulcimina: Her Life in Town".....	152
"Life at the Mimosa Hotel".....	153
"Naseberry Street".....	153
OTHER RADIO SOAP OPERAS.....	160
Indonesia's " <u>Butir-Butir Pasir Di Laut</u> ".....	160
Kenya's " <u>Ushikwapo Shikimana</u> ".....	163
Zimbabwe's " <u>Akarumwa Nehekuchera</u> ".....	168
" <u>Tres Hombres sin Fronteras</u> ".....	169
CONCLUSIONS.....	170
Chapter 5: THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN FILM, PRINT, AND THEATER.....	172
THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN FILM.....	173
U.S. Films by Sarah Pillsbury.....	174
Randall Frederick: Combating Substance Abuse via Films.....	175
John Riber's Development Films.....	176
Badal Rahman's Films in Bangladesh.....	180

	Pages
THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN PRINT.....	181
<u>Panchtantra</u> : Wisdom of the Ages.....	182
Comics as Entertainment-Education.....	183
Larry Krames: Information Architect.....	184
Popular Magazines.....	185
<u>Dr. Seuss</u> : Entertainment-Education for Children.....	186
THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN THEATER... 188	
Mexico's CORA.....	190
Safdar Hashmi: Crusader of the Masses.....	191
<u>Jagran</u> : Pantomime as a Vehicle of Education....	192
Mali's " <u>Koteba</u> ".....	194
CONCLUSIONS.....	196
CHAPTER 6: MIGUEL SABIDO'S ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION TELEVISION SOAP OPERAS IN MEXICO.....	200
CREATING ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION SOAP OPERAS.....	202
Historical-Cultural Soap Operas.....	202
The Super-Hit: " <u>Simplemente María</u> ".....	205
Towards a Methodology.....	209
" <u>Ven Conmigo</u> ".....	210
" <u>Acompaname</u> ".....	214

	Pages
Sabido's Other Soap Operas.....	217
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONVENTIONAL U.S. SOAP OPERAS AND SABIDO'S ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION SOAP OPERAS.....	219
Entertainment Versus Entertainment.....	220
Value Erosion Versus Value Reinforcement.....	222
Moral Incoherence Versus Moral Coherence.....	223
Unrealistic Versus Realistic.....	223
Atheoretic Versus Theoretic.....	224
JUNG'S THEORY OF THE COLLECTIVE UNCONSCIOUS.....	224
McCLEAN'S THEORY OF THE TRIUNE BRAIN.....	229
ROVIGATTI'S CIRCULAR COMMUNICATION MODEL.....	234
BENTLEY'S DRAMATIC THEORY.....	238
BANDURA'S SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY.....	239
Imitation, Identification, and Modeling.....	241
Observational Learning from Television.....	244
Applying Social Learning Theory in Entertainment-Education Soap Operas.....	248
SABIDO'S TELEVISION PRODUCTION SYSTEM.....	253
The Creative Genius of Miguel Sabido.....	255

	Pages
PART II: INDIA'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE <u>"HUM LOG"</u> TELEVISION SOAP OPERA, AND LESSONS LEARNED ABOUT THE ENTERTAINMENT- EDUCATION STRATEGY.....	264
Chapter 7: THE <u>"HUM LOG"</u> STORY.....	265
THE HISTORY OF <u>"HUM LOG"</u>	266
Downs and Ups.....	276
And Finally....The Decision.....	281
David Poindexter: Relentless Crusader.....	285
THE <u>"HUM LOG"</u> PROCESS.....	289
Dube's Report: A Guidepost.....	291
<u>"Hum Log"</u> Is Launched.....	296
The <u>"Hum Log"</u> Family.....	298
Shobha Doctor: The Woman Behind <u>"Hum Log"</u>	300
PLAN OF THE NEXT SEVERAL CHAPTERS.....	303
Chapter 8: EVALUATION RESEARCH ON <u>"HUM LOG"</u>	306
METHODOLOGY AND DATA-COLLECTION.....	306
Personal Interviews with Key Officials.....	307
Content Analysis of Scripts.....	308
Field Survey of the Audience.....	310
Content Analysis of Viewers' Letters.....	321
Mailed Questionnaire to Letter-Writers.....	322

	Pages
PRO-SOCIAL THEMES IN " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	323
Reasons for Diluting the Family Planning Theme.....	327
ASHOK KUMAR'S EPILOGUES.....	336
A Summarized " <u>Hum Log</u> " Script and Its Epilogue.....	338
The Contents of Ashok Kumar's Epilogues.....	340
Ashok Kumar: The Grand Old Man of " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	342
Chapter 9: AUDIENCE INVOLVEMENT IN " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	350
Timing.....	352
Novelty Factor.....	354
Audience Identification.....	356
Audience Involvement.....	357
Ashok Kumar's Epilogues.....	358
Use of Rustic Hindi Language.....	360
Manohar Shyam Joshi: The Genius behind " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	361
" <u>HUM LOG'S</u> " VIEWERS' LETTERS.....	366
Characteristics of Letter-Writers.....	368
PARA-SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	371
From Rejection to Stardom for Nanhe.....	374
CONCLUSIONS.....	380

	Pages
Chapter 10: INTENDED AND UNINTEDED EFFECTS OF " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	382
MODELING IN " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	382
INTENDED EFFECTS OF " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	395
Hierarchy of Effects.....	395
Hierarchy of " <u>Hum Log's</u> " Effects.....	398
Limitations of the Present Research.....	403
INDIRECT, UNINTENDED IMPACTS OF " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	404
Commercial Sponsorship.....	405
Maggi 2-Minute Noodles.....	405
Television Serials Come of Age in India.....	411
" <u>Ramayana</u> ": Revival of an Epic.....	412
The Marriage of Delhi and Bombay.....	416
WHY DID " <u>HUM LOG</u> " END?.....	417
Beyond the Indian Experience with " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	418
CONCLUSIONS.....	421
Chapter 11: IMPLEMENTING THE ENTERTAINMENT- EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGY.....	427
COMBINING ENTERTAINMENT WITH EDUCATION.....	428
The Entertainment-Education Strategy In Rock Music.....	429
The Entertainment-Education Strategy In Television.....	430

	Pages
The Entertainment-Education Strategy In Radio.....	431
The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Print, Film, and Theater.....	432
Miguel Sabido's Entertainment-Education Soap Operas in Mexico.....	433
INDIA'S EXPERIENCE WITH " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	436
Methodology and Data-Collection.....	437
Social Themes in " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	438
Audience Popularity.....	438
Modeling in " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	439
Effects of " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	439
LESSONS LEARNED ABOUT THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGY.....	440
ETHICAL DILEMMAS.....	458
The Pro-Social Content Dilemma.....	460
The Socio-Cultural Equality Dilemma.....	461
The Unintended Effects Dilemma.....	462
The Pro-Social Development Dilemma.....	463
CONCLUSIONS.....	465
REFERENCES.....	468
APPENDICES.....	484
Appendix A: English Lyrics to the Song " <u>Quando Estemos Juntos</u> " ("When We are Together").....	485

Pages

Appendix B: English Lyrics to the Song "Detente"
("Stop")..... 487

Appendix C: Lyrics of "That Situation", Sung by
Lea Salonga and the Menudo..... 489

Appendix D: Lyrics of "I Still Believe", Sung by
Lea Salonga and Charlie Masso..... 490

Appendix E: Lyrics of "Choices", Sung by King
Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu..... 491

LIST OF TABLES

	Pages
Table 6-1: Miguel Sabido's Eleven Entertainment-Education Soap Operas Broadcast in Mexico.....	203
Table 6-2: Sabido's Male and Female Archetypes Representing a Human Lifecycle.....	230
Table 6-3: Social Learning Theory Applied in an Entertainment-Education Soap Opera.....	249
Table 7-1: The History of " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	268
Table 7-2: David Poindexter's Role in the International Diffusion of Entertainment-Education Soap Operas.....	290
Table 8-1: The Geographic and Urban-Rural Description of the Sample in the " <u>Hum Log</u> " Audience Survey.....	314
Table 8-2: Ownership of a Television Set by Our Audience Survey Respondents.....	315
Table 8-3: Degree of Exposure to " <u>Hum Log</u> " Among Our Survey Respondents.....	316
Table 8-4: Comparison of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Viewers and Non-Viewers on Socio-Demographic Characteristics.....	317
Table 8-5: The Extent to Which Pro-Social Themes and Sub-Themes Were Emphasized in " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	324
Table 8-6: The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which at Least One Sub-Theme of the Following Major Thematic Category Was Identified by Our Content Analysis.....	328
Table 8-7: The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which Selected Status-of-Women Sub-Themes Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....	329

Table 8-8: The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Family Harmony Sub-Themes Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....330

Table 8-9: The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Sub-Themes Relating to Human Virtues and Character Development Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....331

Table 8-10: The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Sub-Themes of National Integration and/or Respect for Indigenous Cultural Traditions Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....332

Table 8-11: The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Family Planning Sub-Themes Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....333

Table 8-12: The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Health-Related Sub-Themes Were Identified.....334

Table 8-13: The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected National Welfare Schemes and/or Public Service Agencies Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....335

Table 8-14: Percent of the 149 Episodes in Which Each of the Ten Major "Hum Log" Characters Were Present.....337

Table 8-15: Themes Addressed in Ashok Kumar's Epilogues at the End of Each "Hum Log" Episode.....341

Table 9-1: Characteristics of Letter-Writers to "Hum Log".....369

Table 9-2: Types of Feedback Provided by "Hum Log" Letter-Writers.....372

Table 9-3: Degree of Para-Social Interaction Indicated in Letters from "Hum Log" Viewers.....375

Table 10-1: The Degree of Pro-Social/Anti-Social Behavior Exhibited by the Ten Main "Hum Log" Characters in the Soap Opera Episodes.....385

Table 10-2: The 10 Main "Hum Log" Soap Opera Models, Their Characterizations, the Degree of Audience Learning From Them, and the Degree of Audience Modeling.....387

Table 10-3: Partial Beta Coefficients for the Relationships of Each Independent and Control Variable with the Dependent Variable, Pro-Social Learning from (1) All Ten "Hum Log" Soap Opera Models, and (2) Each "Hum Log" Model, While Controlling on All Other Such Variables.....392

Table 10-4: The Hierarchy of Media Effects and Sources of Possible Data about these Effects.....396

Table 10-5: Extent of Learning from "Hum Log" about Pro-Social Issues.....399

Table 10-6: Regression Coefficients Predicting Attitudes and Behaviors Related to the Status of Women and Family Planning.....401

Table 10-7: The Pros and Cons of "Hum Log".....422

LIST OF FIGURES

	Pages
Figure 1-1: Major Entertainment-Education Communication Projects Worldwide, and How Each was Influenced by its Predecessors.....	31
Figure 6-1: New Student Enrollment in the Mexican National Education Plan Before, During, and After the Broadcasts of " <u>Ven Conmigo</u> ".....	213
Figure 6-2: Similarities and Differences Between Conventional U.S. Soap Operas and Sabido's Entertainment-Education Soap Operas.....	221
Figure 6-3: The Various Theories Which Form the Basis of Sabido's Approach to Designing Entertainment-Education Soap Operas.....	225
Figure 6-4: The Communication Circuit of Commercial Soap Opera Based on Rovigatti's Circular Commercial Model.....	236
Figure 6-5: Sabido's Use of Rovigatti's Model to Add a Second Educational Communication Circuit (#2) to an Already-Existing Commercial Soap Opera Circuit.....	237
Figure 6-6: Positive Role Models, Negative Role Models, and Doubters in Miguel Sabido's Entertainment-Education Soap Operas.....	252
Figure 7-1: The Three-Generation Ram Family Depicted in " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	299
Figure 8-1: The Three Sample Areas Where the " <u>Hum Log</u> " Audience Survey Was Conducted in India.....	312
Figure 9-1: Growth in the Number of People Who Have Access to Television, the Number of People Who Watch Television, and the Number of Television Sets in India.....	353
Figure 10-1: Revenues from Advertising on Indian Television.....	410

PREFACE¹

A needless dichotomy exists in almost all mass media content: That mass media programs must either be entertaining or educational. Entertainment is defined as a performance or a spectacle which captures the interest or attention of an individual, giving them pleasure, amusement, or some form of gratification. Education is defined as a formal or informal program of instruction and training which has the potential to develop an individual's skill to achieve a particular end by boosting his/her mental, moral, or physical powers. National governments in many countries often feel obligated to produce educational programming for broadcasting. Such programs usually require a heavy investment, are perceived by audiences as relatively dull, and receive very low audience attention (such as indicated by television ratings). Nor are such programs popular with commercial sponsors.

On the other hand, entertainment programs like feature films and television serials generally obtain high audience ratings, and hence are popular with commercial sponsors. The commercial, profit-generating role of

private television may often undermine the potential educational role of television in a society. To gain higher ratings, commercial television usually broadcasts sensational programs, often containing sex and violence. Such programs may have harmful effects, such as encouraging children's aggressive behavior, and at best serve little educational function in society.

Entertainment-educational programs are an emerging genre in mass media programming. Entertainment-education is defined as a performance which captures the interest or attention of an individual, giving them pleasure, amusement, or gratification, while simultaneously helping the individual to develop a skill to achieve a particular end by boosting his/her mental, moral, or physical powers. The entertainment-educational genre offers unique advantages for development officials of national governments, broadcasting agencies, commercial sponsors, and for audiences.

Several recent efforts to combine entertainment with education in the mass media have occurred, some in Third World countries, and some in Western industrialized countries. These efforts range from broadcasting a radio soap opera to farmers, to television soap operas for

family planning, to rock music that promotes sexual abstinence by teenagers. Several such programs served their educational and development functions without sacrificing commercial objectives. Development is defined as "a process of directed social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment" (Rogers, 1976).

My interest in entertainment-education mass media strategies began in 1985, although the roots of this interest go back further. When I left India in August, 1983, to pursue a Masters' degree in communication from Bowling Green State University, in Ohio, the expansion of Indian television was well underway. Black-and-white television was changed to color at the time of the New Delhi Asian Games in 1982, and INSAT-1B, India's communication satellite, was launched in orbit by the U.S. space shuttle, Challenger. During 1984-85, the Indian government installed some 150 television transmitters, several of them low-power (broadcasting to a radius of 25 to 30 kilometers), in an effort to expand

greatly the size of its television audience by using a communication satellite.

Two years later, in 1985, when I returned to New Delhi, Indian television had come of age: Soap operas, relatively unknown prior to 1983, dominated prime-time broadcasts; the production quality of television programs had improved, as Bombay movie expertise moved into television production; and commercially-sponsored television programs, relatively few-and-far-between in previous years, were now common. Especially noticeable was the popularity of "Hum Log" ("We People"), a television soap opera, which aired twice a week. Without fail, my family, including my 72-year old grandmother, watched this family drama, becoming highly involved in the affairs of the "Hum Log" characters. A hush fell in our living room when Ashok Kumar, a highly-respected Indian movie actor, delivered the 30-second epilogue at the conclusion of each "Hum Log" episode, summarizing the intended social message of the episode, and providing the viewers with guides to action. Animated discussions about "Hum Log" and its characters were common in social gatherings, and a "Hum Log" fever raged, at least in New Delhi. During my three-month trip to that city in the summer of 1985, I became curious

about the rapid growth of Indian television and its highly-popular soap operas.

In Fall, 1985, I enrolled in the Ph.D. program in communication theory and research at the Annenberg School for Communication,² University of Southern California. While my first-semester Ph.D. courses took a heavy toll on my free time, my interest in studying the rapid expansion of Indian television intensified. The spark came in a doctoral seminar on communication and development in Fall, 1985, when Professor Everett M. Rogers showed a brief videotape of an episode from "Hum Log", illustrating its unique combination of entertainment and education as a means of facilitating Third World development. "Hum Log" was interesting to us in an intellectual sense because it seemed to have had very strong effects in India, although precise data about such effects had not been obtained.

Professor Rogers first became aware of entertainment-education television soap operas in Mexico in 1977, where Miguel Sabido, a producer-director at Televisa, the Mexican commercial network, had implemented the unique idea of combining entertainment with education in

telenovelas (soap operas). Only in-house evaluation research on the effects of the eleven-entertainment-education soap operas had been conducted in Mexico and these studies had not found their way into the mainstream of communication science literature. When the Mexican soap opera experience was transferred to India in the form of "Hum Log" in 1984-85, it presented a unique opportunity for scholarly research.

At the end of each semester, Annenberg School doctoral students participated in a "semester review". Each student discussed his/her semester's performance in the presence of the Annenberg School faculty, and future directions for the student's study and research were charted. In my December, 1985, semester review, the late Professor Robert William ("Bill") Hodge suggested to me that I apply to the Rockefeller Foundation's program on the status-of-women and fertility for a research grant to study the effects of "Hum Log" (which was initially designed as a status-of-women/family planning soap opera). Bill Hodge had previously reviewed proposals for this Rockefeller Foundation's annual competition. For several weeks, I sat on Bill's idea.

Meanwhile, through articles in the Indian press, we kept abreast of the progress of "Hum Log" and of the several spin-off television soap operas then being broadcast in India. My parents in New Delhi provided a videotape of the last few episodes of "Hum Log", which ended on December 17, 1985. Professor Rogers corresponded with David Poindexter, the international population official who had facilitated the transfer of the entertainment-education soap opera idea from Mexico to India. So we were also catching a "Hum Log" fever, in this case an intention to study its effects. We wrote to Dr. Mary Kritz at the Rockefeller Foundation to secure their program announcement for the Foundation's research grant program on the status-of-women and fertility.

Beginning in March, 1986, Professor Rogers, Professor Hodge, William Brown (then an M.A. student in the Annenberg School, and now an Assistant Professor of Speech Communication at the University of Hawaii), and myself had occasional meetings to discuss the shape that our research proposal should take. In April, 1986, David Poindexter visited Los Angeles, and from him we obtained the names of several key Indians involved in "Hum Log". By June, 1986, with help from Professors Rogers and Hodge, and William Brown, I had drafted a

proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation, just prior to my trip to India in early July, 1986.

In New Delhi, I was able to pursue a network of contacts that led me to Abhinav Chaturvedi, a "Hum Log" actor; Manohar Shyam Joshi, the scriptwriter (from whom I obtained 149 scripts of "Hum Log", and a large sample of 20,000 viewer-letters to "Hum Log"); S.S. Gill, former Secretary in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and the key government official responsible for launching "Hum Log"; Satish Garg, the Executive-Producer of "Hum Log"; and several others.

When Professor Rogers arrived in India in August, 1986, we met Ms. Shobha Doctor, the producer of "Hum Log"; Inder Gujral, former Minister of Information and Broadcasting; Harish Khanna, Director-General of Doordarshan (India's national network television); Roger Pereira, who was to produce another entertainment-education television soap opera; and Shireen Jeejibhoy, a former grantee of the Rockefeller Foundation program to which we were applying. During our stay in India, we were able to complete a major revision of our draft research proposal, shaping it more closely to the reality of Indian conditions and to the further

information that we were learning about "Hum Log".

We submitted the proposal a few days after the September 1, 1986, deadline with the special permission of Dr. Mary Kritz (we argued that we would thus be able to bring into our proposal what we had just learned in India). During Fall, 1986, Professor Rogers and I wrote a paper for the International Communication Association about "Hum Log", and I traveled to Mexico City in December, 1986 to attend Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap opera workshop, arranged by David Poindexter for the Indian team who were to produce the second Indian family planning soap opera. Meanwhile, we waited for news about the Rockefeller Foundation decision. On December 15, 1986, that wait ended. Dr. Mary Kritz called Professor Rogers to inform him that our proposal for research on "The Effects of "Hum Log", a Television Soap Opera, on Women's Status and Fertility in India," was funded effective January 1, 1987, for a period of two years.

Beginning in early 1987, we content analyzed (1) 149 episodes of "Hum Log" (we could not obtain seven "Hum Log" scripts) in order to identify the pro-social themes that were portrayed in this television series, and (2) a

random sample of 500 viewers' letters written in response to "Hum Log". Three trained coders (Indian students at the University of Southern California, who were proficient in the Hindi language, including the present author) were employed to content analyze the television scripts, and three of us coded the viewers' letters. In April, 1987, I traveled to India for two weeks to pre-test our survey questionnaire, and returned again to India in June, 1987, to implement our survey research of the "Hum Log" audience.

We conducted an audience survey of 1,170 adult respondents residing in three areas: (1) in and around Delhi, a Hindi-speaking area in North India, (2) in and around Pune, a Marathi-speaking area in Western India, near Bombay, and (3) in and around Madras, a Tamil-speaking area in South India. We hired 13 survey researchers (six in Delhi, four in Pune, and three in Madras), mostly graduate students enrolled in social science disciplines, and trained them to gather data in urban, sub-urban, and rural locations. By creating our survey research infrastructure in India, we gathered high-quality data about "Hum Log" at about one-quarter the cost of a typical contract with a commercial survey research company, and exercised a greater degree of

control over our data-collection. The Survey Research Training Center, New Delhi; the Development Communication Research Project, University of Pune; and the Department of Sociology at the University of Madras, provided invaluable help in implementing our survey research on "Hum Log" in India. Professor Everett M. Rogers and William Brown (by then a Ph.D. student in the Department of Communication Arts and Sciences at the University of Southern California) joined me in India in summer, 1987, to help carry out our survey research on "Hum Log".

Survey data on "Hum Log" from our 1,170 respondents, and a content analysis of our 149 "Hum Log" scripts, were entered into computer files in New Delhi, and I carried back the computer tape for subsequent data-analysis at the University of Southern California. Before leaving India in August, 1987, we mailed a questionnaire about "Hum Log" to 321 letter-writers for whom adequate addresses were available (out of the 500 "Hum Log" viewers' letters which we had content analyzed previously). Within six weeks, 287 of these questionnaires were returned (a response rate of 90 percent).

Since Fall, 1987, I have been analyzing our various data-sets for the "Hum Log" study, and have written several research papers and articles out of our India research (often co-authored with Professor Everett M. Rogers and William J. Brown). In 1988, William J. Brown completed his doctoral dissertation, Effects of "Hum Log", a Television Soap Opera, on Pro-Social Beliefs in India. I traveled to Bellagio, Italy to present our preliminary research results from the "Hum Log" research project to a Rockefeller Foundation conference. In 1989, I co-authored (with Professor Rogers) a book, India's Information Revolution, which included a chapter on "The 'Hum Log' Story".

During 1987 and 1988, Professor Rogers and I learned about several other experiences which utilized the entertainment-educational communication strategy to promote development in certain Third World countries. Especially fascinating to us was the work of Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services (PCS), which had successfully utilized rock music for promoting sexual responsibility in several countries of Latin America, in the Philippines, and in Nigeria. Needed was an international conference in which information about entertainment-education experiences

from around the world could be exchanged, and lessons learned about the entertainment-education strategy could be identified. Along with Patrick Coleman of JHU/PCS, we took the lead in organizing a conference to review these experiences.

From March 28 to April 1, 1989, a four-day international conference on Entertainment-Education for Social Change was held at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California, Los Angeles. The 172 conference participants came from 29 countries. The conference was co-sponsored by the (1) Center for Communication Programs (and its Population Communication Services) of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, (2) the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California, and (3) the Center for Population Options, Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles. Topics covered during the entertainment-education conference included rock music, radio, television, print media, and research on audience effects of the entertainment-education strategy. For me, this conference represented a very special opportunity to meet the field's "movers and shakers", the key mass media officials, producers, directors, writers, and performers involved in utilizing the entertainment-education communication strategy for

development. I taped 16 hours of personal interviews with 30 conference participants, and an additional 20 hours of conference discussions and presentations.

The 1989 entertainment-education conference at the Annenberg School represented a turning point in expanding the scope of the present dissertation (from my previous idea of focusing just on India's experience with "Hum Log"). The present dissertation is in two parts. The objective of Part I is to review recent experiences around the world with entertainment-education communication strategies in rock music, television, radio, films, print media, and theater. Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas in Mexico are described and analyzed. Part II investigates India's experience with the "Hum Log" television series. Lessons learned about entertainment-education mass media strategies are presented. The present dissertation is aimed at an audience of communication students and scholars, government policy-makers, mass media officials, producers, directors, writers, and performers in the U.S. and abroad.

The chapters in the present dissertation contain several case illustrations, each describing a key personality or

organization or event, that I draw upon to provide useful insights into the nature of the entertainment-education strategy. Many of these case illustrations represent success stories. While we draw useful lessons from such successes, we realize that for every successful case that we discuss, there may exist several failures.

I acknowledge the following individuals who helped me in writing the present dissertation: Professor Everett M. Rogers, Walter H. Annenberg Professor of Communication, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California, my "guru" and mentor; the late Dr. Bill Hodge, Professor of Sociology and of Communication, University of Southern California; Dr. Michael J. Cody, Associate Professor of Communication Arts and Sciences, University of Southern California; Dr. David Waterman, Assistant Professor at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California; David Poindexter, President, Population Communications-International, New York; Manohar Shyam Joshi, the scriptwriter of "Hum Log"; Abhinav Chaturvedi, the actor who played the role of "Nanhe" in "Hum Log"; Harish Khanna, Executive Director, Indian Family Planning Foundation and formerly Director General of Doordarshan

(the Indian government television network); Dr. B.R. Patil, Director of Research, Indian Family Planning Foundation, New Delhi; Dr. V.B. Singh, Joint Director, Survey Research Training Center, New Delhi; B.S. Nagi, Research Officer, Indian Council for Social Development, New Delhi; and Dr. Phyllis Piotrow, Director, and Patrick Coleman, Deputy Director, both at the Center for Communication Programs, Population Communication Services, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. I also thank the Rockefeller Foundation, New York, and the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, for their support of my research in India.

I hope that reading the present dissertation will raise your consciousness about the entertainment-education communication strategy for development, and further help to break down the often needless dichotomy between entertainment and educational mass media.

Los Angeles

Arvind Singhal

NOTES

1. The present preface draws upon Rogers' (1987) description of how the Rockefeller-funded research project was initiated.
2. The name of the Annenberg School of Communications was changed to the "Annenberg School for Communication" in early 1990.

Part I

EXPERIENCES WITH THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY

The first part of the present dissertation, consisting of Chapters 1 to 6, describes the various uses of the entertainment-education strategy, and derives the main lessons learned.

Chapter 1
ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES
FOR DEVELOPMENT¹

A dull story is worse than none at all.

Griswold (1918).

Prostitution is not the oldest profession.
Story-telling is.

Ruth Warrick (1989), in her remarks at the
Conference on Entertainment-Education for
Social Change, Los Angeles.

Entertainment is the most pervasive mass media genre of all time, and the people of the world are its most ardent consumers. Whether it is a nation's airwaves, or its popular magazines and newspapers, entertainment usually is rampant in a mass society. Entertainment often tells us, or at least implies, how to behave, dress, speak, and think. Thus we are "educated" by the entertainment media, even though such education may be unintentional and unnoticed (Rogers, Aikat, Chang, Poppe, & Sopory, 1989).

A needless dichotomy exists in almost all mass media content: That mass media programs must either be entertaining or educational. National governments in many Third World countries often feel obligated to produce educational programs for broadcasting. Such programs usually require a heavy investment, are perceived by audiences as relatively dull, and receive very low audience attention. Nor are such programs popular with commercial advertisers. Seldom do educational messages in the mass media receive advertising support.

On the other hand, entertainment programs like feature films and television serials generally obtain high audience ratings, and hence are popular with commercial sponsors. Today, commercial entertainment programs clamor for the public's attention with political messages, religious appeals, advertisements, and other kinds of communication messages (Rogers & others, 1989). Consumers select what interests them, and ignore what does not. And what mainly interests them is what entertains them. One of the best strategies for obtaining the attention of an audience is to entertain it and educate it at the same time (Rogers & others, 1989).

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY ²

Entertainment-educational programs are an emerging genre in mass media programming. The strategy of entertainment-education is simple: Use the universal appeal of entertainment to show individuals how they can live safer, healthier, and happier lives (Rogers & others, 1989). The entertainment-educational genre offers unique advantages for development officials of national governments, broadcasting agencies, commercial sponsors, and for audiences.

For Third World countries, education is ordinarily a cost, and often it is a huge and expensive one (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). In comparison, the entertainment-education strategy provides an opportunity for an educational message to pay for itself, and often to yield a profit. Thus the entertainment-education strategy appears to be a "win-win" situation, in which both the educators' goals, and those of commercial media institutions, can be met (Rogers & others, 1989). So from a "practical" viewpoint, the entertainment-

education communication strategy can be immensely useful in the service of Third World development.

In the U.S., commercial television networks broadcast predominantly entertainment programs because this genre achieves higher audience ratings, and maximizes advertising incomes. On a few occasions, the U.S. television networks broadcast programs to raise public consciousness about such social problems as drunk driving, depletion of the environment, and ethnic prejudice usually in a single episode of a television series. Little evaluation research has been conducted on the effects of the Hollywood approach to the entertainment-education strategy in raising public consciousness about social problems.³

In addition to its practical usefulness, the entertainment-education strategy is of tremendous theoretic importance. Several of the past entertainment-education efforts in Third World countries (for example, Miguel Sabido's family planning television soap operas in Mexico, and rock music campaigns to promote sexual responsibility among teenagers in Mexico and the Phillipines, and among adults in Nigeria) were based on time-tested human communication theories (as we discuss

later in Chapter 2 and Chapter 6). One such theory is Albert Bandura's social learning theory, which explains how humans learn social behaviors as a result of modeling their behavior after that of others with whom they interact, or that they observe in the mass media (Bandura, 1977). In Miguel Sabido's television soap operas, a character models a behavior that either encourages or discourages the exercise of a socially desirable behavior by viewers. The character is then rewarded or punished, respectively. Thus the entertainment-education strategy represents a test of Bandura's social learning theory, a type of media effects research that is usually more likely to find audience effects than other less theoretic approaches.

So creating an entertainment-education communication strategy can be practically useful and of theoretic importance.

Entertainment-Education: Typology and Definition

The idea of combining entertainment with education is not new: It goes as far back in human history as the timeless art of storytelling. In countries where a rich oral tradition still persists, folktales with morals and

larger-than-life "heroes" are an integral part of a child's non-formal education. Two well-known Hindu epic poems, Maharishi Valmiki's "Ramayana" and Ved Vyas's "Mahabharata", written several thousand years ago in India, are examples of combining the art of storytelling with a social and moral commentary on the role of men, women, and children in society. For several generations, Hindu children have heard these epic stories narrated by their elders to teach them "right" from "wrong", and "good" from "evil".

Similarly, children in many other lands are told the Aesop's fables, each with a moral. So while the concept of combining entertainment with education is not new, "entertainment-education" (or its abbreviated/contraction verb form, "enter-education") is a relatively new term. Coined in the mid-1980s by the staff of Population Communication Services (PCS) of the Johns Hopkins University's School of Hygiene and Public Health, the term, "enter-education", was proposed to counter a negative trend in Western popular culture (which includes the mass media): That of "degrading" a message to increase its entertainment value in order to achieve a larger audience. The increasing use of sex and violence in U.S. entertainment television represents one

example of "degrading" a message in order to achieve higher audience ratings.

There is not yet complete agreement on what to call the entertainment-education strategy. Various alternatives such as "enter-educate", "pro-development", "edu-tainment", and "info-tainment" have been proposed. Everyone agrees, however, that the key idea is to combine entertainment and education so as to obtain certain advantages of each (Singhal & Rogers, 1989b). For this reason, the present dissertation generally uses the term "entertainment-education". The choice of exact terminology is arbitrary, however.

Social science scholars have used over 28 constructs to define the concept of entertainment (for example, an activity which provides fun, amusement, arousal, pleasure, and so on) (Tannenbaum, 1980). We define entertainment broadly as a performance or spectacle which captures the interest or attention of an individual, giving them pleasure, amusement, or some form of gratification.

Scholars have also conceptualized education in various ways (for example, formal versus non-formal education,

classroom versus distance education, individual awareness versus public consciousness, and so on). We define education in its broadest sense as a formal and/or informal program of instruction and training which has the potential to develop an individual's skill to achieve a particular end by boosting his/her mental, moral, or physical powers.

Entertainment-education is a performance which captures the interest or attention of an individual, giving pleasure, amusement, or gratification, while simultaneously helping the individual to develop a skill to achieve a particular end by boosting his/her mental, moral, or physical powers. We recognize that both "entertainment" and "education" could be interpreted in various ways by different scholars. We also recognize that the ratio of entertainment to educational content is an important factor in determining how these two elements can be combined. However, to measure and isolate the elements of entertainment and educational content in an "entertainment-education" program represents a challenge.

The focus in the present dissertation is on entertainment-education communication strategies for development, mainly in Third World nations.

WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT?

The problem of development may be the major problem confronting the world today. About 950 out of 1,000 people born between now and the year 2000 will live in the Third World countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). So understanding development problems is crucially important to everyone.

Development is "a widely participatory process of directed social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of the people through their gaining greater control over their environment" (Rogers, 1976). Development in any particular nation is facilitated by development programs to promote literacy, improve nutrition and health, limit family size, and to increase productivity. The precise nature of particular development problems varies from one country to another,

depending on their unique economic, social, political, and cultural characteristics. Development is the top priority of the national government in every Third World country.

Development communication (or "communication for development") refers to the uses to which communication is put in order to further development. Such applications are intended to bring about development in a general way, such as by increasing the level of mass media exposure among a nation's citizens in order to create a favorable "climate" for development, or to support a specific development program or project (this type of development communication is often termed "development support communication," or DSC) (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a).

The purposes of development communication are generally popular. Who could argue against utilizing communication to overcome the limitations of illiteracy, improve the health and nutrition of a nation's population, and produce more food so as to decrease hunger? So the goals of this type of directed social change are widely agreed-on. Exactly how to achieve the goals of

development, however, are often contentious (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

The media strategy of entertainment-education has been applied in creating messages for rock music, television, radio, film, print, theater, and other media. So it is quite versatile.

While the roots of the entertainment-education strategy go back many thousand years to when storytelling originated, the first major mass media experience with the entertainment-education strategy occurred accidentally in 1969 with the broadcast of the television soap opera "Simplemente María" in Peru. María was a migrant to the capital city of Lima, where she worked as a household maid for a wealthy family. She then climbed the socio-economic ladder of success through her expertise with a Singer sewing machine (Rogers & others, 1989).

"Simplemente María" was successful in attracting very high audience ratings, and the sale of Singer sewing machines increased. So did the number of young girls

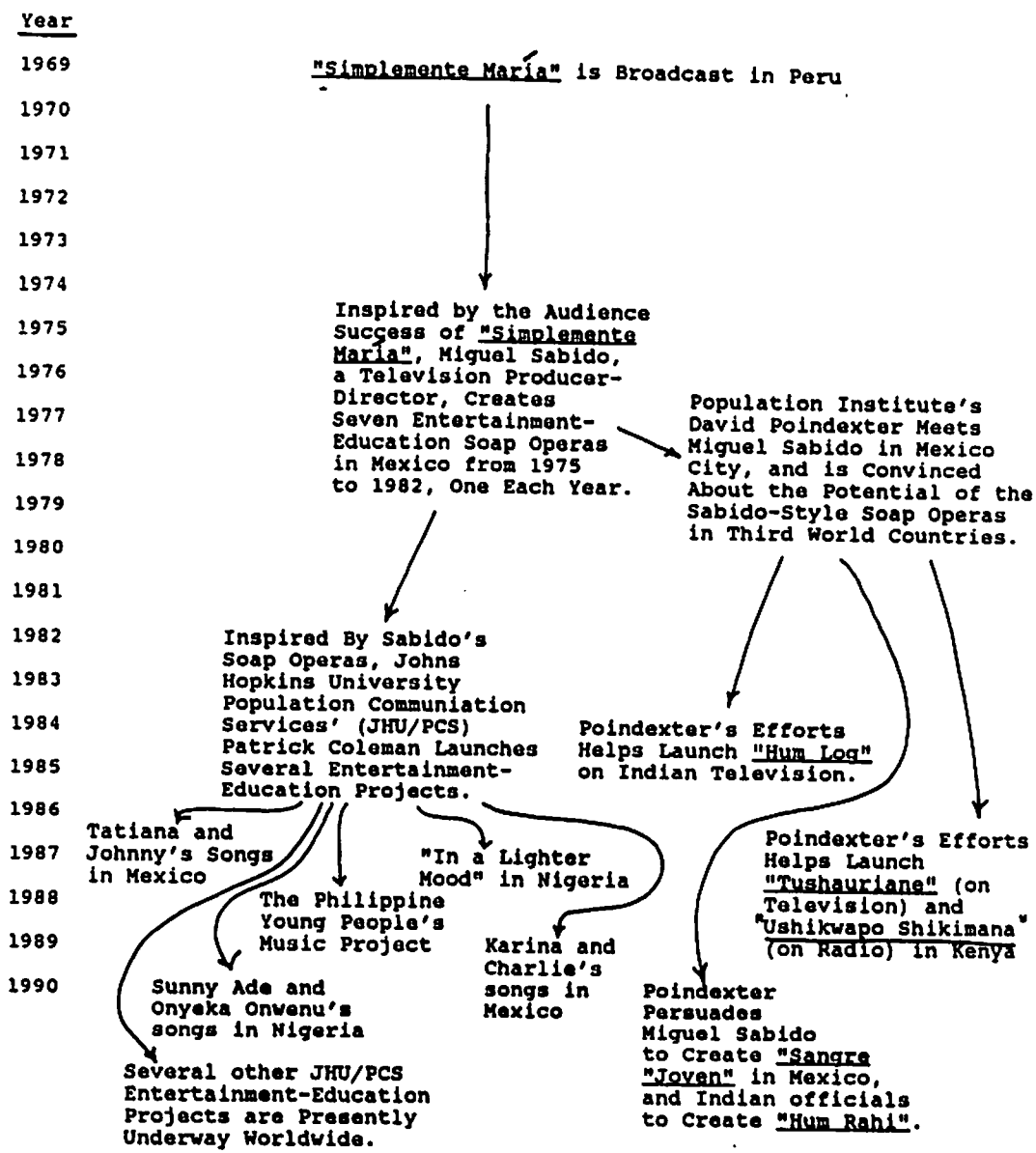


Figure 1-1. Major Entertainment-Education Projects Worldwide, and How Each Was Influenced by its Predecessors.

University's Center for Communication Programs and Project Director of its Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS), while working in El Salvador in the early 1970s, viewed one of Sabido's television soap operas and observed their effects. Later, he invited Sabido to describe his approach to the entertainment-education strategy at a conference sponsored by JHU/PCS in Quito, Ecuador in 1983. Since then, Coleman has pioneered in utilizing this approach in rock music for promoting sexual responsibility among adolescents in Mexico and the Philippines, for promoting responsible parenthood in Nigeria, and in various other projects.

The relative success and high potential of the television and radio soap operas, music, and comic books, has popularized the entertainment-education strategy, and many other applications of the strategy were created in Third World nations and elsewhere. For example, in Enugu, Nigeria, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), in collaboration with JHU/PCS, integrated family planning themes in the drama segments of a highly-popular variety show, "In a Lighter Mood". In the U.S., the New York-based Children's Television Workshop pioneered in creating "Sesame Street", an

immensely successful entertainment-educational program for pre-schoolers, broadcast by Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) stations every weekday.

Population Communications-International, an organization headquartered in New York City, and led by its President, David Poindexter, has played an important role in transferring the entertainment-education strategy from the Mexican "telenovelas" of Miguel Sabido to India, where a television soap opera called "Hum Log" ("We People") was broadcast in 1984-85, and to Kenya, where a television soap opera, "Tushauriane" ("Let's Discuss"), and a radio soap opera, "Ushikwapo Shikimana" ("When Given Advice, Take It"), were broadcast from 1987 to 1989 (Rogers & others, 1989).

The entertainment-education strategy has been widely invented and recreated by pioneering and creative media professionals in several nations: For example, "The Archers", a long-running British radio soap opera about improved farming by the BBC's Godfrey Baseley; "Naseberry Street," a Jamaican radio soap opera about family planning created by Elaine Perkins; and Butir-Butir Pasir Di Laut ("Grains of Sand in the Sea") created by Dr. Sumarsono, Director of Indonesia's

national family planning agency. The entertainment-education strategy can be equally applicable to comics, books, and a variety of other print media. Various others have utilized this strategy in feature films, for example, John Riber created "Consequences", a super-hit 1988 film on teenage sexuality in Zimbabwe. In India, several street theater groups like "Jagran" ("Awakening") have used pantomime to carry entertainment-education messages. None of these examples of the entertainment-education strategy were directly inspired by the work of Miguel Sabido. Instead, they represent independent invention of the strategy.

Meanwhile, and largely independently of the Third World experiences, the Hollywood film-television-music industry also followed an entertainment-education strategy of a somewhat different sort in the United States (Rogers & others, 1989). Norman Lear, a Hollywood producer, attacked racial and ethnic prejudices in the United States through his popular CBS television series, "All in the Family", featuring Archie Bunker as a negative role model for bigotry. Lear also raised public consciousness about such issues as abortion and vasectomy in his television series, "Maude," in 1972 (Montgomery, 1989).

The three U.S. television networks have broadcast programs in recent years to raise public consciousness about a social issue and to educate the audience about it. Often the broadcast is just a single "dedicated" episode in a television series. For example, in Fall, 1985, an episode of "Cagney and Lacey" dealt with the issue of abortion; it showed right-to-lifers picketing an abortion clinic (Rogers & others, 1989). Hollywood television programs and films have raised such social issues as drunk driving, gay and lesbian rights, AIDS, child abuse, infant mortality, and drug abuse. Often these issues are incorporated into a single episode, or several episodes, of a television series through the efforts of a social cause group, that UCLA Professor Kathryn C. Montgomery (1989) calls the "Hollywood lobbyists". One of these groups with a cause is the Center for Population Options, headquartered in Washington, D.C. and in Los Angeles.

Seldom have the effects of these American uses of the entertainment-education strategy been evaluated, so we do not know much about their effects on media audiences (Rogers & others, 1989). But in Third World nations, policy-makers want to know the effects of the

entertainment-educational soap operas, the rock music, and the other media that entertain while also educating about family planning, the status of women, AIDS prevention, drug abuse, and other social issues.

Researchers in the Center for Communication Programs at the Johns Hopkins University, at the University of Southern California's Annenberg School for Communication, at Ohio University's College of Communication, and various mass communication scholars in Third World nations have been conducting research to measure the effects of the entertainment-education strategy. Essentially the general conclusion from these researches is that the use of the entertainment-education communication strategy can bring about social change (Rogers & others, 1989).

ENTERTAINMENT: A FIELD IN FLUX

Several thousands studies of television's "effects" have been conducted, while research on the entertainment functions of the mass media is severely limited (despite the importance of entertainment in our daily lives). The choice to study mass media as agents of persuasion, rather than as agents of entertainment is highly intriguing (Katz & others, 1974). The existing studies

of entertainment include content analyses (describing "fun" themes and characters), "effects" studies (primarily an investigation of beneficial or of harmful effects), and uses-and-gratifications studies (Himmelweit, Swift, & Jaeger, 1980).

In rethinking the concept of entertainment, several scholars proposed a "play" theory of communication, instead of an information theory of communication (which is based on the linear source-message-channel-receiver model) (Stephenson, 1967; Sabido, 1988).

Stephenson's (1967) play theory (also called "ludenic" theory) argues that mass media communication presents an opportunity for viewers to be involved in "subjective" play, which could be "pleasurable" or "painful" (Ludus or "ludere" in Latin means "illusion" or "semblance", a term applied to childrens' games, recreation, contests, theatrical presentations, and games of chance).

"Pleasure" occurs when communication is done by choice for enjoyment, contentment, serenity, or delight (characteristics generally associated with "entertainment"), leading to self-enhancement. "Pain", a self-negating process, occurs when communication involves a rigid purpose ("work"), and a participant is

involved because he/she is required (or expected) to do so.

Drawing upon Huizinga's (1950) theory of homo ludens, Stephenson (1967), a professor in the University of Missouri's School of Journalism, contends that when used judiciously, mass media communication, as play, can "influence customs and culture, normalize manners, suggest certain standards of conduct for masses, provide leisure, and make life fun" for an individual (Stephenson, 1967). However, since an individual's desire to perform a certain behavior (freedom of choice) is subject to social control (the need to conform and follow established customs), actual behavioral change might prove to be difficult (even though the individual may have developed a favorable attitude towards a social issue).

Stephenson's play theory provides insights on how the mass media can use entertainment to promote educational-development messages. If a viewer freely chooses to attend (as opposed to being coerced) to an entertainment-education message, and as a result experiences "communication pleasure", a desired attitudinal/beh-

vioral effect might occur depending on the extent to which a viewer's belief (about an educational-development issue) conforms to the prevailing societal norm about that issue. By utilizing a judicious mix of entertainment-educational content (based on sound theoretical premises), mass media content could potentially impact both an individual's beliefs and the societal norms in such a way that the discrepancy between the two is minimized, or eliminated.

Technology and Entertainment

Technological growth impacts the medium of entertainment-education communication. For example, the oral storytelling tradition has waned with the rise of television, the emergence of the nuclear family, and the fast-paced lifestyle of individuals which leaves little time for family interaction. As an important form of mass culture, television is replacing "storytellers, priests, wise men, and elders" (Fiske & Hartley, 1978).

The technological attributes of a mass medium (whether television, radio, film, print, or rock music) impact the nature of its entertainment-education message.

Also, advances in communication technology affect the nature and consumption of entertainment content. For example, when motion pictures become popular in the 1920s, they were black-and-white, silent, and seen in public. Today, with video cassette recorders one can view color films, with sound, in the privacy of one's home (Rogers, 1986). People no longer need to attend live musical performances; one can enjoy the same musical composition, and repeatedly, on a compact disc player at home (with excellent sound reproduction). Technological advances add new dimensions to entertainment genres. Films like the "Poseiden Adventure" (1972), "The Exorcist" (1973), "Earthquake" (1974), "Towering Inferno" (1975), and "Star Wars" (1977) relied heavily on special effects technology for their entertainment success (Mendelsohn & Spetnagel, 1980).

PLAN OF THE PRESENT DISSERTATION

The present dissertation is organized in two parts. The objective of Part I (Chapters 1 to 6) is to review recent experiences worldwide with entertainment-education communication strategies in rock music (Chapter 2), television (Chapter 3),

radio (Chapter 4), film, print, and theater (Chapter 5), and Miguel Sabido's telenovelas (soap operas) in Mexico (Chapter 6). In Part II, in Chapters 7 to 10, we investigate India's experience with the entertainment-education strategy in the form of the "Hum Log" television series. Lessons learned about entertainment-education communication strategies, and ethical dilemmas involved in using this strategy are presented in Chapter 11.

NOTES

1. The present chapter draws heavily on Rogers & others (1989).
2. This section, for the most part, is taken directly from Rogers & others (1989), and Singhal & Rogers (1989b).
3. Only the Harvard Alcohol Project (HAP), which influenced U.S. television networks to broadcast programs about the designated driver concept, seems to have been evaluated.

Chapter 2

THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN ROCK MUSIC¹

The time has come to take entertainment seriously.

Elihu Katz (1977), "Can Authentic Cultures Survive New Media?" Journal of Communication, 27, 113-21.

The purpose of the present chapter is to review recent experiences with the entertainment-education strategy in rock music in order to see what lessons have been learned.

ROCK MUSIC TO PROMOTE SEXUAL RESPONSIBILITY

Early pregnancy is a major social problem in many Third World nations, and especially throughout Latin America. The main targets for contraceptive messages, preteens and teenagers, however, are difficult to reach through conventional communication channels. These audiences have low media exposure, except to radio music and tapes and records, and in recent years, to MTV. Several

countries have capitalized on the popularity of rock music to promote sexual responsibility among teenagers.

Tatiana and Johnny: Rock Music for Teenage
Sexual Abstinence in Latin America

In 1986, a unique communication project was launched in Spanish-speaking Latin American countries: A rock music video which promoted sexual abstinence and contraception, entitled "Cuando Estemos Juntos" ("When We Are Together"). A second song was "Detente" ("Wait"), with a similar theme. "Cuando Estemos Juntos" was number one on the pop music charts within six weeks of its release in Mexico, and soon was also a top-rated song in 11 other Spanish-speaking Latin American countries.

The success of this song resulted from the joint efforts of communication researchers who conducted formative evaluation research, public health officials, funding from the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the assistance of entertainment industry executives and rock musicians (Kincaid, Jara, Coleman, & Segura, 1988). Patrick L. Coleman, Deputy Director of the Center for Communication Programs and Project Director of Population Communication Services at

the Johns Hopkins University (JHU/PCS), provided the impetus for this entertainment-education project. Coleman, a former music industry official in Los Angeles, had served as a Peace Corps volunteer and family planning consultant in El Salvador from 1977 to 1981, where he observed the seemingly "strong" audience effects of Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas. So in 1983, when JHU/PCS's operations were getting underway, Coleman organized a three-day international conference in Quito, Ecuador (bringing together 78 people from 17 countries), to explore "state-of-the-art" communication strategies for family planning. Sabido participated in the conference, convincing Coleman of the tremendous potential of the entertainment-education communication strategy. Accordingly, Coleman began planning a music video on teenage sexual abstinence.

In putting together the entertainment-education rock music campaign in Latin America, Coleman's organization conducted formative evaluation research which indicated that the common denominator for young people throughout Latin America was rock music. Formative evaluation is a type of research that is conducted while an activity, process, or system is being planned or is on-going, in

order to improve its effectiveness (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). What better way to reach young Latin American people with an educational message than through rock music?

Coleman hired FFI (Fuentes y Fomento Intercontinentales), a Mexican marketing and music record company, to produce a music video about saying "no" to teenage sex. Audience needs were assessed, and a marketing plan was carefully designed. Record companies in Mexico recommended 32 composers and writers, each of whom was asked to write two songs as part of a nationwide contest (Rogers & others, 1989). Out of 30 entries, six songs were pretested with adolescents for their acceptability and content (Kincaid & others, 1988). The lyrics and the various attributes of the musical presentation were tested with focus groups of Mexican teenagers, and this feedback led to finer-grained changes in the song.

The artists were selected carefully, since their image is a key factor in the success of the songs. Several prominent Mexican singers refused to be involved, due to the sensitive nature of the teenage-sex topic. Tatiana, a beautiful 16-year old singer from Mexico, and Johnny, a 17-year old Puerto Rican singer (already popular in

Latin America as a Menudo² graduate), agreed to perform "Cuando Estemos Juntos" and "Detente". The two songs were produced with very special care: The music was recorded in a sound studio in Spain, the voices were recorded in Los Angeles, and the music video was filmed in Mexico (Rogers & others, 1989). No expense was spared. In "Cuando Estemos Juntos", the teenage singers told their teenager audience not to have sex, a much more effective strategy than having the message emanate from parents or priests. The duet's lyrics were: "You will see that I am right when I say no, even though my heart is burning" (see Appendix A for the complete lyrics to this song).

The two songs were released in two phases. A commercial release came first, in 1986, with the premier of the music video of "Cuando Estemos Juntos" on a very popular Mexican television variety show, "Siempre en Domingo", which is viewed each Sunday by 150-million Spanish-speaking viewers throughout Latin America (Kincaid & others, 1988, p. 2). Raul Velasco, the influential host of the show, interviewed Tatiana and Johnny about the topic of teenage sexual abstinence. The music was catchy and the video production was of high quality, employing special effects techniques. The sensitive nature of the

teenage-sex topic was suitably handled by using life-size male and female dolls in the rock music video. The song was available for sale throughout Latin America in the form of records, tapes, and video.

As the commercial release of "Cuando Estemos Juntos" gained success, the second phase, an institutional effort, began. Press conferences were held, news clippings of the artists were provided free to radio and television stations, and Tatiana and Johnny made numerous personal appearances (Rogers & others, 1989). A key to the overall success of the project was the high quality of the music and the artists, and the amount of strategic planning and preparation that went into the project. An estimated \$300,000 and two and one-half years of planning were invested in the Mexican music project, plus \$100,000 for evaluation research (Rogers & others, 1989).

Public service announcements on television and radio capitalized on the popularity of the "Cuando Estemos Juntos" music video to promote sexual abstinence among teenagers. Radio and television stations could play the song without paying a broadcast fee if they agreed to accompany 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. An estimated 1,000,000 hours of free radio and television time were thus provided by broadcasting stations in Latin America for playing and discussing the song (Coleman, 1988). The typical Mexican radio station played the super-hit song "Quando Estemos Juntos" about 14 times per day for the four months of the song's greatest popularity. In comparison, the song on the other side of "Quando Estemos Juntos", "Detente" was a more typical hit song, and was played "only" five times per day for several months (see Appendix B for the lyrics to this song).

Compared to the results of most communication research on a single message (which typically finds only minimal effects), studies of the effects of entertainment-education messages usually show that they have relatively stronger effects. Why? One main reason is repetition of the message, which provides massive exposure to audience individuals (as illustrated by the case of "Quando Estemos Juntos") (Rogers & others, 1989).

In Mexico alone, Tatiana's album featuring "Quando Estemos Juntos" sold over 500,000 copies. A summative evaluation of the rock music campaign in Mexico showed that the song did more than sell videos, tapes, and records. Summative evaluation is conducted near the end (or after) an activity, process, or system in order to form judgement's about its effectiveness (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). 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 & others, 1988).

The greatest compliment to the entertainment-education strategy in Tatiana and Johnny's rock music video comes not from its considerable effects, but from its competition. When the number-one hit song "Quando Estemos Juntos" promoted sexual abstinence to teenagers in Mexico, the second-most popular song in Mexico was "No Control", which promoted an exactly opposite message. The entertainment format, in this case a rock music video, was common to both of these popular songs, but while "Quando Estemos Juntos" attempted to "enter-educate," "No Control" seemed to "enter-degrade"

(by suggesting it is okay for teenagers to be "out of control" physically). The success of "Cuando Estemos Juntos" proves that it is possible to use an entertainment format for educational purposes without sacrificing commercial objectives, and without degrading the message's content.

Tatiana Palacios: Gymnast Turned Singer

Born in Philadelphia in 1969, Tatiana Palacios spent her early childhood years in the U.S., while her father earned a Ph.D. degree in economics from the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania. While Tatiana was born in the U.S. (the 8-month pregnant Mrs. Palacios was not allowed to board a plane to Mexico where she intended to deliver her child), she takes pride in being a Mexican citizen. Tatiana's musical training started at age four, when she began violin lessons, followed by piano, guitar, and dance lessons. She was also a child gymnast of unusual ability. Coached by her mother, a gymnastics expert, Tatiana in 1980 won first place in the Mexican National Championships.

At age 15, in 1984, Tatiana played Jane in "Kuman", a popular music opera (based on Tarzan's adventures).

"Kuman's" popularity brought her an offer to record her first music album (which was titled "Tatiana"). The socially-conscious Tatiana fought with her music director, urging him to change the song's lyrics from "I want you to love me completely in broad daylight" to "It is not yet time to love completely." In 1985, Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS) sought a teenage female singer for "Cuando Estemos Juntos" who could be a role model for responsible sexual behavior. In JHU/PCS-sponsored field research, Mexican teenagers overwhelmingly chose Tatiana.

Tatiana's second album in 1986, entitled "Chicas de Hoy" ("Today's Girls"), which promoted responsible sex, sold more than 540,000 copies (a spectacular achievement by Mexican standards), earning her five gold and one platinum record for the songs on the album. The album's royalties (estimated at \$8 million Mexican pesos, or \$40,000 [U.S]) were donated for community outreach efforts to promote responsible parenthood. Tatiana's third album in 1987, entitled "Baila Conmigo" ("Dance With Me") broadened her audience base to young children (two to four-year olds) and their mothers. In several

Mexican schools, students exercise and dance to "Baila Conmigo"

Tatiana's fourth album in 1988 was "Un Lobo en la Noche" ("A Werewolf in the Night"), and her fifth album in 1989 was "Las Cosas que He Visto" ("The Things I've Seen").

The highly popular title song of her fifth album states: "I see boys and girls who do not go to school; I see people dying of hunger and thirst, I see people who are old and alone . . . it is time to act." Tatiana's millions of fans enjoy her music, and more importantly, listen to the lyrics of her songs. "My fans ask me 'What are you going to say in your next song?'" , Tatiana told the present author in a 1989 personal interview.

Not content with just rock music, Tatiana designs and markets her own line of cosmetics, perfumes, and clothes. She even designs her record album covers.

Lea Salonga and Menudo: Promoting Sexual Responsibility among Filipino Teenagers

Building on Tatiana and Johnny's prior experience in Latin America, Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS), jointly with the

Philippines's Population Center Foundation (PCF), launched a popular music campaign in the Philippines to promote sexual responsibility among young Filipino adults in 1987. Almost 75 percent of the nation's population is under 25 years old, and teenage pregnancy has become a serious social problem in the Philippines. The first song, "That Situation", was sung by a 16-year old Filipino artist, Lea Salonga, and the well-known (in the Philippines) rock group, Menudo. The song was launched via a live Menudo concert in December, 1987. Menudo is a youth rock group from Puerto Rico that was highly popular among Filipino teenagers at that time. Within a month, "That Situation" was number one on the popular music charts of the Metro Manila and Cebu City radio stations in the Philippines. "That Situation" promoted sexually responsible behavior among teenagers: "It's up to us, not to jump into that situation, I'm too young, not ready yet, I've got so much to do, got to take it step by step" (see Appendix C for the complete lyrics to this song).

In May, 1988, a second song, "I Still Believe", was sung by Lea Salonga and ex-Menudo singer Charlie Masso. "I Still Believe" instantly became the number one song on the popular music charts in the Philippines, and a

nationwide poll revealed that it was the only Filipino-recorded song that was one of the top 10 most-recalled songs in 1988. "I Still Believe's" social message: "I still believe in love at first sight, I don't think it's right to need me just for a lonely night. And if our love will stand the test of time, Baby, you and me, we'll play it right" (see Appendix D for the complete lyrics to this song).

JHU/PCS's multi-media efforts to promote sexual responsibility among Filipino teenagers had two components: Commercial and institutional. The commercial component attempted to establish 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 personal problems. The hotline was an improvement over the Mexican "Cuando Estemos Juntos" project in that it provided data on effects (measured by the number of phone calls received), and also provided a route to action for the individual.

JHU/PCS's efforts in the Philippines received support from multinational corporations like Pepsi Cola,

Nestles, and Colgate, and from several Filipino companies including San Miguel beer and the Philippines Long Distance and Telegraph Company (PLDT), which donated broadcast time and underwrote certain project costs. Companies like Nike, AGFA, Close-Up, and Johnson and Johnson donated products which were given away during activities related to the song's promotion. An estimated \$1.2 million were provided in free broadcasting time and in donated materials like posters, cards, calendars, T-shirts, and discounted telephone charges (Rogers & others, 1989).

The Filipino broadcast media provided some free broadcast time for these songs on radio, and for two music videos on Filipino television. The Catholic Church of the Philippines endorsed JHU/PCS's effort as a "positive approach to promote sexually responsible behavior". Lea Salonga visited several high schools in Metro Manila to promote the songs and to discuss their messages with thousands of Filipino teenagers. These high schools held an essay writing contest in which students discussed the social messages in "That Situation", and how important these messages were in their lives. Winning essays received awards from President Aquino's sister-in-law, "Popsie" Aquino, a

crusader for social development programs in the Philippines.

Television advertisements used clips from the music video, and radio advertisements used clips from the songs, to introduce telephone hotlines in Metro Manila which provided counseling for troubled adolescents. The telephone hotlines were also promoted by "Dial-a-Friend" advertisements, which featured Lea Salonga. These television spots 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. The hotlines were so popular that the Philippine Long Distance and Telegraph Company agreed (1) to continue funding the telephone hotlines when JHU/PCS's Philippine project ended in May, 1989, and (2) to purchase prime-time television spots for continuing the "Dial-a-Friend" campaign on Filipino television.

A research evaluation of the effects of "That Situation" and "I Still Believe" showed that these songs positively influenced knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors related

to sexual responsibility among Filipino teenagers (Silayan-Go, 1989). Lea Salonga appeared live on television 22 times, and the music video of "I Still Believe" was broadcast 126 times on television (Rogers & others, 1989). Undoubtedly, the massive, repeated exposure of Filipino adolescents to this song was one reason for the effects that it achieved. Lea Salonga and members of the Menudo group received several thousand letters from Filipino teenagers conveying how much they liked the two songs, and how highly they valued the intended messages. Annaliza Apostel, a 14-year old ninth grade student in a Metro Manila high school wrote to Lea: "The song 'That Situation' is one of my favorite songs. I like it because it gives me a message. This song affects my life . . . all the time".

Lea Salonga: Meteoric Rise to Stardom

Born in Manila in 1971, Lea Salonga began singing professionally at age six. A year later she was invited to join the Filipino Repertoire Group (Philippine's only professional Western theater group). By age 12, Lea had cut three music albums for children, and hosted her own television show "Love Lea".

In 1986, JHU/PCS selected Lea to perform "That Situation" and "I Still Believe", an opportunity which "boosted my career tremendously", said Lea to the present author in a 1989 personal interview. Patrick Coleman, who directed the Filipino rock music project, found Lea's audition videotape "awful" in video quality, but was highly impressed by her singing voice. Lea was happy to have an opportunity "to promote sexual responsibility among the Filipino teenage population", she told the present author in a 1989 personal interview.

Even greater career opportunities awaited Lea. In 1988, the president of the Organization of Filipino Singers called Lea's mother to announce auditions for "Miss Saigon", a big-time musical created by "Les Miserables" lyricist Alain Boublil and composer Claude-Michel Schonberg. In a worldwide search, Lea won over 1,500 competitors, clinching the lead role of an orphaned Vietnamese girl (Kim), who is unwillingly forced into prostitution. "Miss Saigon" opened to packed audiences in a London theater in Fall, 1989, and was immediately a resounding success. The show will be featured on Broadway in Fall, 1990. "Miss Saigon's" lyricist

Boublil says: "Lea is the most amazing and intuitive professional I have ever met" (Boublil, quoted in Joffe, 1990). The sound track of "Miss Saigon" on records, tapes, and compact disks was receiving worldwide sales in early 1990.

While the popularity of "Miss Saigon" made Lea a world celebrity, she remains a gentle, humble person. "I wanted to be a medical doctor," she reflected in a 1989 personal interview with the present author. At present, her medical studies have been interrupted by her singing and acting career.

Karina and Charlie: A Relatively Unsuccessful Campaign

In 1989, two popular songs and music videos, "Creo en Ti" ("I Think of You", a Spanish-language translation of "I Still Believe" as recorded by Lea and Charlie in the Philippines in 1987) and "Frena" ("Brake" or "Stop"), were produced and distributed in Latin America by FFI in collaboration with JHU/PCS. The two singers were Karina (formerly a Venezuelan soap opera actress) and Charlie Masso (a Puerto Rican singer, formerly with Menudo, who had been involved in the Philippines rock music project with Lea Salonga).

A research evaluation of Karina and Charlie's two songs was conducted in Mexico and Peru by the Institute for Communication Research of Mexico City. The music videos were not as successful from a commercial or educational perspective as the previous experiences in Mexico and Philippines. The songs were not that strong in musical quality, and Charlie Masso's other songs were then popular in Latin America, thus crowding out his entertainment-education songs with Karina. Young adolescents had trouble comprehending the educational messages of "Creo en Ti" and "Frena", and confused the lyrics of the two songs with other popular songs (Church, 1990). However, an estimated one million Mexican teenagers heard the two Karina and Charlie songs.

Promoting Responsible Parenthood in Nigeria

Building on the success of Tatiana and Johnny in Mexico and Lea Salonga and Charlie Masso in the Philippines, the next stop for the JHU/PCS officials' was Nigeria, a country where West African "juju" music is highly popular. Nigeria has a very high population growth rate,

and a great deal of male sexual irresponsibility. King Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu recorded "Choices" (aimed at adults) and "Wait for Me" (targeted to adolescents) in March, 1989, in London. The two songs were released in Nigeria five months later.

"Choices" soon became the number one song in Nigeria, telling adult listeners that it is time to make decisions about contraception and responsible parenthood (See Appendix E for the complete lyrics of this song). Radio broadcasts of the songs were followed with discussions about the songs' messages. With the commercial success of the songs already established (in early 1990), JHU/PCS officials are presently promoting the institutional aspects of the campaign (much as they did in the Philippines). While "Choices" was a Nigerian (or West African-based) campaign, several thousand pirated copies of the songs have been distributed in other African countries.

Forty-four year old "King" Sunny Ade is the world-famous singer of West African ("Juju") music, who has made over 100 albums during his 25-year music career. Sunny Ade is a Yoruba, the main tribe of Western Nigeria. About half of Sunny Ade's albums were designed to deliver some

kind of social message, such as integrating the different cultures and religions of Nigeria. "Popular music is the best means to reach the public with such educational messages," said Sunny Ade to the present author in a 1989 personal interview.

Ms. Onyeka Onwenu, an Ibo (from the main tribe of Eastern Nigeria), is another well-known Nigerian singer who delivers social messages through her music. While a print and television journalist, Onyeka Onwenu tried to promote family planning in rural areas of Nigeria. But discussing sex in public is a social taboo, and women in rural areas lack information about sex and pregnancy (Rogers & others, 1989). The high rate of population growth of Nigeria is one result of this situation.

In her songs, like "Choices", Onyeka says that love-making is a natural and beautiful thing, but the consequence of pregnancy should always be kept in mind. Like Tatiana, Onyeka believes that her listeners identify the educational messages in her songs, one reason for their popularity.

OTHER ROCK MUSIC EFFORTS³

While Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services pioneered multi-media rock music campaigns to promote sexual responsibility in several countries, other nations have capitalized on this unique entertainment-education strategy as well.

Gem Myers and Fab Five: Reggae Music for Sexual Responsibility in Jamaica

For four years, from 1982 through 1986, the Jamaican National Family Planning Board ran an integrated family planning communication campaign, which included songs about sexual responsibility, radio and television commercials, and newspaper, billboard, and cinema advertisements.

Developed by the Jamaican office of McCann-Erickson, the international advertising company, one of the key slogans of this family planning campaign was "Before you be a mother, you got to be a women". This slogan was the chorus of a popular song, sung to a catchy reggae beat by Gem Myers and the Fab Five, a popular reggae

music group in Jamaica. The song warned about problems of early teenage pregnancy: "I had to drop out of school. Now I can't get a job. I have no education, and I have no man. So, young girls, get wise, have fun while you can. Children can wait until you become a woman" (quoted in Population Reports, 1986, p. J-863).

Introduced by a well-known Jamaican disc jockey in 1985, "You Got to be a Women" became very popular with teenage Jamaican audiences. In 1986, a year after its release, this song was still played frequently on Jamaican radio. The reggae song campaign was accompanied by radio and television spots promoting sexual responsibility by teenagers. The National Family Planning Board of Jamaica obtained free broadcast time for this campaign from both the government-run Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) and the privately-run Radio Jamaica Limited (RJL). A 1986 research evaluation of this four-year family planning campaign showed that about 90 percent of the respondents recalled the sexual responsibility messages in "You Got to be a Women" (Population Reports, 1986).

Indonesia's "Jangan Dulu"

Learning from Tatiana and Johnny's experience, but executed independently, BKKBN, the Indonesian national family planning agency, created "Jangan Dulu" ("Wait a While, My Love"), a song promoting sexual responsibility. Written by Rudi Pekerti, a well-known Indonesian song-writer, and sung by Irianti Emingpraja, a popular female singer, "Jangan Dulu" is Indonesia's "first pop song with a family planning message" (Pekerti & Musa, 1989): "Oh, wait a while my love...Don't buy me a ring, a reflection of your inner love...".

Launched in 1987, a compressed version of "Jangan Dulu" became a highly popular 60-second family planning spot, and was also used as the opening theme music for several other family planning radio and television programs. While the creation of "Jangan Dulu" and the accompanying advertising spots cost only \$3,000 (U.S.), the record album "Aku Cinta Rindu" ("I Love Rindu"), which contained "Jangan Dulu", sold over 100,000 copies, a major commercial success by Indonesian standards (Pekerti & Musa, 1989).

Ringling the Democracy Bell in Mongolia

A democratic movement toppled the ruling Communist Party in Mongolia in early 1990. While street demonstrations and hunger strikes were effective, popular support for the pro-democracy movement was created via rock-and-roll music (Kristof, 1990). A highly popular Mongolian rock band, Hongk (which in the Mongolian language means "Bell"), led the dissidents' struggle for democracy through their song, "The Ring of the Bell." The song's lyrics, which became the dissidents anthem, argued for a national awakening: "The ring of the bell rouses us, let it toll across the broad steppes, reverbrating mile after mile, let the bell carry our yearning, and revive all our hopes" (Kristof, 1990). As "The Ring of the Bell" gained in popularity, protests against the Communist Party mounted, eventually leading to the ouster of Party officials, and the establishment of a democratic government.

Formed in 1989, Hongk has gained nationwide attention in Mongolia because of the group's willingness to address sensitive social issues. Hongk members, Tsogtsaikhan⁴ (guitarist) and Enkhayar (keyboard player), have no formal training in music, but have been influenced by

Western musicians such as Simon and Garfunkel, Queen, Pink Floyd, and Elton John.

Remo Fernandez: Rock Music With a Message

The most popular music in India is film music. Each Indian feature film, whether in Hindi or in a regional language, has several songs, sung by a popular "playback" singer, while the actors/actresses mimic the words on screen. These film songs receive further play on radio and on television. In contrast, Western popular music has a relatively small audience in India. But the market for popular rock music is growing. CBS, an Indian music company, sold 100,000 cassettes of Michael Jackson's "Bad" in 1988 (Rahman, 1988).

Several Indian singers now sing popular English music. Many write their own songs, create their own music, sing about their personal experiences, and record their own albums. In the late 1980s, rock music has come of age in India: Attendance at rock music concerts has grown spectacularly, Indian popular musicians regularly perform before captivated college audiences, and Indian music companies now heavily promote Indian popular

musicians. The 1988 Festival of India in Moscow ended with a concert by India's leading pop musicians.

One of the most popular musicians in India is 35-year old Remo Fernandes, an extraordinarily-gifted entertainer, preacher, singer, and satirist. Remo grew up 100 miles north of Bombay in Goa, the former Portugese colony known for its lively songs and dances. As a child, Remo sang to overcome a stammer. In college, Remo studied architecture, but decided instead to make a career as a rock musician. Frustrated for several years, when no music company offered to record his albums, in 1983, Remo created his own music company, Goana. He released three albums, "Goan Crazy", "Pack that Smack", and "Old Goan Gold". "I write songs which are relevant to my experience. I sing against drug addiction because I have seen people disintegrate before my eyes" (quoted in Rahman, 1988, p. 141).

Several of Remo's songs illustrate the entertainment-education strategy in music. Remo's popular songs address such social issues as drug addiction, nuclear disarmament, political corruption, problems of industrialization, and the pleasures of pastoral life. His music combines Goan and Portugese folk rhythms with

popular Western music. Remo has a stage presence something like Bruce Springsteen, and involves his audience while he performs. Remo's "Pack that Smack" album sold about 10,000 copies in 1988, small in numbers by Western standards, but indicative of the growing popularity of rock music performers in India.

Remo made news in 1985 when he welcomed former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to Goa with the song, "Hello Rajiv Gandhi". The lyrics were relatively innocuous in contrast to Remo's previous political songs, but a local Goan daily newspaper reported that Remo's song upset the former Prime Minister. The air was cleared when Rajiv Gandhi wrote to Remo saying how much he and his wife, Sonia, enjoyed Remo's music.

Another popular rock musician in India is Joe Alvares, who, like Remo, focuses his music on the ills of Indian society. With Kenneth D'Souza, Alvares created a popular music group called "India", which in 1988 released a hit song, "One India", about national unity in India: "Millions have seen your pain, as you broke from the chains of oppression, a new nation born, through the power of peace, now crushed under hatred and lies" (quoted in Rahman, 1988, p. 140).

POPULAR MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES

The U.S. music industry on several occasions has attempted to deliver educational messages through popular music. Initially, the primary attempt was fund-raising, such as by the Bangladesh-Aid concert in 1971 (to support Bangladesh's independence struggle), the "We Are the World" concert in July, 1985 for relief of the Ethiopian famine, "Farm-Aid" to raise money for the Midwest's ailing farm economy, and so on (Rogers & others, 1989). Artists and rock groups such as Sting, U2, Eurythmics, Huey Lewis and the News, Talking Heads, and others donated the royalties of their hit songs to the environmental pressure group Greenpeace, which recently released two composite albums entitled "Rainbow Warriors". Artists and the music industry have realized that such music events not just raise funds but also help promote public awareness of certain social issues. Also, a musician's career is often furthered by delivering educational messages through popular music, and by raising funds.

In recent years, various songs and benefit concerts promote such educational messages as rainforest

preservation (Olivia Newton John and British rock star Sting are two environmental activists), stop-the-violence campaign (in an anti-gang rap song), AIDS songs (such as "That's What Friends Are For" by Dionne Warwick, Stevie Wonder, Elton John, and others in 1988, and "Small Town Boy" by the English rock group Bronze), and responsible sexual behavior (such as "Don't Rush Me") (Rogers & others, 1989). "That's What Friends Are For" via its lyrics told the public that AIDS is not just a gay disease, and emerged as the number one song on the popular music charts in 1988. Madonna included a 3" x 3" card on "Facts about AIDS" in every copy of her recent albums, which have sold more than ten million copies worldwide. Although the impact of her educational attempt may be enormous, its effects have not been evaluated (Rogers & others, 1989).

Much rock music is anti-social. For example, certain rap-music groups in the U.S. promote attitudes such as unsafe sex, devil worship, bigotry, hate, revenge, and racism. Public Enemy, a rap group whose music reflects anti-semitism, achieved sales of over a million record albums in recent years. The heavy-metal group Guns N' Roses sold more than four million copies of their hit album "GNR Lies", whose lyrics insult blacks,

homosexuals, and immigrants (Adler, Foote, & Sawhill, 1990, p.56.).

Concerned about the influence of such rock groups on teenagers, the Parent's Music Resource Center in Arlington, Virginia, closely monitors lyrics in rap and heavy metal music. The Center is supported by the wives of several U.S. Senators and Congressmen. Could these potentially harmful musical traditions be controlled? No. Major record companies (like CBS and Columbia Records), which have a heavy stake in the popularity of such heavy metal groups, put the weight of their positions behind selling such anti-social records. Further, musical expression is protected by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (which guarantees free speech and a free press).

Suzi Landolphi: Musical Show on AIDS Prevention

Concerned with the growing number of cases of AIDS on college campuses (in 1990, one out of every 500 college students was estimated as carrying the AIDS virus), Suzi Landolphi, an actress, singer, and a video producer created a song-and-dance variety entertainment show to promote sexual responsibility among college students. So

popular is Suzi's show that 65 U.S. colleges have invited her to perform in 1990, hoping to increase AIDS awareness among students. Landolphi's critics contend that her free-wheeling song-and-dance show on AIDS awareness also helps promote promiscuity among young college students.

CONCLUSIONS

Rock music represents a potentially powerful medium to reach teenage audiences with educational-development messages. The experience of Tatiana and Johnny with "Cuando Estemos Juntos" in Mexico, Lea Salonga and Charlie Masso with "I Still Believe" in the Philippines, and King Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu with "Choices" in Nigeria provide evidence of how popular music songs can promote sexually responsible behaviors, without sacrificing commercial objectives. However, the process of creating a successful rock music campaign is complex: An integrated and synergistic multimedia effort, involving government leaders, communication researchers, public health officials, international donor agencies, entertainment industry executives, rock musicians, broadcast media, commercial sponsors, religious groups, and infrastructural services is needed for implementing

a potentially successful communication campaign. Not all such songs, even if carefully constructed, are successful in attracting a large audience, as the 1989 experience with Karina and Charlie in Latin America illustrates.

NOTES

1. The present chapter draws upon Singhal & Rogers (1989a; 1989b) and Rogers & others (1989), and is based upon the author's personal interviews with Patrick Coleman (1988), Tatiana Palacios (1989), Lea Salonga (1989), King Sunny Ade (1989), and Onyeka Onwenu (1989).
2. Menudo is a youth rock music group from Puerto Rico which was highly popular in Latin America and the Philippines in the mid-1980s. Group members graduate from the Menudo at age 17, creating a place for other talented teenagers.
3. In Uganda, singer-musician Philly Bongoley Lutaaya, a national celebrity, launched a national AIDS education campaign through his popular songs. Lutaaya's interest in leading Uganda's AIDS campaign was sharpened when he was diagnosed with AIDS a few years ago. Lutaaya died in 1989.
4. Mongolians have a single name.

Chapter 3

THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN TELEVISION

Everyone talks about bad television programs and the effects which they have; but actually it would be much more constructive and enlightening to experiment with good programs.

Paul F. Lazarsfeld (quoted in Gerald Lesser [1974], Children and Television: Lessons From Sesame Street, New York: Vintage Books, p. 1).

This instrument can teach, it can illuminate. Yes, it can inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise, it is merely lights and wires in a box.

Edward R. Murrow (quoted in Gerald Lesser, [1974], Children and Television: Lessons From Sesame Street, New York: Vintage Books, p. 257).

The purpose of the present chapter is to review recent experiences with the entertainment-education communication strategy in television. During the 1980s, television audiences have expanded tremendously in Third World nations. The Third World countries' share of the world population of television sets increased from 5 percent in 1965, to 10 percent in 1975, to 14 percent in 1980, to 20 percent in 1984, and to 40 percent in 1990.¹

During the ten-year period from 1980 to 1990, the number of television sets increased by 20 times in the People's Republic of China, and by 15 times in India.² Television now reaches an audience of at least 600 million of China's 1.1 billion population (55 percent), about 125 million of India's 880 million people (15 percent), and about 70 million of Mexico's 80 million people (87 percent). These millions of new television viewers in the Third World provide a huge potential for development communication.

But television is not utilized generally to promote literacy, improve nutrition, limit family size, and increase productivity, because television content in the Third World is dominated by entertainment programs, including imported reruns from the United States like "I Love Lucy", "Kojak", and "Dallas" (Singhal & Rogers, 1988). These entertainment programs contribute little toward the development goals of Third World nations in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Much television content is potentially anti-development, such as advertising and entertainment programs that encourage consumerism, and which may create frustration among the poor and disadvantaged viewers in reaching material goals.

Television's reach in Western industrialized countries is even higher than in Third World countries. For instance, 98 percent of American households own at least one television set. An American household on average watches seven hours of television per day. Next to sleeping, and time spent on the job, Americans spend more time watching television than in any other activity (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1981). So even in Western industrialized countries, television's potential use in education and development is tremendous: The medium is available to people, and is watched by them. Unfortunately, not much of the educational potential of television has been realized.

Of the five primary human senses (vision, audition, smell, taste, and touch), television appeals to the sense of vision and audition, the two senses which are usually most developed in human beings, and also the most used (Singer, 1980). Television's audio-visual quality makes it a potentially powerful instructional tool as the human brain stores a vast amount of visual and verbal codes (Singer, 1980). Like radio and film (and unlike print), television also overcomes the literacy barrier. So creating entertainment-education

messages on television has several advantages for Third World development.

ENTERTAINMENT VERSUS EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION
IN THE U.S.: A FALSE DICHOTOMY

The U.S. mass media generally separate entertainment messages from educational messages. U.S. commercial television networks are large, private, profit-oriented organizations, operating under loose government regulation. They broadcast predominantly entertainment programs because this genre achieves higher audience ratings, and maximizes advertising incomes. The search for large audiences and profits leads to producing programs that cater to the "lowest common denominator". Popular entertainment programs crowd out educational programs, which are anathema to the three U.S. commercial networks (Montgomery, 1989).

On a few occasions, the U.S. television networks broadcast programs to raise public consciousness, and to inform the audience about a social issue (McGhee, 1980; Montgomery, 1981; Cantor, 1979; Breed & DeFoe, 1982). For example, the immensely popular ABC mini-series, "Roots", and its sequel "Roots: The Next Generation",

focused on Black people's struggle for freedom from slavery and for equality with whites in the U.S. The 1977 broadcasts of "Roots" achieved extremely high audiences in the United States.

Norman Lear's popular CBS television program in the 1970s, "All in the Family" called attention to ethnic prejudice through a highly bigoted character, Archie Bunker. Lear, by mixing humor with bigotry, intended to parody ethnic prejudice. Presumably, to the extent that viewers recognized the ridiculous nature of Archie's prejudices, they recognized their own prejudices, and changed them due to the uncomfortable self-confrontation. However, the pro-social objectives of "Roots" and "All in the Family" were secondary byproducts of television shows primarily designed to attract large audiences. Studies of the audience effects of "Roots", "Roots the Next Generation", and "All in the Family" showed that these American television programs increased audience awareness of racial and ethnic issues (Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974; Tate & Surlin, 1976; Wander, 1977; Ball-Rokeach, Grube, & Rokeach, 1981). Some already-prejudiced viewers, however, were reinforced in their prejudice (Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974).

Communication scholars worry about the kind of images that U.S. television is promoting. During 1978-1979, prime-time television portrayed approximately 20,000 scenes of suggested sexual intercourse and sexual innuendo (Sprafkin & Silverman, 1981). For every sexual act between spouses, television soap operas showed six extra-marital sexual encounters. Overall, 94 percent of sexual encounters on television soap operas are between unmarried people (Greenberg, Abelman, & Neuendorf, 1981). While there is an abundance of sexually explicit/implicit material on U.S. television, little media content deals with the consequences of sex, pregnancy, family planning, and sexually-transmitted diseases (Harris & others, 1985).

What measures could be taken to influence U.S. television programming? The "Hollywood lobbyists" suggest one way.

THE "HOLLYWOOD LOBBYISTS"³

Numerous organizations maintain a presence in Hollywood today, in order to try to influence U.S. television producers to include their issue (usually a liberal issue such as gay and lesbian rights, abortion, solar

energy, alcoholism, and others) in an episode of a television series. These "Hollywood lobbyists" occasionally are successful in getting their issue presented in prime-time television, and thus raise public conscience about that issue (Montgomery, 1989). Generally, the effects on the U.S. audience of such effects by the "Hollywood lobbyists" have not been investigated by researchers (Montgomery, 1989).

Labelled as "pressure groups", "special interest groups", "lobbyists", and "citizens' groups", advocacy groups represent various interests: Groups represent minorities (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), women (National Organization of Women), gay men (National Gay Task Force), and others. Conservative religious groups (like the Moral Majority) worry about television's role in the degradation of traditional values, social issue groups (like the Center for Population Options) seek to incorporate messages about birth control, anti-violence groups (like the Parent Teacher Association) rally network officials to reduce violent content on television, and so on (Montgomery, 1989).

One of the most widely-known illustrations of an advocacy group in Hollywood getting a social issue injected into prime-time television occurred in Fall, 1972 when "Maude", a 47 year-old woman (played by Bea Arthur) in one of Norman Lear's CBS television series by the same name, became pregnant. After being indecisive for two episodes (called "Maude's Dilemma"), Maude decided to get an abortion rather than bear an unwanted child. Within minutes, CBS received 373 angry telephone calls, and a public controversy erupted (Montgomery, 1989). Pro-life organizations called for a more balanced treatment of the abortion issue, demanding two sequel episodes of "Maude", supporting the right-to-life of unborn babies (Montgomery, 1989). Their demand remained unhonored, and more controversy erupted when the two "Maude" episodes were about to be rebroadcast the next season (in 1973). Fearing customer backlash, several advertisers withdrew their spots from the "Maude" time-slot, and one-fourth of all CBS affiliates, left with no advertiser support, refused to carry the rebroadcasts.

CBS officials debated whether to rerun "Maude's Dilemma". Population Institute's David Poindexter, a hard-driving, successful "Hollywood lobbyist", rallied

CBS officials to broadcast the controversial episodes (Montgomery, 1989). The "Maude" controversy "tested, as never before, the boundaries of acceptability for program content" on prime-time broadcasts (Montgomery, 1989).

The Population Institute

One of the most effective lobby groups in Hollywood in the early 1970s was the New York-based Population Institute, which worked relentlessly to incorporate family planning messages in the entertainment media. Led by two "can-do" former Methodist ministers, David Poindexter (whose important role in the diffusion of entertainment-education soap operas to Third World countries will be discussed in Chapter 7) and Rodney Shaw, the Population Institute brought together Chief Executives of the three U.S. networks to agree to create quality entertainment programs dealing with population planning. The Population Institute offered cash prizes of up to \$10,000 each year to encourage such programs. In 1980, the Population Institute discontinued its activities, spinning-off the Center for Population Options, headquartered in Washington D.C., but with a strong presence in Hollywood. David Poindexter founded

the Center for Population Communications-International (presently Population Communications-International).

Norman Fleishman's Microsecond

Microsecond is an influential lobby group in Hollywood, founded by Norman Fleishman, who earlier headed the Los Angeles chapter of the Planned Parenthood Federation, and who also served as the Media Director of the Population Institute in Los Angeles. In 1973, Fleishman hosted a party in Norman Lear's honor in order to express solidarity with the controversial "Maude" episodes, bringing several key Hollywood influentials together in his home. Such parties, later continued at Fleishman's Los Angeles home, reinforced the need among Hollywood officials to create pro-social media messages.

Advocacy groups have learned how tightly-knit the entertainment industry is, discovering that in order to influence network programming, cooperation works better than confrontation. Establishing an office in Hollywood helps to build networks with the creative community and enhances a Hollywood lobbyist's visibility. Warren Breed and James De Foe established an office in Hollywood in 1979 to lobby the creative community to change its

portrayal of alcohol consumption in entertainment programs (Breed & De Foe, 1982). Their content analysis of prime-time network programs showed that viewers were being taught the "wrong" lessons about alcohol consumption (for example, television characters rarely refused a drink, and often consumed alcohol when facing a personal crisis). De Foe, a television writer in a previous decade, enlisted the help of the Writer's Guild to sensitize Hollywood producers about their inappropriate portrayal of alcohol. Over the next several years, Breed and De Foe's "cooperative consultation" helped Hollywood in correcting the televised portrayal of alcohol (Montgomery, 1989).

How could "Hollywood lobbyists" be more effective in influencing network programming? In general, Montgomery (1989) concludes from her research on the Hollywood lobbyists that appreciating the constraints and commercial imperatives of the entertainment industry, establishing a local office, gaining friendships with television writers and directors, and suggesting episodes or scenes are the most effective strategies for success. But there are exceptions.

The Harvard Alcohol Project: A Designated
Driver Campaign

In the 1980s, Mothers Against Drinking and Driving (MADD), a very influential lobby group, played a key role in implementing tougher state laws on drunk driving. MADD got started when the founder's daughter was killed by a drunk driver. In recent years, a prestigious U.S. academic institution, Harvard University, utilized its position to combat drunk driving.

During 1988 and 1989, representatives of the Harvard School of Public Health worked closely with networks' executives, creative producers, and writers to incorporate messages in prime-time programs warning against drinking and driving. Jay Winsten, M.D., Director of the Harvard Alcohol Project (HAP) in the Harvard School of Public Health, was inspired by designated driver behavior in Sweden, in which a group of friends selects one person to abstain from alcohol and to be responsible for driving; other group members have the choice of consuming alcohol (DeJong & Winsten, 1990).

The Harvard Alcohol Project represents a rare case when the effects of a Hollywood-lobbyist-type campaign were evaluated. During the Fall, 1988 and 1989 seasons, some 77 prime-time programs promoted the designated driver concept by including at least a few lines of dialogues: For example, on an episode of "LA Law", Michael Kuzak (played by Harry Hamlin) asked a bartender to call his girlfriend "and tell the lady I need a ride home" (Finke, 1988; Winsten, 1990). Such episodic dialogues were supplemented by public service announcements (PSAs) encouraging designated driver behavior. A pre- and post-test research design indicated higher levels of awareness among the target audience about the designated driver concept, and somewhat higher levels of designated driver behavior (Winsten, 1990).

What factors contributed to the relative success of the Harvard Alcohol Project? Harvard representatives did not confront the extensive alcohol advertising (beer and wine) on the television networks. Their purpose was to attack drunk driving, not alcoholism. Further, they did not ask for major changes in program content, but small adjustments which could be easily incorporated.

Celebrity Endorsement

A celebrity endorser is an individual who enjoys public recognition and who uses this recognition to promote a certain product, concept, or service (McCracken, 1989). Hollywood celebrities, generally known for their large-sized egos and free-wheeling lifestyles have in recent years become endorsers (or "champions") for saving the environment, preventing substance abuse, and promoting other social causes. Paul Newman, founder of the Scott Newman Center (created in memory of his son who died of a drug overdose), lobbies for creating media messages which dissuade substance abuse. Meryl Streep, Ted Danson, Barbara Streisand, Robert Redford, and Steven Spielberg are highly involved in environmental protection. Norman Lear, Disney Studios Chairman Michael Eisner, and MCA President Sid Sheinberg are key officials of the Environmental Media Association, headquartered in Hollywood. In 1989, several celebrities including Diana Ross, Elton John, and Sigourney Weaver joined world leaders in "Our Common Future", a five-hour global television broadcast on saving-the-planet (McDowell, 1989).

Often, celebrity endorsement legitimizes a social issue for the public, and influences policy-making. However, a celebrity should "fit" the issue for the endorsement to have an effect (McCracken, 1989). The success of Paul Newman's center for substance abuse prevention comes not just from Newman's highly-successful acting career, but also from his first-hand personal experience with the problems of drug abuse.

CHILDREN'S TELEVISION⁴

Despite three decades of public outcry, the quality of children's television in the U.S. is dismal (Palmer, 1988). Barring a few exceptions (like "Sesame Street" and "Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood"), most children's programs are mediocre in quality, and several are potentially harmful in conveying violence and other anti-social content. Groups such as Action for Children's Television (ACT), founded in the 1970s by Boston-area parents, questions the existence of such popular children's programs as ABC's "Beetle-Juice" (in which a ghostly central character provides lessons in "grossness"), or CBS's "Rude Dog and the Dweebs", in which the canine hero teaches that it is "cool" to be obnoxious (Waters, 1990). Popular war cartoon shows such

as "He-Man, Masters of the Universe", "Sheera", and "G.I. Joe" potentially propagate hatred, teaching children that the U.S. must be defended from a world filled with violent enemies (O'Connor, 1990). The race for television ratings and advertising incomes (from selling children's products) often detracts from producing pro-social children's television.

One stark exception in the generally gloomy world of U.S. children's television is "Sesame Street".

"Sesame Street": The Longest Street in the World

A remarkable illustration of the entertainment-education communication strategy, "Sesame Street" is easily one of the most regularly watched children's television program of all time. Created in 1969 by the Children's Television Workshop (CTW), headquartered in New York and led by Joan Ganz Cooney, "Sesame Street" is watched by an estimated 12 million Americans every week, including six million preschoolers (Children's Television Workshop, 1987, p. 6). This program is aimed at children aged 2 to 5 years. The television series, which helps prepare preschoolers for classroom learning, has been broadcast in its original

English-language version in 53 countries, and 16-foreign language adaptations of "Sesame Street" have been broadcast in 47 countries (Children's Television Workshop, 1988, p. 2). Reaching audiences in over 100 countries in six continents, "Sesame Street" is "the longest street in the world" (Lesser, 1974).

The idea of creating CTW originated in 1966 when Joan Ganz Cooney, then a television producer, and Lloyd Morrisett, then an executive at the Carnegie Foundation (and presently the Chairman of CTW's Board of Trustees, and President of the Markle Foundation), decided to test television's usefulness in teaching young children. Start-up funds of \$7 million were obtained from government agencies and private foundations, in order to create an autonomous, non-profit organization, free from political and economic pressures (Lesser, 1974).

"Sesame Street's" purpose is to develop cognitive learning skills of preschool children, teaching them letters, numbers, geometric forms, and such valued pro-social qualities as kindness and cooperation.

"Sesame Street" utilizes Piaget's (1952) principle of knowledge acquisition: To learn something new, relate it to something an individual already knows. For instance,

to teach the shape of the letter Y, a comparison is made with a forked road. Educational information is repeated several times for enhanced learning (Greenfield, 1985). Other carefully chosen techniques are employed to make the child an active participant in the learning process, by overcoming the one-way nature of most television broadcasting. A variety of entertainment formats are employed to hold children's attention: Muppets, music, animation, live-action films, special-effects, and celebrity visits (Children's Television Workshop, 1988). Each segment of "Sesame Street" is quite short, usually less than three minutes.

Every year, CTW creates a new series of 130 hour-long "Sesame Street" programs. These one-hour programs are broadcast by PBS stations every morning (and repeated again in the afternoon) each weekday for 26 weeks. Then the 5-day, 26-week cycle is rebroadcast during the second half of the year. Production costs of "Sesame Street's" 130 hour-long episodes in 1987 were about \$11 million, with each episode costing \$85,000. CTW, a non-profit organization, obtains two-thirds of "Sesame Street's" total production costs from self-generated revenues (such as the sale of books, dolls, etc.), which makes it the largest single contributor to public

television programming in the U.S. The other one-third is provided by foundations, corporate grants, and by Public Broadcasting Service (PBS).

Eighteen months of formative evaluation preceded the first broadcast of "Sesame Street" in 1969. As explained previously, formative evaluation is a type of research that is conducted while an activity, process, or system is being planned or is on-going, in order to improve its effectiveness. A thorough assessment of preschoolers' needs was conducted in order to construct CTW's educational messages, and entertaining formats with high educational appeals were pretested, and often revised in order to obtain the desired effect. CTW has pioneered several formative evaluation techniques. For instance, to test a program segment's appeal, the "distractor" method is utilized (CTW, 1988). While children watch the program segment on a television set, attractive slides are projected on a slide screen placed next to the television screen in order to distract a child's attention. Childrens' eye contact with the television screen is noted in order to obtain a measure of the program segment's appeal. Such intense formative evaluation continues in present-day "Sesame Street" productions.

"Sesame Street" is probably "the most evaluated television program, anywhere in the world" (Tan, 1985). Summative evaluations of U.S. and international productions of "Sesame Street" consistently show that viewers score higher in tests of ability in all curriculum areas than do non-viewers (Ball & Bogatz, 1970; Bogatz & Ball, 1971; Minton, 1972; Children's Television Workshop, 1988). As explained previously, summative evaluation is conducted near the end of (or after) an activity, process, or system in order to form judgements about its effectiveness. Some scholars fear that learning is greater among children of high and middle-income families, and "Sesame Street" could potentially be increasing the information-gap (Cook & others, 1975). "Sesame Street's" success "emanates from combining the technology of television with the art of entertainment and specific pedagogical aims", claims Morrisett (quoted in Lesser, 1974).

"Sesame Street" is only one spectacular entertainment-education television series created by CTW. Others include "3-2-1 Contact", a television series focusing on science and technology, "The Electric Company", designed to enhance students' reading skills, and "Square One

TV", geared to enhance children's mathematical ability. "3-2-1 Contact" is broadcast in over 20 countries outside the U.S., and "The Electric Company" in some 15 countries.

In Jordan, CTW co-produced "Al Manaahil" ("The Sources"), a new Arabic television series designed to enhance language and reading skills among Arab children. Sixty-five 30-minute episodes of "Al Manaahil" were broadcast in Jordan in 1987, and the series was exported to several other Arab countries.

The international transfer of the "Sesame Street" (or the CTW) methodology is not just one-way from CTW's New York office to a country. "Rehov Sumsum", the Israeli version of "Sesame Street" has been adapted into a series of home video programs for consumption in America. Titled "Shalom Sesame", the purpose of the video series is to motivate (and supplement) the learning of Hebrew as a second language in the U.S., and to spread awareness among Americans about Israeli people, places, and culture. "Shalom Sesame" represents the first instance when a foreign-language adaptation of "Sesame Street" was brought back to the U.S. (Children's Television Workshop, 1988).

What lessons have been learned about the entertainment-education communication strategy from the experience of "Sesame Street" (Lesser, 1974; Children's Television Workshop, 1988)?

1. Television can be used to educate young viewers without making the educational content subtle, and still attract large audiences. For instance, "Sesame Street" makes little effort to disguise its educational content: "It is an experiment to see how well entertainment could be used in the service of education" (Children's Television Workshop, 1988). A caveat might be that while preschoolers and young children may be relatively less discriminating in selecting their television fare, adults might be more easily turned off by an overtly-didactic program.

2. Television represents a potentially powerful tool to educate young children. Relatively little of this potential has been realized to date anywhere in the world.

3. Television content is strongly shaped by economic and political realities. One failure of "Sesame Street" has

been that it did not inspire commercial network television to broadcast similar entertainment-educational programs.

4. Start-up costs for entertainment-educational programs are typically high, and such programs take a relatively longer time to produce. But once begun, entertainment-education programs can potentially utilize resources in a more efficient manner.

5. Entertainment-educational television programs offer tremendous economies of scale in delivering messages to target audiences. For example, the cost of reaching each preschooler in the United States via "Sesame Street" is less than one cent per child per viewing hour (Lesser, 1974).

6. Formative and summative evaluation are crucial in determining the success of an entertainment-education strategy. However, formative and summative evaluations cost money and involve large amounts of time (often several years). So the point at which the cost of formative and summative evaluations outweigh the advantages accrued by each must be carefully determined.

7. A program's creation, production, and research "methodology" can be transferred within and across national boundaries, and can suitably be adapted to local conditions.

8. A delicate balance between creativity and research is needed in producing entertainment-education programs. One must guard against research "overkill". Scrutinizing every moment of a program could become analogous to analyzing every element of a joke, only to find there is nothing to laugh about.

"Sesame Street's" important contributions to children's television programming have been recognized in the U.S. and overseas. "Sesame Street" has won 33 Emmy Awards, the Special Achievement Award of Action for Children's Television (ACT), and the coveted Prix-Jeunesse International Award.

Prix-Jeunesse International

Prix-Jeunesse ("Youth Prize") International, headquartered in Munich, West Germany, promotes excellence in children's television programming. Since its creation in 1964, every two years, Prix-Jeunesse brings together

children's television producers from all over the world to share experiences, and to recognize outstanding efforts in children's programs.

Most Prix-Jeunesse award-winners address bold, serious social topics. For instance, "A Letter from Emmy", a Dutch television series, depicted the slow, tortuous physical and mental rehabilitation process of Emmy, a small girl who is seriously injured and disfigured in a traffic accident (Palmer, 1988). The 1972 BBC television series, "Vision On", another recipient of the Prix-Jeunesse award, was created for deaf children. A highly visual presentation with no dialogues, the series helped break the sound barrier, encouraging an understanding of deaf children's problems. Unfortunately, such serious topics are usually anathema for American television producers, one reason why American television rarely broadcasts such outstanding foreign programs (Palmer, 1988).

PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE: COMMITTED
TO EXCELLENCE

"Sesame Street" was broadcast on Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) stations, which in stark contrast to

commercial network stations, are service-driven, not profit-oriented. "Feeling Good" and "Canción de la Raza" represent two other entertainment-education jewels in PBS's crown.

"Feeling Good"

Learning from the audience success of "Sesame Street", CTW produced the "Feeling Good" television series "to provide a national audience (mainly adults) with health information in an entertainment format" (Kobin, 1976, p. 32). Broadcast on 250 PBS stations between November, 1974 and June, 1975, "Feeling Good" cost a total of \$5.5 million, spent over four years for production, content development, formative and summative evaluations, promotion, and community outreach efforts (Mielke & Swinehart, 1976).

The first several episodes of "Feeling Good" were set in "Mac's Place", a small variety store with a food counter, where people could meet, and have an opportunity to develop close relationships. The idea of creating a "Mac's Place" in "Feeling Good" bears a close resemblance with Baseley's creation of an Ambridge village in the radio series "The Archers" (discussed

later, in Chapter 4). Targeted primarily to adult viewers (unlike "Sesame Street" which is aimed at pre-schoolers), "Feeling Good" employed drama, comedy, documentary, guest stars, and a highly-popular program host, Dick Cavett, to address eleven priority health issues: Alcohol abuse, cancer prevention, child care, dental care, exercise, health care delivery systems, heart disease, high blood pressure, mental health, nutrition, and pre-and post-natal care (Mielke & Swinehart, 1976). Seventy behavioral goals (for instance, having a pap test, a mammogram, and getting one's child immunized) were identified through formative evaluation by content experts, and incorporated in the television series. Audience feedback was invited, and lessons learned from viewers' responses were incorporated in later episodes for enhancing the series' effectiveness.

Research evaluations showed that "Feeling Good" commanded an average audience viewership of about one million U.S. households, dismal in terms of the typical audience-size for commercial television programs, but satisfactory by PBS standards. The cost per viewer hour was only a few cents, miniscule when compared to costs incurred in distributing a health pamphlet, or visiting

a health clinic. PBS stations inserted referral slides during the broadcasts of "Feeling Good" providing names, addresses, and phone numbers of local health clinics. Field studies demonstrated that "Feeling Good" led to knowledge gains, attitudinal changes, and encouraged health-related behaviors. The American Dental Association received 6,000 requests for free oral-examination kits, the American Hospital Association received 2,500 requests for a Patients' Bill of Rights, and there were 40,000 requests for Smokers' Quitter Kits. In New York City alone, the American Cancer Society received 5,000 inquiries from viewers of "Feeling Good" (Mielke & Swinehart, 1976).

"Canción de la Raza"

"Canción de la Raza" ("Song of the People"), a 65-episode television soap opera, was designed to address problems of the Mexican-American ethnic community in Los Angeles. The series promoted Mexican-American culture and heritage, focusing on family harmony, literacy, welfare services, and ethnic prejudice (Mendelsohn, 1971). The story revolved around the daily lives of the Ramos', a bi-lingual, low-income Mexican-American family, who resided in an East Los Angeles barrio

(settlement). "Canción de la Raza" was based on the prior 1967 experience of "Operation Stop-Gap," a dramatic entertainment-education television series which attempted to reach the hard-to-reach poor segments of the society (Mendelsohn, Espic, & Rogers, 1967).

"Canción de la Raza" relied heavily on formative evaluation for assessing audiences' needs and for constructing messages. Creative professionals (including the series' producer, director, writers, and others) of Station KCET in Los Angeles, and social science research staff of the University of Denver's Communications Arts Center, led by its Director, Dr. Harold Mendelsohn, collaborated to produce "Canción de la Raza" (several similarities exist in "Canción de la Raza's" pre-production process and Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap opera methodology, which we discuss later in Chapter 6). Audience feedback helped write "Canción de la Raza's" story. The series represented "the most thoroughly researched mass communications effort of its kind" (Mendelsohn, 1969). Over one dozen studies (both qualitative and quantitative) of audiences were conducted as part of "Canción de la Raza's" formative and summative evaluation.

A research evaluation of "Canción de la Raza" estimated that the television series was viewed by approximately 15 percent of all Mexican-American households in Los Angeles, a total of 225,000 people (Mendelsohn, 1971). Viewers of "Canción de la Raza" represented all socio-economic segments, including the usually most neglected demographic segment: The poor, the young, and female viewers. The series' content was judged as being relevant and credible. Some 60 percent of viewers gained information about how to cope with problems, 16 percent of the viewers reported modifying their (complacent) attitude, and 6 percent (13,500) people asserted that they had become involved in a socially-ameliorating activity as a consequence of watching the television series. In sum, "Canción de la Raza" "intervened in a positive way in the life of the Mexican-American community in Los Angeles" (Mendelsohn, 1971, p. 53).

What lessons about the entertainment-education communication strategy were learned from "Canción de la Raza's" experience (Mendelsohn, 1969 & 1971)?

1. Collaboration between creative professionals and social science researchers is difficult. Social science jargon is generally "remote, dull, difficult to grasp,

and ultimately threatening to a creative person". On the other hand, a creative person's "because-I-feel-this-is-right" rationale is often distressing to social scientists. While it is important that social scientists and creative professionals accept and appreciate each other's unique role in creating entertainment-education, the task of fostering mutual trust and cooperation between the two can be challenging.

2. Entertainment-education communication suffers if there is not enough time to incorporate research results into actual production processes. A detailed time-ordered production plan should be established, which takes into account expected and unexpected contingencies.

THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN THIRD WORLD TELEVISION

In recent years, several Third World countries have experimented with entertainment television programs to promote educational-development goals. Miguel Sabido, a creative producer-director at Televisa, the private Mexican television network, created several series of entertainment-educational television soap operas, which

inspired other entertainment-educational efforts in India and Kenya. While Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 of the present dissertation discuss the Mexican, Indian, and Kenyan entertainment-education soap operas in detail, the following section analyzes other important entertainment-education television experiences in Third World countries.

Nigeria's "Cock Crow at Dawn"

"Cock Crow at Dawn" was a highly popular television soap opera in Nigeria, inspired by the success of "The Archers" (discussed in Chapter 4) in England. Broadcast for several years on Nigerian television, "Cock Crows at Dawn" was the story of Bello, a middle-aged urban man who returns to his home village in Nigeria to start farming. Like "The Archers" in England, this television serial was tremendously popular among both urban and rural radio audiences in Nigeria.

Nigeria's most successful television public service campaigns have used dramatic formats. In the mid-1960s, Wole Soyinka's television drama, "My Father's Burden", dealt with corruption in Nigeria, making a bold statement about public morality (Ume-Nwagbo, 1986). In

1968, Chief Segu Olusola's immensely popular television serial, "Village Headmaster", depicted the multi-faceted social and political life of a village headmaster, and promoted literacy in rural Nigeria.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Nigerian government strongly promoted the nation's Green Revolution (centered on diffusing the new "miracle" rice and wheat varieties) to attain self-sufficiency in food production. The Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) commissioned Peter Igho, a highly successful Nigerian scriptwriter, to develop a television program promoting the Green Revolution. The United Bank for Africa (UBA) agreed to underwrite the major production costs of such a television program in return for three institutional promotional advertisements in each broadcast. The result was "Cock Crow at Dawn", a 30-minute weekly dramatic serial, broadcast nationwide in Nigeria over NTA's national network. "Cock Crow at Dawn's" 104 episodes were broadcast between 1980 and 1983, and several reruns of this television series have been broadcast since.

"Cock Crow at Dawn" was designed by Igho to "sell" (via entertainment) such agricultural innovations as

large-scale mechanized farming, to Nigeria's middle and upper-class farmers, civil servants, and businessmen, key individuals in boosting Nigeria's Green Revolution. Nigerian television could reach this audience, as most television sets in Nigeria are located in well-to-do households. Another aim of the television series was (1) to encourage Nigerians who had migrated to urban areas to return to their farm, and (2) to discourage those who worked on their farms from leaving them (De-Goshie, 1986).

A content analysis of a sample of "Cock Crow at Dawn" episodes showed that development themes relating to agriculture, rural development, literacy, health, medicine, and industrial and technological development occurred frequently. Overall, the television series carried more non-agricultural messages than agricultural messages, a strategy employed to prevent the educational content from being too blatant (De-Goshie, 1986).

A research evaluation of "Cock Crow at Dawn" showed that about 70 percent of the respondents watched the series primarily for its entertainment content, while 11 percent watched it for its educational content. Viewers' ratings of their favorite characters were age-related:

Younger viewers liked the younger characters more, whereas older viewers liked the older characters. Some 30 percent of the respondents' favorite character was Bello, the progressive, urban government official-turned-rural farmer, whereas 11 percent liked Uncle Gaga, the traditional, conservative antithesis of Bello (Ume-Nwagbo, 1986). Later in the television series, Uncle Gaga is convinced that agricultural innovations are not all bad. While most of "Cock Crow at Dawn's" characters were non-professionals, several of them had prior theater experience. George Menta, who played Bello, took part in several Shakespearean plays when he lived in Britain for 22 years.

In producing "Cock Crow at Dawn", Igho creatively combined Pidgin English, a widely-used, highly popular derivative of the English language in Anglophone West Africa, with the conventional English language. With over 200 identifiable languages in Nigeria, a combination of Pidgin and conventional English language served as the lowest common denominator for Nigeria's television audience. Further, most of the television serial's cast spoke fluent Hausa, the predominant vernacular language of Northern Nigeria. The fluency of the actors in Pidgin English, conventional English, and

Hausa, provided "Cock Crow at Dawn" with tremendous technical and dramatic advantage, endearing the television serial to the audience. Five percent of the survey respondents attributed the popularity of "Cock Crows at Dawn" to its creative use of language (Ume-Nwagbo, 1986). Further, the television characters in "Cock Crow at Dawn" adequately represented the three major ethnic groups (Yoruba, Hausa, and Ibo) in Nigeria, although other ethnic minorities were grossly underrepresented (De-Goshie, 1986).

Each episode of "Cock Crow at Dawn" began with a catchy theme song, whose lyrics were punctuated with the sound of a cock crowing. The television series was shot in a farming village, Sabon Garin Tarria, located 13 miles from Jos, the capital of Plateau State in Nigeria. Sabon Garin Tarria is now fondly referred to by Nigerians as the "Cock Crow at Dawn" village. The television serial's authenticity and its emotional appeals were enhanced by the fact that Peter Igho, its writer-executive producer-director, and George Menta (who portrayed the character of Bello), were both born in Jos, and became folk heroes for the local people when the television series was broadcast. The Chief of Sabon Garin Tarria village named one his sons Bello, in honor

of Bello, the central character in "Cock Crow at Dawn".

There is little doubt that "Cock Crow at Dawn" was a highly successful entertainment program on Nigerian television. In 1980, a typical "Cock Crow at Dawn" broadcast was watched by an average of 12 to 15 million Nigerians, about 15 to 20 percent of Nigeria's total population. The commercial sponsor of this program, the United Bank of Africa (UBA) netted \$40 million in profits during 1982-83, when "Cock Crow at Dawn" was broadcast. UBA's advertising slogan, "Wise men and women bank with UBA", became a household jingle in Nigeria, largely spurred by the audience success of "Cock Crow at Dawn" (De-Goshie, 1986, p. 73).

The television serial's effects on Nigerian agriculture were more subtle and difficult to measure. "Cock Crow at Dawn" followed a socio-Darwinistic approach to development communication, using the mass media to evoke a "modern" experience, especially among elite Nigerian farmers, civil servants, and businessmen (who, in any event, make up most of the Nigerian television audience). NTA hoped that by convincing this elite group, agricultural innovations would "trickle down" to farmers in Nigeria.

"Cock Crow at Dawn" certainly did not turn an average Nigerian viewer into a successful big-time farmer, like Bello. But Bello's towering success as a farmer in the television serial was symbolic. "Cock Crow at Dawn" provided its viewers with practical information about agricultural innovations, to enable them to more realistically control their environment. Audience reaction to "Cock Crow at Dawn" suggests that the television serial did more than "conscientize" its audience, a process in which a community articulates its problems, rather than provide solutions (Ume-Nwagbo, 1986). "Cock Crow at Dawn" provided suggestions to solve technical and practical problems in agriculture. The serial covered a wide range of topics from traditional agricultural methods to mechanized farming methods, and from subsistence farming to heavily bank-financed operations.

In 1981, "Cock Crow at Dawn" received the best program award from the Union of National Radio and Television Organization. Spain, West Germany, and several other African countries bought episodes of "Cock Crow at Dawn" to learn how to implement a similar entertainment-education program for their national television systems.

Nigeria's "In a Lighter Mood"

In Enugu, Nigeria, the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA), in collaboration with Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS), integrated family planning themes in the drama segments of an existing television variety show, "In a Lighter Mood". Thirty-nine episodes were broadcast for 14 months in 1986-1987. The family planning drama promoted the benefits of child spacing, contraception, and small family size norms (Winnard, Rimon, & Convisser, 1987). Enugu's only family planning clinic was advertised, twice during each episode, encouraging residents to seek family planning.

Point-of-referral data were gathered at the only family planning clinic in Enugu. A 147 percent increase occurred in the number of adopters of family planning over the 14 months since the broadcasts began, and 60 percent of all adopters reported the television program as their source of referral to the clinic. An audience survey indicated (1) the high popularity of the "In a Lighter Mood" television series, and (2) a high level of

comprehension and recall of family planning messages (Winnard, Rimon, & Convisser, 1987).

Egypt's "Ana Zannana"⁵

"Ana Zananna" ("I'm Persistent") was a series of 15 television mini-dramas, which provided education about family planning methods to a nationwide television audience in Egypt. This television series was the brainchild of Dr. Farag El-Kamel, a Ph.D. in development communication from the University of Chicago. El-Kamel, media advisor to several development campaigns in Egypt, was for several years thinking of innovative ways to promote family planning in Egypt. In 1988, he conceived of "Ana Zananna", a humorous 15-episode mini-drama. Each episode was one minute long.

This mini-drama's leading character is a negative female role model, played by Sana Youness, a well-known Egyptian woman comedian. The "Ana Zananna" television series was broadcast for one full year, in 1988, on Egyptian national television. Each episode of the mini-drama was self-contained, but all the episodes had an integrative effect as the characters were the same. On the average, five mini-dramas were broadcast every

day, at different times. These mini-dramas were alternated, each broadcast once every three days. Overall, each mini-drama was repeated about 100 times during 1988, providing massive audience exposure. The television series used colloquial Arabic language, and was based in a rural Egyptian setting, where high fertility rates persist.

In one of the episodes, Zannana, the lead character, tells her daughter to have a baby: "Don't trust men. Have a baby to tie him down, otherwise he will run away." Her son-in-law, a farmer, overhears the conversation, and a discussion on the spacing of births follows. The man talks about his cotton field: "You have to thin out the plants, so that each plant can be healthy". Zannana asks her son-in-law: "Who taught you that?" The man smiles and says: "You!!" So each episode was entertaining, and promoted an educational message.

A research evaluation showed the "Ana Zannana" campaign to be very effective. An audience survey found that close to 100 percent of the respondents had seen the television series, 98 percent comprehended the family planning messages, and 74 percent could recall the

specific phrases used by Zannana on the television series. Respondents correctly identified the positive and negative characters, they liked the mini-drama episodes, and found the television series educational. When asked what they most liked about the series, 90 percent of the respondents said the educational messages. The impact of this television campaign in Egypt was aided by the fact that 90 percent of Egyptian households own television sets.

In 1989-1990, Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services' officials were in Cairo, Egypt, solidifying plans for a television soap opera, "The Family House", to promote public health messages (like family planning, mother and child's health, immunization, oral rehydration therapy, and others), especially in rural areas. "The Family House" is being created and produced by Farag El-Kamel, the driving force behind the successful "Ana Zannana" campaign. Planned for broadcast in 1991, "The Family House's" start-up costs will come from several international development agencies, and later the series will be sustained through commercial sponsorship.

Mohammed Fadel: Egyptian Television Genius⁶

Another champion of the entertainment-education communication strategy in Egypt is Mohammed Fadel, Egypt's best-known television producer-director. For the past several decades, Fadel has experimented with entertainment-education on Egyptian television, and with resounding success.

Born in Alexandria, Egypt, in 1938, Fadel studied agriculture at the University of Alexandria, and worked part-time as an amateur theater director. Upon graduation in 1960, Fadel worked full-time at the Ministry of Agriculture, surveying soils and compiling farm reports. Seven months later, Fadel retired permanently from agriculture, and joined the newly-formed Egyptian television system. Fadel's first television play, "How Is It?", portrayed new social relationship structures in an Egyptian village resulting from President Nasser's newly-implemented land reform program. While the play was well-received, Fadel believed it was an artistic overkill, and cancelled its rebroadcasts.

Fadel's "big" break came in 1966, when he directed a three-hour television play on Abu-Zar-El-Gefary, a religious character (a fellow of the Prophet Mohammed). Egyptian President Nasser bestowed a prestigious civilian award on Fadel, and sent him to Berlin to study theater. Fadel was inspired by the style of Brecht theater, a dramatic technique which, when applied to television, he thought, could evoke a desired audience response. Bertolt Brecht (1898 to 1956), a German expressionist dramatist, sought to obtain "Entfremdungseffekt" (literally "alienation" or "distancing") in theater. The actors nor the audience were to identify themselves with any character, never forgetting that they were acting (or watching) in a theater presentation. By increasing the mystery of characters and action, a "cooler" more "thought-provoking" audience response is expected.

In Berlin, Fadel was convinced that principles of Brecht theater could be suitably applied to television:

"Television drama is similar to Brecht theater. We look at television drama in a lighted room, not in a dark room as in regular theater or cinema. When you see television drama, you can speak with your friend, speak on the telephone, or go and make a cup of tea. So I am

speaking to television viewers who are aware of their surroundings [unlike in theater or film]. This affects the way, I speak to my audience," Fadel told the present author in a 1989 personal interview.

After returning to Egypt in 1967, Fadel produced his first television series called "Cairo and Its People". The 1967 Israel-Egypt War had taken a heavy toll of the Egyptian people, and Fadel's television series addressed the Egyptian peoples' post-War problems. "Cairo And Its People" analyzed the causes and consequences of the War, and the aspirations and fears of the Egyptian people through the eyes of a middle-class family living in Cairo. "Cairo and Its People" consisted of 84 episodes, each produced and broadcast on a weekly basis. No episodes were "in the can". In this way, current burning social issues could be addressed in the series' episodes. The production schedule for "Cairo and Its People" was so exhausting that Fadel's team worked for about six months each year, and then were officially given time-off for the next several months. The dramatic series was broadcast over four years.

After Nasser's death in 1970, Egyptian television was censored under Anwar Sadat's regime, a reason why Fadel

discontinued "Cairo and Its People". To escape censorship, Fadel experimented with humor, disguising the pro-social content in his television programs. For the next several years, Fadel produced one television serial (each of about 15-episodes) every year using humor to promote pro-social messages. Fadel's first Arabic feature film, "A Flat in Downtown", addressed the problem of scarce residential apartments in Cairo. The film was an unqualified commercial success, netting the fourth-highest box office receipts in 1976.

In 1981, Fadel experimented with musical-dramas using tragedy to address development themes. "What the Sea Says", was one such musical-drama about a sea treasure, symbolizing Arab oil. The drama showed how a stranger usurped this treasure, leaving the natives high and dry. Fadel's 1982 feature film "Love in a Jail", featured two of Egypt's biggest movie stars. A spectacular commercial success, "Love in a Jail" was a love story between two prisoners, a man and a woman, who were locked-up in two separate prison quarters. The film addressed the problem of poor people going to jail to cover-up the crimes of rich people.

Fadel's first made-for-television film, "The Palm Tree Climber", addressed the problem of "Belharziozsis" (that is, schistosomiasis), an illness which has confronted the Egyptian people since the Pharonic period (about 5,000 years ago) Caused by a parasite that breeds in water, schistosomiasis eventually destroys the victim's liver, and is fatal if untreated. Called the "Egyptian AIDS" (though not nearly as fatal), schistosomiasis attacks millions of Egyptians every year, especially children. Fadel's two-hour entertainment-education television film addressed the causes and prevention of schistosomiasis, and provided a "biting" commentary on ethics of medical research. Medical doctors and scientists who indiscriminately used schistosomiasis' patients for research purposes were castigated, and a voice was raised to preserve the sanctity of patients' rights.

Media (and audience) response to "Belharziozsis" was unprecedented: The film's content was discussed in newspapers, on television, and in the Egyptian Parliament, not only for its artistic content, but for its significance in impacting Egyptian health practices. Schistosomiasis costs the Egyptian exchequer \$250 million (U.S.) annually in prevention and treatment

costs. "Belharziozsis" represents "a model of the entertainment-education communication strategy," Fadel proudly told the present author in a 1989 personal interview. The film won awards at international festivals in Valencia (Spain), Moscow, and in Egypt.

Fadel is presently producing a family planning television soap opera called "The Nile Is Still Running", for Egyptian television.

Israel's "Neighbors"

In Israel, an experiment in entertainment-education promotes Arab-Jewish friendship. In 1988, Israeli scriptwriter Dalia Cohen created a comedy television serial, "Neighbors", promoting the co-existence of Arabs and Jews in Israel. Produced by the Arabic Division of the state-run Israel Television (ITV) system, "Neighbors" is about the life of two families, one Arab and one Jewish, who live in an Jerusalem apartment building as next-door neighbors. Both Arabic and Hebrew are spoken on "Neighbors", with subtitles for each language. "Neighbors" is highly popular with its 10 million viewers, more than half of whom live outside of

Israel's borders in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria
(Warburg, 1988).

Turkey's "Sparrows Don't Migrate"

In 1988, Turkish Television broadcast a three-part family planning television serial, "Sparrows Don't Migrate". The television serial was produced through the efforts of the Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation, Turkish Radio and Television (TRT), and Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services.

"Sparrows Don't Migrate" was watched by about 20 million Turkish people, about 60 percent of all adult television viewers in Turkey. So popular was the television drama with its viewers, that TRT broadcast it twice on the national television network (Yaser, 1989). The cost of airtime donated by TRT for the broadcast of "Sparrows Don't Migrate" is estimated at \$250,000 (U.S.).

A research evaluation of "Sparrows Don't Migrate" showed that the viewers liked the television serial, and they comprehended the family planning messages. "Sparrows Don't Migrate" was one element in a massive multi-media

family planning campaign launched in Turkey in 1988, which includes use of television and radio spots, television and radio documentaries, family planning posters, brochures, calendars, symposiums, and exhibitions. This multi-media campaign reached 90 percent of its target audience (for family planning) at least once (Yaser, 1989).

CONCLUSIONS

Television audiences are expanding rapidly in several Third World countries. These millions of new television viewers provide a huge potential for development communication. Also, Television's audio-visual quality makes it a potentially powerful tool for entertainment-education. However, with few exceptions, much of this potential remains unrealized both in Western industrialized nations and in Third World countries.

U.S. commercial television broadcasts predominantly entertainment programs because this genre achieves higher audience ratings and maximizes advertising incomes. Popular entertainment programs crowd out educational programs. The "Hollywood lobbyists" try to influence U.S. television producers to raise public

conscience about a social issue, but the success is rarely determined. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), and its programs like "Sesame Street" are rare exceptions in the generally dismal (educational) "quality" of U.S. television programs.

In recent years, several Third World countries have created effective "dramatic" entertainment-educational television programs: "Cock Crow at Dawn" and "In a Lighter Mood" in Nigeria, "Ana Zananna" in Egypt, "Neighbors" in Israel, and others. However, most programs on Third World television systems continue to be either "entertaining" or "educational". The new strategy is to create television programs that are "entertaining" and "educational", so as to obtain certain advantages of each.

NOTES

1. Third World countries include all Middle Eastern countries, all African countries except South Africa, all Asian countries except Japan, and all countries in Latin America.
2. Data on the worldwide diffusion of television sets are compiled from BBC's World Radio and Television Receivers (1989).
3. This section draws heavily from Montgomery (1989).
4. This section draws upon Lesser (1974) and Children's Television Workshop (1987; 1988), and is based on the author's 1989 personal interview with Dr. Keith Mielke, Vice-President for Research, Children's Television Workshop, in New York City.
5. Based on the author's personal interviews with Dr. Farag El-Kamel, communication advisor to the "Ana Zananna" television campaign, in Los Angeles, in April, 1989, and in Cairo, in December, 1989.

6. Based on a personal interview by the present author in Los Angeles with Mohammed Fadel in April, 1989.

Chapter 4

THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN RADIO

Commercial success and social responsibility could often be at odds with one another.

Kathryn Montgomery (1989), Target: Prime Time, New York: Oxford, p. 15.

The purpose of the present chapter is to review recent experiences with the entertainment-education communication strategy in radio. Radio's wide reach makes the medium especially appropriate for carrying entertainment-educational messages, especially to audiences in Third World countries.

RADIO: THE MAGIC MULTIPLIER

Radio is the most widely available mass medium worldwide (Population Reports, 1986). In 1990, there were 2 billion radio receivers in the world, roughly one for every three people. Of these, 1.3 billion radio receivers (65 percent) are located in Western industrialized countries, and 0.7 billion (35 percent) are in the Third World countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.¹ The worldwide distribution of radio

receivers is understandably skewed: Over 95 percent of households in Western industrialized countries own at least one radio receiver, while only 20 percent of households in Third World countries own a radio receiver. Even among Third World countries, radio adoption is relatively higher in some countries relative to others: Some 85 percent of all households in Egypt have at least one radio receiver; in India, 80 percent of all urban households and 40 percent of all rural households have at least one radio receiver. In certain African countries, radio adoption by households is even lower than in rural India. Nevertheless, radio reaches out to larger audiences worldwide than television, print media, or other mass media.

The "little" media of radio offer several advantages over the "big" media of television and film, especially in Third World countries, where resources are scarce. The "little" media consist of all means of mass communication that are as technologically sophisticated as the radio, or less so. Television and film are thus "big" media (Schramm, 1977). Radio receivers are relatively inexpensive (they cost the equivalent of a few U.S. dollars), portable, and can carry educational-development information to remote areas

which fall outside the reach of field workers. Further, radio programming can be produced cheaply, quickly (often with a simple audio cassette player), and messages can be tailored to specific local needs. A variety of formats such as drama, music, magazine, interviews, and spots can be employed, and programs can be easily duplicated, stored, retrieved, and distributed on audiotapes (Population Reports, 1986).

Radio is not as "glamorous" as television, and it appeals only to one's sense of hearing. Unfortunately, with the rise of television, radio has been relegated to back burner status in most countries. Broadcasters in Third World countries need to utilize an adequate mix of mass media to reach a target audience. While radio might be most effective in reaching rural audiences, television might be more appropriate for reaching urban viewers. The overall strategy here is to use any medium (radio or television or film) with other available channels of communication (interpersonal, print, folk media, and so on) for maximum impact. Several efforts using radio to incorporate educational messages in entertainment formats like soap operas, comedies, and music have been

made. Mexico's farm broadcasts, "Radio Huayacocotla", have been broadcast since 1965, "Radio Docteur" ("Radio Doctor"), a health series in Haiti, has been broadcast since 1967, and the Dominican Republic's "Toward a New Family Life", a family planning program, has been broadcast regularly since 1972. Begun in 1975, a Voice of Kenya health series, "Giving Birth and Caring for Your Children", is a highly popular radio program in Kenya with over 65 percent of rural adults as regular listeners (Food and Agricultural Organization, 1987a).

BBC's "The Archers: An Everyday
Story of Country Folk" ²

One of the most spectacular illustrations of the entertainment-education communication strategy in radio began in England about four decades ago. The BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) radio serial, "The Archers: An Everyday Story of Country Folk", was Godfrey Baseley's brainchild while he organized rural programs for the BBC from 1942 to 1965. Created at a critical time for British agriculture in 1951, "The Archers" was still being broadcast in 1990. This radio series positively impacted British agriculture by

promoting farm innovations, and it provided urban listeners with an understanding of farm problems.

Godfrey Baseley grew up on his father's farm in the Midlands, southwest of Birmingham, England. While he loved farming, Baseley was more attracted to the entertainment business. Beginning in theater, Baseley gradually moved to radio, gaining experience as an actor, as a story-reader, and as a singer. During World War II, Baseley joined the British Ministry of Information and Broadcasting as a "staff speaker", reporting Britain's various war efforts. After the War, Baseley was assigned to his native Midlands area to establish rural radio programming for the BBC.

Before World War II, farming in Britain was traditional: Farms were small, and mostly inherited by farmers from their fathers. Typical activities included dairy farming, raising beef cattle, pigs, sheep, and poultry for meat, and cultivating the arable land. During World War II, food imports from abroad were restricted, and the British government promoted higher farm productivity at home. When national food production became a top priority, radio talk shows on agriculture became more and more

technical, as they dealt with how to increase farm productivity.

Baseley's early efforts at rural programming utilized existing radio formats such as technical talks and interviews with agricultural researchers and progressive farmers. Baseley discovered that few farmers listened to such dull broadcasts. To hold audience attention, Baseley incorporated topics for farmers' children and wives, and invited an increasing number of farmers to speak on the rural broadcasts.

While traveling in the rural Midlands area of England, Baseley often asked farmers how they adopted an agricultural innovation. The most frequent response was: "I look over the neighbor's hedge, and if what I see looks good, I follow suit." Intrigued by how farmers' imitated each other, Baseley produced a series of radio programs called "Over a Neighbor's Hedge". The central character of this program, a well-known and respected farmer from the Midlands area, traveled with Baseley to several neighborhood farms to observe various farm activities. Later in the broadcast studio, Baseley and the well-known farmer would discuss new farming practices, farm problems, and possible

solutions. "Over a Neighbor's Hedge" was an instant success with its audiences, but quickly ran into problems: The central character, the well-known farmer, became so active in a farmers' organization, the National Farmer's Union, that he quit the radio show.

Baseley was convinced that attractive radio programs, appealing to both urban and rural audiences, could be created, which would educate the audience, while entertaining them. Attracted by the popularity of British radio serials like "Dick Barton: Special Agent", a show about a super-cop, Baseley pursued the idea of producing a dramatized radio series, centered around a farm family. Baseley's supervisors at the BBC were not immediately impressed. In 1950, after two years of negotiations, Baseley received the go-ahead to produce a pilot of five episodes of "The Archers". These five pilot episodes were broadcast only in the Midlands area, and were heard by about 50,000 people. Audience reaction was favorable.

Baseley now sought approval from BBC programming officials for a long-running dramatic series about farming, to be broadcast daily on weekdays on BBC's national radio network. On January 1, 1951, Baseley's

first episode of "The Archers: An Everyday Story of Country Folk" was broadcast. In 1990, some 39 years later, "The Archers" was still broadcast on the BBC, thus easily holding the record for the longest-running radio serial in the world. The series airs on BBC every weekday evening. In addition, every Saturday morning, an "omnibus" program summarizing the entire week's episodes is broadcast.

"The Archers" was written by a team of two talented writers, Edward Mason and Geoffrey Webb, who earlier wrote the popular BBC radio serial, "Dick Barton: Special Agent". Baseley created the main characters and their rural setting, and provided educational information about farming, which Mason and Webb deftly incorporated into the storyline.

The plot centers around Dan Archer, a progressive farmer, his wife, Doris, a kind, gentle housewife, and their three children Jack, Phillip, and Christine. Baseley insisted that the radio characters be authentic, so he clearly outlined their personal and behavioral characteristics, providing a historical background for Dan and Doris Archer that went back several generations. A village, Ambridge, was invented

with several farms, a school, church, chapel, shops, and pubs; these locations provided a venue for the show's dialogue. Ambridge is geographically in the Midlands of England, and the nearest market town is Borchester. The Archers' farm, Brookfield, represented a typical mid-sized farm in the Midlands area with a mixed farming pattern: Dairy farming, crop cultivation, and the raising of pigs, sheep, and poultry.

"The Archers" deliberately provided educational information about farming via an entertaining storyline. Baseley established several groundrules for his writers. The serial's characters were to avoid didactic lectures, and deliver short, crisp lines to encourage dialogue. A prime consideration was to attract and maintain the audience, so a formula of 60 percent entertainment content and 40 percent educational-information content was agreed upon. In each 15-minute episode of "The Archers", there were to be no more than three scenes, with each scene no longer than six minutes in duration. Each episode was to end with a "cliff-hanger", so that the audience was motivated to tune in the next day. Every episode of the program was to have 30 to 90 seconds of material that was not essential to the storyline. A current news

topic, for example, a farm price review, or the results of a major local sporting event, could thus be included at the last minute, providing the program with authenticity and "topicality". Music was used creatively to introduce the program, to enhance emotional effects, to create transitions in time and location, and to provide a tidy ending for each episode. "The Archers'" catchy signature tune, "Barwick Green", identified the program to its many listeners.

Within weeks of its first broadcast, "The Archers" built a regular audience of 2 million listeners. A few weeks later, when the program was rescheduled during prime-time evening hours, its audience quickly swelled to 4 million. Four years later, in 1955, when "The Archers" was at its peak popularity (before television diffused widely and rapidly in Britain), two out of three adults in Britain, about 20 million people, were regular listeners. "The Archers'" phenomenal success with its audience, as measured by the BBC's evaluation research of the program, was attributed to the program's high production quality, its entertaining story, the authentic ambience of the rural farm setting, and tremendous audience identification with the characters in the Archers' family.

"The Archers" served several useful social functions. The radio serial provided a useful information bridge between urban and rural audiences. Millions of urban dwellers learned of happenings in the countryside, and about the problems of farmers and farming, as a result of which agriculture gained in prestige and recognition. Today, in several Third World countries, the agricultural sector's general lack of prestige is a primary impediment to rural development efforts.

"The Archers" provided a wealth of educational information to the farming community about animal diseases, how to increase farm productivity, and new cropping practices. Once, Britain's Fire Fighting Services, disappointed with their own efforts, requested that Baseley promote the idea of farm ponds for both fire fighting and irrigation. The result was a barn fire on the Brookfield farm in which Dan Archer's daughter-in-law, Grace, died while trying to save her horse. A national uproar followed: The BBC's telephone switchboard was jammed by callers, British newspapers ran banner headlines, "GRACE ARCHER DIES IN STABLE FIRE." Mourners' letters arrived in huge quantities at the BBC, a public debate raged for

several weeks about turning "entertainment into tragedy," and several hundred suggestions for ways to revive Grace Archer were received.

Research evidence suggests that "The Archers" played an important role in the rural transformation of Britain, helping a relatively small-scale, inefficient agricultural economy in the post-War years become one of the most efficient in the world today. The diffusion of television in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s reduced "The Archers" audience, while the modernization of British agriculture reduced the program's useful role in diffusing new farming practices. But "The Archers" has not completely worked itself out of a job. Every weekday evening (in 1990), "The Archers" continues to provide an information bridge by which town dwellers can follow events in their nation's countryside.

Baseley left no stone unturned to maintain the authenticity of "The Archers". For example, Baseley knew that different makes and models of tractors make different sounds. So, once established, the recording was not changed unless it had been specifically mentioned that a new tractor had been bought. So

punctilious was Baseley about sound effects that once he sent a BBC sound technician many miles out of Birmingham to record the sound of brushing a cow's back, for an episode about the control of Ox Warble Fly. When the technician returned, Baseley quizzed him as to whether the recording was properly done. The technician assured him that the recording was properly done, upon which Baseley retorted: "But did the cow have Warbles?".

In 1990, Baseley lived in Gloucester, England. Well into his 80s, Baseley regularly tunes in to "The Archers", the program that he created 39 years previously.

TALK RADIO

Talk radio is another radio format used to educate the public. The essence of talk radio is controversy: Both sides of an issue are usually presented, and listeners are encouraged to call the radio stations with their comments (Rogers & others, 1989). A discussion of controversial issues provides several advantages: Radio talk shows can achieve commercial success by attracting high audience ratings, and also such programs can

appeal to a special segment of the total population. For instance, a very high proportion of talk radio listeners in the U.S. are voters, an important characteristic when the topic of a radio talk show is politically-oriented (Rogers & others, 1989).

Several radio talk show hosts in the U.S., for instance, Carol Hemmingway of Station KGIL in Los Angeles, address controversial social issues like abortion rights, substance abuse, and teenage pregnancy. A spectacular case of talk radio to address controversial, taboo topics occurred in Costa Rica.

Costa Rica's "Dialogo"

"Dialogo" ("Dialogue") is a 10-minute radio program, broadcast each weekday morning, which promotes sex education in Costa Rica. Begun in 1970, "Dialogo" is produced by the Centro de Orientación Familiar (COF), a private Costa Rican family planning organization. David Poindexter, the Hollywood lobbyist (discussed previously in Chapter 3) played an important role in the planning of "Dialogo". "Dialogo" is broadcast by five national and regional radio stations in Costa Rica. All are commercial stations.

When COF was established in 1968, Costa Rica had one of the world's highest population growth rates. Eleven years later, in 1979, COF's accomplishments had helped retard this explosive population trend. COF provided educational courses on human sexuality to 65,000 public health workers, produced about 3,000 daily "Dialogo" radio programs, responded to over 20,000 audience letters, and provided family planning counselling to about 3,500 Costa Ricans (Risopatron & Spain, 1980). By 1989, a decade later, these impressive figures had doubled, and COF's radio program, "Dialogo", continued to be a major disseminator of sex education messages in Costa Rica.

"Dialogo" features a dialogue about sex education, which could be between a parent and a child, a doctor and a patient, a professor and a student, or just between friends. Dramatized life stories of women, couples, and families are presented in order to educate viewers about family planning. "Dialogo's" audience participates in the radio program via letters, often containing frank questions about family planning. Questions are answered on the "Dialogo" radio program, in a daily newspaper column, "Dialogo Abierto" ("Open

Dialogue"), and by direct mail. "Dialogo" has helped move the topic of family planning from a taboo to a non-taboo status in Costa Rica (Risopatran & Spain, 1980).

About 40 percent of Costa Rica's adults regularly listen to "Dialogo". The program's reach is higher in rural, low-income, and poorly-educated Costa Rican households, the main target audience for this radio show (Risopatran & Spain, 1980; Population Reports, 1986). "Dialogo" has maintained a representative male audience (about half of its total audience) even though it focuses on human sexuality and family-life education, subjects usually considered of greater interest to women. Research on the effects of "Dialogo" in the late 1970s, showed that the listeners to this radio program (1) were higher in knowledge about family planning methods than non-listeners, (2) displayed more positive attitudes toward family planning, and (3) were more likely to adopt family planning (Risopatron and Spain, 1980). A 1985 research evaluation provided evidence for "Dialogo's" continued positive effects in promoting family planning in Costa Rica (Population Reports, 1986).

In the mid-1980s, Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS) helped restructure the content and production quality of "Dialogo", further enhancing the radio program's educational value for its audience. Themes like the role of women in development were emphasized. Various women's groups and health organizations were actively involved in shaping the content of "Dialogo", and in the follow-up counselling services. COF underwrites the production costs of "Dialogo" by selling family planning booklets and audio cassettes of the radio program, and with funds provided by local and international donor agencies. While "Dialogo" was being broadcast in Costa Rica, not far away in Jamaica, Elaine Perkins, was creating her entertainment-educational radio soap operas.

ELAINE PERKINS: JAMAICA'S BRILLIANT RADIO
SCRIPTWRITER³

During the past 25 years, no other individual has so widely held the attention of the Jamaican people than Elaine Perkins, a brilliant radio scriptwriter. Perkins is the creator of several entertainment-education radio serials in Jamaica, including "Naseberry Street", a

highly-popular family planning radio soap opera until 1989 (Cambridge, 1989).

Elaine Perkins was born in Kingston, Jamaica in a family of professional journalists. In the late 19th century, Perkins's grandfather began work as a copyboy at The Gleaner, an elite English newspaper in Jamaica (and in the Carribean area), eventually becoming its editor. Following in his father's footsteps, Perkins' father spent his entire life working at The Gleaner. Perkins' knew "there would always be a job for me at The Gleaner".

In the 1940s, Perkins attended St. Georges Girls School and St. Andrews School in Kingston. Both schools were attached to the Anglican Church. "Given my home environment, and my reading habits, writing came very naturally to me," Perkins told the present author in a 1989 personal interview. After school hours, Elaine Perkins worked at The Gleaner in its reference bureau. In the early 1950s, she married Wilmot Perkins, a provocative journalist who served as vice president of the journalists' union, formed to protest low wages at The Gleaner. Unable to fire Wilmot (for fear of instigating a journalists' strike), "The Gleaner's"

management posted Wilmot far out of Kingston. Perkins stayed in Kingston to begin freelance work, in 1955, for Spotlight, a Jamaican newsmagazine (like Time), and Public Opinion, a left-wing intellectual weekly in Jamaica. Impressed by Perkins' unusual journalistic abilities, The Gleaner, in 1958, hired her to write short stories and features.

In 1958, the Jamaican government established the Jamaican Information Service (JIS). One of Perkins' friend, a JIS official, asked her if she would write a radio drama script. Not having written a radio script previously, Perkins hesitated. But not for long. Perkins' first radio drama script promoted the government's Savings Bank Scheme. Written in long hand (now she writes on a microcomputer), Perkins' series of six radio plays emphasized a particular savings plan of the government. Paid only 10 pounds for each radio script, Perkins continued her full-time work at The Gleaner. In 1959, when Radio Jamaica Rediffusion's (RJR) private commercial monopoly ended, Perkins left The Gleaner to join the newly-formed public radio corporation, the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC), as a scriptwriter. Perkins stock as a radio scriptwriter was on the rise.

"Raymond, the Sprayman"

Perkins' career was boosted in 1959 when she wrote the dramatic radio serial, "Raymond, the Sprayman", to promote the government's mosquito eradication campaign. The *Aedes Egypti* mosquito was causing widespread dengue fever and malaria, and Perkins' soap opera helped overcome the Jamaican peoples' misconceptions about the harmful effects of mosquito spraying. They feared that spraying would poison their children, destroy their crops, and kill their animals.

Perkins radio character, Raymond, a sprayman, went from home to home confronting peoples' misconceptions about mosquito sprays. He was a likeable, Charlie Chaplin-type character, who often mixed wrong sprays and kept falling from his workbench. Perkins used humor to capture the audiences' attention and to soften their attitudes toward malaria health inspectors. "Raymond, the Sprayman" was immensely popular among radio listeners in Jamaica, contributing in a large measure to the success of the government's mosquito eradication campaign.

In 1960, Perkins went to the BBC to specialize in producing radio dramas. She served as an intern in the production team of "Mrs. Dale's Diary", a popular BBC radio serial. Upon her return, Perkins continued as a JBC scriptwriter, writing radio plays which promoted literacy, prison reform, and agricultural innovations. Mostly self-contained vignettes, these radio plays used melodrama to promote educational-development messages.

In 1963, Perkins was appointed Chief Broadcasting Officer in the newly-created Jamaican Information Service (JIS). While she had a dynamic staff, money to produce quality productions was scarce. So Perkins searched for creative ways to disseminate information about government health services, literacy efforts, agricultural innovations, and other development programs. Overwhelmed by the task of creating separate radio programs for each development issue, Perkins created a popular radio serial, "Hopeful Village", which was broadcast for ten years (1963 to 1973) on JBC.

"Hopeful Village"

Perkins' "Hopeful Village" was the story of a typical Jamaican village, whose residents learned about government development programs in agriculture, health, nutrition, family planning, and literacy. Using drama, development information was presented to the radio audiences in an integrated and interesting manner, much like the BBC radio serial "The Archers" (discussed previously). Perkins designed "Hopeful Village" to boost the perceived self-efficacy of Jamaican villagers. Self-efficacy is an individual's judgement of his/her capability to deal effectively with a situation, and his/her sense of perceived control over a situation (Bandura, 1977). Self-efficacy is essentially the opposite of fatalism, the belief by an individual that he/she cannot control a situation (Brown, Singhal, & Rogers, 1988). Perkins promoted self-efficacy among her listeners by promoting such themes as self-determination, self-respect, and self-sufficiency among villagers in "Hopeful Village". Perkins wrote and produced "Hopeful Village" for its first four years, from 1963 to 1967, a task which earned her Jamaica's prestigious Musgrave Medal. Then a new writer-producer team took over.

"Stella" and "Dulcimina: Her Life in Town"

Perkins wrote two hit commercial radio serials, "Stella" (broadcast from 1967 to 1968) and "Dulcimina: Her Life in Town" (broadcast from 1967 to 1980), the longest-running soap opera to that date on Jamaican radio. These two commercial radio soap operas represented a departure from the development-oriented series which Perkins wrote previously. "Stella", a murder mystery, depicted the romances of an educated, middle-class woman in Jamaica. "Dulcimina: Her Life in Town", dealt with the struggles and triumphs of rural Jamaicans who migrate to urban areas (similar to the migration theme in the Peruvian television soap opera, "Simplemente María", discussed in Chapter 6). Perkins earned several awards for creating "Dulcimina": The Prime Ministers' Medal for Excellence, and the coveted Jamaican Centenary Medal, given to a civilian every 100 years.

While creating "Stella" and "Dulcimina: Her Life in Town", Perkins continually experimented with formulas to create believable radio characters, a mark she accomplished admirably in "Life at the Mimosa Hotel"

(broadcast in 1984) and "Naseberry Street" (broadcast from 1985 to 1989).

"Life at the Mimosa Hotel"

Perkins created "Life at the Mimosa Hotel" at the request of the Jamaican Tourist Board. Centered around a small hotel located on Jamaica's Northern Coast, the radio serial was designed to modify attitudes and behaviors of street vendors, who frequently harrassed Jamaica's foreign tourists. The series portrayed the conflict between the "higglers" (non-licensed street vendors) and foreign tourists, hotel officials, and local shop owners, and earned very high audience ratings. However, within one year of its broadcast, "Life at the Mimosa Hotel" was cancelled (allegedly) as Perkins' husband, Wilmot, fell into political disfavor with Jamaican government officials.

"Naseberry Street"

Between 1985 and 1989, Perkins wrote and produced a family planning radio soap opera, "Naseberry Street". Funded by the Jamaica Family Planning Association and by private commercial sponsorship, "Naseberry Street"

promoted family planning messages through several characters who live in a low-income neighborhood on Kingston's fictitious Naseberry Street. A question-and-answer type talk radio show (partly supported by private industry) followed each "Naseberry Street" broadcast, answering listeners' questions about family planning.

In creating "Naseberry Street", Perkins (1) analyzed (and attended to) the socio-demographic characteristics of the target audience, (2) sought ways to raise the audience's self-efficacy, (3) bred audience identification with her soap opera characters, (4) designed an exciting plot, (5) wrote crisp dialogues, (6) emphasized high production quality, (7) used music and sound effects creatively, (8) devised a mechanism for summarizing story and educational-development messages, and (9) made the soap opera commercially appealing (Hazzard & Cambridge, 1988).

While Perkins' strategy is totally consistent with Godfrey Baseley's (represented in the creation of "The Archers") and Miguel Sabido's strategy (represented in creating entertainment-education soap operas and which we discuss later in Chapter 6), each created their

entertainment-education formula independently, learning of each others' approach only in recent years. In creating her radio soap operas, Perkins never consciously thought of them as entertainment-education: "It was the most convenient way of telling people about development issues". Perkins cautions that creating radio drama which sounds like propaganda could be disastrous: "There could never be any suggestion that we push things down people's throats....I know what information to present from my research....I have to compress [the research] and break it down in creative ways so it is easily assimilated by my audiences" (quoted in Hazzard & Cambridge, 1988).

The underlying message of "Naseberry Street" is that "Family planning is good for you" (quoted in Hazzard & Cambridge, 1988). Perkins' created several characters, each a spokesperson for a particular worldview of family planning. Nana, a superstitious older midwife, represents the people's traditional beliefs and superstitions about family planning. When tying a baby's umbilical cord, Nana would say: "I see ten knots....This means you will have ten more children" (quoted in Hazzard & Cambridge, 1988). Perkins created Nana as a neighbor of Nurse Hugget, an educated health

worker, who works in a family planning clinic located on Naseberry Street. Hugget is Nana's antithesis, and provides advice on modern family planning methods.

Perkins deliberately allows listeners to be privy to intimate details of each character's life. For example, in "Naseberry Street", listeners hear the infamous character, Scattershot, luring woman after woman for a sexual relationship. Audiences listen as Scattershot laughs about his sexual conquests, bragging to his male friends about his many children, whose names he cannot remember. Scattershot is exposed to the audience in ways that real people seldom are. Listeners get to know the radio characters even better than they know real people. Here lies the power of Perkins' radio serial, which helps create a type of para-social interaction between the radio soap opera characters and its audience. Para-social interaction is the seemingly face-to-face interpersonal relationship which can develop between an audience member and a mass media performer (Horton & Wohl, 1958).

"Naseberry Street" was enjoyed by an audience of about one million people, 40 percent of Jamaica's total

population. In a survey of 2,000 respondents in 1986, over 75 percent reported listening to "Naseberry Street", many on a regular basis (Stone, 1986). More women listened to the show than men, and people of low socio-economic status listened more regularly than those of higher socio-economic status.

The 1986 audience survey suggested that the radio soap opera was effective in promoting the adoption of family planning (Hazzard & Cambridge, 1988). Adoption of contraceptives was higher among listeners than among non-listeners, and respondents reported that "Naseberry Street" helped them develop more favorable attitudes toward family planning. Listeners reported learning about such family planning messages as (1) unwanted pregnancies should be prevented by adopting family planning methods, (2) men should behave responsibly in sexual matters, and (3) teenagers should delay sexual contact until marriage (Population Reports, 1986).

A second national survey of 2,000 respondents in 1988 (two years after the previous survey of 1986) showed that effects of "Naseberry Street" continued and grew (Stone, 1988). "Naseberry Street's" listenership continued to be over 40 percent in Jamaica, even though

the radio soap opera was moved from the private Radio Jamaica Rediffusion (RJR) to Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC). More women continue to listen to the program than men. The family planning messages in "Naseberry Street" are most highly valued by the Jamaican middle class, while the entertainment value of this program appeals to listeners of lower socio-economic status. The family planning messages appeal primarily to women. Scattershot, a negative male role model for family planning, was liked by 33 percent of the male respondents (compared to 26 percent of the female respondents), and disliked by 28 percent of the female respondents (compared to only 18 percent of the male respondents).

Perkins is a voracious reader: She loves biographies, Chekov, and the works of Nobel-prize winner Isaac Singer. Perkins' heavy reading serves as one input for her prolific writing output. Perkins is also an avid gardener who spends several hours every day with her plants. "My plants have so much life : . . so much character". The idea for the name "Scattershot" dawned on Perkins, while she pruned a "wildshot" lily in her garden. "The wildshot lily scatters its seeds wildly . . . much like Scattershot". And how did

"Naseberry Street" gets its name? Perkins explained to the present author in a 1989 personal interview: "One day I was in my garden....Suddenly a gust of wind lifted a naseberry tree from my terrace....It landed in the garden, missing me by a few feet....I had the name for my radio series: Naseberry Street".

"Naseberry Street" was discontinued by the Jamaican government in 1989, some believe because of Perkins' husband's (Wilmot's) provocative journalism (which made him fall into political disfavor with politicians). "Wilmot sees what most people do not see, and is not afraid to call it," says Maisha Hazzard, a friend of the Perkins and a professor of communication at Ohio University, who studies Perkins' soap operas in Jamaica. Wilmot lost his job on several occasions due to his provocative journalism, and sometimes Elaine Perkins' radio soap operas have been "innocent" victims. The Perkins have a farm in Kingston, "which provides a steady income when Motty is without a job," jokes his wife. Elaine Perkins and her husband Wilmot are a highly celebrated couple in Jamaica. Their only daughter passed away several years ago. "But I have a lot of 'radiochildren,' said Elaine Perkins in a personal interview with the present author in 1989.

In 1990, Perkins began planning a radio drama to combat substance abuse, a growing problem in Jamaica.

Encouraged by Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services, Perkins is presently preparing a document about her radio soap opera methodology and experiences. Perkins monograph will help radio broadcasters around the world to produce entertainment-educational messages, capitalizing on the unique advantages of this communication strategy.

OTHER RADIO SOAP OPERAS

Several other countries have produced radio soap operas for educational-development purposes. Without claiming that the present author is aware of all such efforts, several other important experiences are reviewed here.

Indonesia's "Butir-Butir Pasir Di Laut"⁴

In 1989, Indonesia's population reached 180 million people, and if the present rate of population growth continues, the country will continue to add more than 3.5 million people every year. Of these 3.5 million people, about 2 million will be born on Indonesia's

island of Java. Understandably, the Indonesian mass media consciously promote birth control practices and small family size norms.

"Butir-Butir Pasir Di Laut" ("Grains of Sand in the Sea") is a popular radio soap opera in Indonesia that promotes family planning. Radio reaches about 80 percent of Indonesia's 180 million people. Begun in 1977, the radio soap opera was still broadcast 12 years and 3,500 episodes later (in 1989) through the efforts of the BKKBN (the national family planning agency), the national radio network (Radio Republic Indonesia, or RRI), and Richardson-Merrell, manufacturers and marketers of Vicks products in Indonesia.

The United States Agency for International Development underwrote production costs for the first 500 episodes of this radio series. Richardson-Merrell, in return for three free advertising spots in each soap opera episode, pays the salaries of the radio series' five scriptwriters, and covers costs of distributing audiocassettes of the radio series in Indonesia. In 1989, this popular radio series was broadcast by over a hundred radio stations in Indonesia.

Originally inspired by a similar family planning radio soap opera in the Philippines, "Butir-Butir Pasir Di Laut" has a regular cast of characters, including medical doctors, nurses, public health workers, and community leaders. The central character, Dr. Syarief Hidayat, serves in a public hospital treating the poor, the downtrodden, and those overburdened with large families. Dr. Syarief and his nurses visit rural villages, and help the people modernize their communities in various ways, including the adoption of family planning methods. In its beginning, each soap opera episode is summarized by the announcer, and family planning themes are promoted via the intense melodrama.

"Butir-Butir Pasir Di Laut" is broadcast on Indonesian radio every day at 5:00 p.m. Each episode is 15-minutes long, and after each three episodes, questions mailed by listeners are answered. Listeners' letters to "Grains of Sand in the Sea" indicate that the program is well-liked and useful to the listeners (Population Reports, 1986). One letter, addressed to Dr. Syarief from a regular listener in a Javanese village, requested a medical prescription. Another letter sought advice on family planning methods (Sumarsono, 1989).

No formal, detailed research evaluation of this radio soap opera has been conducted, but plans were being discussed seriously in 1989. The sales of Vicks products increased sharply in Indonesia during the first several years of the soap opera's broadcast, attributed largely to the popularity of the radio program. Richardson-Merrell supported the production costs of this soap opera for several years; today, the soap opera's costs are covered entirely by the BKKBN and RRI.

Kenya's "Ushikwapo Shikimana"⁵

Kenyans have heard about family planning since 1962, when the Kenyan Family Planning Association was established, but many Kenyans have not adopted family planning methods (Rogers & others, 1989). A Kenyan woman has on the average eight children. In a country where polygamy is common, a Kenyan man with four wives could easily father more than 30 children. Growing annually at 4.1 percent, Kenya's present population (in 1990) of 22 million is estimated to double by the year 2,000. One reason for the slow adoption of family planning methods in Kenya is due to widespread fears about the side-effects of contraception methods. Women

in rural areas often talk about the harmful effects of contraception, rather than about the necessity or advantages of family planning (Rogers & others, 1989).

To address this problem, Tom Kazungu, a producer at Voice of Kenya, created a family planning radio soap opera, "Ushikwapo Shikimana" (literally "Hold on to He Who Holds You"), which is a popular Swahili saying meaning "When given advice, take it". Radio soap operas are not new in Kenya: In the 1960s, a radio soap opera was created by an Australian advertising agency to promote environmental conservation, and was also used to sell Colgate toothpaste in Kenya. While a young boy, "I regularly tuned in to this Colgate-sponsored soap opera, intrigued by the power of melodrama to grab audiences", said Kazungu to the present author in a 1989 personal interview.

Broadcast for ~~for~~ two years from 1987 to 1989, a total of 219 episodes, "Ushikwapo Shikimana" is aimed primarily at a rural audience, as television dominates the urban audience. This radio series features the family of Mzee Gogo, a traditional Kenyan man who has four wives, and several children and grandchildren. Gogo derives social esteem and security from his large

family, whose members live on a small farm in the Kenya's Pambazuko village. The other smaller family of Jaka and Lulu and their two children represents a monogamous marriage. These two families are contrasted in terms of family harmony and future opportunities for children.

Tom Kazungu's plans for "Ushikwapo Shikimana" grew out of a 1983 training workshop on soap opera design conducted by Miguel Sabido in Mexico, and arranged by David Poindexter, President of Population Communications-International. The plan to create "Tushauriane" ("Let's Discuss"), a family planning television soap opera (a "sister" soap opera to "Ushwikapo Shikimana") also grew out of Miguel Sabido's 1983 workshop. Upon returning from Mexico, the "Ushikwapo Shikimana" team (led by Tom Kazungu) and the "Tushauriane" team (led by Greg Adambo) worked very closely to create the two programs. Kazungu's and Adambo's challenge was to adapt Miguel Sabido's soap opera methodology to the Kenyan situation. A team of VOK producers, writers, and researchers traveled throughout rural Kenya to conduct formative evaluation for the soap opera. Anecdotes, folk sayings, and information about social and cultural obstacles to family planning were obtained, and plot,

storylines, and melodrama were developed. "Ushikwapo Shikimana" was targeted especially to audiences in six Kenyan states, all with very high fertility and infant mortality rates, although the content was designed to appeal to the general radio audience of the nation.

Funded by the National Council for Population and Development, each episode of "Ushikwapo Shikimana" cost 10,000 schillings, about \$500 (U.S.). "Ushikwapo Shikimana" did not convey specific details about family planning methods, but was designed so that listeners realized the necessity of family planning (Rogers & others, 1989). For instance, family planning was promoted via the concept of family harmony: Family harmony would suffer if a child were sick, or if there was not enough to eat at home. The series also promoted such themes as reducing poverty, increasing personal self-efficacy, raising agricultural productivity (large parts of Kenya are semi-arid), and eliminating child abuse (a growing problem in Kenya). "Ushikwapo Shikimana's" three writers, Dr. Jay Kitsao (who wrote the early episodes), Kimani Wa Njongu (who wrote the middle episodes), and Kadenge Kazungu (who wrote the last several episodes), at some time or the other, taught linguistics at the University of Nairobi.

Their linguistics training and past background in theater helped them to combine nuances of the Swahili language (the lingua franca of Kenya) with melodrama for the desired effect on the audiences.

The first 180 episodes of "Ushikwapo Shikimana" contained no formal epilogues by a national celebrity, but a summary of educational messages at the end of each episode, delivered by Tom Kazungu. The idea of providing epilogues is Miguel Sabido's brainchild, whereby a national celebrity delivers 60 to 90 seconds of a concentrated message, summarizing the educational messages, and providing guidelines about the available social supports for action (such as names and addresses of women's welfare organizations and family planning clinics). In mid-1989, a national celebrity was being searched to deliver the epilogues in the last 40 episodes of "Ushikwapo Shikimana" (These episodes dealt directly with women's status, child health, and family planning issues).

Presumably, "Ushwikapo Shikimana's" impact was limited because of the lack of an adequate family planning infrastructure in Kenya's rural areas. "Before broadcasting the soap opera, we would have liked to

insure the availability of family planning support services so that people could take action....But we could not wait for the infrastructure....We put out the message, hoping at least some viewers will benefit," said Kazungu in a personal interview with the present author in 1989.

A research evaluation of "Ushikwapo Shikimana" estimated an audience of 7 million people, 40 percent of Kenya's population. The research showed that the radio soap opera is highly popular, and the audience comprehends the family harmony and family planning messages. A number of letters are received at VOK headquarters in Nairobi in response to "Ushikwapo Shikimana", including women who write to say how the soap opera has affected their personal lives.

Zimbabwe's "Akarumwa Nechekuchera"

"Akarumwa Nechekuchera" ("Man Is His Own Worst Enemy") is a radio soap opera, created in 1989 by the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council (ZNFPC), the International Planned Parenthood Federation, Johns Hopkins University's Population Communication Services, and five private companies. Broadcast twice-a-week (for

26 weeks) in Shoshone (a Zimbabwean vernacular), "Akarumwa Nechekuchera's" plot revolves around a happy-go-lucky husband of two wives and 15 children. The series promotes male responsibility in family planning decisions, methods of contraception, and small family size norms (Staff, 1989). Encouraged by the audience success of "Akarumwa Nechekuchera", ZNFPC is planning to broadcast a second radio soap opera encouraging family planning behaviors in Ndebele (another Zimbabwean vernacular).

"Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras"

"Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras" ("Three Men Without Borders"), a 15-part radionovela (soap opera), was in 1990 broadcast on Spanish-speaking radio stations in the U.S. to educate migrant Latino workers about the perils of AIDS (Puig, 1990). The episodes revolved around the lives of three Mexican men (Sergio, Victor, and Marco) who arrive in the U.S. to work as farm laborers. The radionovela ends on a tragic note: Sergio contracts the AIDS virus from a prostitute, and returns home to Mexico to infect his pregnant wife and their unborn child. The California Community Foundation underwrote the \$150,000 production costs of "Tres

Hombres Sin Fronteras", recognizing the urgent need for AIDS education in the migrant Latino community (Puig, 1990). Several Los Angeles' radio stations, initially hesitant to broadcast the radionovela because of its bold treatment of a taboo topic, eventually found large audiences for "Tres Hombres Sin Fronteras".

CONCLUSIONS

Radio's wide reach makes this medium appropriate for carrying entertainment-education messages, especially in Third World countries where resources are scarce. Unfortunately, with the rise of television, most countries have relegated radio to back burner status. In recent years, several radio programs have successfully utilized the entertainment-education communication strategy: The BBC's "The Archers", "Dialogo" in Costa Rica, Elaine Perkins' radio soap operas in Jamaica, "Butir-Butir Pasir Di Laut" in Indonesia, "Ushikwapo Shikimana" in Kenya, and others. Radio's relatively low costs, portability, and ability to tailor a message to specific local development needs provides the medium with a unique advantage in diffusing entertainment-education messages.

NOTES

1. Data on worldwide diffusion of radio sets were compiled from the BBC's World Radio and Television Receivers (1989) and Population Reports (1986).
2. This section is based on Food and Agriculture Association (1987b).
3. This section draws heavily from Hazzard & Cambridge (1988), Population Reports (1986), Henry (1988), and the author's personal interviews with Elaine Perkins and Maisha Hazzard, in Los Angeles, on March 30, 1989.
4. This section is based on the author's personal interview with Dr. Sumarsono, Director of BKKBN, in Los Angeles in 1989.
5. This section is based on the author's personal interview with Tom Kazungu, producer of "Ushikwapo Shikimana", in Los Angeles, on March 31, 1989.

Chapter 5

THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN FILM, PRINT, AND THEATER¹

The dramatist should not only offer pleasure but should, besides that, be a teacher of morality and a political advisor.

The Greek poet Aristophanes (quoted in Boal, 1979).

The purpose of the present chapter is to review experiences with the entertainment-education communication strategy in film, print, and theater. We present a wide variety of case illustrations of uses of the entertainment-education strategy, both in the United States and in Third World nations.

THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN FILM

Despite the rapid growth of television and video services, feature films remain a very popular mode of entertainment in many countries. In India, an estimated 15 million people go to the movies each day, a potentially large audiences for entertainment-educational messages. However, commercial Indian films are mainly devoted to entertainment, mainly fantasy, and

do not play an important role in development (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). Driven by profits and box-office sales, commercial feature films rarely promote educational-development themes in a conscious manner (although such themes might on rare occasions be a by-product of the film's entertainment appeal).

In the U.S. and in several other countries, dimly-lit theaters are often a setting for early sexual experimentation (Rogers & others, 1989). With the availability of video cassette recorders, teenagers increasingly watch feature films in the living room, a setting which is probably more conducive to unintended pregnancy than movie theaters.

U.S. Films by Sarah Pillsbury

Sarah Pillsbury's interest in becoming a film producer was sharpened when she spent a year in Kenya in the 1970s. She realized that "being in another culture and seeing the way the images of America came across in Kenya made me feel the need to tell the truth about what America was really like" (quoted in Rogers & others, 1989). To Pillsbury, film represented an ideal medium for this purpose. As an heir to the Pillsbury food products

fortune, Sarah Pillsbury had access to the Hollywood film industry in a way that most Americans do not.

Pillsbury's idea is not to make Hollywood films which are dull, didactic, and overtly educational. Instead, she feels that every film has an ideology, and, to that extent, an educational lesson (Rogers & others, 1989). 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), "Children of a Lesser God" (about physically disabled people), and several hundred other Hollywood films that address socially relevant issues. However, generally-speaking, few film-makers worry about their film's message, as long as it entertains the audience.

Pillsbury's first short dramatic film (about a child with Downs Syndrome) won an Oscar. "Desperately Seeking Susan," was about a woman who leaves her male-chauvinist husband to lead an independent life. "River's Edge" was inspired by an actual incident in California in which a boy killed his girlfriend, and then brought his friends to see the body. A young man who understood the youngsters' mental trauma wrote the movie script. Through

a highly-moving drama, Pillsbury presented teenagers' efforts to become adults, helping them to discover their own morality and courage (Rogers & others, 1989).

Pillsbury's "Eight Men Out" is about the Chicago "Black Sox" scandal, addressing how people in America can be corrupted by greed, fame, and peer pressure. "Immediate Family" is about an older couple who cannot have children, and decide to adopt a child. The film also addressed abortion and pro-life issues.

Randall Frederick: Combating Substance Abuse

Via Films

Headquartered in Los Angeles, Randall Frederick is a producer of short entertaining films, each designed to convey a specific educational message. Frederick produces 15 to 30 minute-long films on alcoholism, drug dependency, and substance abuse. Hospitals, alcohol rehabilitation centers, and counselling clinics are Frederick's major clients. With more than 1,500 copies sold, "Life, Death, and Recovery of an Alcoholic" is Frederick's best-known film (Television and Families, 1989).

John Riber's Development Films

Born in India in 1955 of U.S. missionary parents, John Riber earned an undergraduate degree in film production from the University of Iowa. While working as a student technician in the university's motion picture laboratory, "I earned hands-on experience in all aspects of film-making . . . from handling the camera, to sound, light, film developing and processing, editing, and printing," Riber told the present author in a 1989 personal interview.

Riber has produced entertainment-educational films in India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe, and in several other countries. His films have addressed such development themes as family planning, literacy, and oral rehydration therapy (ORT).² Two overall objectives lead Riber's work: (1) to produce entertainment-educational films to address local problems, and (2) to train talented local people in film scriptwriting and in production. All of Riber's films are produced in the local language of the nation in which the film is to be shown.

Riber contends that a film's narrative format can be effective in delivering educational messages about sensitive topics like family planning, where the entertainment aspect provides creative flexibility and helps achieve wider distribution. "Adequate distribution of educational films is a major problem in most Third World nations," Riber told the present author in a 1989 personal interview. For example, each of India's 439 districts has an audio-visual van that shows films about family planning, ORT, and literacy to remote rural audiences ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 people at a showing. However, because there are 600,000 villages in India, each village can be visited only once in five years by a van (Rogers & others, 1989).

While Riber produced several award-winning documentaries between 1973 and 1981, his first encounter with the entertainment-educational communication strategy occurred in 1982. When serving as Director of the Worldview International Foundation in Dhaka, Riber was approached by the Bangladesh government to produce a documentary film to promote adult literacy. Riber explained the shortcomings of the documentary format in terms of its limited distribution and its inability to motivate people

to pursue literacy training. As a result, professionals in Bangladesh's commercial film industry were employed to create an entertaining film about literacy: The film was a mixture of the highly-popular "Bombay" formula (featuring entertainment, high-quality actors, and song and dance scenes) with an educational content.

The film, entitled "Bor Holo Dor Kholo" (a couplet by the famous rebel poet Nasrul Islam meaning "It's Dawn, Open Your Door") was a big success. Runa Laila, Bangladesh's most popular professional singer, sang the opening theme song, which became an instant hit. Broadcast several times on Bangladesh television, and shown widely in movie theaters and mobile film-vans, the 22-minute long "Bor Holo Dor Kholo" cost \$15,000 to produce, and became "the" literacy film in Bangladesh. The film was promoted through posters and wall hoardings (that is, road signs), as are other commercial feature films in Bangladesh. In its first two years, 10 million Bangladeshis saw Riber's film. A research evaluation found that viewers comprehended the film's educational messages, and identified with the positive role-models. Riber's two sequel films, "Amra Dujon" ("Together") and "Sonamoni" ("Golden Pearl") deal with family planning, and with oral rehydration therapy (to prevent infant deaths from

diarrhea), respectively. The same characters and locations were used to provide continuity to the three-part mini-film series.

"Consequences", Riber's 1988 film, was produced in Zimbabwe and focused on teenage pregnancy. "Consequences" was based on extensive formative evaluation, and was created by a team of professional scriptwriters, content experts, and filmmakers. Within two years after its release, "Consequences" received the widest distribution that an African feature film had ever achieved. The film combined drama with questions and statements by actors and actresses who discuss with the viewing audience how young people (and their peers, parents, and teachers) should deal with teenage sexuality issues (much like the epilogues in Miguel Sabido's soap operas).

In 1988-89 in India, Riber produced "Nischay" ("Decision"), a film about early marriage and family planning. Now based in Harare, Zimbabwe, Riber spends three months a year producing entertainment-education films (for JHU/PCS) in Zambia (20 minutes away by plane from Harare), a country with a growing AIDS and population problem.

Badal Rahman's Films in Bangladesh

Badal Rahman is an accomplished filmmaker in Bangladesh who has experimented with the entertainment-education strategy. A political activist in the 1960s and 1970s, Rahman was a key official of "Kranti" ("Revolution"), an organization which used songs, dance, and street theater (Bertoldt Brecht-style) to address the problems of Bangladesh's oppressed classes. When television arrived in Bangladesh in 1966, Rahman wrote children's plays, each presenting an educational message.

Rahman's interest in entertainment-education was sharpened by his training at India's widely-known Pune Film Institute. There, Rahman produced "Note of Morrow", a film about Bangladesh's independence struggle (achieved in 1971), its people, and their problems. Rahman's best-known entertainment-education work is "Emiler Goenda Bahini" ("Emile and the Detectives"), a children's film about a small boy whose father dies in the 1971 Bangladesh liberation war, and whose mother works in a social organization. The film won seven national awards, and was shown in China, Hungary, Bulgaria, and India. Rahman is presently collaborating with JHU/PCS to produce entertainment-educational films in Bangladesh.

While the entertainment-education strategy in films is relatively new (a 20th century phenomenon), the strategy of entertainment-education in print goes back several thousand years.

THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN PRINT

Jataka is a collection of ancient Hindu stories about people, their work, their lives, their relationships, and their codes of conduct. Highly developed and sophisticated in their artistry, the Jataka are as remarkable for their variety (including fable, parable, allegory, and fairy tale), as for their antiquity (of several thousand years ago) (Griswold, 1918). Jataka stories tell the various worldly experiences of Buddha in an entertaining way, and draw educational lessons for the reader. Professor E.B. Powell edited the first English-language translations of Jataka, published by Cambridge University Press in 1895.

In addition to the Jataka, India presents another spectacular illustration of the entertainment-education communication strategy in print.

Panchtantra: Wisdom of the Ages

When growing up in India, the present author read the Panchtantra ("Five Books"), a collection of eighty-four short stories, believed to be written in Kashmir, India, around 200 B.C. Originally written in Sanskrit, the Panchtantra stories have been told and retold over the years, and have traveled from India to other parts of the world through translations. The Panchtantra stories are somewhat like the Aesop's Fables.

Panchtantra is a textbook of Niti, a Sanskrit word meaning "the wise conduct of life." Niti represents a way of life "in which security, prosperity, resolute action, friendship, and good learning are combined to produce human happiness" (Ryder, 1949). Each of the five Panchtantra books contains stories in which the main actors are animals, each representing a certain human trait: For example, the lion represents strength, the jackal craftiness, the donkey stupidity, and the cat hypocrisy. Acknowledged as "the best collection of stories known to civilized man," the Panchtantra tales are wise and witty, a fitting illustration of entertainment-education (Ryder, 1949).

The Panchtantra begins: "In these five books the charm compresses, of all such books the world possesses."

Comics as Entertainment-Education³

Immensely popular among children and teenagers, comic books represent one 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 1.5 billion copies in 1988, through 80,000 retail outlets. Best-selling comics often achieve sales of 70,000 to 1.5 million copies within one week's time from their publication.

JHU/PCS has contracted with Remy Bastien, Editorial Director of Novedades Editores, Mexico's largest comics publisher, to create comic books about AIDS prevention, teenage pregnancy, drug abuse, prostitution, gambling,

and other issues. A rigorous formative evaluation was conducted to create "La Cumbia del SIDA" ("The Dance of AIDS"), a comic book about AIDS prevention. An audience survey was conducted to determine the choice of characters, and a prototype and a 30-page pilot episode were developed. The pilot was pre-tested with focus groups, and finally audience reaction was closely monitored (Rogers & others, 1989). Post-test evaluations showed that the educational message in a comic book is not lost; the message was understood correctly by most readers.

Larry Krames: Information Architect

Comic book-type medical information booklets represent another unique form of entertainment-education in print. Dr. Larry Krames, President of Krames Communications (headquartered in Daly City, CA, near San Francisco), relinquished his flourishing medical practice to become an "information designer/architect". Information design consists of creating messages that portray key concepts through main headings and pictures. These key concepts are not put in the text. The pictorial and text representation is useful for simplifying complex, sophisticated, or mystifying information. Pre-testing of

concepts and market testing of prototypes are essential for creating effective entertainment-education messages (Rogers & others, 1989).

By presenting information in picture-art form, Krames makes health concepts more "accessible and understandable" to medical patients. "Physicians are trained to communicate with their peers, not patients," he told the present author in a 1989 personal interview. With over 6 million copies sold, the Back Owner's Manual is Krames' best-known creation. Its key message is: "If you have back pain, you need exercise". Krames creates over 50 new publications every year (on such topics as child care, how to cope with stress, etc.), including photonovelas (photo novels). "One Life to Live", a best-selling photonovela, was a story about a couple whose lifestyle was not conducive to good health. Ways to achieve a healthy lifestyle were depicted. Designed over a period of several months, each of Krames' publications retail for a modest \$0.50 to \$1.00 each.

Popular Magazines

Popular magazines can often publish stories involving an educational issue. Magazines often find such stories in

the lives of celebrities (Rogers & others, 1989). For example, a 1988 story in People magazine about actress Elizabeth Taylor's dependency on pain-killers created an awareness of this problem among the magazine reading public. 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 put the issue of that epidemic on the American mass media, public, and policy agenda. Celebrities can exercise a great deal of power over the public: In 1990, over 2 billion people tuned in to the televised Academy Awards program in order to see their favorite stars. Stories about celebrities concerning AIDS, family planning, and drug abuse get tremendous audience attention.

"Dr. Seuss": Entertainment-Education for Children

For over 50 years, Dr. Theodore Geisel, under the pen-name of "Dr. Seuss" has written storybooks for American children. Each story draws an educational lesson for the reader.

A Ph.D. in English Literature from Oxford University, Dr. Seuss realized that holding a child's attention helped

them learn. Children love stories, so Dr. Seuss created storybooks which contained educational messages. Each story was put to verse (to appeal to hearing) and was illustrated with pictures (to appeal to sight). His most popular storybook is The Cat in the Hat, a commentary on what children should not do at home, such as throw objects around the house, when mother is temporarily away. Over 200 million copies of Dr. Seuss' books have been sold all over the world, perhaps the most of any single author.

Much in the style of the Dr. Seuss books, Stan and Jan Berenstain have created a childrens' storybook series called The Bernstein Bears. Bears serve as role models in the Berenstain stories which entertain and present educational messages dealing with too much television, junk food, gangs, lying, child molestation, etc.

What is common to Dr. Seuss' childrens' storybooks and to the ten most insightful managment books chosen by Business Week as essential reading for top executives? They "entertain as well as lend perspective and guidance" for business managers (Byrne, 1990, p. 10.). All best-sellers, these ten books include Alfred Sloan, Jr.'s

(1963) My Years with General Motors, Tracey Kidder's
(1981) The Soul of a New Machine, Thomas J. Peter and
Robert H. Waterman, Jr.'s (1982) In Search of Excellence,
and Alvin Toffler's (1980) The Third Wave. The
entertainment-education communication strategy in print
has the potential of audience (and commercial) success,
with small children as well as with chief executive
officers of U.S. corporations.

THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY IN THEATER

In several countries, a strong tradition of entertain-
ment-education continues in the form of theater,
puppetry, and folk media. Political and social
activists often use theatre 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, 1989).

In the 1970s, the Community Theatre Movement in Nicaragua
utilized elements of theater, music, and dance to
organize campesinos (farmers), eventually overthrowing
President Anastasia Somoza, Nicaragua's long-standing
dictator. In the Philippines, the People's Theater

Network, a well-organized grassroots theater movement composed of 300 regional groups has created a new breed of performing artists: The ATOR, the actor-trainer-organizer-researcher (Srikandath, 1989). ATOR's theater performances were instrumental in mobilizing peoples' support, leading to President Marcos' political downfall (Van Erwen, 1987). Like the Community Theater Movement in Nicaragua, the People's Theater Network in the Philippines strongly emphasizes indigenous forms of expression, rooted in the culturally-rich Filipino heritage.

In Japan, Kabuki (ka[song] bu[dance] ki[skill]) Theater often addresses folk themes, historical events, and social problems arising from a fast-paced lifestyle (Highwater, 1990). Begun almost four centuries ago, Kabuki Theater is highly popular among present-day Japanese audiences. 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. Other organizations in Mexico have utilized theater in various ways to spread educational-development messages.

Mexico's CORA

Teenage pregnancy is a major problem in Mexico. The Centros de Orientación para Adolescentes (CORA) is one private, non-profit organization in Mexico which provides educational, social, psychological, and medical services to teenagers, to reduce the rate of teenage pregnancy. CORA organizes sporting, recreational, and cultural activities, reaching teenagers in their leisure time. CORA collaborated with Miguel Sabido of Televisa to produce "Caminemos" ("Let's Walk"), a television soap opera about sex education for teenagers in 1980-81.

CORA holds an annual Adolescent Theatrical Playwright Contest, in which Mexican teenagers produce plays about sexual responsibility or health-related topics. In the eight years from 1980 to 1988, some 308 plays were produced, to be watched by about 30,000 people. To reach more people, CORA put five of the best dramatic plays on videotape, which are distributed via several outlets. Among these award-winners are (1) "Dos Adolescentes" ("Two Adolescents"), a play about two teenagers, that addresses rape, sexually-transmitted diseases, and gender roles, and (2) "Requiem para el No Nacido"

("Requiem for the Unborn Child"), about unwanted pregnancy and abortion.

CORA extensively uses puppet theater to educate young people about AIDS, contraceptives, unwanted pregnancy, and other health issues. CORA has also developed a series of comic books, which are very popular with Mexican teenagers, to provide education about sexually-transmitted-diseases (STDs), contraceptives, and teenage pregnancy.

Safdar Hashmi: Crusader of the Masses

In India, street theater is used widely to promote educational-development values. Safdar Hashmi's drama troupe Jan Natya Manch (People's Theatre Forum), JNM, travels to urban slums, residential colonies, and rural areas to perform plays about communal harmony, and on the problems of the working class (Ramnarayan, 1989).

Safdar Hashmi and his wife Moloysree Roy launched JNM in 1979, recognizing that since most Indians could not afford to attend theater, theater must travel to the people. With about 25 plays in their repertoire, JNM became one of Delhi's best-known street theater groups.

During one such performance in Sahibabad, U.P. (on the outskirts of Delhi) in 1989, Safdar Hashmi's troupe was attacked and Hashmi was beaten to death.

A writer, actor, singer, theater-director, and above all a crusader of the masses, Safdar Hashmi's memories still lives on in the performances of the various street theater groups in India, which go from place to place spreading educational-development messages.

Much like Sadar Hashmi's JNM, Jagran, an innovative street theater group in Delhi, uses the art of pantomime to address development problems.

Jagran: Pantomime as a Vehicle of Education

Jagran ("Awakening") is a highly-popular Delhi-based theater group which addresses social problems, especially of minority communities. Created in 1968 by Alope Roy, Jagran uses pantomime to enthrall and affect its audiences. Jagran's performers convey story and emotion by gestures, often accompanied with narration and music. Pantomime offers several advantages in India, a country of 15 official languages, 210 recognized dialects and 90 different ethno-linguistic regions: "It overcomes

barriers of language and illiteracy," points out Roy (quoted in Bakshi, 1989).

Headquartered in a youth hostel facility in Chanakyapuri, New Delhi, Jagran mainly performs in poor resettlement colonies, where nearly 3 million (one-third) of Delhi's population reside. Audiences, ranging from 100 to 1,000 people are typical for Jagran's performances, which last anywhere from 15 to 40 minutes. The pantomime ends with the narrator summarizing the modeled messages in the local language, as a kind of educational epilogue.

Jagran performers use heightened expressions and exaggerated gestures to make a point, a technique Alope Roy picked up from Marcel Marceau, the famous French mime. While Roy saw Marceau perform only once, he was quick to grasp several advantages of this technique in India, where pantomime can potentially transcend language barriers. The actors wear white facial make-up and accentuate their lips, eyes, and eyebrows. for a more profound impact on the audiences.

Jagran identifies social themes for their pantomimes by holding discussions with community members whose life they will affect (a type of informal formative

evaluation). Jagran's performances address such issues as socio-economic inequality, dowry, drugs, alcoholism, corruption, and others. Jagran's 25 members have some 30 pantomimes in their repertoire, with new performances added regularly. The group averages about 300 performances a year, traveling widely within India to socio-economically disadvantaged villages in other states. Jagran has performed in Australia, Canada, France, Finland, Denmark, England, and other countries, an indication of their rising stock.

Mali's "Koteba"⁴

More than a decade in operation, Mali's national family planning program has so far met with limited success. Barely one percent of the Malian population practice contraception, and only 54 family planning clinics exist nationwide (Schubert, 1988). Since 1985, JHU/PCS has worked with the Malian government agencies to produce innovative family planning communication programs.

One program which generated tremendous excitement was a televised "Koteba", a traditional theatrical art form in Mali. The "Koteba" theater evolved in Mali several centuries ago, when a dictatorial Malian king, worried

about the possibility of a political revolt, created a game to appease the populace. For one evening every year, the populace could amuse themselves in any way they wished (including criticizing the king), but the next day, not a word could be uttered about the previous evening. Over time, this game became a fun-filled annual event with songs, dance, and music. "Koteba's" purpose is to exaggerate social issues and problems (to the level of ridiculousness), helping clear the air, and instigating thought on how to solve social problems.

In a creative blending of modern technology with Malian cultural heritage, a "Koteba" which presented the social and economic benefits of family planning in an entertaining way was videotaped, and then broadcast on Malian television. Focus groups helped shape the message content of the 80-minute Koteba, whose production costs were only \$3,000. Broadcast three times on Malian television during its first year, the "Koteba" used humor to contrast the lives of two Malian families, one large (and consequently "unhappy"), and one small (and relatively "happy").

Combining "Koteba" with television presented several advantages. Not only was the "Koteba's viewership nationwide, but also a "sensitive" topic for television like family planning found an adequate outlet via Koteba, which addresses "sensitive" or "taboo" issues. Point-of-referral monitoring at a Malian family planning clinic showed that about 25 percent of the clinic visitors had watched the family planning "Koteba" play, and were inspired to seek clinic help (Schubert, 1988). Two sequel "Kotebas" are in the planning and production stages in Mali.

Like many of its Third World counterparts, Mali exhibits a rich variety of traditional, cultural communication forms: Songs, stories, parables, music, dance, theater, mime, and griots (storytellers). The spectacular case of the Malian "Koteba" illustrates how present-day modern communication technology can be combined with traditional art forms to create an effective entertainment-educational communication strategy.

CONCLUSIONS

A tremendous opportunity exists for the entertainment-educational communication strategy in film, print, and

theater. However, box-office receipts and profit motives dominate most commercial film production, and few filmmakers worry about their films' "messages" (as long as they are entertaining). Sarah Pillsbury and Randall Frederick (in the U.S.), John Riber (in Zimbabwe), and Badal Rahman (in Bangladesh) represent a few such individuals among a large pool of filmmakers who have consciously and successfully applied the entertainment-education strategy in film.

The use of the entertainment-education communication strategy in print goes back several thousands of years to India, where the Jatakas and Panchtantra provided an entertaining narrative about people, their work, their lives, their relationships, and their codes of conduct. In recent years, comics, comics-type "information design" books, children's storybooks, and even best-selling business executives' books have employed an entertainment-education strategy in order to reach a wider audience with a desired effect.

Further, community theater presentations, street theater performances, pantomime, and traditional art forms (such as the Malian "Koteba") represent a potentially powerful

entertainment vehicle with which to address educational-
development themes.

NOTES

1. This chapter draws upon Rogers & others (1989).
2. Oral rehydration therapy (ORT) is a saline solution consisting of one part salt and eight parts sugar, in three soft drink bottles of clean water, which is given to prevent babies from dying in Third World countries from diarrhea-related causes. The ORT solution prevents death due to dehydration.
3. Based on the author's personal interview with Remy Bastien on March 31, 1989, in Los Angeles.
4. This section draws upon Schubert (1988).

Chapter 6

MIGUEL SABIDO'S ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION TELEVISION SOAP OPERAS IN MEXICO¹

The worth of a theory is ultimately judged by the power of the change it produces. Psychologists are skillful at developing theories but rather slow in translating them into practice.

Albert Bandura, a social psychologist at Stanford University, whose social learning theory was utilized by Miguel Sabido in Mexico to design entertainment-education television soap operas (quoted in Evans, 1980, p. 159).

While they represent one of the most successful illustrations of the entertainment-education communication strategy, Miguel Sabido's television soap operas are almost unknown among communication scholars. Only in-house evaluation research on the effects of Sabido's ten entertainment-education soap operas in Mexico has been conducted, and the results of these studies have yet not found their way into the mainstream of communication science literature. What presently exists in the literature about Sabido's entertainment-educational soap operas is (1) a "worn-out" paper presented by Miguel Sabido at the 1981 International

Institute of Communication conference held in Strasbourg, France, (2) an M.A. thesis at a Mexican university by Carmen Galindo Berrueta (1986), one of Sabido's former proteges at Televisa, and (3) a yet-incomplete manuscript being written by Dr. Ruben Jara, Director, Institute for Communication Research in Mexico City, and Heidi Nariman, a U.S. communication scholar presently working in Mexico City. They are trying to describe the Mexican experience with entertainment-educational soap operas. Nevertheless, the Sabido approach to the entertainment-education strategy has spread to television soap operas in India, Kenya, and elsewhere, and to popular music in Mexico, the Philippines, and Nigeria (see Figure 1-1). So Sabido's approach has had a considerable impact on development communication.

The purpose of the present chapter is to describe and analyze Miguel Sabido's entertainment-educational soap operas in Mexico. The theoretical and methodological tenets of Sabido's entertainment-education television soap operas are investigated in order to gain an understanding of how a brilliant creative mind drew on various communication theories to formulate one specific approach to the entertainment-education strategy.

CREATING ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION SOAP OPERAS

Convinced that the potential of soap operas on television was untapped, and often misused, Miguel Sabido, an internationally acclaimed Mexican theater director and a television writer-producer-director, conceived of creating entertainment-education television soap operas for Televisa, the Mexican commercial television network (Table 6-1).

Sabido's Historical-Cultural Soap Operas

In 1967, as part of celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Mexican Constitution, Televisa officials decided to broadcast television soap operas that would celebrate the rich cultural heritage of Mexican society. Between 1967 and 1970, Sabido produced four historical-cultural television soap operas for Televisa. "La Tormenta" ("The Storm"), co-written by Sabido and the noted Mexican poet Eduardo Lizalde, was about the French invasion of Mexico at the time of the Napoleonic wars in Europe. "La Tormenta's" success proved to Sabido that "soap operas did not have to be 'tear-jerkers' and superficial," as

Table 6-1. Miguel Sabido's Eleven Entertainment-Education Soap Operas Broadcast in Mexico.

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

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

were most of the previous soap operas on Mexican television (Sabido, 1989).

Sabido became convinced that the television soap opera format was ideally suited to perform an educational-development function in Mexican society. Soap operas were highly popular in Mexico, achieved spectacular audience ratings, and commercial sponsors were willing to underwrite production costs. A soap opera typically reached viewers for half-an-hour daily, five times a week, for about one year, representing massive exposure to an educational-development message (although many viewers might not watch each day). The melodrama in a soap opera represents a confrontation of "good" against "bad", offering a unique opportunity to promote "good" behaviors, and dissuade "bad" behaviors (Sabido, 1989).

After "La Tormenta", Sabido wrote "Los Caudillos" ("The Leaders") (1968), a soap opera about Mexico's struggle for independence; "La Constitución" ("The Constitution") (1969), a soap opera about the drafting of the Mexican Constitution; and "El Carruaje" ("The Carriage") (1970), a soap opera about Benito Juarez, a hero of Mexico's struggle for freedom. The historical-cultural soap operas dramatized momentous epochs of Mexico's past,

helping to create a rejuvenation of Mexican history and culture among its people. The widespread popularity of Sabido's four historical-cultural soap operas convinced him that commercial soap operas could successfully promote educational-development themes, without sacrificing audience ratings (Televisa's Institute of Communication Research, 1981a).

The Super-Hit: "Simplemente María"²

Sabido also capitalized on a lesson learned accidentally from a 1969 Peruvian soap opera, "Simplemente María" (a previous version of which had been broadcast in Argentina, in 1967-68, with only moderate success).³

Broadcast over one-year in black-and-white, "Simplemente María" was 340 episodes long, each episode lasting one hour. At its time, "Simplemente María" was the longest-running soap opera in Latin America (most other soap operas' episodes lasted only for 30 minutes, and they were broadcast for only 10 months). The television series told the rags-to-riches story of a migrant girl, María, who succeeds in achieving high socio-economic status because of her sewing skills with a Singer sewing machine.

María, a rural-urban migrant to Lima from the Andes Mountains, was employed as a maid in a rich urban household, and was depicted in the television series as hardworking, idealistic, and a positive role model for upward mobility. A self-made woman, María asked her employers for free time in the evening so that she could learn to read and write. The television series showed certain real-life problems faced by migrants to urban areas, and addressed educational-development themes such as the liberation of women, class conflict, and intermarriage between the urban-rich and the migrant-poor. María symbolized the classic Cinderella story: She rises from being a poor maid to become the owner of several high-fashion boutiques, emphasizing that hard work eventually pays off. Eventually, María turns in vengeance on the rich family by whom she had originally been employed. So class struggle was also part of the soap opera's plot.

"Simplemente María" achieved very high television ratings in Peru in 1969, and throughout Latin America when it was exported in the early 1970s. The soap opera was especially popular in Mexico. Wherever "Simplemente

María was broadcast, housewives reported that young maids employed in their houses showed a sudden interest in learning how to sew. Maids and other domestic employees also requested time in the evenings to participate in literacy classes, as María had done. Enrollment in adult literacy classes expanded. The sales of Singer sewing machines increased sharply wherever "Simplemente María" was broadcast in Latin America, as did the number of young women who enrolled in sewing classes. The Singer company purchased advertising in the broadcasts of "Simplemente María" in various countries. By 1977, the Singer company had earned net profits of 20 million dollars (U.S.), thanks to the overwhelming success of "Simplemente María" (Rogers & Antola, 1985). The Singer company presented Ms. Saby Kamalich, who played María, with a small gold Singer sewing machine in gratitude for her role in inadvertently promoting their product.

While Saby Kamalich was initially hesitant to accept María's role, "Simplemente María's" audience success has made her a living legend in Latin America. When she visited the rural countryside in Peru, Argentina, Panama, and other Latin American countries where

"Simplemente María" was broadcast, young women kneeled and kissed the hem of her skirt, a symbol of great respect (bordering on idol worship). Adulation for Saby Kamalich was so high that she moved from Peru to Mexico City, the center stage of Latin American telenovela production. While Saby Kamalich has starred in numerous Mexican telenovelas since her role in "Simplemente María", she is quick to point out that "there was nothing quite like 'Simplemente María'. Nor will there ever be" (as she told Everett M. Rogers in a 1990 personal interview).

Sabido was inspired by lessons drawn from the audience effects of "Simplemente María", the tremendous adulation for Saby Kamalich, and by his previous success with historical-cultural soap operas. The tremendous popularity of "Simplemente María", and its ensuing effects (such as encouraging young women to learn sewing), convinced Sabido that soap operas represented a useful means to promote non-formal education among viewers.

Towards a Methodology

For four years, from 1970 to 1974, Sabido worked with his sister, Irene Sabido (who also is a television producer at Televisa), to create a methodology for designing commercial soap operas for educational-development purposes. By then promoted to Vice-President for Research at Televisa, Sabido founded the Mexican Institute for Communication Studies (IMEC) in 1974 to help implement his entertainment-education soap opera methodology and to study the effects of these soap operas (IMEC in 1979 became Televisa's Institute for Communication Research, as we discuss later in this chapter) (Nariman, 1990). Sabido's methodology had two components: (1) an integrated, multi-disciplinary theoretical framework, drawing upon Jung's theory of the collective unconscious, McClean's theory of the triune brain, Rovigatti's circular communication model, Bentley's dramatic theory, and Bandura's social learning theory, and (2) a well-defined production system, which preserved the qualities of a commercial soap opera while teaching an educational-development value.

For their time, Sabido's ideas were revolutionary, as most television officials were unconvinced that

commercial entertainment television could be used for educational purposes. Finally, in 1975, Emilio Azcarraga, President of Televisa, and Victor Hugo O'Farril, a senior Televisa official and vice-president, gave Sabido the green light to produce the television soap opera, "Ven Conmigo" ("Come With Me"). It was designed to promote the Mexican National Plan of Adult Education. The production facilities of Televisa's studios in San Angel, on the outskirts of Mexico City (where most Televisa soap operas are produced until this day), were provided to Sabido. "Ven Conmigo" was particularly important to Sabido, as it represented the first "acid test" of his newly-developed soap opera methodology.

"Ven Conmigo"

Sabido designed "Ven Conmigo" to promote adult literacy in Mexico. In 1975, an estimated eight million Mexican adults were illiterate, about half of Mexico's labor force. Their lack of education prevented these individuals from widely sharing in the benefits of Mexico's socio-economic development. Mexico's Ministry of Public Education created an Open Adult Education System (CEMPEA) to enable Mexican adults to earn at

least a primary school diploma. Sabido's "Ven Conmigo" was created to support the Ministry's efforts, and to reinforce the values of adult education, self-teaching (to encourage illiterate adults to study), and social solidarity (encouraging literate adults to help the illiterates to study). Locations and sets which mirrored the target audience's reality, and which duplicated the actual infrastructure of the Mexican national plan for adult education, were utilized.

"Ven Conmigo" was broadcast by Televisa from November 17, 1975 to December 10, 1976, a total of 280 half-hour episodes broadcast five times a week. The early episodes of "Ven Conmigo" tried to actually teach adults how to read and write. This didactic approach did not work well with the audiences, who found the soap opera content dull and boring. So Sabido gave "Ven Conmigo" a mid-course correction, encouraging adults to enroll and continue to attend literacy classes. Then "Ven Conmigo" rapidly climbed in popularity, eventually achieving average audience ratings of 33 percent, higher than the average ratings for other soap operas on Televisa. "Ven Conmigo's" average rating of 33 percent represented an estimated audience of 4 million people just in the metropolitan area of Mexico City, an indication of the

tremendous audience reach of this soap opera.

A panel study of 600 adult respondents living in Mexico City was conducted by Sabido's Mexican Institute for Communication Studies. This investigation showed that (1) "Ven Conmigo" viewers were higher in knowledge about the Mexican National Plan for Adult Education than were non-viewers, and (2) that exposure to "Ven Conmigo" was related to a more positive attitude towards helping others study (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research, 1981; Berrueta, 1986). Data gathered by Mexico's Open Adult Education System showed that between November, 1975 and December, 1976 (when "Ven Conmigo" was broadcast), 839,943 illiterates enrolled in adult education classes in Mexico. The number of new enrollments in Mexico in 1976 was nine times the number of enrollments in 1975, and twice the number of enrollments in 1977, when "Ven Conmigo" was no longer broadcast (Figure 6-1) (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research, 1981). "Ven Conmigo" was undoubtedly one major influence in encouraging Mexicans to enroll in adult education classes. Part of this increase was possibly due to other factors. "Ven Conmigo" was sold to 15 other Spanish-speaking

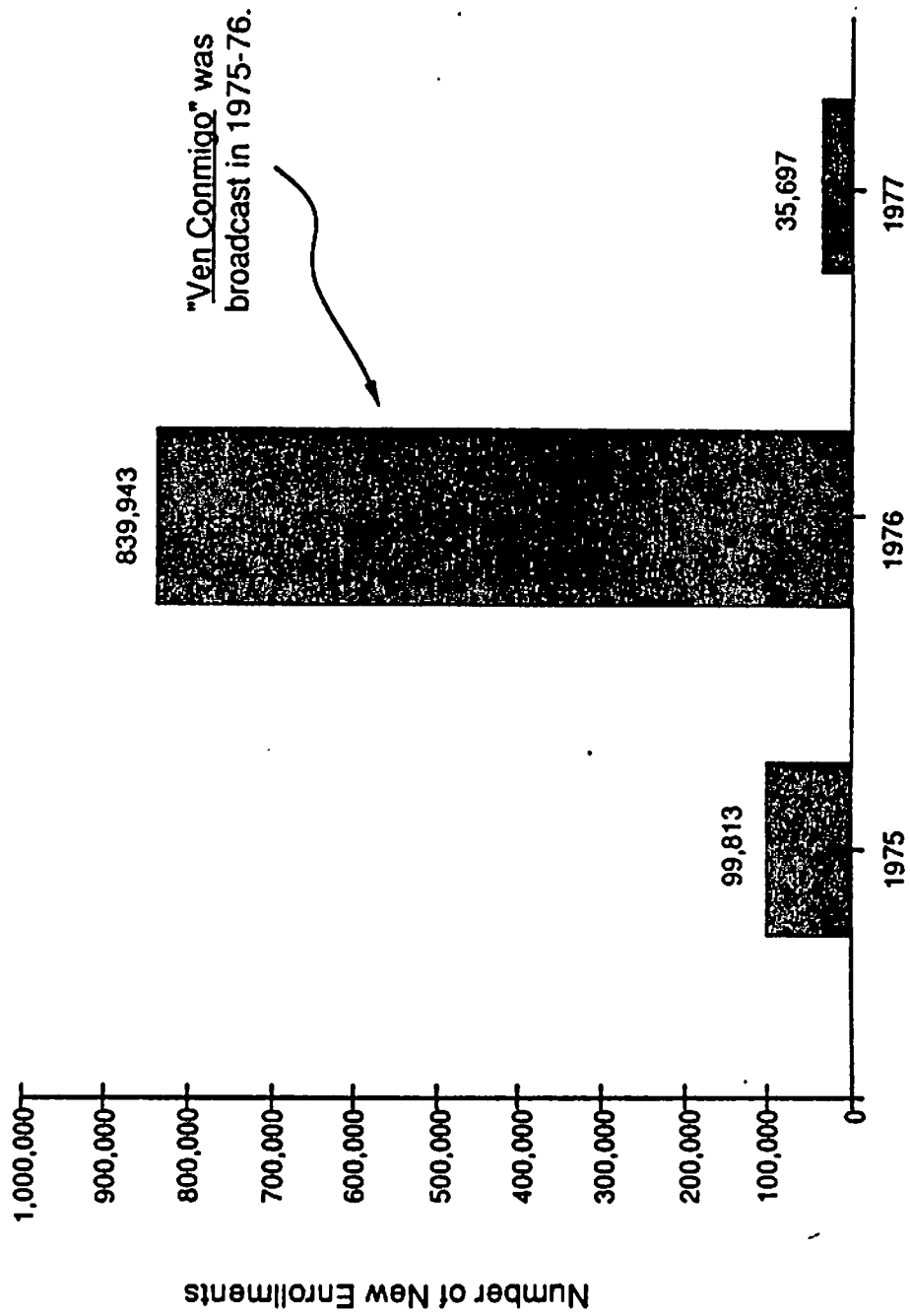


Figure 6-1. New Student Enrollment in the Mexican National Education Plan Before, During, and After the Broadcasts of "Ven Conmigo".

countries, an indication of the commercial viability of this educational soap opera.

"Acompáname"

Encouraged by the success of "Ven Conmigo" in 1975-76, Miguel Sabido and his sister, Irene, designed another entertainment-education soap opera, "Acompáname" ("Come Along with Me"). "Acompáname" promoted family planning in Mexico, and represented a methodological innovation for Miguel Sabido, who had consciously incorporated principles of Albert Bandura's social learning theory in designing this soap opera (a theory discussed later in the present chapter).

"Acompáname" was broadcast by Televisa from August 15, 1977 to April 21, 1978, as 180 half-hour episodes. Like "Ven Conmigo", "Acompáname" was highly popular with Mexican viewers, achieving average audience ratings of 29 percent, once again higher than the average ratings for other soap operas on Televisa (Rogers & Antola, 1985). The central value promoted by Sabido in "Acompáname" was family harmony. The need for family planning was shown as a means towards achieving family harmony. Such other topics as child development, the

role of women in a family, and the importance of husband-wife communication were also addressed.

"Acompañame's" specific objectives were (1) to inform fertile-aged couples about family planning, and about the available infrastructure (such as represented by clinics) providing family planning, (2) to motivate people to request family planning services, and (3) to motivate couples who already practiced family planning to encourage those couples who did not (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research, 1981a).

The broadcasts of "Acompañame" were supported by the infrastructure of all family planning clinics of the Mexican Health Services. The availability of such infrastructural services are crucially important so that an individual motivated by television to perform a certain behavior is not frustrated. For instance, in 1976, an episode of "Ven Conmigo" announced the location of a government warehouse in Mexico City where free literacy booklets were available. Unfortunately, the demand exceeded the ability of the warehouse staff to provide the literacy booklets, and a huge traffic jam resulted, tying up central Mexico City in a huge gridlock (Rogers & others, 1989).

A before-after panel study of 800 adult respondents living in Mexico City showed (1) that "Acompañame's" viewers were higher in knowledge about family planning methods and services than non-viewers, and (2) that exposure to "Acompañame" was related to an improved attitude toward adoption of family planning methods (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research, 1981). Data gathered by Mexico's National Coordination Office for Family Planning showed that when "Acompañame" was on-the-air, 562,464 Mexicans visited government family planning health clinics in order to adopt contraceptives, an increase of 33 percent over the previous year. The number of phone calls received by the National Coordination Office for Family Planning increased from zero to 500 calls a month, with several callers confirming that they were motivated by "Acompañame" to seek help. Some 2,500 Mexican women registered as voluntary workers to help implement the Mexican National Plan for Family Planning, an idea promoted by "Acompañame" (Televisa's Institute for Communication Research, 1981a). "Acompañame" seemed to have been one major influence in encouraging Mexicans to adopt family planning. "Acompañame" was exported to

twelve other countries in Latin America, where it also achieved high audience ratings.

Sabido's Other Soap Operas

Realizing the importance of formative and summative research on entertainment-education soap operas, Sabido's IMEC (Mexican Institute for Communication Studies) became Televisa's Institute for Communication Research (ICR) in 1979. Directed by Dr. Ruben Jara, a Ph.D. in communication from Michigan State University, the ICR investigated the effects of Miguel Sabido's television soap operas (the Institute also engaged in a wide variety of other researches, including the evaluation of Tatiana and Johnny's "Cuando Estemos Juntos," mentioned previously).

From 1979 to 1982, Miguel Sabido and his sister, Irene, designed five more entertainment-educational soap operas that were broadcast by Televisa: (1) "Vamos Juntos" ("When We Are Together") in 1979-80, to promote the value of responsible parenthood; (2) "El Combate" in 1980, to reinforce the value of adult literacy; (3) "Camínemos" ("Let's Walk Together") in 1980-81 to promote sexual responsibility among teenagers; (4)

"Nosotras las Mujeres" ("We the Women") in 1981, to promote the status-of-women in Mexican society; and (5) "Por Amor" ("For Love") in 1981-82, to promote family planning. These five entertainment-education television soap operas earned ratings of between 11 percent and 16 percent, lower than "Ven Conmigo" and "Acompañame", but still high enough to be commercially viable. In fact, all five soap operas were exported to several other Spanish-speaking countries in South America.

While Sabido's methodology for producing entertainment-education soap operas seemed to be very effective, it did not find its way into the mainstream of communication science literature. Evaluation research on the effects of Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas were all conducted in-house by ICR, leading some critics to be skeptical of the results. Although Sabido is justifiably proud of creating a methodology for producing effective entertainment-education soap operas, he is disappointed that his methodology has been "barely recognized" in Mexico. Indeed, he has received few honors, nor even much public credit, for his important contributions.

No new entertainment-education soap operas have been produced by Sabido for Televisa since 1982, although many of his television series were rebroadcast in Mexico and in other nations. But Sabido's pioneering work in Mexico (thanks to David Poindexter and other supporters) is now bearing fruit in other Third World countries, which have created their own entertainment-education soap operas based on the Miguel Sabido methodology (for example, in India and in Kenya). After an eight-year gap, in 1990, Sabido began producing another family planning soap opera in Mexico (with an AIDS and a drug-abuse sub-theme), "Sangre Joven" ("Young Blood"), to be broadcast in Mexico, and five other Latin American nations, and in the U.S.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONVENTIONAL U.S. SOAP OPERAS AND SABIDO'S ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION SOAP OPERAS

A soap opera is a dramatic serial broadcast that is mainly intended to entertain. The name "soap opera" was originally coined in the United States because the sponsors of these daytime broadcasts were mainly soap companies, whose advertisements were primarily aimed at an afternoon audience of stay-at-home housewives. Over

50 million Americans are fans of one or more soap operas (Whetmore & Kielwasser, 1983).

Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education television soap operas in Mexico differ in several important ways from American-produced soap operas (Figure 6-2). Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas are more educational, value-specific, morally coherent, realistic, and much more theoretically designed than are soap operas produced in the U.S. (Brown, Singhal, & Rogers, 1988). While there exist several similarities between entertainment-education television soap operas and conventional U.S. soap operas, we focus here on the differences.

Entertainment Versus Entertainment-Education

Conventional soap operas are entertaining but not deliberately educational, whereas entertainment-educational soap operas are deliberately entertaining and educational. Their aim is to attract large audiences and be commercially successful, and to purposefully convey educational-development messages. While some educational benefits might accrue by watching

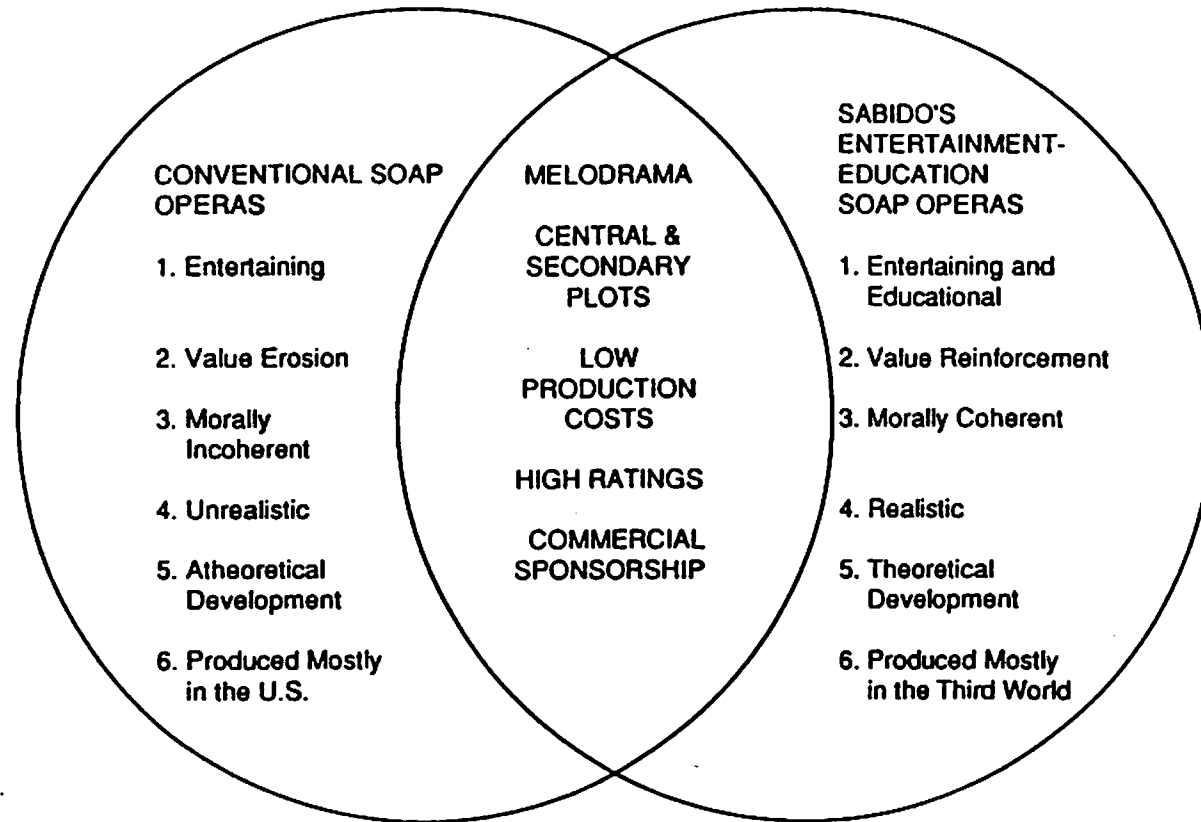


Figure 6-2. Similarities and Differences Between Conventional U.S. Soap Operas and Sabido's Entertainment-Education Soap Operas.

Source: Partially based on Berrueta (1986).

U.S. soap operas, such learning is incidental and not planned.

Value Erosion Versus Value Reinforcement

U.S.-produced soap operas are not intended to promote specific values, whereas entertainment-education television soap operas are designed to promote specific pro-social beliefs and values. While communication researchers contend that specific values, beliefs, and behaviors are addressed by U.S. soap operas, such values are incidental to the primary purpose of attracting large audiences (Buerkel-Rothfuss & Mayes, 1981; Carveth & Alexander, 1985; Tan & Tan, 1986). While isolated episodes of U.S. soap operas have focused on socially relevant problems such as AIDS, alcoholism, cancer, child abuse, drug addiction, and rape, they have not attempted to promote values that alleviate such problems. In fact, the fear is that excessive depiction of sex, violence, greed, and materialism actually lead to value erosion.

Moral Incoherence Versus Moral Coherence

U.S. soap operas are often morally incoherent, meaning no clear moral distinctions are made between "good" and "bad" behaviors (Berrueta, 1986). The "good" moral characters frequently violate social norms, confusing the audience about what constitutes "good" or "bad" behavior. The characters in Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas are morally consistent because they represent role models of pro-social and anti-social behavior. Positive and negative consequences of moral choices are clearly portrayed by rewarding pro-social behavior and punishing anti-social behavior.

Unrealistic Versus Realistic

U.S. soap operas are commonly unrealistic because they do not give an accurate portrayal of life as experienced by most of their viewers (Alexander, 1985; Estep and MacDonald, 1985). They mainly show fantasy. In contrast, a great deal of effort is invested in designing entertainment-education soap operas to match the reality of audience needs. Formative evaluation is conducted to assess the needs of the target audience, and small details such as facial expressions, costumes,

and sets are considered to enhance the realistic nature of entertainment-education soap operas.

Atheoretic Versus Theoretic

The most important difference between U.S. soap operas and Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education television soap operas is that U.S. soap operas have little or no theoretical foundation, whereas Sabido's soap operas draw heavily upon Carl Jung's theory of archetypes and stereotypes, Mayoritt's and McClean's theory of the triune brain, Eric Bentley's dramatic theory, Albert Bandura's social learning theory, Sabido's own theory of tones (developed through his past experience in theater and in television), and other human communication theories (Figure 6-3).

An integrated, multi-disciplinary theoretical approach, Sabido's entertainment-education television soap operas are a highly unusual type of media message.

JUNG'S THEORY OF THE COLLECTIVE UNCONSCIOUS

From times immemorial, mankind has sought the meaning of human existence, tried to understand the origin and

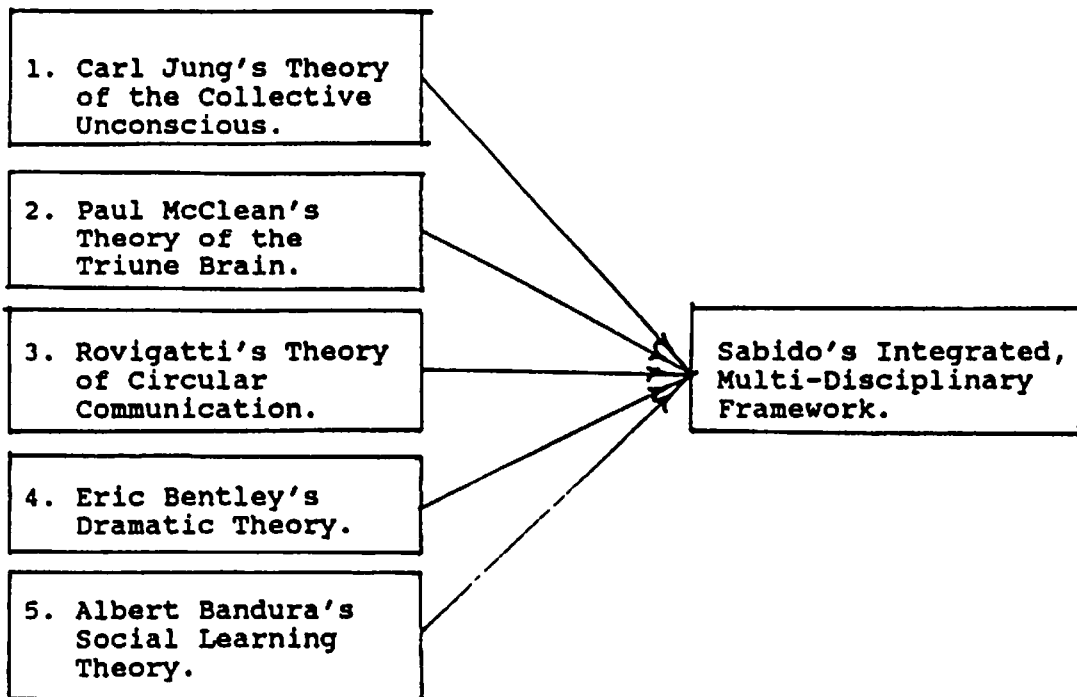


Figure 6-3. The Various Theories Which Form the Basis of Sabido's Approach to Designing Entertainment-Education Soap Operas.

nature of his world, and has striven for a state of well-being (for self and loved ones). In this ceaseless endeavor, mankind has constructed tales which model his/her way of life, and ritualized human experience in the form of traditions, customs, and anecdotes that pass from one generation to another, providing meaning and continuity to life. Today, tremendous confusion often exists in peoples' minds about the meaning of life, caused by the media's excessive "information overload" (reflected in the growing use of terms such as "estrangement", "alienation", and "counterculture") (Klapp, 1982). Sabido believes that drama, rituals, and myths can be utilized to counter such confusion, providing coherence and meaning to peoples' lives.

The television soap opera represents a potentially powerful vehicle for such purpose as it provides story, drama, and vicarious experience (through its characters and situations). These stories can be played out melodramatically on television, preserving the moral and dramatic coherency of the characters (Berrueta, 1986). In this sense, the television soap opera serves a dual purpose: It entertains the audience, and acts as reinforcer of existing social value. Modern-day

celebrities and popular idols (heroes) are purveyors of myths.

Until the first half of the 20th century, scholars (especially sociologists, ethnologists, and historians) conceptualized myths as "fables", "inventions of the mind", and "fiction". In the past several decades, scholars have conceptualized myths as "sacred tradition", "primordial revelation", or as explanatory models of reality (Eliade, 1976). Myths are legendary stories which provide expression to the early beliefs, aspirations, and perceptions of a people, often serving to explain natural phenomenon, or the origins of a people. Myths are part of our collective unconscious, which often becomes conscious (Jung, 1970). Mythical stories help human beings to understand themselves in a complex world, guiding human behavior toward a more harmonious lifestyle (with nature, fellow-beings, and others) (Campbell, 1988). Moral education is transmitted not through abstract concepts but through concrete role models (Sanford, 1981). Stories and myths offer solutions to human problems as they affect our conscious and unconscious minds. In India, stories are often used as psychological therapy: The therapist narrates a story which relates to a patient's problems, helping the

patient to come up with a solution (Bettelheim, 1977).

Mythical stories represent a way in which collective ideas originating in the unconscious are passed from one generation to another through archetypes (Jung, 1970). An archetype is a perfect model (or an assumed exemplar) which inferior examples may resemble, but never equal. Archetypes can be observed only through their effects, that is, recurring images of "a perfect model" (say a Prince Charming) in dreams (Jung, 1970). Archetypical figures attract, convince, fascinate, dominate, and represent standards of behavior which make them special (Sabido, 1988). Primordial (meaning fundamental, underived, or existing from the beginning) archetypes such as the Great Mother and the Fair Maiden are manifested differently in various cultures. Upon acquiring the cultural forms of that culture, the archetype is then recognized as a stereotype (Berrueta, 1986). Stereotypes are rigidly conventional codes which are unoriginal, copied from a model.

Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas are based on Jung's theory of the collective unconscious, archetypes, and stereotypes. Soap opera characters that imitate a myth are archetypes, those who imitate life

are stereotypes. All of Sabido's archetypes are "bi-polar", that is, they can be positive or negative role models. Sabido experimented with several levels of male and female archetypes, each representing a certain behavioral pattern in a human life-cycle (from birth to death) (Table 6-2). In a lifetime, an archetype moves from one level to another triggered by a certain event ("peripethia"). These various levels and events represent a universal human story (with a beginning, a middle, and an end), revealing a change of fortunes, and the moving from one role in life to another (Berrueta, 1986). Each archetype is characterized by an ethnologically-determined physical appearance that provides guidelines for a stereotypical delienation of the archetypes (Nariman, 1990). A photographic study of the target audience is carried out to determine facial characteristics, make-up, dress style, sets, and props for maximum identification with audience.

MCCLEAN'S THEORY OF THE TRIUNE BRAIN

In creating entertainment-education television soap operas, Sabido drew upon Paul McClean's (a physiologist at the University of Virginia), and Mayoritt's (a physiologist at the University of Paris, the Sorbonne,

Table 6-2. Sabido's Male and Female Archetypes
Representing a Human Lifecycle.

<u>From Birth</u>	
Female Archetype	Male Archetype
1. Puella: A female child from the time of birth to menstruation.	1. Puer: A male child from the time of birth to puberty.
2. Doncella: A young woman from the time of menstruation to her first sexual intercourse.	2. Puber: A young man from the time of puberty to his first sexual encounter.
3. Femina: A young woman from the time of her first sexual intercourse to her pregnancy.	3. Cultural Hero: A young man whose body develops to maximum strength and agility.
4. Mother: A woman from the time of pregnancy (bearing a child) to motherhood.	4. Pater Authoritas: A father who exercises his authority and fulfills family responsibilities.
5. Senex: A woman from the time of menopause to death.	5. Senex: A man from the time of andropause to death.
<u>To Death</u>	

Source: Based on Berrueta (1986).

in France) theory of the triune brain (Sabido, 1988). McClean and Mayoritt explain how humans process messages utilizing one, or a combination, of three brain centers: (1) the neo-cortex (representing intelligence), (2) mammalian (representing emotions), and (3) reptilian (representing physical urges). Beginning with a reptilian brain, through a process of physiological evolution, humans developed a mammalian capability, followed by a neo-cortex capability. Upon processing messages (consciously or unconsciously), the reptilian brain triggers basic animalistic urges such as to seek food, to find sexual gratification, to be aggressive, and/or "flight". The mammalian brain triggers emotional activity (the principle on which a lie-detector test is based). The neo-cortex brain triggers intellectual activity (such as measured by an I.Q. test). McClean contends that the neo-cortex capability is only common to human beings.

Using McClean's and Mayoritt's classification, Sabido contends that a media message can trigger seven types of responses from the viewer depending on how the message is encoded and decoded: (1) a reptilian response (representing physical urges), (2) a mammalian response (representing emotions), (3) a neo-cortex response

(representing intellectual activity), (4) a reptilian-mammalian response (representing both physical urges and emotions), (5) a reptilian-neo-cortex response (representing physical urges and intellectual activity), (6) a mammalian-neo-cortex response (representing an emotional and intellectual response), and (7) a reptilian-mammalian-neo-cortex response (representing physical urges, emotions, and intellectual activity) (Sabido, 1988). Typically, reptilian responses help in the catharsis of tensions produced in human reptilian zones. Sports programming, contests, slap-stick comedy, and pornography typically elicit reptilian-type responses. Soap operas typically elicit mammalian-type emotional responses. News and political analysis elicit neo-cortex-type intellectual responses.

Sabido's soap operas agitate human emotions and ignite intellectual activity among viewers to make judgements about moral values. Sabido contends that if a telenovela triggered only mammalian and neo-cortex responses, it would not earn high ratings, nor would it have much educational impact. Sabido's "Acompañame" presented the individual and social conflict arising out of producing many children. That is, should numerous children be valued, or do they lead to profound personal, economic,

and societal problems? Reptilian responses are essential to create a ludens (play/fight) between an individual's natural urges and prevailing "social norms" (akin to Stephenson's ludenic theory of mass communication, discussed in Chapter 1). The idea is to displace urges of aggression and flight, and to encourage harmonious human interaction. In fact, Sabido contends that most educational-development programs fail, because they are designed only to trigger neo-cortex responses from an individual.

So while Sabido designs a soap opera to primarily trigger reptilian and mammalian responses, he utilizes epilogues to provide intellectual stimulation of the viewers' neo-cortex. Utilized for the first time on "Ven Conmigo", epilogues (1) provide coherence to the ludens (the fight between an individual's physical/natural impulses and prevailing social norms), specifying the desirable models of conduct, and (2) provide information about the existing infrastructure (for example, family planning clinics), or how viewers could establish their own infrastructure. The person who delivers the epilogues at the end of each soap opera episode should be credible, believable, friendly, and of slightly

higher social status than the target audience (Sabido, 1988).

Using McClean's triune brain theory, Sabido, over a period of several decades, enhanced his ability to elicit these various kinds of responses from his theater and television audiences. Sabido is completely confident of McClean's triune brain theory: "I can take the same script to evoke a reptilian, mammilian, neo-cortex, or any combination of responses from my audiences," he told the present author in a 1988 personal interview. He contends his theory can modify attitudes as well as behaviors. His challenge is to find messages (or images) which will evoke a common response from his audiences (these he calls "cultural equalizers", cultural equalizers).

ROVIGATTI'S CIRCULAR COMMUNICATION MODEL

Rovigatti took the five basic elements of a communication model (1) the communicator, (2) the message, (3) the medium, (4) the receiver, and (5) the response, and ordered these in a circular fashion. In the communication circuit of a commercial soap opera, the communicator is the manufacturer of a product, the

message is "buy my product", the medium is the soap opera, the receiver is the consumer, and the response is the purchase of the product (Figure 6-4).

In designing entertainment-education television soap operas, Sabido left the communication circuit of a commercial soap opera intact, but added a second communicator, a second message, a second receiver, and a second response. For example, in "Ven Conmigo" (which promoted adult literacy), Sabido's second communicator was CEMPEA (the Mexican government organization in charge of adult education), the second message was "enroll in adult education classes" and/or "help others to study", the second receiver was the target audience for the second message, and the second response was participation in the the CEMPEA education plan (Figure 6-5). The second (educational-development) communication circuit was not to impede the function of the first communicator (the manufacturer of an advertized product). So Sabido was not only attempting to break down the dichotomy between entertainment versus educational television, but also between commercial television and educational television.

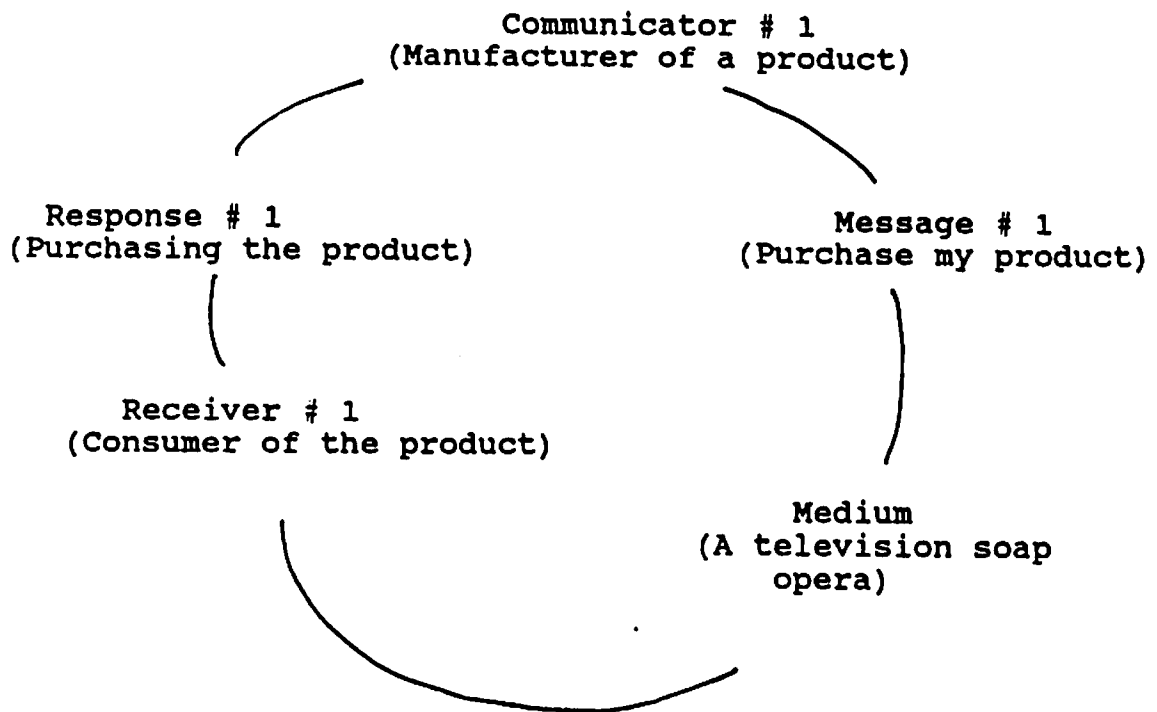


Figure 6-4: The Communication Circuit of Commercial Soap Opera Based on Rovigatti's Circular Communication Model.

Source: Based on Televisa's Institute of Communication Research (1981a and 1981b).

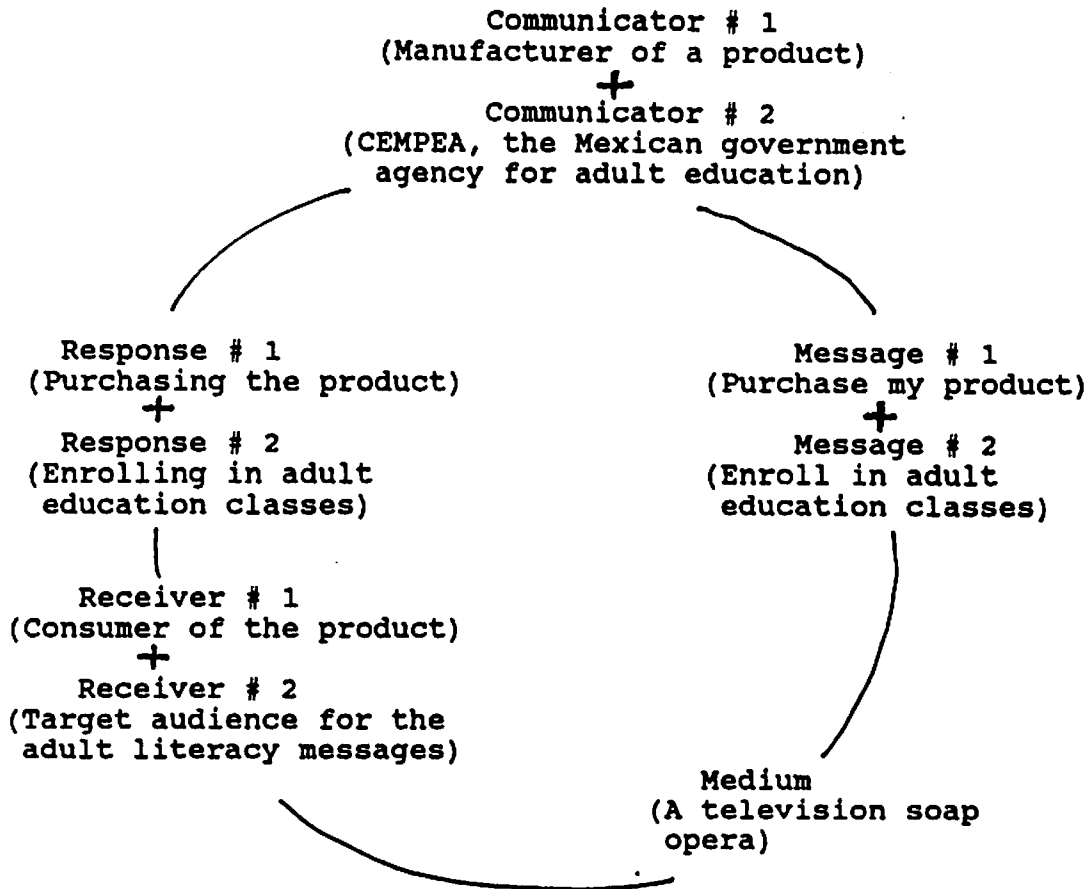


Figure 6-5: Sabido's Use of Rovigatti's Model to Add a Second Educational Communication Circuit (#2) to an Already-Existing Commercial Soap Opera Circuit (#1).

Source: Based on Televisa's Institute of Communication Research (1981a and 1981b) and Nariman (1990).

BENTLEY'S DRAMATIC THEORY

Dr. Eric Bentley, a professor of theater and drama at Columbia University in New York, distinguishes between five key theater genres: Tragedy, comedy, tragicomedy, farce, and melodrama (Bentley, 1967). Sabido draws upon Bentley's work, treating the television soap opera as a melodrama, with a structure, tone, anecdote, theme, and characters organized to affect its audience. Melodrama is an emotive genre which presents moral behaviors in discord (or conflict), emphasizing the anecdote, and producing identification between the audience and certain characters.

In "Acompañame", Martha, a housewife and a mother, personifies the conflict between traditional expectations to produce several children and the need to bring harmony to one's household (Nariman, 1990). The actress who played Martha brought life to the character. Dialogues amplified her emotional sentiments (as opposed to constraining them), eliciting a greater degree of audience identification. Suspense was created through exaggerated situations, and viewers wondered how Martha would resolve her discord. She did so by adopting family planning methods.

BANDURA'S SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY ⁴

Sabido incorporated Albert Bandura's social learning theory in his entertainment-education soap operas, starting with his creation of "Acompañame". Bandura, a former clinical psychologist-turned-social psychologist at Stanford University, is well-known for his social learning theory and research on children and aggression. Social learning theory explains how humans learn social behaviors as a result of modeling their behavior after that of others with whom they interact, or that they observe in the mass media. Human beings are viewed as neither solely driven by internal forces (as theorized by psychodynamic theorists [like Freud, 1933] and trait theorists [like Cattell, 1966]), nor automatically shaped and controlled by external, environmental stimuli (as theorized by radical behaviorists [like Skinner, 1953]). Bandura takes a cognitive viewpoint to explain human behavior in terms of a model of "triadic reciprocity" in which (1) behavior, (2) cognitive and other internal factors, and (3) environmental factors operate as interacting determinants of each other (Bandura, 1986, p. 18).

Bandura (1986) defines human nature in terms of five basic human capabilities. These capabilities highly influence observational learning processes.

1. Symbolic capability: Humans have a remarkable capability to use visual and verbal symbols. Through symbols, people process and retain experiences, using them as guides for future action.
2. Forethought capability: Most human behavior is purposive, and regulated by forethought.
3. Vicarious capability: Humans learn from direct experiences, and vicariously by observing other people.
4. Self-regulatory capability: Most human behavior is motivated and regulated by an individual's personal standards, and by self-evaluations of the individual's actions.
5. Self-reflective capability: People analyze their experiences, and gain knowledge about themselves and the world around them. This self-reflective capability provides people with a perception of their

self-efficacy, defined as an individual's judgement of his/her capability to deal effectively with a situation (Bandura, 1977). Self-efficacy is essentially the oposite of fatalism, the belief by an individual that he/she cannot control a situation (Brown, Singhal, & Rogers, 1988). An individual's perception of his/her self-efficacy is an important determinant in whether or not a certain behavior will be performed (Bandura, 1977).

Imitation, Identification, and Modeling

Several theorists explain human behavior as a function of modeling. Some conceptualize modeling as imitation, defined as the process by which one organism matches the actions of another, usually closely in time (Kohlberg, 1963; Bandura, 1986). This conceptualization of modeling as response mimicry places arbitrary limitations on the psychological changes that can be achieved by modeling influences (Bandura, 1986). Other theorists interpret modeling processes as a type of identification, the process through which an individual takes on a model's behavior and/or personality patterns in some form. Identification could mean sharing

"similar motives, values, and ideals" by two individuals (Gewirtz & Stingle, 1968), or represent a "psychological attraction" to the model (Parsons, 1951). Bandura uses the generic term modeling to refer to the psychological processes in which one organism matches the actions of another, not necessarily close in time (Bandura, 1977). Modeling influences have broader psychological effects than identification, or the simple response mimicry implied by imitation.

There exist several modeling phenomena based on the different psychological effects that modeling produces (Bandura, 1986).

1. Observational learning effects: Observers cognitively acquire new behavior by observing models.
2. Inhibitory and disinhibitory effects: Observing a model strengthens or weakens an observer's inhibitions about a behavior which was previously learned.
3. Response facilitation effects: Others' actions can prompt the performance of previously learned behaviors.

For example, people may look upward when they see others looking upward.

4. Environmental enhancements effects: A model's behavior may draw the observer's attention to certain environmental factors which may later act as stimuli. For example, children who observed a doll being beaten with a mallet, then used the mallet more in other types of activities than did children who had not observed this instrument used by others (Bandura, 1962).

5. Arousal effects: Observers may be emotionally aroused when models express emotional reactions, and such arousal may influence an observer's ongoing behavior (Tannenbaum & Zillman, 1975).

In sum, modeling can serve the function of (1) instructor, (2) inhibitor/disinhibitor, (3) response facilitator, (4) environment stimulus enhancer, and (5) emotional arouser. While these different modeling functions can operate separately, they often work concurrently (Bandura, 1986).

Observational Learning From Television

Observational learning occurs when an observer acquires new knowledge about certain rules of behavior from a model through cognitive processing of information (Bandura, 1977). Research shows that children can learn behaviors from observing others, and that such observation may be (1) of real life, or (2) of behavior in films or on television. In fact, real-life models and television models may not differ in influencing the learning of new behaviors (Bandura, 1962; Bandura, 1965; and Bandura, 1977). Research on observation learning via television modeling is more concerned with vicarious learning, where viewers learn from television models, and not directly from real-life models.

Observational learning is regulated by four cognitive processes (Bandura, 1986):

1. Attentional processes. People learn by attending to, and perceiving accurately, the main features of a modeled behavior. Factors which affect attentional processes are (1) properties of modeled activities (for example, the complexity of a modeled activity), and (2) attributes of the observer (for example, an observer's

cognitive capabilities and personal preferences). An observer's psychological attraction (1) to the model, and (2) to the modeled behavior, enhances their attention toward the modeled activity (Bandura, 1977).

2. Retention processes. People retain knowledge about modeled activities in their memory in symbolic form, as verbal or visual symbols. Retention involves restructuring the observed modeled activities into simple, succinct symbols to capture the essential features of the modeled activity. Retention of visual imagery or verbal symbols can be facilitated by cognitive (or enactive) repetition or rehearsal of the modeled behavior. To the extent that a model's actions are coded in verbal signals, they are more likely to be remembered at a later time (Bandura, 1977). Careful verbal labeling that summarizes a model's actions is an effective means of coding.

3. Production processes. In production processes, retained symbols are converted into behavioral action. Production processes involve the cognitive organization of individual responses, such as initiation, monitoring, and refinement on the basis of feedback received about the actual performance of the modeled behavior.

4. Motivational processes. Motivational processes bring forth the performance of a previously-learned behavior.

Social learning theory distinguishes between acquisition and performance of a behavior. People do not perform every behavior they acquire; the acquired behavior may have little functional value for them or carry a high risk of punishment. Positive incentives can help previously-acquired behavior to be subsequently performed (Dubanoski & Parton, 1971; Bandura, 1977). So motivational processes are more relevant to the performance of a behavior, than to the learning of a behavior.

The acquisition of behavior depends on the observation of a model alone, whereas the performance of the behavior is determined by the expectation of reward or punishment. This expectation includes the observation of what happens to a model following the performance of his/her her behavior, which Bandura labels as reinforcement. Reinforcement is a measure of the motivational incentive received by an observer to perform a modeled behavior (Bandura, 1977). There are

three ways to motivate observers to perform a learned behavior:

1. Direct reinforcement: An observer is directly rewarded/punished for performing a modeled behavior. The rewards/punishments may involve material incentives/disincentives, pleasant/unpleasant sensory stimulation, or positive/negative social reactions (Bandura, 1986).
2. Vicarious reinforcement: A model is rewarded/punished for performing a behavior, and an observer cognitively (via imagination) shares the model's experience.
3. Self-produced reinforcement: An observer is motivated by his/her own personal standards, which regulates his/her performance of a learned behavior. Self-satisfying behaviors are easily performed, while behaviors that observers personally disapprove of, are usually rejected.

Applying Social Learning Theory in Entertainment-Education Television Soap Operas

Miguel Sabido consciously applied social learning theory in designing his entertainment-education television soap operas. Viewers learned socially desirable behaviors from models depicted in the television series (Bandura, 1986). For example, a character in a pro-development soap opera models a behavior that either encourages or discourages the exercise of a socially desirable behavior by viewers. When the character displays a socially desirable behavior, he/she is rewarded, and when the character emulates a socially undesirable behavior, he/she is punished (Brown, Singhal, & Rogers, 1988). Television viewers vicariously learn pro-social models of behavior from soap opera characters. Table 6-3 explains how Bandura's social learning theory can be applied in designing pro-development television soap operas.

Each of Sabido's entertainment-educational soap opera begins with three sets of characters: (1) those who support the value (positive role models) (2) those who reject the value (negative role models), and (3) those who are somewhere in-between (the doubters). Each soap

Table 6-3. Social Learning Theory Applied in an Entertainment-Education Soap Opera.

Social Learning Principles	Application to Entertainment-Education Soap Operas
1. Humans have vicarious capability.	1. Viewers vicariously learn from a wide variety of television models.
2. Humans have symbolic capability.	2. Viewers retain knowledge about modeled activities in verbal and visual symbols.
3. Performance of a desirable behavior can be promoted if the model's behavior is rewarded.	3. Reward the soap opera character (model) when he/she portrays a socially desirable behavior.
4. Performance of an undesirable behavior can be discouraged if the model's behavior is punished.	4. Punish the soap opera character (model) when he/she portrays a socially undesirable behavior.
5. Presenting models visually and then describing them orally will have greater influence on an observer.	5. Presenting the TV soap opera model together with an epilogue, in which the model's actions are verbally summarized, will have a greater influence on the audience.
6. Retention of visual imagery or verbal symbols is facilitated by repetition and rehearsal of modeled behavior.	6. Pro-development soap operas contain about 150 to 200 episodes, and hence modeled behaviors are repeated and rehearsed several times.
7. Psychological effects of observing a model may be:	7. Pro-development soap operas may influence viewers by:
(a) Observational learning effects: Acquisition of new behaviors that did not previously exist in the observer.	(a) Providing new information, and new alternatives (vasectomy, tubectomy, pills, condoms, IUD's, etc.), for example, for family planning adoption.
(b) Inhibitory/disinhibitory effects: Weakening or strengthening inhibited responses.	(b) Overcoming restraints: For example, religion may forbid the use of contraceptives, but the viewer's attitude toward family planning can be strengthened by showing an improved lifestyle as result of practicing family planning.

Table 6-3
Continued

(c) Response facilitation effects: Prompting the performance of a behavior already acquired by an observer.

(d) Environmental enhancement effects: Drawing an observer's attention to an environmental factor which may later act as a stimuli.

(e) Arousal effects: Emotionally arousing an observer toward a social issue.

(c) Prompting an observer who already knows about family planning, but has not adopted until a TV character adopts.

(d) Enhancing an environmental stimulus: For example, an observer who usually sought a friend's advice on sexual matters is encouraged to visit a family planning clinic because he/she saw such a clinic in the soap opera.

(e) For example, a model's emotional expression of agony and shame after beating his wife, may influence an observer's behavior toward his/her spouse.

SOURCE: Adapted from Televisa's Institute for Communication Research (1981a), and Brown, Singhal, & Rogers (1988).

opera has at least four positive role models and four negative counterparts: A character who approves of the value and one who disapproves, one who promotes the value and one who does not, one who exercises the value and one who does not, and one who socially validates the value and one one who does not (Figure 6-6). There are at least three doubters, who represent various demographic groups within the target audience. One of the doubters adopts the value about one-third of the way through the soap opera, the second adopts the value about two-thirds of the way, and the third doubter keeps doubting all the way through the soap opera and is seriously punished (often killed) toward the end of the soap opera. When the first and the second doubters gradually change their attitudes and behaviors toward the value, their transformation is reinforced and explained in the epilogues. Each time a positive role model or a doubter performs a socially desirable behavior, they are rewarded immediately. Each time a negative role model performs a socially undesirable behavior (relative to the value that is being promoted), he/she is immediately punished.

Sequence of Episodes in a Miguel Sabido
Television Soap Opera

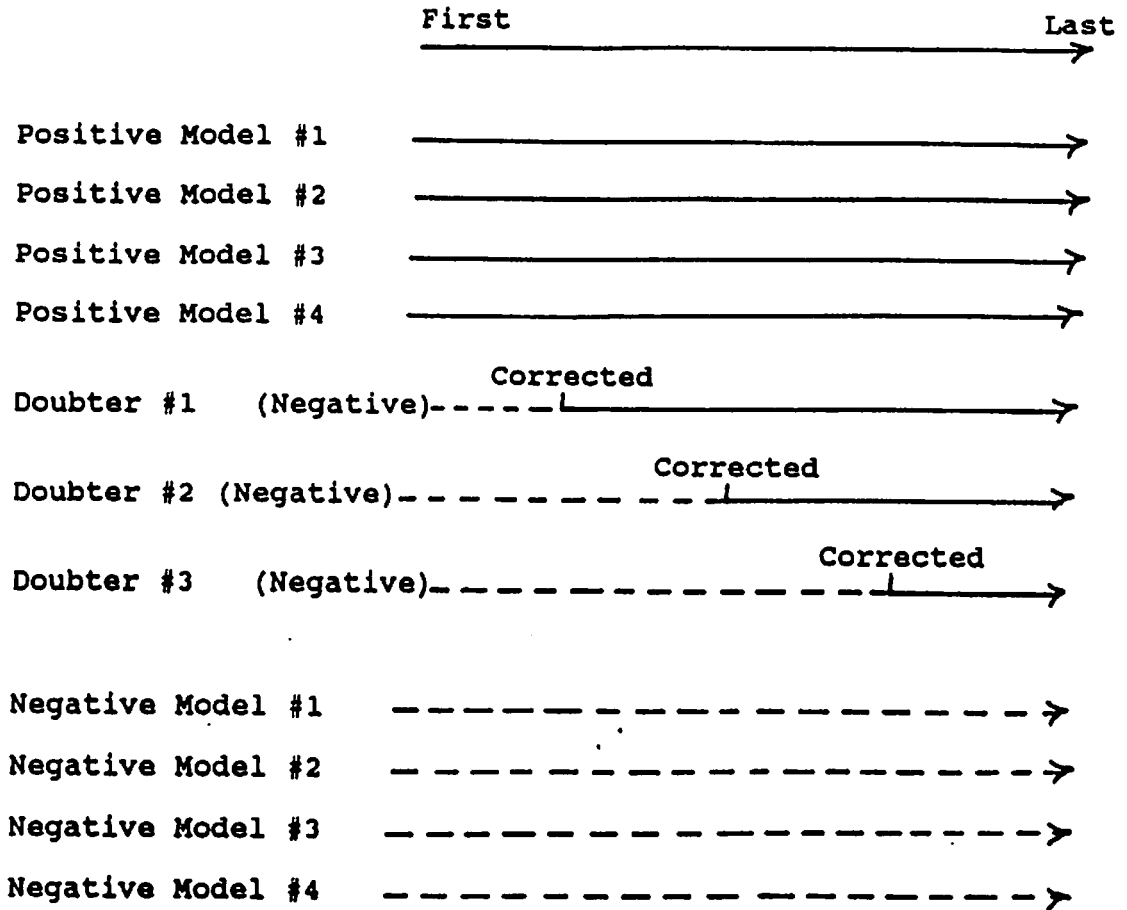


Figure 6-6. Positive Role Models, Negative Role Models, and Doubters in Miguel Sabido's Entertainment-Education Television Soap Operas.

SABIDO'S TELEVISION PRODUCTION SYSTEM⁵

Based on the theories of Jung, McClean, Rovigatti, Bentley, and Bandura, Sabido has developed an integrated, multi-disciplinary framework, which he calls his theory of "tones". Tonal theory provides the rules for orchestrating several message elements (the anecdote, the characters, the actor, the script, the set and costumes, and the theatrical atmosphere) so as to have a desired effect on the audience.

With his sister, Irene, a teacher and a television producer, Sabido created a specific production system for an entertainment-education television soap opera. The television soap opera format has many production elements that can be organized to create a desired response from the viewer. Format is the organization of television's production elements in a patterned communication code. The production elements include melodrama, characters, actors, dialogues, location, staging, props, music, costumes, make-up, pacing, camera-shots, broadcasting time and frequency, editing, and so on. The soap opera format presents several advantages for presenting pro-social values. Melodrama represents a natural fight against "good" values and

"evil" values, the genre is iterative, and emotive tones can be emphasized to reduce audience distractions. The anecdote can be stretched over several episodes, so a television viewer does not need to watch every single episode. For a regular viewer, the iterative nature of the format, provides repetition and reinforcement.

In producing entertainment-education soap operas, first, a central value is decided upon (for example, family planning). A grid of related values are derived that interact with the central value (for example, status of women, family harmony, spousal communication, and so on). These values are defended by characters and situations. Determination and agreement on the central value is extremely important. In Sabido's soap operas, central values which are defended in Mexico's constitution were agreed to in writing by mass media officials, public health officials, policy-makers, religious organizations, commercial sponsors, and others involved. Such an agreement represents consensus among key officials, and inter-institutional coordination in providing the infrastructure (for example, family planning clinics) to implement the central value promoted in the soap opera.

The writer(s) adapts real-life problems and events to television melodrama, placing characters in crisis situations, thus building suspense. The plot does not imitate life and stereotypes but rather is mythical and involves archetypes. So if Martha in "Acompáñame" forgets to use her contraceptive, she is not just one woman who forgot her contraceptive, but represents all women who forgot (Nariman, 1990).

The Creative Genius of Miguel Sabido

Miguel Sabido was born in a Mexican-Indian family on November 20, 1938. The Sabido family had demonstrated a strong tradition of social service for several generations: Sabido's grandmother founded a social order of service, and Sabido's mother participated in Mexico's freedom struggle (in the revolution of 1910). "So a concern for social problems came naturally to me," Sabido told the present author in a personal interview in 1989.

An unusually bright child, Sabido began reading voraciously at age four, the year he enrolled in a public school in Mexico City. Sabido's father, who learned Spanish only at age 13, was intelligent and

progressive. Noticing his son's fondness for books, he devised a reading "method" for the young Miguel. Miguel read one book every week, starting with the classic Greek literature of Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, and others. "When I summarized the gist of the book to my father, he rewarded me by taking me for swims on weekends. I loved to swim, so I read . . . and read. It was a marvellous reading order". After Greek classics, Miguel Sabido read the classical works of Latin America, of the Middle Ages, and of Spain. And then to Shakespeare. "My cultural education finished in the classical works of the 17th century, when my father died. I was 14 years old. Since then, I've continued to read, but without any order", Sabido told the present author in a 1988 personal interview.

"In my early teens, I became very interested in rescuing the traditional Mexican culture from Western influences," says Sabido. So he began to experiment with the social uses of theater. Sabido's stage debut was at age 13 as an actor, but he quickly moved on to producing and directing theatrical historical-cultural plays. During the mid-1950s, Sabido studied humanities at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (in Mexico City), specializing in theories of drama and in

17th century Aztec theater. In the late-1950s and 1960s, Sabido's reputation as a classical theater director grew rapidly, eventually leading him to write "La Tormenta" for Televisa in 1967. The rest of Sabido's career is history. His entertainment-education television soap operas made him not only a household name in Mexico, but also in other countries of Latin America. However, he feels that he has not received the full credit that is justified for the educational effects of his television soap operas.

Sabido played a major role in the reorganization of Mexican television. In the late 1960s, there was widespread concern about the educational-development quality of Mexico's commercial television programming. Patterned (initially) after the U.S. model of commercial competition, Mexican television programs catered to the lowest common denominator. Commercial and educational television were seen as worlds apart. In 1971, the President of Mexico severely criticized Televisa for its violent programs, which were mainly imported from the United States. Televisa agreed to cancel some 30 of the most offensive programs. In 1972, at a national conference of mass media officials and government policy-makers, Sabido proposed a reorganization of

television channels in Mexico to cater to the following social groups: Three elite classes (the intellectual, economic, and power elites), two middle-classes (the "traditional" and the "modern"), the proletariat (who reside in city slums, and the campesinos (farmers) and the indigenous minorities. Mexico's television channels could be viewed as a fan, in which each blade carried communication codes to different social groups in distinct geographic and cultural regions, each having a different production tone (which triggered physical urges, emotions, or intellectual activity, or a combination of responses) in different television broadcasting baras (time slots).

Sabido's plan was derived from the central value of Mexico's Constitution: Both private and public sector were to work for Mexico's national development. Television channels were about equally divided between the government and the private sector in number of channels and hours of broadcasting, although not in audiences reached. The various communicators were the government, advertisers (producers of goods and services), universities, intellectuals, political parties, and the labor unions. Sabidos' plan for such a reorganization of television broadcasting was accepted

in 1973. Sabido developed a seven-volume report on the reorganization of Mexican television. This reorganization has become known as the "Mexican formula" for television.

While television was Sabido's main occupation, he also continued to write, produce, and direct theatrical plays for the stage. By 1990, Sabido had produced 33 theatrical plays, dealing with the revival of Mexican culture. His most widely known classical play is "Fause Chronicle of Joan the Mad", a play about Queen Joan of Spain, who became the first queen of Mexico when Spain annexed Mexico. From 1983 to 1985, this popular play made a record 700 presentations to packed audiences in Mexico City and in New York City. By 1990, Sabido had produced 11 television soap operas, and won 57 awards for his works in Mexican theater and television, several presented by international organizations. So Miguel Sabido is not only a an important theater writer-producer-director, but also highly prolific. Nevertheless, he feels that the educational effects of his television soap operas have not received sufficient public recognition.

Sabido believes in clarity of expression, and always writes using big block letters. His creative mind is always restless: While attending the March, 1989 entertainment-education conference in Los Angeles, Sabido was found outdoors, gazing at the tall trees near the Annenberg School building, while all the other participants were indoors at the conference. When asked what he was thinking about, Sabido replied: "I'm trying to picture what my house [in Mexico City] would look like amidst these beautiful trees".

In 1988, Sabido and his sister, Irene, established Humanitas Pater, a non-profit organization in Mexico, to promote culture and education via melodrama. Pater is presently producing entertainment-education soap operas ("Sangre Joven") and radionovelas. The organization shares its soap opera methodology with national governments and with interested individuals.

CONCLUSIONS

In the following chapter (which is the first chapter in Part II of the present dissertation), we explain how Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education television soap opera methodology was transferred to India, resulting in

the creation of "Hum Log". We also emphasize the important role of David Poindexter, a former "Hollywood lobbyist" and presently president of Population Communication-International (a non-profit organization headquartered in New York) in facilitating this international technology transfer.

NOTES

1. The present chapter draws upon Sabido (1988), Televisa's Institute of Communication Research (1981a and 1981b), Nariman (1990), and upon the author's four meetings with Sabido over the past four years, including a 1986 workshop in Mexico City conducted by Miguel Sabido on how to create entertainment-education television soap operas. In addition, the author personally interviewed Miguel Sabido on audiotape in 1988 and 1989 in Los Angeles.
2. The account of "Simplemente María" is based on notes of an audiotape-recorded interview with Saby Kamalich (who played María) by Everett M. Rogers and Lorena Rodriguez in Mexico City on April 6, 1990.
3. In addition, three other versions of Simplemente María have been broadcast: (1) in Venezuela in 1972; (2) in Argentina, from 1982 to 1985 (titled "Rosa de Lejos"); and (3) in Mexico in 1989-90 (this version is also broadcast presently on Spanish-speaking television stations in the U.S.). None of the other four versions of "Simplemente María" achieved audience ratings at all

comparable with the second version in which Saby Kamalich starred.

4. This section draws upon Bandura (1973, 1977, and 1986).

5. The production aspects of Sabido's entertainment-educational soap operas are described in detail in Televisa's Institute of Communication Research (1981a and 1981b) and Nariman (1990).

ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

FOR DEVELOPMENT

Volume II

by

Arvind Singhal

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
PART II: INDIA'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE <u>"HUM LOG"</u> TELEVISION SOAP OPERA, AND LESSONS LEARNED ABOUT THE ENTERTAINMENT- EDUCATION STRATEGY.....	264
Chapter 7: THE <u>"HUM LOG"</u> STORY.....	265
THE HISTORY OF <u>"HUM LOG"</u>.....	266
Downs and Ups.....	276
And Finally....The Decision.....	281
David Poindexter: Relentless Crusader.....	285
THE <u>"HUM LOG"</u> PROCESS.....	289
Dube's Report: A Guidepost.....	291
<u>"Hum Log"</u> Is Launched.....	296
The <u>"Hum Log"</u> Family.....	298
Shobha Doctor: The Woman Behind <u>"Hum Log"</u>	300
PLAN OF THE NEXT SEVERAL CHAPTERS.....	303
Chapter 8: EVALUATION RESEARCH ON <u>"HUM LOG"</u>.....	306
METHODOLOGY AND DATA-COLLECTION.....	306
Personal Interviews with Key Officials.....	307
Content Analysis of Scripts.....	308
Field Survey of the Audience.....	310
Content Analysis of Viewers' Letters.....	321
Mailed Questionnaire to Letter-Writers.....	322

	Pages
PRO-SOCIAL THEMES IN " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	323
Reasons for Diluting the Family Planning Theme.....	327
ASHOK KUMAR'S EPILOGUES.....	336
A Summarized " <u>Hum Log</u> " Script and Its Epilogue.....	338
The Contents of Ashok Kumar's Epilogues.....	340
Ashok Kumar: The Grand Old Man of " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	342
Chapter 9: AUDIENCE INVOLVEMENT IN " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	350
Timing.....	352
Novelty Factor.....	354
Audience Identification.....	356
Audience Involvement.....	357
Ashok Kumar's Epilogues.....	358
Use of Rustic Hindi Language.....	360
Manohar Shyam Joshi: The Genius behind " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	361
<u>"HUM LOG'S"</u> VIEWERS' LETTERS.....	366
Characteristics of Letter-Writers.....	368
PARA-SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	371
From Rejection to Stardom for Nanhe.....	374
CONCLUSIONS.....	380

	Pages
Chapter 10: INTENDED AND UNINTEDED EFFECTS OF " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	382
MODELING IN " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	382
INTENDED EFFECTS OF " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	395
Hierarchy of Effects.....	395
Hierarchy of " <u>Hum Log's</u> " Effects.....	398
Limitations of the Present Research.....	403
INDIRECT, UNINTENDED IMPACTS OF " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	404
Commercial Sponsorship.....	405
Maggi 2-Minute Noodles.....	405
Television Serials Come of Age in India.....	411
" <u>Ramayana</u> ": Revival of an Epic.....	412
The Marriage of Delhi and Bombay.....	416
WHY DID " <u>HUM LOG</u> " END?.....	417
Beyond the Indian Experience with " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	418
CONCLUSIONS.....	421
Chapter 11: IMPLEMENTING THE ENTERTAINMENT- EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGY.....	427
COMBINING ENTERTAINMENT WITH EDUCATION.....	428
The Entertainment-Education Strategy In Rock Music.....	429
The Entertainment-Education Strategy In Television.....	430

	Pages
The Entertainment-Education Strategy In Radio.....	431
The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Print, Film, and Theater.....	432
Miguel Sabido's Entertainment-Education Soap Operas in Mexico.....	433
INDIA'S EXPERIENCE WITH " <u>HUM LOG</u> ".....	436
Methodology and Data-Collection.....	437
Social Themes in " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	438
Audience Popularity.....	438
Modeling in " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	439
Effects of " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	439
LESSONS LEARNED ABOUT THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGY.....	440
ETHICAL DILEMMAS.....	458
The Pro-Social Content Dilemma.....	460
The Socio-Cultural Equality Dilemma.....	461
The Unintended Effects Dilemma.....	462
The Pro-Social Development Dilemma.....	463
CONCLUSIONS.....	465
REFERENCES.....	468
APPENDICES.....	484
Appendix A: English Lyrics to the Song " <u>Quando Estemos Juntos</u> " ("When We are Together").....	485

	Pages
Appendix B: English Lyrics to the Song " <u>Detente</u> " ("Stop").....	487
Appendix C: Lyrics of "That Situation", Sung by Lea Salonga and the Menudo.....	489
Appendix D: Lyrics of "I Still Believe", Sung by Lea Salonga and Charlie Masso.....	490
Appendix E: Lyrics of "Choices", Sung by King Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu.....	491

LIST OF TABLES

	Pages
Table 7-1: The History of " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	268
Table 7-2: David Poindexter's Role in the International Diffusion of Entertainment-Education Soap Operas.....	290
Table 8-1: The Geographic and Urban-Rural Description of the Sample in the " <u>Hum Log</u> " Audience Survey.....	314
Table 8-2: Ownership of a Television Set by Our Audience Survey Respondents.....	315
Table 8-3: Degree of Exposure to " <u>Hum Log</u> " Among Our Survey Respondents.....	316
Table 8-4: Comparison of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Viewers and Non-Viewers on Socio-Demographic Characteristics.....	317
Table 8-5: The Extent to Which Pro-Social Themes and Sub-Themes Were Emphasized in " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	324
Table 8-6: The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which at Least One Sub-Theme of the Following Major Thematic Category Was Identified by Our Content Analysis.....	328
Table 8-7: The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which Selected Status-of-Women Sub-Themes Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....	329
Table 8-8: The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which Selected Family Harmony Sub-Themes Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....	330
Table 8-9: The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which Selected Sub-Themes Relating to Human Virtues and Character Development Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....	331

Table 8-10:	The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which Selected Sub-Themes of National Integration and/or Respect for Indigenous Cultural Traditions Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....	332
Table 8-11:	The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which Selected Family Planning Sub-Themes Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....	333
Table 8-12:	The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which Selected Health-Related Sub-Themes Were Identified.....	334
Table 8-13:	The Number and Percent of " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episodes in Which Selected National Welfare Schemes and/or Public Service Agencies Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.....	335
Table 8-14:	Percent of the 149 Episodes in Which Each of the Ten Major " <u>Hum Log</u> " Characters Were Present.....	337
Table 8-15:	Themes Addressed in Ashok Kumar's Epilogues at the End of Each " <u>Hum Log</u> " Episode.....	341
Table 9-1:	Characteristics of Letter-Writers to " <u>Hum Log</u> ".....	369
Table 9-2:	Types of Feedback Provided by " <u>Hum Log</u> " Letter-Writers.....	372
Table 9-3:	Degree of Para-Social Interaction Indicated in Letters from " <u>Hum Log</u> " Viewers.....	375
Table 10-1:	The Degree of Pro-Social/Anti-Social Behavior Exhibited by the Ten Main " <u>Hum Log</u> " Characters in the Soap Opera Episodes.....	385

Table 10-2: The 10 Main <u>"Hum Log"</u> Soap Opera Models, Their Characterizations, the Degree of Audience Learning From Them, and the Degree of Audience Modeling.....	387
Table 10-3: Partial Beta Coefficients for the Relationships of Each Independent and Control Variable with the Dependent Variable, Pro-Social Learning from (1) All Ten <u>"Hum Log"</u> Soap Opera Models, and (2) Each <u>"Hum Log"</u> Model, While Controlling on All Other Such Variables.....	392
Table 10-4: The Hierarchy of Media Effects and Sources of Possible Data about these Effects.....	396
Table 10-5: Extent of Learning from <u>"Hum Log"</u> about Pro-Social Issues.....	399
Table 10-6: Regression Coefficients Predicting Attitudes and Behaviors Related to the Status of Women and Family Planning.....	401
Table 10-7: The Pros and Cons of <u>"Hum Log"</u>	422

LIST OF FIGURES

Pages

Figure 7-1: The Three-Generation Ram Family
Depicted in "Hum Log".....299

Figure 8-1: The Three Sample Areas Where the
"Hum Log" Audience Survey Was
Conducted in India.....312

Figure 9-1: Growth in the Number of People Who
Have Access to Television, the Number
of People Who Watch Television, and the
Number of Television Sets in India.....353

Figure 10-1: Revenues from Advertising on Indian
Television.....410

PART II
INDIA'S EXPERIENCE WITH THE "HUM LOG" TELEVISION
SOAP OPERA, AND LESSONS LEARNED ABOUT THE
ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY

In the second part of the present dissertation, from Chapter 7 to to Chapter 10, we investigate India's experience with the "Hum Log" television series. Lessons learned about entertainment-education communication strategies, and ethical dilemmas involved in using this strategy are presented in Chapter 11.

Chapter 7
THE "HUM LOG" STORY¹

"Hum Log" represented nothing but a truly Indian lifestyle.

Abhinav Chaturvedi, who played the role of Nanhe in "Hum Log", from notes in his personal diary, December, 1985.

Indian television reflects the political, moral, and intellectual confusion into which we have landed, choosing the easy path of a loosely-structured evolution as against a carefully conceived and sustained evolution along pre-determined lines.

Harish Khanna (1987), former Director General of Doordarshan, the Indian television system.

The first international transfer of Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap opera methodology resulted in the creation of the Indian television soap opera, "Hum Log" ("We People"). When "Hum Log" was created in 1984, nine years had passed since Miguel Sabido first utilized his entertainment-education soap opera methodology to create "Ven Conmigo" in 1975. The creation of "Hum Log" is of paramount historic importance in that it broke the temporary log-jam in the

international diffusion of entertainment-education soap operas. The "Hum Log" experience in India showed that another nation could successfully follow Mexico's lead, encouraging Kenya and other Third World nations to follow suit.

The present chapter traces the history of the "Hum Log" television soap opera in India. The important role of several "champions" in creating and sustaining "Hum Log" in India is discussed.

THE HISTORY OF "HUM LOG"

David Poindexter, President of Population Communications-International (PC-I), headquartered in New York City, played a key role in the international diffusion of the Mexican entertainment-education soap opera experience to India. Poindexter, a former "Hollywood lobbyist", spun-off the Center for Population Communications-International (CPC-I) in 1981 from the Population Institute (where he served as the Director of Communication), and CPC-I became Population Communications-International (PC-I) in 1987. Poindexter knew Miguel Sabido, and was convinced that the Mexican entertainment-education soap operas could be suitably

adopted by other Third World countries to serve their national development goals.

The "Hum Log" story begins in September, 1977, when David Poindexter (then Director of Communication at the Population Institute) first met Miguel Sabido of Televisa, the Mexican private television network, in Mexico City (Table 7-1). Poindexter's visit to Mexico City was arranged by Robert Lewine, who had previously served as the vice president of programming for each of the three U.S. television networks, and later became the President and CEO of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (NATAS). Lewine knew Emilio Azcarraga, president of Televisa, and hence was able to arrange Poindexter's visit to Mexico.

Poindexter at this point was searching for an effective means to utilize mass media communication to promote family planning. Sabido in 1977 was producing "Acompañame", a highly-popular family planning soap opera that was broadcast on Televisa. Poindexter first heard about entertainment-education soap operas from Sabido, and was intrigued and impressed by the idea. As detailed in the previous chapter, Sabido had previously produced several historical-cultural soap operas for

Table 7-1. The History of "Hum Log"

Year	Main Events
1. September, 1977.	David Poindexter, Director of Communications at the New York-based Population Institute, meets Miguel Sabido of Televisa, and is intrigued by Sabido's entertainment-education soap opera methodology.
2. March, 1980.	Emilio Azcarraga, President of Televisa, tells Poindexter in Mexico City about his desire to share Sabido's soap opera methodology with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India.
3. September, 1981.	Poindexter meets M.S. Swaminathan, India's top agricultural scientist and a former Member of India's Planning Commission, in Oslo at a conference. Swaminathan invites Poindexter to New Delhi for a conference on the environment in December, 1981.
4. September, 1981.	Poindexter meets I.K. Gujral, former Indian Minister of Information and Broadcasting at the International Institute of Communications' conference in Strassbourg, France. Gujral missed Sabido's presentation on entertainment-education soap operas at Strassbourg, but two weeks later views a videotape that had been presented by Sabido at the Strassbourg conference in Poindexter's New York office. Gujral is impressed, and invites Poindexter to India.
5. December, 1981.	Poindexter shows Sabido's entertainment-education soap opera videotape to 20 Indian officials at Inder Gujral's New Delhi home. Poindexter feels that the response is unenthusiastic, and flies back to New York disappointed.

Table 7-1
Continued

6. April, 1982. S.B. Lal, Secretary in the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting at that time, invites Poindexter back to India, where he hosts a two-day workshop for 20 Indian scriptwriters, introducing them to Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas.
7. June, 1982. Manzurul Amin, a Doordarshan official, visits Mexico City and meets Miguel Sabido. Impressed by Sabido's television soap operas, he invites Sabido to India.
8. June, 1983. A long-awaited and often-delayed Sabido trip to India occurs. Sabido leads a five-day workshop for scriptwriters, producers, directors, and other mass media officials in New Delhi, and meets Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. She is enthused.
9. September, 1983. Poindexter meets S.S. Gill in New Delhi, who succeeded S.B.Lal as Secretary in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. With the rapid expansion of Indian television underway, Gill searches for innovative programming ideas.
10. November, 1983. Gill calls a meeting of 25 Indian writers, journalists, producers, and directors to suggest innovative television programs for Doordarshan (in the wake of its massive expansion). The idea of an entertainment-education soap opera receives a negative reaction from most participants. Manohar Shyam Joshi, a novelist and newsmagazine editor, however, is intrigued by the idea and expresses enthusiasm.

Table 7-1
Continued

11. December, 1983. Gill deposes Rajendra Joshi, media officer in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, to attend a 10-day training workshop at Televisa in Mexico City, conducted by Sabido.
 12. January, 1984. Gill makes a quick trip to Mexico City to meet with Miguel Sabido. Upon returning to New Delhi, he sets the ball rolling for "Hum Log".
 13. February to June, 1984 Gill assembles a four-member team for "Hum Log": Ms. Shobha Doctor, producer; Manohar Shyam Joshi, scriptwriter; Satish Garg, executive producer; and P. Kumar Vasudev, director. Work progresses at break-neck speed on "Hum Log".
 14. July 7, 1984 Doordarshan begins broadcasting "Hum Log".
 15. Mid-July to August, 1984 "Hum Log" initially obtains poor ratings. The hard-sell family planning theme is diluted, and other related themes like gender inequality and family harmony are stressed.
 16. September, 1984 to December, 1985 "Hum Log" achieves spectacular audience ratings, and generates overwhelming audience involvement.
 17. December 18, 1985 The broadcasts of "Hum Log" end.
-

Source: Based on Rogers (1988).

Televisa, and in 1975-1976 had produced "Ven Conmigo", a television soap opera promoting adult education in Mexico, which seemed to have had very strong effects in Mexico.

After "Acompañame" ended in mid-1978, Sabido produced one entertainment-education television soap opera each year at Televisa until 1982, each promoting a particular development theme such as the status-of-women, sexual responsibility among teenagers, child development, and so on (discussed previously in Chapter 6). Poindexter kept abreast of Sabido's successes at Televisa, becoming ever more convinced that the Sabido methodology for producing entertainment-education soap operas could be transferred to other Third World countries, and subsequently adapted to local conditions. In April, 1979, Poindexter met Miguel Aleman, Executive Vice President of Televisa, who pledged Mexico's cooperation in diffusing the entertainment-education soap opera methodology to other Third World countries. In March, 1980, Emilio Azcarraga, President of Televisa, told Poindexter in Mexico City about his desire to meet the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in order to tell her about entertainment-education soap operas.

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

Meanwhile, Poindexter's desire to promote entertainment-education television soap operas in India intensified. In September, 1981, the board of directors of the Population Institute advised Poindexter to become involved in Bangladesh or in Pakistan, because of the Byzantine nature of India's governmental decision-making. A few days later, Rodney Shaw, President of the Population Institute, Dr. Norman Borlaug (Nobel Peace Prize Winner for his role in breeding the miracle wheat varieties that set off the Green Revolution), and Dr. M.S. Swaminathan, India's top agricultural scientist and a former Member of India's Planning Commission, had a conversation during a coffee break at a conference on world population in Oslo, Norway, sponsored by the Nobel Foundation. Swaminathan expressed his frustration about the difficulties in implementing India's family planning

and national development programs. Borlaug, who was familiar with Poindexter's role as a "Hollywood lobbyist" in the U.S. and his understanding of Sabido's entertainment-education television soap operas in Mexico, suggested that Swaminathan invite Poindexter to India in December, 1981, for a forthcoming conference on the environment.

Later in September, 1981, Arthur Reef, then a member of the board of directors of the Population Institute (and now a member of the board of directors of Population Communications-International), put the topic of the Mexican entertainment-education television soap operas on the program of the International Institute of Communication (IIC) meeting in Strassbourg, France. IIC is a worldwide association of broadcasting companies, headquartered in London. Miguel Sabido, the founder of the idea of entertainment-education soap operas and Vice-President for Research of Televisa, made a presentation at Strassbourg. A paper written by Miguel Sabido and Dr. Ruben Jara, Director of Televisa's Institute of Communication Research, was distributed (which remains until this day as almost the only English-language publication about entertainment-education soap operas in Mexico) at the conference, and

a videotape was shown. The Televisa videotape had been produced originally for the earlier presentation to the UN, and featured a collage of "Acompañame" and a segment about the theory and methodology of these entertainment-education television soap operas. About 80 people attended this session at the IIC; the discussion was generally favorable, but concern was expressed about the television soap operas perhaps being too powerful. What if a Hitler-like political leader utilized the entertainment-education strategy for manipulative purposes?

The closing session for the IIC conference on Friday morning was chaired by Inder Gujral, who had previously, on two occasions, served as Minister of Information and Broadcasting (I&B) in India, prior to his appointment as the Indian ambassador to Moscow for six years. Poindexter introduced himself to Gujral, and learned that Gujral would visit New York in two weeks en route home to India. Gujral had not seen the Sabido presentation on the previous Wednesday, and so Poindexter showed him the Televisa videotape in his office in New York. Gujral was convinced by the first 10 minutes of the videotape, and agreed to set up a showing of the videotape in his New Delhi home in December,

1981, when Poindexter attended the Swaminathan-lead conference on the environment.

On Friday evening of the first week in December, 1981, about 20 Indian officials met for dinner at Inder Gujral's house in Maharani Bagh, a suburb of New Delhi. Among those present were S.B. Lal, Secretary Ministry of I&B; Dr. S.S. Siddhu, Secretary, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare; Jamal Kidwai, Ex-Secretary Ministry of I&B and Chair, Department of Mass Communication, Jamia Milia University, New Delhi; Shailendra Shankar, Director General of Doordarshan; S. Sharma, Director General of All India Radio; Dr. J. Kavoori, Executive Director, Indian Family Planning Foundation; and Mrs. Rami Chhabra, then program officer at the Indian Family Planning Foundation and later media advisor, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. The United States Information Agency (USIA) in New Delhi provided an NTSC video cassette player, and after dinner Poindexter showed the 45-minute "Acompañame" collage videotape plus the Strassbourg theory-methodology videotape. He then lead the ensuing discussion. Poindexter felt that the reception to his ideas was not very enthusiastic, and left directly for Palam International Airport (presently called the Indira Gandhi International Airport) catching

his flight back to New York, and feeling that he had failed in his mission to India.

Downs and Ups

A few weeks later, Jyoti Shankar Singh, Chief of the Information and External Relations Division of the United Nation's Population Fund (UNFPA), New York, who also attended the New Delhi conference on the environment, talked with Poindexter in the U.S. Singh told Poindexter that he may have misread the reaction to the Televisa videotape in New Delhi, as high-level Indian civil servants seldom show much enthusiasm for a new idea. They usually are critical.

Indeed, in April, 1982, Poindexter and Rodney Shaw were back in New Delhi to give a two-day workshop, invited by S.B. Lal, the Secretary of the Ministry of I&B. The workshop was held at the Akashvani Bhawan, the headquarters of All-India Radio. About 20 top Indian radio and television scriptwriters and producers participated. Poindexter showed the Televisa videotape and told them about the Mexican educational soap operas. The reaction was skeptical, but Lal designated Manzurul Amin, the number two individual at Doordarshan, to

explore further the idea of a family planning soap opera.

In June, 1982, Amin participated in the Toronto conference of the Commonwealth Broadcasters Union (CBU). He attended a special dinner meeting for broadcasting chief executives from several Commonwealth countries (special because Mexico is not a member of the CBU) that Poindexter arranged in a hotel suite for Luis Antonio de Noriega of Televisa (then an assistant to Miguel Sabido, the Vice-President for Research of Televisa) to show the "Acompañame" videotape and lead a discussion of entertainment-education soap operas. Several Kenyan officials also attended this special session.

Two days later, Amin and Poindexter traveled to Mexico City for a briefing by Miguel Sabido and Carmen Galindo (Sabido's colleague) on the Mexican television soap operas. While at Televisa, Amin was also briefed by Jorge Kanahauti, a Televisa engineering vice president, about how Televisa had utilized communication satellites to expand television coverage into rural areas. Indira Gandhi at this point wanted to expand greatly television coverage in India, and also understood that Doordarshan would have to broadcast attractive programming, in order

to attract a large audience and thus justify the cost of expansion. This rapid expansion was to occur in the following year or two under S.B. Lal and S.S. Gill, who followed Lal as Secretary of the Ministry of I&B. When Amin left Mexico City, Sabido said he would come to India. But first the Indian officials in the Ministry of I&B, and later Sabido, had to postpone this trip, because of the Asian Games in New Delhi in November, 1982, and the New Delhi conference of the Non-Aligned Countries in early, 1983.

In May, 1983, the long-delayed Sabido trip to India occurred. Poindexter arrived in India via Madrid, where he had made a television appearance. Poindexter had to really "push and shove" (that is, make several phone calls) to secure an order from top-level Televisa management to make it possible for Sabido to visit India. Carmen Galindo (from Sabido's staff) was the first to arrive in India as an advance member of Sabido's team. One day after arriving, she had to have an appendectomy at a hospital in Bombay. Upon her release, she joined Miguel Sabido and his team in presenting a five-day workshop held in the Akashvani Bhawan, New Delhi. Amin had arranged for about 30 creative people from radio and television (including

Rami Chhabra from the Indian Family Planning Foundation, and Rajendra Joshi, media officer in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare) to participate. A problem arose when Sabido said that a television soap opera needed to be broadcast daily for five times a week (as is the custom in Latin America), in order to have its desired effects. The Indian officials insisted that they had only enough resources (equipment, studios, funds, etc.) for a soap opera to be broadcast once a week.

During this India visit, Poindexter, Sabido, and Carmen Galindo also met with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Gandhi was quite enthused about the idea of an entertainment-education family planning soap opera, and directed the officials at the Ministry of I&B to proceed further. She knew that Doordarshan would have to broadcast attractive programming, once television coverage expanded greatly in India via communication satellites, beginning in 1984.

In September, 1983, Poindexter returned to New Delhi to meet with S.S. Gill, who was by then appointed Secretary of the Ministry of I&B. Gill felt under the gun from Indira Gandhi to broadcast a television program that was

attractive to the public, and also educational in nature. So Gill had many questions for Poindexter about entertainment-education television soap operas.

In November-December, 1983, Gill called a meeting of 25 writers, journalists, producers, and directors to suggest changes for improving Doordarshan's programs, especially in the wake of the impending satellite television expansion in India. Gill floated the idea of promoting family planning and other socially desirable values in India via a television melodrama (Sabido style), but the idea received a negative reaction by most participants. Many writers were turned-off because they thought the proposed writing fee was inadequate. One individual who was intrigued by Gill's proposal was Manohar Shyam Joshi, a Hindi novelist and Editor of The Weekend Review (a publication of The Hindustan Times group). Manohar Shyam Joshi was soon to become the scriptwriter for "Hum Log".

In December, 1983, Gill deputed Rajendra Joshi, media officer in the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, to attend a 10-day training workshop at Televisa, conducted by Miguel Sabido, Carmen Galindo, and Irene Sabido, Miguel's sister and a television producer at Televisa.

Other participants included four Kenyan officials, and two Egyptian officials. Joshi's report to Gill stimulated Gill's interest in the Mexican entertainment-education television soap operas.

In early January, 1984, Gill made a quick trip to Mexico City in order to be briefed by Sabido. The briefing team in Mexico felt that Gill paid little attention to the many vital elements of the entertainment-education television soap opera methodology.

And Finally....The Decision

Back in New Delhi, Gill set the ball rolling for "Hum Log". Gill had to push and shove to get "Hum Log" moving at Doordarshan. He hired Manohar Shyam Joshi as "Hum Log's" scriptwriter, and found him a small office in Mandi House, Doordarshan's headquarters. Based on his knowledge of the Sabido television soap opera methodology (even though Joshi had never met Miguel Sabido), Joshi cranked out "Hum Log's" storyline, its character sketches, and a summary of the first 39 "Hum Log" episodes in a record 40 days. Missing from the Sabido methodology in Joshi's creation of "Hum Log" was a committee of social scientists, family planning

officials, and media officials who would decide on the positive and negative social values to be presented in the program. Joshi was asked to make-do with a 10-page report, prepared by Dr. S.C. Dube, a noted Indian social anthropologist, about Indian values dealing with family harmony, matrimony, and family planning.

Gill knew that Doordarshan lacked the resources to produce and sustain a series like "Hum Log". Given Doordarshan's burdened (and inadequate) production facilities, Gill called in a private producer, Ms. Shobha Doctor, a Bombay-based advertising agency owner, who, in turn, could sell the program to commercial sponsors. Gill had known Ms. Doctor previously, as she had produced other commercially-sponsored programs for Doordarshan in 1982-1983. Doctor created an independent television production company called Time and Space Corporation, while officials of the Television Program Producers Guild of India objected that Doordarshan was arbitrarily entering into a long-term production contract with Ms. Doctor, without calling for an open production tender, as was usually the case. Gill wanted Doordarshan to exercise control over "Hum Log's" family planning content, and also co-present the program with Doctor's company, so he appointed Satish Garg, who was

controller of programs at Doordarshan, as the executive producer of "Hum Log". P. Kumar Vasudev, was appointed as "Hum Log's" director.

When Poindexter returned to New Delhi in February, 1984, Gill introduced him to Ms. Shobha Doctor, producer of "Hum Log"; Manohar Shyam Joshi, scriptwriter; Satish Garg, executive producer; and P. Kumar Vasudev, director. They met more-or-less continuously for the next week, including a trip to Bombay, and then returned to Delhi. Almost from the beginning, Gill and the "Hum Log" team decided to create an Indian television soap opera to promote family planning. The main question of debate was how to fund its production, and how to divide the money earned from the sale of "Hum Log" to its commercial sponsors. Poindexter felt that everybody fought like "a gang of thieves" about the money issue, side-tracking the more important educational-development role of the soap opera.

For the next three or four months, work progressed at break-neck speed on "Hum Log". In April, 1984, Joshi quit his full-time job at The Hindustan Times to concentrate on writing the scripts of "Hum Log". Actors and actresses were hired, scripts were completed,

production schedules were made, and a privately-owned modern television studio was leased in Gurgaon, 25 miles south of New Delhi.

Finally, on July 7, 1984, Doordarshan began broadcasting "Hum Log".

What lessons can be drawn from the international technology transfer process from Mexico to India, which resulted in "Hum Log" (Rogers, 1988)?

1. A window of opportunity was opened to the idea of a family planning soap opera in India when the national government greatly expanded public access to television (through the use of a communication satellite and repeater stations) and then realized a need for attractive television programming to justify this investment.

2. There was a continual turnover of "champions" for the innovation in India, until S.S. Gill was able to implement the innovation of an entertainment-education soap opera. In general, several champions in a nation must become interested in an entertainment-education communication strategy, and put the weight of their

position behind the idea, for the idea to be carried forward into action.

3. Involvement of a private producer is an important step in the long-range stability of an entertainment-education communication project. Such projects typically require heavy investments, which represent a major burden for a Third World country's national exchequer.

4. A great deal of personal contact by an external change agent with national leaders, over several years, is necessary to transfer the entertainment-education strategy. David Poindexter shuttled for several years between New York, Mexico, and New Delhi before "Hum Log" saw the light of day. Even then, the transfer was not very complete. For instance, scriptwriter Joshi's only contact with Miguel Sabido was via the 1981 Strassbourg conference videotape and the Televisa paper from that conference.

David Poindexter: Relentless Crusader

David Poindexter is presently President of Population Communications-International (PC-I), a non-profit

organization headquartered in New York City. With such distinguished personalities on his Board of Directors (like Dr. Norman Borlaug, father of the Green Revolution, Jack Howard, Chairman of Scripps-Howard Broadcasting, and Alva Clarke, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association), Poindexter is deeply committed to using the power of the mass media to promote family planning in the Third World countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Born and raised in Oregon, Poindexter was profoundly disturbed by the U.S. government's act of dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II. So when studying to be a Methodist minister, Poindexter became a spokesperson for nuclear disarmament and world peace. In 1958, Poindexter helped create a Methodist church-sponsored 13-part television series called "Talk Back", which addressed common problems faced by people (for example, stress, making ends meet, and so on). Watched by thousands of Oregon churchgoers every Sunday morning (for 13 consecutive weeks), a "Talk Back" episode was followed by a discussion of the topic on hand (led by a psychologist or a counsellor). In the late 1960s, Poindexter helped create two highly popular Sunday-morning television shows on CBS called "Lamp On

To My Feet" and "Look Up and Live". Both shows addressed such social issues as the Vietnam War, the quality of U.S. college education, and environmental problems.

In 1970, Poindexter was appointed Director of the Communications Center of the then newly-created Population Institute. "I was now ready to mess with the top management of the television networks to produce socially responsible programs," Poindexter told the present author in a personal interview in 1989. So in April, 1971, Poindexter arranged a private luncheon at the Waldorf Towers in New York for the Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of ABC, CBS, and NBC television networks, hosted by John D. Rockefeller III. Oregon Senator Robert Packwood, and George Bush, then U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. were also present. Frank Stanton, CEO of CBS, told Poindexter: "You are talking to the wrong people. Talk to the creative writer-producers in Hollywood if you want socially responsible network television programs". Poindexter instantly produced a letter from Harry Ackerman, Vice-President of Programs for CBS, which read: "We cannot attempt to produce such social programs (and hence risk lower audience ratings) unless the idea is supported in principle by top

management at the networks". Stanton puffed his pipe and then said: "My support is with you if the program is a 'quality' program, and does not compromise audience ratings." The network chiefs of ABC and NBC agreed. Poindexter asked the three network chiefs if they would put their committment to socially-responsible network programming in writing. They did.

Armed with this signed document, Poindexter arrived in Hollywood. He opened an office in Los Angeles and sought to influence U.S. television producers to include issues such as abortion, family planning, and ethnic prejudice in various television series.

Poindexter was successful in mobilizing the producers and creators of such prime-time television shows as "Maude", "All in the Family", "The Mary Tyler Moore Show", and "Mash" to incorporate discussions of family size and sex-role stereotyping into these shows. These productions, each watched by millions of U.S. viewers, were effective in generating discussion of these issues in a non-threatening, humorous way, encouraging viewers to mull over long-standing, but unexamined, beliefs (Poindexter, 1989). So Poindexter made his mark as a key Hollywood "lobbyist" in the 1970s (Montgomery, 1989). He was one of the first.

Later in the 1980s, Poindexter worked relentlessly to spread the word about Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas to other Third World countries (Table 7-2). Shuttling between New York City (where his office is headquartered), Mexico City (where Miguel Sabido is based), and such countries as India, Kenya, Zaire, Zimbabwe, and Brazil, Poindexter rallied national leaders, policy-makers, and mass media and public health officials in Third World countries, familiarizing them with Sabido's entertainment-education soap opera methodology. The Indian television soap opera "Hum Log", and the two Kenyan soap operas "Tushauriane" (on television) and "Ushikwapo Shikimana" (on radio) are the product of no one more than David Poindexter. Miguel Sabido created the software innovation of the entertainment-education strategy, but David Poindexter transferred it from Mexico to India, Kenya, and beyond.

THE "HUM LOG" PROCESS

While not a perfect adaptation of the Mexican entertainment-education soap opera methodology, "Hum Log" attempted to follow the principles on which Sabido's soap operas were based. Sabido's methodology

Table 7-2: David Poindexter's Role in the International Diffusion of Entertainment-Education Soap Operas.

Year	Event
1. 1977	David Poindexter meets Miguel Sabido in Mexico City, and is convinced about the potential of the Sabido-style soap operas in promoting development in Third World countries.
2. 1984-85	Poindexter's effort helps launch " <u>Hum Log</u> " on Indian television.
3. 1987-89	Poindexter's effort helps launch " <u>Tushauriane</u> " (on television) and " <u>Ushikwapo Shikimana</u> " (on radio) in Kenya.
4. 1989-90	Poindexter persuades Miguel Sabido to create " <u>Sangre Joven</u> " in Mexico, and Indian officials to create " <u>Hum Rahi</u> ".

called for deciding upon a central value to be promoted in the soap opera (for example, family planning), and deriving a grid of related values (for example, status of women, family harmony, husband-wife communication, and so on) which interact with the central value. In the case of "Hum Log", Dr. S.C. Dube, a noted Indian social anthropologist, prepared a report about Indian values dealing with family harmony, matrimony, and family planning.

Dube's Report: A Guidepost²

When Manohar Shyam Joshi created "Hum Log's" storyline and its character sketches, missing from the Miguel Sabido methodology in Joshi's creation of "Hum Log" was a committee of social scientists, family planning officials, and media officials who would decide on the positive and negative social values to be presented in the program. Instead, Joshi was provided with an 11-page report, prepared by Dr. S.C. Dube about Indian values dealing with marriage, family life, family harmony, and family planning. "The report was very useful" in designing the value framework for "Hum Log", Joshi told the present author in a personal interview in 1986.

While a poor substitute for an entire committee of social scientists, family planning officials, and mass media officials, Dube's report was substantive in content and clearly written, so as to be easily understandable by Joshi. A Ph.D. in anthropology from Berkeley, Dube previously served as the Director of the National Institute of Community Development in Hyderabad, and later headed the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies in Shimla. Dube astutely recognized that "Hum Log" did not have to address the subtle nuances of India's varied socio-cultural family-centered values (such a "task would have been impossible"), instead he recommended that "Hum Log" focus on certain universal Indian values about marriage, family life, family harmony, and family planning (Dube, 1984).

To provide guideposts to Joshi, Dube (1984, pp. 5-7) identified several family-centered values which are widely accepted all across India:

1. Marriage and family life are essential in an Indian's life. Inability to find a spouse for one's son or daughter represents a social and ritual inadequacy for Indian parents.

2. The function of marriage and family life is procreation, or "continuity of one's line".

3. In an Indian's marriage and family life, the invisible hand of destiny (connoted by such terms as "karma", "kismet", "bhagya", and "fate") plays an important role. For example, an offspring is a gift of god; only the ill-fated are childless.

4. Family security is a highly cherished Indian value. One must provide adequately for one's family: Shelter, food, education, and other basic needs.

5. The ethos of the Indian family should be characterized by sharing and caring. Insufficiency of resources calls for sacrifices, which should be made willingly. The young, the aged, the sick, and the infirm merit priority.

6. Family solidarity is an important value. To the outside world, an Indian family should present itself as closely-knit and united. Dissension, if any, should be settled within the family circle.

7. Family solidarity in Indian homes is maintained through respect for age and kinship status, and care and concern for the young.

8. Family harmony represents another dimension of family solidarity in India. Conflicting perceptions and aspirations have to be reconciled between family members with understanding, tolerance, and mutual give and take.

9. Discipline within the family is another pre-requisite of family solidarity in India. Family norms are to be respected, and yielding to another's position (even though perhaps somewhat unreasonable) is expected.

10. A family is not visualized by Indians as merely a unit of convenience. A family inherits and transmits its distinctive family traditions.

While outlining these "universal" family-centered values in India, Dube cautioned Joshi to watch out for certain "grey" areas of doubt, which had recently emerged in the Indian value system. Attributing these "grey" areas primarily to the rise of modern Western education, Dube (1984) argued that Western values such as individualization and democratization have struck at the

ideological roots of the traditional Indian family, but have not uprooted them. For example, while there is no intellectual justification for preferring a male child, a deep-rooted preference for a son continues in India. Dube (1984) argued that such a preference cannot be dismissed as evidence of male chauvinism, as Indian women desire a son as keenly as do Indian men.

While discussing the case of women working outside of their homes, Dube (1984) noted that economic and social compulsions have made this practice acceptable in certain segments of Indian society. However, Dube contends that even in such "progressive" families, men generally do not help out with household chores that are culturally regarded as women's work. So the Indian women now finds herself with two burdens: Her normal domestic responsibilities, and her work outside of the home. Also, the women usually has limited control over the income that she generates. The norm of male superiority functionally still persists in India, even though at the level of intellectual articulation the value system might have changed. Dube advised Joshi to especially focus on such "grey" family-centered values in creating "Hum Loq": "The most productive strategy would be to take advantage of ambiguities, contra-

dictions, and dualities in the scheme of values" (Dube, 1984, p. 9).

Dube (1984, p. 9) advised Joshi against "direct confrontation with traditional beliefs and deep-seated values" in "Hum Log", given the orthodoxy that prevails in Indian society about marriage and family life (which includes sex, an unmentionable topic). "The [soap opera] characters should raise doubts, difficulties, and objections. They themselves must come up with solutions that are not farfetched and implausible" (Dube, 1984, p. 10).

Dube also advised Joshi about the audience profile of "Hum Log": "A high-brow program will go above the heads of the people; a low one may be rejected even by the middle class. Pitch the message just a little below the middle common denominator". Joshi took Dube's advise and created a lower-middle class "Hum Log" family.

"Hum Log" Is Launched

"Hum Log" was an attempt to blend Doordarshan's stated objectives of providing entertainment to its audience, with promoting pro-social values such as the status of

women, family harmony, and smaller family size norms. Broadcast by Doordarshan for 17 months in 1984-85, Hum Log continued for a total of 156 episodes, each lasting 22 minutes. The episodes were in Hindi, the language of North India in which most of Doordarshan's programs are broadcast. At the close of each episode, a famous Hindi film actor, Ashok Kumar, summarized the episode in an epilogue of 60 to 90 seconds, and provided viewers with appropriate guides to action in their lives (Singhal & Rogers, 1988).

The first "Hum Log" episodes earned disappointing ratings. Individuals in 40 viewing clubs, set up by S.S. Gill's Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to provide feedback about "Hum Log", complained of too-violent dramatic situations, didactic sermons about family planning, indifferent acting, and a story line that was too slow in developing. A motion against "Hum Log" was raised in the Indian Parliament. "Hum Log" was dismissed as "irrelevant melodramatic trivia" by some Indian legislators, but Gill continued to provide strong patronage (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a).

After the first 13 episodes, based on feedback received from individuals in the 40 viewing clubs and various

other inputs, Joshi decided to give "Hum Log" a mid-course correction: The family planning theme was diluted, and themes such as the status of women, family harmony, and national integration became central to "Hum Log". A sub-story addressing underworld activities and political corruption was also added, which, while popular with the audience, detracted from the soap opera's major purpose (Singhal & Rogers, 1989c). "Hum Log" rose rapidly in popularity (earning ratings of up to 90 percent in Hindi-speaking North Indian towns and cities), and maintained this high attraction for its audience for the final 15 months of its broadcast. When it ended on December 17, 1985, its departure was marked by widespread sentimental protest from many "Hum Log" viewers.

The "Hum Log" Family

The soap opera's plot centered around the joys and sorrows of the Rams', a lower-middle class joint family of three generations, typical of many Indian households (Figure 7-1). Family relationships between grandparents/grandchildren, mother-in-law/daughter-in-law, husband/wife, brother/sister, and parent/child were portrayed. Inter-generational differences in values

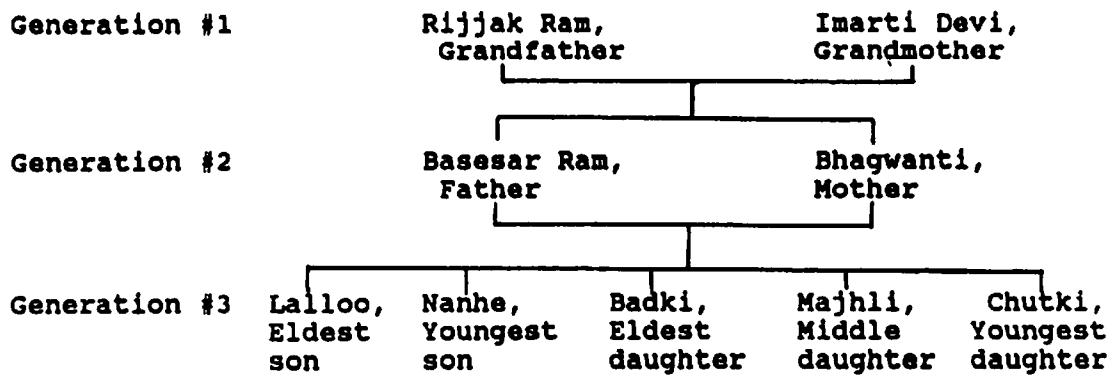


Figure 7-1. The Three-Generation Ram Family Depicted in "Hum Log".

about status of women, family planning, and family harmony were addressed. The nine members of the Ram family comprised of Rijjak Ram (grandfather), Imarti Devi (grandmother), Basesar Ram (father), Bhagwanti (mother), Lalloo (eldest son), Nanhe (youngest son), Badki (eldest daughter), Majhli (middle daughter), and Chutki (youngest daughter). A tenth character, Ashwini, Badki's husband, was also central to "Hum Log's" plot.

Shobha Doctor: The Woman Behind "Hum Log"

Shobha Doctor, the eloquent, hard-driving producer of "Hum Log" is one of the few media entrepreneurs in Bombay who is a woman. Shobha Doctor's special signature is the huge "bindi" (colored dot) that she wears on her forehead. Perhaps it symbolizes her personality, which is certainly larger-than-life.

Shobha Doctor spent many years in Africa before moving to Bombay to launch her company, Concept Advertising. Ms. Doctor's company marketed perfumes, and consulted with Music India (earlier Polydor Records), a reputed Indian gramophone records company. She produced her first television program in 1982, called "Modella

Ghazals" (consisting of poetry put to music), which she says was her counter to the highly popular film-based song-and-dance program on Doordarshan, "Chitrahaar". Her television series ran for 30 weeks, and was the first sponsored color broadcast on Doordarshan. During this period, S.S. Gill, Secretary in the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, became acquainted with Shobha Doctor, and learned of her interest in producing a television serial. In 1982 there were very few commercial television producers in India.

So when Gill began searching for a television producer for "Hum Log", Shobha Doctor naturally came to mind. She created an independent television production company called Time and Space. Arrangements were made to shoot "Hum Log" in a well-equipped television studio in Gurgaon, 25 miles from Delhi in the state of Haryana. Shobha Doctor's main role was to underwrite the initial production costs of "Hum Log", and then to sell the program to its commercial sponsors, Food Specialities Limited and Colgate-Palmolive.

When we asked Ms. Doctor in a 1986 personal interview in Bombay to look back on her "Hum Log" experience, she said: "'Hum Log' was like a beautiful dream, which

eventually became a compromise." Doordarshan's goals, Gill's patronage, Joshi's scriptwriting, Shobha Doctor's profits, the sponsors' motivations, and the audience's expectations were elements in the compromise. She says: "'Hum Log' was an expensive hobby for me. My advertising company in Bombay suffered. I was locked into a production contract, which I couldn't get out of . . . and I had to commute between Bombay and Delhi." Further, Shobha Doctor believes she originally sold "Hum Log" to the sponsor, Food Specialities Limited (a subsidiary of Nestle), at a "distress sale price" of \$6,000 (U.S.) per episode. The last 39 episodes of the total 156 "Hum Log" episodes, earned \$12,000 (U.S.).

Shobha Doctor is a self-made woman, and her belief in the need for strong women in India was reflected in the "Hum Log" story. She also has a warm, "can-do" disposition which helped sustain team morale on the "Hum Log" set. Abhinav Chaturvedi, who played Nanhe in "Hum Log", recalled one occasion when Ms. Doctor took charge of a difficult situation. On this occasion, the "Hum Log" team worked until well past midnight in the Gurgaon studio, trying to get a "Hum Log" episode just right. The team members were extremely fatigued, and their exhaustion resulted in numerous re-takes. At 2:00 A.M.,

Shobha Doctor's chauffeur arrived with egg sandwiches and hot tea for all members of the "Hum Log" team, thanks to Shobha Doctor.

Today, Shobha Doctor produces television programs and also manages her advertising agency in Bombay. Her son is studying communication in the U.S., and one day, "He will become President of Time and Space," she predicts.

PLAN OF THE NEXT SEVERAL CHAPTERS

In the next several chapters we analyze "Hum Log's" effects in order to see what general lessons can be learned about the entertainment-education communication strategy. In Chapter 8, our evaluation research methodology and data-collection procedures in India are discussed. Also, results from our content analysis of "Hum Log" episodes and Ashok Kumar's epilogues are presented. In Chapter 9, we discuss reasons for "Hum Log's" immense popularity with its audiences, and present results from our content analysis of viewers' letters. The para-social interaction process between the viewers and the soap opera characters is investigated. In Chapter 10, the modeling phenomenon in "Hum Log" is

analyzed, and "Hum Log's" effects in promoting status of women, family harmony, and smaller family size norms is investigated.

NOTES

1. This chapter draws heavily from Rogers (1988), Singhal & Rogers (1989a), and the author's personal interviews with David Poindexter (in 1986, 1987, 1988, and 1989), Manohar Shyam Joshi (1986, 1987, and 1988), S.S. Gill (1986), Satish Garg (1986), Inder Gujral (1986), Shobha Doctor (1986), Harish Khanna (1986 and 1987), Abhinav Chaturvedi (1986, 1987, and 1989), and other Indian officials that were involved in "Hum Log".
2. This section draws upon Dube (1984).

Chapter 8

EVALUATION RESEARCH ON "HUM LOG"¹

All research evaluations consist of trade-offs, require value judgement on the part of the researcher, and operate under constraints.

Keith W. Mielke & James W. Swinehart
(1976), Evaluation of the "Feeling
Good" Television Series, New York:
Children's Television Workshop.

The purpose of the present chapter is to discuss the methodology and data-collection procedures that we used to evaluate the effects of "Hum Log". Results from the content analysis of (1) "Hum Log's" 149 scripts, and (2) Ashok Kumar's epilogues are also presented.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA-COLLECTION

We used a variety of methods and collected multiple types of data, as we sought to follow a "triangulation" research strategy in determining the effects of "Hum Log". The term triangulation comes originally from navigation, where multiple reference points are used to locate an exact position (Williams, Rice, & Rogers, 1989). Five types of data were gathered: (1) personal

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

Personal Interviews with Key Officials

We personally interviewed 25 key officials responsible for creating, maintaining, and sustaining "Hum Log": David Poindexter, President of Population Communications-International; Miguel Sabido, creator of entertainment-education soap operas in Mexico; Inder Gujral, former Indian Minister of Information and Broadcasting; S.S. Gill, Secretary in the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the key patron in the Indian government who maintained "Hum Log"; Shobha Doctor, producer; Manohar Shyam Joshi, scriptwriter; Satish Garg, executive producer; Abhinav Chaturvedi and Vinod Nagpal, two "Hum Log" actors, Harish Khanna, former Director General of Doordarshan, and several others officials that were involved in "Hum Log". Our in-depth, personal interviews helped us

understand the "text" and the "context" of "Hum Log" from various perspectives. We drew upon these interviews in the previous chapter, and will utilize them again in future chapters in order to better understand the effects of the television soap opera "Hum Log" in India.

Content Analysis of the Scripts

We analyzed the contents of the scripts for 149 episodes of "Hum Log" out of the total of 156 episodes (we could not obtain the scripts for 7 "Hum Log" episodes) in order (1) to identify the pro-social themes that were portrayed, (2) to evaluate the degree of pro-social versus anti-social behavior of the "Hum Log" characters and their consequences, and (3) to identify the nature and degree of reinforcement of the pro-social messages provided in Ashok Kumar's epilogues.

A codebook for content analyzing the "Hum Log" episodes was developed on the basis (1) of our in-depth discussions about "Hum Log's" contents with Manohar Shyam Joshi, the scriptwriter; Ms. Shobha Doctor, the producer; Abhinav Chaturvedi, a "Hum Log" actor; S.S.

Gill, Secretary in the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, who helped put "Hum Log" on the air; Satish Garg, the executive producer; and several others, (2) our detailed reading of the available 149 scripts of "Hum Log", and (3) our viewing of about 45 of the "Hum Log" videotaped episodes. We obtained the first 24 episodes of "Hum Log" from the Hong Kong-headquartered Esquire Video International, the licensed world distributor of "Hum Log's" episodes. However, a low demand for "Hum Log's" videotapes in overseas markets, led Esquire to decide not to duplicate "Hum Log" episodes #25 through #156 for worldwide distribution (so officials of Esquire Video Corporation in Bombay and Hong Kong told the present author in personal interviews in 1986). In addition to the 24 "Hum Log" episodes provided by Esquire, we obtained 21 episodes of "Hum Log" (of middle-to-late "Hum Log" episodes) from Abhinav Chaturvedi, the "Hum Log" actor who played "Nanhe", and through the efforts of the author's parents in New Delhi, who videotaped the last several episodes of "Hum Log" off-the-air on their home VCR.

Three coders (fluent in the Hindi language, and who had previously viewed several "Hum Log" episodes when it was

broadcast in India), including the present author, were trained in content analysis procedures. The scripts were written in Hindi. The three coders each coded approximately 50 "Hum Log" scripts. Each script was coded on 289 variables. In addition, all three coders coded ten randomly-selected scripts on 30 randomly-selected variables. An average intercoder reliability coefficient (Scott's Pi) of 0.78 was computed (Krippendorff, 1981).

Field Survey of the Audience

After content analyzing the "Hum Log" scripts, a preliminary draft of a survey questionnaire was developed to reflect the thematic content of the "Hum Log" television series. This survey questionnaire was pre-tested with 148 urban-rural respondents in and around Delhi. The 30 interviewers for our pre-test were all participants in a Survey Research Training Workshop organized by the Indian Council for Social Development in Spring, 1987. The pre-test data were analyzed, and the questionnaire was further refined and adapted to suit local Indian conditions.

An audience survey of 1,170 adult respondents residing in three geographic regions was conducted: (1) in and around Delhi (where our respondents numbered 599), a Hindi-speaking area in North India, (2) in and around Pune (332 respondents), a Marathi-speaking area in Western India, near Bombay, and (3) in and around Madras (239 respondents), a Tamil-speaking area in South India (Figure 8-1). Our logic in selecting Delhi, Pune, and Madras as sample areas was to assess how language and culture differences mediated "Hum Loq" effects. Marathi is a close derivative of the Hindi language, and there are many cognates between the two languages. Tamil is a Dravidian language, quite different from Hindi, with a completely different script and grammar (Hindi is an Aryan language). We collaborated with experienced field researchers (1) at the Survey Research Training Center, Indian Council for Social Development in New Delhi, (2) at the Development Communication Research Project, University of Pune in Pune, and (3) at the Department of Sociology, University of Madras in Madras, in order to conduct our "Hum Loq" interviews.

Respondents were chosen from one city, two towns, and six villages in each of these three geographical regions

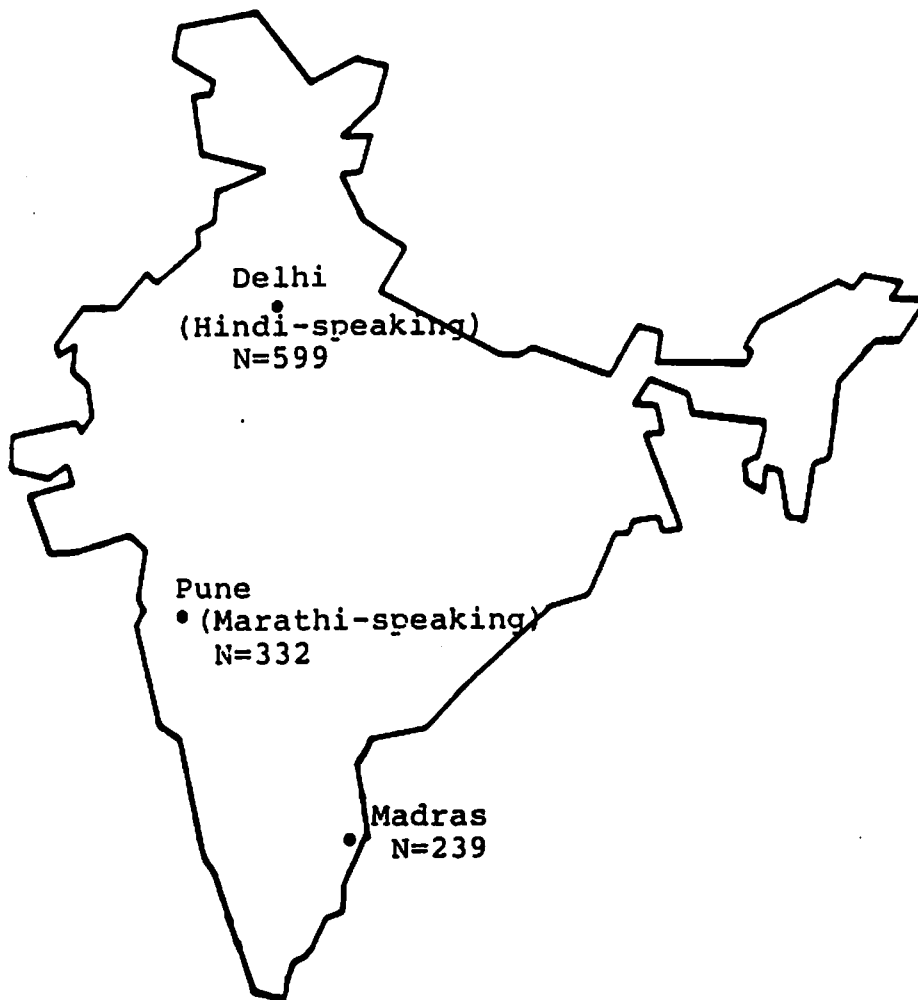


Figure 8-1. The Three Sample Areas Where the "Hum Log" Audience Survey Was Conducted in India.

(Table 8-1). Towns were selected according to their proximity to the three metropolitan cities. In each area, a town close to the city and a town far away from the city was selected. Villages were selected in a similar fashion around each of the cities and towns in the three regions.

We oversampled in urban areas, as 75 percent of television sets in India are located in urban households (Table 8-2). About 83 percent of our total sample resided in urban areas, and 17 percent in rural areas. Our sample differed from India's population in that our respondents were generally higher in formal education, income, cosmopolitaness, and media exposure. These sample characteristics generally coincided with the audience addressed by the "Hum Log" television series, as most television sets in India are concentrated in urban, elite households. Some 82 percent of our respondents had watched at least one episode of "Hum Log" (Table 8-3). A comparison of "Hum Log" viewers and non-viewers on socio-demographic characteristics is presented in Table 8-4.

Table 8-1. The Geographic and Urban-Rural Description of the Sample in the "Hum Log" Audience Survey.

Geographic Region	One City	Two Towns	Six Villages	Total	Percent
1. Delhi	364	141	94	599	51.2%
2. Pune	204	70	58	332	28.4%
3. Madras	144	48	47	239	20.4%
Totals	<u>712</u>	<u>259</u>	<u>199</u>	<u>1,170</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Table 8-2: Ownership of a Television Set by Our Audience Survey Respondents.

Television Ownership	Frequency	Percent
1. Own a television set	992	84.7%
2. No television set	178	15.3%
Totals	<u>1,170</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Table 8-3: Degree of Exposure to "Hum Log" Among Our Survey Respondents.

Exposure to "<u>Hum Log</u>"	Frequency	Percent
1. No exposure	201	17.2%
2. Some exposure	331	28.3%
3. Most/full exposure	616	52.6%
4. Missing data	22	1.9%
Totals	1,170	100.0%

Table 8-4. Comparison of "Hum Log" Viewers and Non-Viewers on Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Characteristics	Viewers (N=947)	Non-Viewers (N=201)	Total Sample (N=1,148)
1. Rural-Urban			
Rural	10%	45%	17%
Urban	90%	55%	83%
Totals	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
2. Sex			
Male	49%	64%	52%
Female	51%	36%	48%
Totals	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
3. Age in years			
Under 20	17%	9%	16%
20 to 40	61%	69%	62%
Over 40	22%	22%	22%
Totals	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
4. Marital status			
Unmarried	33%	33%	33%
Married	67%	67%	67%
Totals	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
5. Education			
Illiterate	6%	8%	6%
Up to High School	46%	63%	49%
College or more	48%	29%	45%
Totals	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
6. Monthly household income (rupees)			
Under 1,500	30%	51%	34%
1,500 to 3,000	40%	34%	39%
Over 3,000	30%	15%	27%
Totals	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Table 8-4
Continued

7. Hindi language fluency

None	4%	53%	13%
Some	21%	14%	20%
A Lot	75%	33%	67%
Totals	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

A stratified random sample design was employed to select respondents in each of our three regions. Local electoral rolls were used to randomly select approximately 60 percent of our total respondents from the city, about 20 percent from two "neighboring" towns, and approximately 20 percent from six "neighboring" villages around the two towns. One respondent was chosen from each household based on their age and sex. Our respondents were men and women between 15 to 49 years of age, the main target group for "Hum Log's" status of women, family harmony, and family planning messages.

Our data-gathering research team in India included 13 Indian interviewers. Six researchers, fluent in Hindi, interviewed the 599 respondents in the Delhi region; four researchers, fluent in Marathi, interviewed the 332 respondents in the Pune region; and three researchers fluent in Tamil interviewed the 239 respondents in the Madras region. Several of our survey interviewers were recruited by the present author from the Survey Research Training Workshop in Spring, 1987, where our survey questionnaire was pre-tested, and which the author served as an instructor. All of our interviewers were thoroughly trained in administering the questionnaire,

and on-site checks were conducted during the interview process by the present author and other members of our research team. Most of our interviewers had previously conducted survey interview research, and all of them had at least a Masters' degree in a social science discipline.

Each respondent was personally interviewed in their native language, and each interview lasted from 30 to 45 minutes. Respondents' answers to the survey questionnaire was coded on 333 variables. In each of our three regions, field researchers met once every week at the Indian Center for Social Development in New Delhi, the University of Pune in Pune, and at the University of Madras in Madras, respectively. An experienced research director was responsible at each location for monitoring the progress of each research team.

Our survey interviewers reported that the non-response rate was less than one percent. Several said that respondents were generally eager to answer questions about "Hum Log". Each interviewer directly recorded the answers on a precoded questionnaire. These questionnaires were key-punched on computer cards at the

Indian Council for Social Development in New Delhi. Data-entry and cleaning procedures were carried out under the present author's supervision. Our survey questionnaire consisted almost entirely of carefully-constructed closed-ended questions, and was precoded, so the rate of error in transcribing numbers onto computer cards was negligible. Also verification procedures on each computer card minimized the error in the data-entry process.

We utilized an ex-post facto research methodology in assessing "Hum Log's" effects. When our data were collected (in June-July, 1987), broadcasts of "Hum Log" had already ended 18 months previously in December, 1985. Unable to design a before-after type research study, we carried out a post-hoc field research design. The time-gap between television exposure and measurement represents a challenge to our search for audience effects.

Content Analysis of Viewers' Letters

We content analyzed a random sample of 500 viewers' letters written in response to "Hum Log", out of a

sample of 20,000 viewers' letters provided to us by Manohar Shyam Joshi, the writer of the "Hum Log" television series. These 20,000 letters were a non-random sample of an estimated 200,000 letters received by Doordarshan in response to "Hum Log". In addition, approximately 200,000 letters were received by "Hum Log's" actors and actresses, making an overall total of 400,000 viewers' letters that were received during the 17 months in which the series was broadcast.

Three Indian graduate students at the University of Southern California (including the present author) were trained in content analysis procedures to code the 500 viewers' letters. Each letter was coded on 178 variables. In addition, all three coder coded a random sample of 20 letters (out of the 500 letters) on 20 randomly-selected variables to obtain an average intercoder reliability coefficient (Scott's Pi) of 0.74 (Krippendorff, 1981).

Mailed Questionnaire to Letter-Writers

We mailed a questionnaire about "Hum Log" to 321 of the 500 letter-writers (we could not obtain adequate

addresses for the other 179 letter-writers) in August, 1987, 20 months after the "Hum Log" broadcasts had ended. Our first mailing elicited 234 responses, a response rate of 73 percent. Our second, follow-up mailing six weeks later brought in another 53 responses. So we received a total response of 287 out of 321 mailed questionnaires (representing a spectacular 90 percent response rate).

PRO-SOCIAL THEMES IN "HUM LOG"

Our content analysis of the 149 episodes of "Hum Log" indicates that the television series addressed many of the important pro-social issues confronting contemporary Indian society: Family harmony, status of women, character and moral development, national integration, family planning, health, problems of urban life, and public welfare services (Table 8-5).

Our unit of analysis was a sub-theme in a "Hum Log" episode. Some 10,668 sub-themes were identified in the 149 episodes of "Hum Log" that were available to be coded. The identified sub-theme could fall under one of the eight different thematic categories such as "family

Table 3-5. The Extent to Which Pro-Social Themes and Sub-Themes Were Emphasized in "Hum Log".

Thematic Categories	Number of Sub-Themes in this Category	Frequency of Sub-Themes in 149 "Hum Log" Episodes	Percent of All Sub-Themes Dealing with Each of the Eight Pro-Social Themes*
1. Family Harmony: For example, the "Hum Log" family is closely-knit despite individual differences among family members.	29	4,020	38%
2. Status of Women: For example, Badki's efforts to fight for the status of women at Behan, a women's welfare organization.	22	2,722	26%
3. Character and Moral Development: For example, grandfather's commentary on behaviors that are right and wrong.	10	1,314	12%
4. National Integration: For example, marriage of a North Indian girl with a South Indian boy.	10	688	7%
5. Family Planning: For example, Rajjo's decision to undergo a tubectomy.	17	602	6%
6. Health: For example, the ill-effects of alcohol on Basesar Ram's health.	9	593	5%
7. Problems of Urbanization: For example, Laloo's retreat to his village in order to overcome the high cost of maintaining an urban lifestyle.	7	481	4%

Table 8-5
Continued

8. National Welfare Programs: For example, the eye-donation drive for Inspector Samdar.	7	248	2%
Totals	111	10,668	100%

*The percent here is the portion of the total number of sub-themes that we identified in 149 episodes of the 156 episodes in the "Hum Log" television series. The identified sub-themes in each episode could fall under one to eight different thematic categories such as family harmony, status of women, and others. An average "Hum Log" episode had about 70 sub-themes that we could identify in its content.

harmony", "status of women", "character and moral development", and so on. The greatest number of sub-themes (29) were identified in the thematic category representing "family harmony" (for example, "emotional support between husband and wife", "personal sacrifice for a family member", and so on); 22 sub-themes were identified in the thematic category representing "status of women" (for example, "women should have the freedom to work outside their homes", "women should value their self-esteem", and so on); 17 sub-themes were identified in the thematic category representing "family planning" (for example, "a small family is a happy family", "contraception should be used to prevent unwanted pregnancies", and so on); 10 sub-themes were identified in the thematic categories representing "national integration" and "character and moral development"; 9 in the thematic category representing "health"; and 7 in the thematic categories represented by "problems of urbanization" and "public welfare services". An average "Hum Log" episode had about 70 sub-themes that we could identify in its content.

Ninety-five percent of the 149 "Hum Log" episodes contained at least one sub-theme related to the status

of women, 74 percent contained at least one sub-theme related to national integration, and 53 percent of the episodes contained at least one sub-theme related to family planning (Table 8-6). Tables 8-7 to 8-13 present the number and percent of "Hum Log" episodes in which certain sub-themes related to the status of women, family harmony, human virtues and character development, national integration, family planning, health, and public welfare services, respectively, were promoted.

Reasons for Diluting the Family Planning Theme

As discussed previously, "Hum Log" began as primarily a family planning soap opera. Pressures from audiences, sponsors, and debates in the Indian Parliament resulted in a toning-down of the family planning theme (only 6 percent of the total thematic content of "Hum Log" promoted family planning).

Another reason for abruptly dropping the family planning theme was that the main character, Rajjo (Basesar Ram's step-daughter), through whom the family planning theme was going to be promoted, actually became pregnant in real life and had to be dropped from the show's cast

Table 8-6. The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which at Least One Sub-Theme of the Following Major Thematic Category Was Identified by Our Content Analysis.

Thematic Categories	The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which at Least One Sub-Theme Representing the Present Major Thematic Category Was Identified	
	Number (N=149)	Percent of All 149 Episodes
1. Status of women.	142	95%
2. Family harmony.	140	94%
3. Human character and moral virtues.	139	93%
4. National integration and sustenance of indigenous cultural traditions	110	74%
5. Health	109	73%
6. Problems of urbanization	98	66%
7. Family planning	79	53%
8. Public welfare services	71	48%

Table 8-7. The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Status-of-Women Sub-Themes Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.

Selected Sub-Themes*	The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which the Status-of-Women Sub-Theme Was Identified	
	Number (N=149)	Percent of All 149 Episodes
1. Women should value their self-esteem.	113	76%
2. Women should have the freedom to work outside of homes.	67	45%
3. Women should have the freedom to seek a college education.	42	29%
4. Women should be equally involved with men in making decisions about household spending	41	28%
5. Women should be equally involved with men in making decisions about family planning.	12	8%
Totals	275	

*The present table provides the frequency of occurrence for only five status-of-women sub-themes in 149 episodes of "Hum Log". In addition, several incidental status-of-women sub-themes occurred in the 149 episodes of "Hum Log". Here we present results for only five the key status-of-women sub-themes which were identified by Joshi and Dube as being central to "Hum Log".

Table 8-8. The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Family Harmony Sub-Themes Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.

Selected Sub-Themes*	The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which the Family Harmony Sub-Theme Was Identified	
	Number (N=149)	Percent of All 149 Episodes
1. Mutual respect among family members leads to family harmony.	100	68%
2. Personal sacrifice for other family members leads to family harmony.	90	60%
3. Families should display solidarity, and exist cohesively.	87	58%
4. Emotional support between parents and children is essential for family harmony.	87	58%
5. Emotional support between a husband and wife is essential for family harmony.	71	48%
Totals	435	

*The present table provides the frequency of occurrence for only five family harmony in 149 episodes of "Hum Log". In addition, several incidental family harmony sub-themes occurred in the 149 episodes of "Hum Log". Here we present results for only five key family harmony sub-themes which were identified by Joshi and Dube as being central to "Hum Log".

Table 8-9. The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Sub-Themes Relating to Human Virtues and Character Development Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.

Selected Sub-Themes*	The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which the Human Virtues and Character Development Sub-Theme Was Identified	
	Number (N=149)	Percent of All 149 Episodes
1. One must strive to be self-dependent.	83	56%
2. One must conduct one's work in a responsible and ethical manner.	78	52%
3. One must work hard and constructively use one's time and energy.	73	49%
4. One should save money for one's future.	39	26%
5. One should not be superstitious.	24	15%
Totals	297	

*The present table provides the frequency of occurrence for only five human virtues sub-themes in 149 episodes of "Hum Log". In addition, several incidental human virtues sub-themes occurred in the 149 episodes of "Hum Log". Here we present results for only the five key status-of-women sub-themes which were identified by Joshi and Dube as being central to "Hum Log".

Table 8-10. The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Sub-Themes of National Integration and/or Respect for Indigenous Cultural Traditions Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.

Selected Sub-Themes*	The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which the National Integration Sub-Theme Was Identified	
	Number (N=149)	Percent of All 149 Episodes
1. Completely disregarding one's own cultural heritage, and blindly following a Western lifestyle presents problems.	37	25%
2. Regional languages and indigenous local traditions should be maintained.	24	16%
3. Anti-national activities like propagation of communal separatism, smuggling, etc. should be stopped.	24	16%
4. National integration and unity should be encouraged in India.	22	15%
5. One must respect religious diversity.	8	5%
Totals	115	

*The present table provides the frequency of occurrence for only five national integration sub-themes in 149 episodes of "Hum Log". In addition, several incidental national integration sub-themes in the 149 episodes of "Hum Log". Here we present results for only the five key national integration sub-themes which were identified by Joshi and Dube as being central to "Hum Log".

Table 8-11. The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Family Planning Sub-Themes Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.

Selected Sub-Themes*	The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which the Family Planning Sub-Theme Was Identified	
	Number (N=149)	Percent of All 149 Episodes
1. Parents have a responsibility toward their children.	51	35%
2. Each child should be provided with adequate opportunities for development.	19	13%
3. Men have a major responsibility in family planning decisions.	16	11%
4. Children should be delayed or spaced when planning a family.	12	8%
5. Contraceptives should be used to prevent unwanted births.	6	4%
Totals	104	

*The present table provides the frequency of occurrence for only five family planning sub-themes in 149 episodes of "Hum Log". In addition, several incidental family planning sub-themes occurred in the 149 episodes of "Hum Log". Here we present results for only five key family planning sub-themes which were identified by Joshi and Dube as being central to "Hum Log".

Table 8-12. The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected Health-Related Sub-Themes Were Identified.

Selected Sub-Themes*	The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which the Health Sub-Theme Was Identified	
	Number (N=149)	Percent of All 149 Episodes
1. Mental health (or peace of mind) is essential for healthy living.	70	47%
2. Timely and professional medical help can save a lot of worry.	42	28%
3. One should avoid alcohol consumption.	35	23%
4. A nutritional diet is key to good health.	29	20%
5. Physical exercise is important for good health.	14	9%
Totals	190	

*The present table provides the frequency of occurrence for only five health sub-themes in 149 episodes of "Hum Log". In addition, several incidental health sub-themes occurred in the 149 episodes of "Hum Log". Here we present results for only the five key health sub-themes which were identified by Joshi and Dube as being central to "Hum Log".

Table 8-13. The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which Selected National Welfare Schemes and/or Public Service Agencies Were Identified by Our Content Analysis.

Selected Sub-Themes*	The Number and Percent of "Hum Log" Episodes in Which the National Welfare Sub-Theme Was Identified	
	Number (N=149)	Percent of All 149 Episodes
1. Oppressed women should seek help at Women's Welfare Organizations.	40	27%
2. Health and family planning advise can be sought at government's health clinics.	21	14%
3. Alcohol rehabilitation is possible.	13	9%
4. A national education scheme exists to encourage literacy and scholarship.	9	6%
5. Eyes and organs can be donated to help the visually impaired and save lives.	7	5%
	Totals	90

*The present table provides the frequency of occurrence for only five national welfare sub-themes in 149 episodes of "Hum Log". In addition, several incidental national welfare sub-themes occurred in the 149 episodes of "Hum Log". Here we present results for only the five key national welfare sub-themes which were identified by Joshi and Dube as being central to "Hum Log".

after the 20th episode. Rajjo, who played the mother of four small daughters in "Hum Log", had just begun to confront her male chauvinist husband, Ram Avtar, about adopting a family planning method, when her real-life pregnancy occurred. When Rajjo's character was abruptly dropped from the "Hum Log" storyline (the viewers simply learned that Rajjo and her husband had left town), scriptwriter Joshi was forced to also drop the character of Lajjo, Rajjo's sister, who with her husband, Ranjan, represented a role model-couple for family planning. Notwithstanding Joshi's earlier plan for Rajjo's and Lajjo's characters, our content analysis shows that Rajjo was present in only five "Hum Log" episodes, and Lajjo in only eight episodes. So "I began to emphasize such themes as the status of women and family harmony," Joshi told the present author in a personal interview in 1986.

ASHOK KUMAR'S EPILOGUES

While the ten main characters of "Hum Log" were present in only certain episodes of "Hum Log" (Table 8-14), Ashok Kumar delivered the epilogue in all the 156 episodes of the television series. An epilogue is a

Table 8-14. Percent of the 149 Episodes in Which Each of the Ten Major "Hum Log" Characters Were Present.

Character	Percent of Episodes in Which the Character Was Present* (N=149)
1. Grandfather: Rijjak Ram	47%
2. Grandmother: Imarti Devi	34%
3. Father: Basesar Ram	46%
4. Mother: Bhagwanti	51%
5. Eldest son: Laloo	37%
6. Youngest son: Nanhe	57%
7. Eldest daughter: Badki	42%
8. Badki's Husband: Ashwini	23%
9. Middle daughter: Majhli	36%
10. Youngest daughter: Chutki	40%

* In comparison, Ashok Kumar delivered the epilogues in all 156 episodes of "Hum Log".

short final note added to a literary or dramatic message piece. Consistent with Miguel Sabido's methodology, Ashok Kumar's epilogues clearly explained the moral choices that had just been presented to the television viewer, providing guides to appropriate action in his/her life. Audience reaction was invited on common social dilemmas (for example, "Is the role of women restricted to the household, or should it go beyond?"). Usually from 60 to 90 seconds long, Ashok Kumar's epilogues often provided names and addresses of public welfare services (such as women's welfare organizations, health clinics, alcohol rehabilitation centers, and so on).

A Summarized "Hum Log" Script and
Its Epilogue

A summary of a sample "Hum Log" episode (#98), and its epilogue, is provided here in order to give the present reader certain insights about the content of "Hum Log".

Basesar Ram becomes ill after drinking illicit liquor and is lying unconscious in a hospital. Bhagwanti prays for his recovery, pleading with God to help Basesar give

up drinking. When Basesar regains consciousness, he complains of physical weakness, and coaxes Bhagwanti to fetch him a drink of whiskey in order that he may regain his strength. Unable to see her husband suffer, Bhagwanti asks Badki, their eldest daughter, if Basesar could be given a "little" whiskey. Badki is angry at Bhagwanti for her indulgence for Basesar. A self-negating Bhagwanti blames herself for her husband's drinking problem.

Basesar is sedated and falls asleep. He has a dream about his youthful years, when he aspired to be a famous singer. He sees himself embodied in his favorite singer, K.L. Sehgal, who in real-life was an alcoholic and died of cirrhosis of the liver. Nauseated by his dream, Basesar wakes up abruptly and vomits. Bhagwanti wipes his face. Scared for his life, Basesar asks Bhagwanti if he vomitted blood. He asks Bhagwanti to save him, at least until Badki's wedding (two episodes away)!

Ashok Kumar provided the following epilogue for episode #98:

Well, if nothing, Basesar Ram is thinking about staying away from the bottle due to fear of death. Let us pray that he has the strength and the willpower to stay

away from alcohol. For such alcohol addicts like Basesar, it is very difficult and problematic to leave drinking. But it is possible.

You may call it a coincidence, or an irony, but throughout I have received letters from women who say that their fathers or husbands are alcoholics. They write that whichever days Basesar Ram features on "Hum Log", that day the alcoholic in their family sits in front of the TV set.

On behalf of Basesar Ram can I say "cheers" and request these alcoholics to attempt to give up drinking? Lalloo has invited Badki and Ashwini to his village home for a picnic in this beautiful month of May. In the next episode, "Hum Log" (we people) will attend this picnic armed with umbrellas and ice cubes.

The Contents of Ashok Kumar's Epilogues

What major themes were discussed in Ashok Kumar's epilogues? A content analysis of "Hum Log's" 114 epilogues (we could not obtain 42 epilogues) showed that 40 percent of Kumar's epilogues discussed human virtues and vices, 14 percent clarified status-of-women issues, 12 percent addressed family harmony issues, and 2 percent dealt with family planning (Table 8-15). In over 70 percent of his epilogues, Kumar commented on the behaviors of at least one of the ten main "Hum Log"

Table 8-15. Themes Addressed in Ashok Kumar's Epilogues at the End of Each "Hum Log" Episode.

Thematic Categories	Percent of Epilogues in Which the Present Theme Was Most Emphasized (N=114)
1. Human virtues and vices.	40%
2. Status of women.	14%
3. Family harmony.	12%
4. Preserving indigenous cultural traditions	8%
5. Health	7%
6. National integration	5%
7. Family planning	2%
8. Others	12%
Totals	100%

characters, showing how central they were to the "Hum Log" plot.

Seventy-one percent of Kumar's epilogues suggested a certain course of action, clarifying the moral choices presented in the already broadcast episode. Some 28 percent of Kumar's epilogues encouraged viewers to write letters to Doordarshan (or to him) in response to a social/moral dilemma raised in a "Hum Log" episode, and one-quarter (25 percent) of Kumar's epilogues encouraged viewers to either write or visit a public welfare agency and/or a social service organization (for example, several epilogues directed oppressed women to women's welfare organizations). Ninety-nine percent of Kumar's epilogues provided a "hook" for the next episode, encouraging viewers to tune in, often to resolve a suspenseful situation: For example, "Let us find out whether Badki will resolve her indecision to marry Ashwini in the next episode of 'Hum Log'".

Ashok Kumar: The Grand Old Man of "Hum Log"

Already widely-known as the "grand old man" of Indian cinema, Ashok Kumar became the "grand old man" of Indian

television during 1984-85, when he delivered the epilogues for the 156 episodes of "Hum Log". "Eighteen months of "Hum Log" did more to my nationwide popularity, than 50 years of film-acting" (said Kumar, quoted in Prasad, 1986, p. 75). During "Hum Log's" 18-month broadcast, some 60 to 70 viewers' letters arrived at Ashok Kumar's Bombay residence each day, in addition to the several hundred which were written to him at Doordarshan headquarters. "I threatened Doordarshan with dire consequences if they dared send these letters to my home. I had a hard enough time dealing with the ones I got at home" (said Kumar, quoted in Prasad, 1986, p. 75).

Kumar's influence on "Hum Log" viewers was profound. Young boys and girls wrote to Ashok Kumar, pleading with him to convince their parents that they be allowed to marry the boy/girl of their choice. Several parents, in turn, sent horoscopes of their daughters to Kumar, requesting that he find a suitable match for them. Many viewers' letters pleaded with Kumar to be their family "counsellor," while several others indicated how important "Hum Log" had become in their daily lives. Even though the final broadcast of Hum Log" ended in

1985, Kumar in 1989 (four years later) still received occasional letters from his "old-faithful" "Hum Log" viewers.

Ashok Kumar was born on October 11, 1911, in Bihar, one of India's poorest states. His well-to-do parents (Kumar's father was a lawyer) were horrified when Kumar left home to become a technician in Bombay Talkies, one of Bombay's premier film companies. Kumar's first break as an actor came in 1936, when Himanshu Rai, owner of Bombay Talkies, cast him opposite the beautiful Devika Rani (Rai's wife and an accomplished movie star) in "Achhut Kanya" ("Untouchable Girl"). "Achhut Kanya" and its successor, "Jeevan Naiya" ("Lifeboat"), also with Devika Rani, were super-hits, launching Kumar's long career in the Indian film industry. By 1989, fifty-three years after his first feature film, Kumar had starred in over 400 Indian films, playing almost every conceivable role (Iyer, 1989). Appropriately, in 1989, the President of India bestowed the prestigious Dada Saheb Phalke Award on Kumar, the highest recognition that an Indian can receive for outstanding contributions to the creative arts (Tripathi, 1989).

"Hum Log" was certainly a highpoint in Kumar's life: "The serial was a most enlightening time for me, and I was amazed by how television mobilized the Indian viewers" (Kumar, quoted in Prasad, 1986, p. 75). But delivering "Hum Log's" 156 epilogues (one at the end of each episode) took a heavy toll of Ashok Kumar's free time. "Had I known the serial was going to be so long, I would have thought twice before accepting this responsibility....I accepted because H.K.L. Bhagat, the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, requested me to inaugurate the serial, and summarize the first ten episodes or so. Then somebody else was to take over, but this never happened" (Kumar, quoted in Prasad, 1986, p. 75). Not wanting to desert the "Hum Log" series midway, Kumar continued with the epilogues. Kumar did not accept payment for delivering the epilogues on "Hum Log".

"My most discerning and critical fans in 'Hum Log' were children," says Kumar. "I seem to have become a universal 'dada' [grandfather]" (Kumar, quoted in Prasad, 1986, p. 77). Several viewers' letters addressed Kumar as "Dada Moni", "Dadu Moni", "Munni Dada", "Ashok Dada" (all implying "lovable-respectable grandfather").

Kumar encouraged "Hum Log" viewers to write: He raised social problems in his epilogues, solicited viewers' opinions on family issues, and made his epilogues a national forum for debating and discussing such topics as the status of women in society, national integration, and several other development issues. An estimated half-a-million viewers wrote to the "Hum Log" television series, several in response to Kumar's invitation. "It was physically impossible to cope with all this mail," says Kumar (quoted in Prasad, 1986, p. 75). Several thousands of these viewers' letters were never opened, as we found out (several of the 20,000 viewers' letters given to us by Joshi were unopened).

Now aged 78, Kumar continues to act in an occasional Hindi film or a television serial (in 1988, he played the protagonist in a popular Doordarshan serial "Bhim Bhawani"). Kumar's wife passed away a few years ago, and he lives alone in his seven-bedroom mansion in a posh Bombay suburb. But Kumar keeps busy. He is more than the "grand old man" of Indian film and television: He is a palmist, a painter, and a homeopath doctor. Every morning between 7 a.m. and 9 a.m., Kumar treats poor patients at his Bombay home.

CONCLUSIONS

A variety of methods were used and we collected multiple types of data, as we sought to follow a "triangulation" research strategy in determining the effects of "Hum Log". Five types of data were gathered: (1) personal interviews with key officials that were involved in "Hum Log", (2) content analysis of the "Hum Log" scripts, (3) field survey of the television audience in India, (4) content analysis of a sample of viewers' letters in response to "Hum Log", and (5) a mailed questionnaire to a sample of our letter-writers.

While we were successful in collecting high-quality data about "Hum Log", we were limited by our ex-post facto research methodology in assessing the effects of "Hum Log". The time-gap between television television exposure and measurement represented a challenge to our search for audience effects.

Our content analysis of the 149 episodes of "Hum Log" indicated that the television series addressed many of the important pro-social issues confronting contemporary Indian society: Family harmony, status of women,

character and moral development, national integration, family planning, health, problems of urban life, and public welfare services.

Ashok Kumar's epilogues served their educational purpose. The high degree of credibility with which Ashok Kumar was perceived by the Indian television audience was one reason for the educational effects of "Hum Log", as we show later in the present dissertation.

NOTES

1. The present chapter draws upon Singhal & Rogers (1989a) and Brown (1988).

Chapter 9

AUDIENCE INVOLVEMENT IN "HUM LOG"¹

The audience feedback? My God, it was tremendous! We received thousands of letters. I think some scholar should write a thesis on the audience response.

Om Gupta, Assistant Director of "Hum Log" quoted in Singh and Virtti (1986, p.6), The Sun.

What will you take to end Hum Log?"

An unhappy "Hum Log" viewer who wrote to Doordarshan.

The purpose of the present chapter is (1) to analyze the reasons for "Hum Log's" tremendous audience popularity, (2) to investigate the characteristics of "Hum Log's" letters-writers, and (3) to analyze the viewers' para-social interaction with the "Hum Log" characters.

"Hum Log" was highly popular with Indian audiences. It commanded audience ratings from 65 to 90 percent in North India (a predominantly Hindi-speaking area), and between 20 and 45 percent in the main cities of South India, where Hindi language programs cannot be

understood by most television viewers. "Hum Log's" relatively lower ratings in South India support the notion that India's multicultural and multilingual audience limits the mass appeal of national television programs. An audience of about 60 million people watched the average "Hum Log" broadcast. At the time (1984-85), this audience was the largest ever to watch a television program in India (Singhal & Rogers, 1988).

Results from our 1987 survey of 1,170 Indian adults showed that 96 percent of our respondents who watched at least one episode of "Hum Log" liked the television serial. Ninety-four percent thought it was entertaining, 83 percent said it was educational, and 91 percent said that it addressed social problems. In Madras, a Tamil-speaking area, only 48 percent of our respondents had seen at least one episode of "Hum Log", mainly because "Hum Log" was broadcast in Hindi. However, the individuals who did view "Hum Log" in Madras liked the program (93 percent) about as much as did the viewers in North India. Many of these Madras viewers had some degree of fluency in Hindi due to having lived in North India or having studied Hindi. Hindi movies in Madras are also highly popular with the television audience.

Why was "Hum Log" so popular with its audiences?

Timing

"Hum Log" was broadcast at a time when Doordarshan, the government national television network, was experiencing an unparalleled expansion due to the launch of the Indian National Satellite (INSAT-1B) in 1983, which greatly increased public access to television in India.

Prior to 1983, television access in India was limited to 28 percent of the nation's population living mainly in the four urban centers of Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, and Madras. Once the INSAT-1B satellite was launched, television signals were broadcast directly to ground stations, which then rebroadcast the television programs to their surrounding areas. The number of people who could access television signals increased to 53 percent by the end of 1985, to 62 percent in 1988, and to 80 percent in 1990 (Figure 9-1). This increase in access is due to the large-scale installation of television transmitters (each of which broadcasts to its surrounding area) in India: From 1 transmitter in 1959, to 5 in 1973, to 19 in 1981, to 42 in 1983, to 175 in 1985, to 220 in 1988, to 300 in 1990. Many of these

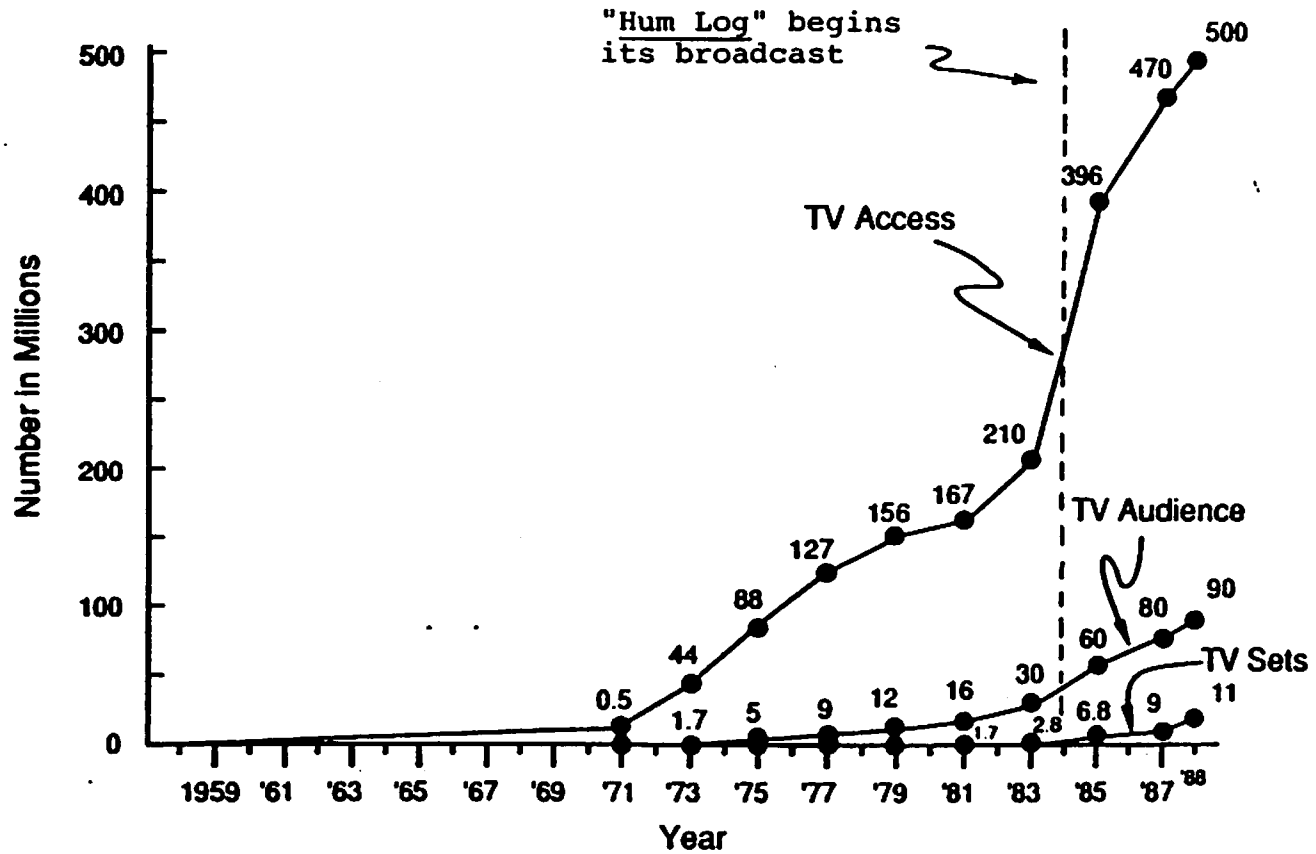


Figure 9-1. Growth in the Number of People Who Have Access to Television, the Number of People Who Watch Television, and the Number of Television Sets in India.

Source: Television in India (1986), New Delhi: Audience Research Unit, Doordarshan.

television stations are low-powered, and only rebroadcast television signals within a radius of 15 to 25 miles (25 to 40 kilometers). During 1984 and 1985 alone, the number of television viewers almost doubled from 37 to 60 million people, in 1988 the number increased to 90 million, and in 1990 to 125 million (15 percent of India's population). The number of television sets in India increased from 2.8 million in 1983, to 6.8 million in 1985, to 11 million in 1988, to an estimated 15 million in 1990.²

So "Hum Log's" broadcasts coincided with the timing of the rapid expansion of television audiences in India. The timing of "Hum Log", coupled with its first-of-a-kind nature, boosted the soap opera's popularity.

Novelty Factor

"Hum Log" was Indian national television's first long-running soap opera, a novel programming genre for Indian audiences. Soap operas had not appeared on Doordarshan's national network until 1984, even though soap opera type family-centered drama dominates Indian films. However, prior to "Hum Log" short, entertainment-education-type television serials were produced and

broadcast by the Space Application Center (SAC) in Ahmedabad to raise consciousness and to initiate local development programs in Gujarat's Kheda District. For example, during India's famous Satellite Instructional Television Experiment³ (SITE) in 1975-76 (when satellite television was used to convey educational-development information to 2,400 villages in six Indian states), a 20-part series called "Chatur Mota" ("Wise Elder") was broadcast in Kheda District (SITE Winter School, 1976).⁴ Another 40-part entertainment-education-type series called "Nari tu Narayani" ("Women You Are Powerful") was also broadcast by SAC to raise the status of women by achieving economic independence from men.

While SAC's television series were relatively short (up to 40 episodes) and broadcast locally, "Hum Log" was the first-of-a-kind, long-running soap opera broadcast to a national audience. The entertaining nature of the soap opera genre, coupled with the relatively dull nature of existing Doordarshan programs helped boost "Hum Log's" audience appeal. Even after the "Hum Log" broadcasts were completed in 1985, at least one soap opera has continued to reign supreme on Indian television each

year: "Buniyaad" ("Foundation") in 1986-87; "Ramayana" in 1987-88; and "Mahabharata" in 1989-90.

Audience Identification

"Hum Log" centered on three generations of a lower-middle class joint family. These characters seemed real-life, and millions of Indians identified with them. Hum Log emphasized such themes as family relationships between parent/child, husband/wife, brother/sister, grandparents/grandchildren, and mother-in-law/daughter-in-law. Many viewers empathized with the "Hum Log" family, becoming vicariously involved in their daily affairs.

Badki, the eldest daughter, and a positive role model for female equality was mobbed on several occasions by young college girls, who said "they had also rebelled and she should advise them what to do next" (said Manohar Shyam Joshi in a 1986 personal interview with the present author). Sudhir Dar, India's foremost cartoonist, who made a guest appearance on "Hum Log", said: "I was surprised to see how the various characters were coming to life and the way they held sway over every type of person. I saw very sophisticated

intellectuals jumping up at "Hum Log" time, saying they didn't want to miss it" (Dar, quoted in Singh & Virtti, 1986, p. 6)

Audience Involvement

Mass media communication is usually one-way, from one or a few source individuals to many audience individuals. "Hum Log" was unusual in that audience feedback via viewers' letters actually helped write and rewrite the storyline, suggesting new twists to the plot and new characterizations. For instance, Sanjiv, Sanjeeta, and Sanjit, three avid viewers of the "Hum Log" television series, wrote to scriptwriter Joshi in October, 1985: "Please have mercy on Samdar [the police inspector who lost his eyesight]. Poor fellow has got all the bad things in life. Allow some good things to happen in his life, for instance, give back his eyesight, please". Joshi restored Samdar's eyesight, but could not honor certain other viewers' requests. For example, many viewers' letters pleaded that Grandmother be cured of cancer (she dies in the final episode). Viewers also asked Joshi to have Nanhe marry Kamia, when Kamia's marriage was not working out with Prince Ajay Singh. In fact, Doordarshan received so many thousands

of viewers' letters that Joshi could not read them all (Doordarshan did not have a unit to tabulate the letter's suggestions). But he frequently altered his original storyline to allow for certain viewer reactions.

So the audience involvement in "Hum Log" was phenomenal for an Indian television series, and probably for almost any television series, at least in terms of the number of viewers' letters received.

Ashok Kumar's Epilogues

Ashok Kumar's immense popularity endeared "Hum Log" to many viewers. Learning from elders is a highly cherished Indian value, and Ashok Kumar, a father figure in India, doled out words of wisdom in his epilogues. When Ashok Kumar communicated with the "Hum Log" audience about what they had just seen, he engaged in a form of a meta-communication, communication about communication (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a).

So popular was Ashok Kumar with the audience "that to people his age [older people], he was like a 'brother', to middle-aged people he was like a 'father', and to the

youth and children he was like a 'grandfather' said Manohar Shyam Joshi to the present author in a 1987 personal interview. Namrata Desai, a 15-year old girl wrote to Ashok Kumar seeking help for teenage girls: "Dear Ashok Kaka [Uncle]: You are like a member of our family. Could you possibly help thousands of teenage girls like me? You might know that young, beautiful girls are harassed today at all places by young men on the street, in schools and colleges, in trains and busses, by officers in offices and banks, and even harassed by the so-called teachers in schools. Why don't you help all the teenage girls in India by showing how to face this problem in "Hum Log"? Uncle, please try to help us."

J.B. Verma, a retired man in his 60s wrote to Ashok Kumar pleading that he help his daughter: "Respected Ashok Kumar-Ji (Ji symbolizes respect): Will you kindly help me? My eldest daughter, Mrs. Adarsh Kumar, was married in 1971 to an engineer. Even though my daughter is a graduate, my son-in-law has never allowed her to work outside of home. Moreover, my son-in-law beats her, abuses her, and on several occasions has thrown her out of the house. In such circumstances, kindly advise me, or help in getting some help me, or help in getting

some help for my daughter, who's life is unbearable".

Ashok Kumar's popularity, credibility, and friendliness, coupled with his "wise" words of wisdom on "Hum Log's" epilogues, added in a large measure to "Hum Log's" audience popularity, and to its effects.

Use of Rustic Hindi Language

In writing Hum Log's dialogues, scriptwriter Joshi creatively combined Khadi Boli, a much-used, somewhat rustic, yet highly popular derivative of the Hindi language in North India, with the conventional Hindi language. With over 125 dialects in North India alone, a combination of Khadi Boli and conventional Hindi served as the lowest common denominator for North Indian "Hum Log" viewers (as we know, a disproportionate number of viewers of "Hum Log" were North Indians). Joshi's creative use of Khadi Boli in "Hum Log" served a similar "audience-grabbing" function as Peter Igho's use of Pidgin English on Nigeria's "Cock Crow at Dawn" television series (discussed in Chapter 3). "Joshi understands the ethos of the Indian mind as none other," said Abhinav Chaturvedi, a "Hum Log" actor, in a 1987 personal interview with the present author.

Manohar Shyam Joshi: The Genius
behind "Hum Log"

The script is usually the most important single factor in the success or failure of a television series. The invisible power behind the invisible power behind any popular television show is its scriptwriter. "Hum Log's" great popularity was due in large part to its scriptwriter, Manohar Shyam Joshi.

Joshi is a bespectacled, middle-aged man, highly articulate and well-read. Joshi had never written a television soap opera script before he wrote the 156 episodes of "Hum Log". He had been editor of a highly-popular Hindi magazine, Saptahik Hindustan, and then served as editor of an English magazine published by The Hindustan Times newspaper group. He had also written a few novels. But writing a soap opera script is a quite different task. It amounts to writing a short movie every week.

In 1983, S.S. Gill, Secretary in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, invited Joshi to a

writers' workshop to discuss plans for the "Hum Log" television series. Gill envisioned "Hum Log" as an entertainment-style family planning soap opera patterned after the Mexican experience with pro-development soap operas. The dozen other writers in the workshop were skeptical about the entire notion. They felt it was impossible to combine entertainment and education. They said the Indian public was tired of hearing about family planning. Finally, they doubted that a soap opera format was appropriate for Indian television. In any event, it had not been tried before.

However, Joshi felt that "Hum Log" could be pulled off successfully. He was intrigued with the idea of creating an entertainment-education television soap opera, even though he had not met Miguel Sabido during his May, 1983 visit to India. So Gill found Joshi an office in the Doordarshan headquarters building in New Delhi, and told him to design the television serial, complete with character portfolios and story-lines. Joshi was provided with (1) Dube's report on Indian values pertaining to family harmony, matrimony, and family planning, and (2) the 1981 conference paper which Miguel Sabido had presented about Mexico's

entertainment-education soap operas at the conference in Strassbourg, France (Sabido's 54-page conference paper entitled "Towards the Social Use of Soap Operas" was accompanied by a 31-page Sabido publication entitled "Handbook for Reinforcing Social Values Through Day-Time T.V. Serials"). Joshi also had a copy of the videotape that accompanied the Strassbourg conference paper.

Joshi did not waste any time. He wrote the synopses for the first 39 "Hum Log" episodes in about one month's time. "Hum Log" went on the air on July 7, 1984. Usually Doordarshan had only three or four episodes of "Hum Log" "in the can". Joshi was under tremendous pressure to deliver two scripts every week. He single-handedly wrote the entire script for "Hum Log", a task that in the U.S. would require a team of perhaps 10 writers, and a support staff of another 15 to 20 secretaries, editors, receptionists, and clerks. Joshi worked in a small 10 by 12 foot study in his modest flat in a South Delhi suburb, dictating each script to a steno-typist, who then typed it on a manual typewriter. Joshi believes in dictating dialogue (as opposed to writing it in longhand), so that he can hear how the lines sound, before they are spoken on television.

Joshi created lifelike characters for "Hum Log", which provided the television series with a realistic quality, missing in most Hindi entertainment films, which are fantasies. Joshi's understanding of the Indian ethos, his use of the common man's language (Khadi Boli), and his ability to portray the life of a lower-middle class family endeared the "Hum Log" family to millions of Indian viewers. "I enjoyed doing "Hum Log", says Joshi, "it was a great voyage in the discovery of India." Creating "Hum Log" was the peak experience in Joshi's professional career, he told the present author in a 1987 personal interview.

But "Hum Log" was actually only the beginning in Joshi's experience as a successful television scriptwriter. After "Hum Log", Joshi wrote the 104-episode saga about India's Partition, "Buniyaad" ("Foundation"). When it was broadcast in 1986-87, "Buniyaad" achieved even higher audience ratings (up to 95 percent in North India) than "Hum Log". In "Buniyaad", Joshi masterfully took Indian television viewers through the life and times of a four-generation Punjabi family, focusing on the tumultuous years following India's Partition with

Pakistan. Several of the "Buniyaad" characters had appeared previously in "Hum Log", so there was a certain common element in the two hit television series.

After "Buniyaad", Joshi created two super-hit television serials: "Mungeri Lal Ke Haseen Sapne" ("Mungeri Lal's Romantic Dreams") in 1988, an indigenous version of "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty", and "Kakkaji Kahin" ("Says Kakkaji") in 1989, drawing upon the BBC series "Yes Minister". In both serials, "Joshi's touch was unmistakable . . . complete with a rustic accent and robust down-to-earth good sense" (Sarin, 1989, p. 42). "Kakkaji Kahin" became such a powerful critique of Indian politics, that it was forcibly discontinued by the Indian government (Sarin, 1989). Undeterred, Joshi began writing a full-blown film script for Ramesh Sippy, one of India's most reputed film directors, who had previously directed "Buniyaad".

Joshi earned fame and a lucrative income from his success with "Hum Log", "Buniyaad", and other television serials. But Joshi's lifestyle shows little change. He still wears simple, traditional clothes, and continues to drive his old Ambassador car. What is Joshi doing

now? Just what he loves to do: Dictating scripts in the tiny study of his New Delhi apartment.

"HUM LOG'S" VIEWERS' LETTERS

Indian television (Doordarshan) received an average of 400 letters a day from "Hum Log" viewers during the 17 months of its broadcast, a total of about 200,000 letters. In addition, another 200,000 letters were received by the Hum Log" actors and actresses. This viewer outpouring of 400,000 letters is unprecedented in the history of Indian television, and perhaps of television worldwide (for example the 150,000 letters received by NBC when "Star Trek" was canceled was thought to be the previous record in the United States. Of these approximately 400,000 viewers' letters, an estimated 150,000 letters were addressed to Ashok Kumar.

The viewers' letters stressed the importance of family harmony and family solidarity, and voiced concern about such social ills as dowry and alcoholism. V.C. Raju, in a 3-page, single-spaced, 1989 letter to Ashok Kumar, commented on Basesar Ram's drunken behavior at the time of Badki and Ashwini's marriage ceremony:

All over the country many eagerly awaited the coming of 28th May [1985], the date of Badki's and Ashwini's marriage....While the ceremony got off to a good start, the auspicious occasion was marred by the appearance of Badki's drunken father [Basesar]....For a girl, the most solemn occasion is her marriage, but cruel fate took to robes in the form of her [Badki's] father....The blank stare on Badki's face would have left many viewers fathoming her thoughts and feelings....This hangover would last a very long time

....The expectation that the episode would provide a joyful time . . . has been belied . . . instead it has left many viewers sad.

I feel the portrayal of Basesar Ram as the drunken entity, and the immesaurable harm he brings about, has been given too long a play. It is high time that his proclivities come to an end. Otherwise, society would believe that such a scourge [alcoholism] could never be removed.

Many letters pleaded for more women's welfare organizations, encouraged eye donations, and demanded improved treatment for cancer patients (both an eye transplant operation and a death due to cancer were part of the "Hum Log" story). Sarla Mudgal, President of Kalyani, a women's welfare organization in her letter to Ashok Kumar said: In 'Hum Log' you called for names of social organizations. Ours is such an organization working for the welfare of women and other down troddens. We are enclosing a brief resume of our activities, and hope that we will be of some benefit to

the needy women through 'Hum Log'. Viewers' letters suggested a high degree of liking for the television series, and a strong personal involvement in the lives of the soap opera characters. Most viewers' letters suggested that the planned objectives of the television series were being fulfilled (Singhal & Rogers, 1989c).

"Hum Log" seemed to get under the skin of so many audience members because it was perceived as lifelike. Dilip Awasthi, a 30-year old college professor in his letter to Nanhe said: "Some way or the other, can you get your sister Badki married to Ashwini Kumar?" To Ashok Kumar, Awasthi wrote in 1989: "I would love it if "Hum Log" never ends. Could you keep stretching it like a rubber string?". Will Badki ever get married? Will Majhli achieve Bombay film stardom? Will grandmother die of cancer? Such questions were debated in animate fashion by many Indian households following the "Hum Log" broadcasts.

Characteristics of Letter-Writers

Table 9-1 presents several characteristics of our letter-writers. Our content analysis of a sample of 500 letters that were written to Doordarshan shows that most

Table 9-1. Characteristics of Letter-Writers to "Hum Log".

Characteristics	Letter-Writers (N=500)
1. Language in which written	
Hindi	75%
English	24%
Regional language	1%
Total	<u>100%</u>
2. Place from which written	
North Indian states (Hindi-speaking)	63%
South Indian states	10%
Maharashtra-Gujarat (Western India)	20%
West Bengal and North-Eastern States	7%
Total	<u>100%</u>
3. Length of letter	
Up to 100 words	19%
101 to 250 words	56%
251 to 500 words	17%
501 words and more	8%
Total	<u>100%</u>
4. Urban-Rural	
Urban	99%
Rural	1%
Total	<u>100%</u>
5. Writer	
Individual	86%
Family	2%
Group	11%
Established Organization	1%
Total	<u>100%</u>

Table 9-1
Continued

6. Sex

Male		46%
Female		53%
	Total	<u>100%</u>

7. Marital status

Unmarried		78%
Married		22%
	Total	<u>100%</u>

letters (1) were written in Hindi, (3) came from cities and towns, (4) were fairly detailed in content (one letter was about 2,500 words long), (4) came from North Indian viewers, and (5) were written by young, well-educated people.

Table 9-2 shows the type and extent of feedback provided by our sample of 500 letter-writers. In general, letter-writers liked the "Hum Log" television series immensely, expressed personal opinions about the behavior of Hum Log characters, identified with them, and several letters even suggested new twists in the "Hum Log" plot. It should be remembered that only 0.5 of 1 percent of all "Hum Log" viewers wrote a letter to Doordarshan. The letter-writers are highly atypical of the total viewing audience, representing unique social characteristics. Nevertheless, their uniqueness also informs us in certain ways about the impacts of "Hum Log".

PARA-SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH "HUM LOG"

Para-social interaction is the seemingly face-to-face interpersonal relationships which can develop between a viewer and a mass media personality, like a television

Table 9-2. Types of Feedback Provided by "Hum Log" Letter-Writers.

Type of Feedback Provided	Percent of Letter-Writers Who Provided Each Type of Feedback (N=500)
1. Letter-writer expresses his/her liking of the " <u>Hum Log</u> " television series.	94%
2. Letter-writer expresses an opinion about the behavior of " <u>Hum Log</u> " characters.	76%
3. Letter-writer identifies with " <u>Hum Log</u> " characters.	66%
4. Letter-writer expresses opinion about a social issue raised by " <u>Hum Log</u> ".	39%
5. Letter-writer responds to a social conundrum raised by Ashok Kumar, who delivers the epilogue at the end of each episode.	36%
6. Letter-writer suggests new twists in the " <u>Hum Log</u> " plot.	34%

performer (Horton & Wohl, 1958). Viewers perceive their relationship with television characters as real, as if they were in a face-to-face encounter. Many "Hum Log" viewers felt that they knew the television characters, even though they had never actually met them. For example, many young women wrote to Badki to tell her that she should resolve her indecision about marrying Ashwini, her boy-friend. Badki refused to apologize to Ashwini's uncle for her strong anti-dowry stance, even though she knew that her apology would help clear the way for her marriage to Ashwini. Doordarshan received threatening letters from viewers who urged that Badki be punished for defying the Indian social tradition of respect for elders. The day that Badki and Ashwini got married on television, some shops and bazaars in North India closed early for the celebration. Doordarshan received hundreds of telegrams and handmade cards wishing the couple a happy married life (Jain, 1985). Obviously, to many viewers Badki was not just a television role played by an actress, but a real person.

Prior to his marriage to Badki, Ashwini received the following letter from a 21-year old college girl: "Why haven't you replied to my several letters? Do not be so intoxicated in your love for Badki, that you do not have

time for friends like me. I know Badki will not let you write to me after your marriage. So please, why don't you write before?" "Hum Log" seemed to have blurred the line between image and reality, for several such viewers.

Past research (Horton & Wohl, 1956; Levy, 1979; Nordlund, 1978; Perse & Rubin, 1987; and Guthrie, 1987) suggests that television viewers can exhibit para-social interaction in at least seven ways. Table 9-3 shows the degree of para-social interaction in the form of these seven indicators, as exhibited by our sample of 500 letter-writers. Some 39 percent of our letter-writers reported talking to their favorite "Hum Log" character via their television set. We conclude that a high degree of para-social interaction was exhibited by our 500 letter-writers.

From Rejection to Stardom for Nanhe

When the "Hum Log" cast was selected in early 1984, hardly any of the actors or actresses were established stars. The tremendous popularity of "Hum Log" launched these actors and actresses into millions of Indian television households, giving them "star" quality. One

Table 9-3. Degree of Para-Social Interaction Indicated in Letters from "Hum Log" Viewers.

Indicators of Para-Social Interaction	Percent of Letters to " <u>Hum Log</u> " Which Indicate Para-Social Interaction (N=500)
1. Viewer indicates strong involvement with " <u>Hum Log</u> " characters.	93%
2. Viewer likes and respects Ashok Kumar, who delivers the epilogue at the end of each episode.	83%
3. Viewer compares his/her ideas with those of " <u>Hum Log</u> " characters.	65%
4. Viewer perceives a " <u>Hum Log</u> " character as a down-to-earth, good person.	43%
5. Viewer talks to his/her favorite " <u>Hum Log</u> " character while watching the television set.	39%
6. Viewer feels that Ashok Kumar helps them make various decisions, and the viewer looks to him for guidance.	39%
7. Viewer adjusts his/her time schedule to watch " <u>Hum Log</u> " so as to have a regular relationship with a television character.	30%

such "Hum Log" actor was Abhinav Chaturvedi, who played the role of Nanhe, the fun-loving younger son in the "Hum Log" family.

Chaturvedi was raised by a family which strongly appreciated the arts and literature. Encouraged by his parents, who are school teachers in Delhi schools, Chaturvedi took part in his Modern School's one-act plays, and occasionally played minor roles in Dishantar, a Delhi theater group conducted by a popular movie actor, Om Shivpuri. During college (at the University of Delhi), Chaturvedi achieved recognition in cricket, and he was selected captain of the under-19 Delhi team in a prestigious national cricket tournament. In 1983, prior to "Hum Log", Chaturvedi auditioned for a role in a television drama, but he was rejected.

In early 1984, Manohar Shyam Joshi, the scriptwriter for "Hum Log", had finished designing the character portfolios. One character was Nanhe, the younger son of the "Hum Log" family who was a fun-loving cricketer. Joshi had heard about Chaturvedi's acting and cricketing from his two sons, who also attended Modern School (an elite private school in New Delhi). Chaturvedi was a

natural choice for playing the Nanhe character, and he successfully auditioned for the role. In certain respects, he was playing himself.

Chaturvedi received tremendous adulation from Indian television viewers for his performance in "Hum Log". He received over 20,000 viewers' letters at his home address, most of which began "Dear Nanhe" (suggesting a high degree of para-social interaction). Chaturvedi was recognized for his "Hum Log" performance with various gifts and awards, and was asked by advertisers to endorse such consumer products as dress shirts and motorcycles. A non-earning family member prior to "Hum Log", Chaturvedi garnered over 100,000 rupees (\$8,000 dollars U.S.) for his role in "Hum Log". By Indian standards, Chaturvedi was rich. At age 21.

Chaturvedi derived tremendous satisfaction from the life-like nature of "Hum Log". The series "was a mirror where the Indian viewers saw their own reflection." Chaturvedi became so involved with the "Hum Log" family, that he told us that he found it difficult to "distinguish between his 'real' and his 'reel' family."

In 1986, Chaturvedi's second major television breakthrough came in "Buniyaad", the highly popular television series that in a way followed "Hum Log" (it was also written by Joshi). The first time the present author interviewed Chaturvedi in a New Delhi hotel, we began dinner at 11:30 p.m. Earlier that evening, Chaturvedi had met with "Buniyaad" officials to negotiate his contract. In "Buniyaad", Chaturvedi played the role of "JB", a character who eventually dies of leukemia. When this event was occurring in the television program, doctors at the prestigious Tata Memorial Cancer Hospital in Bombay (as well as a group of college girls) appealed to scriptwriter Joshi not to let JB die on screen, as it would affect people that were suffering from leukemia in India. Chaturvedi's salary for each "Buniyaad" episode was ten times what he had earned for each "Hum Log" episode. So by age 22, Chaturvedi was super-rich by Indian standards. Exhausted by "Buniyaad's" demanding production schedule, Chaturvedi dropped out of sight for several weeks in 1987 (to visit his uncle in Bangalore):

How has Chaturvedi coped with fame? He says: "I'm overwhelmed when auto-rickshaw taxi drivers refuse to accept payment from me." He was enjoying a friend's

wedding reception in New Delhi, until the bridegroom pulled him aside to say: "For the first time in my life, I was beginning to feel like a hero. Until you walked in." Chaturvedi tries to keep fame from going to his head. "Yes, I receive marriage proposals, and I have several thousand teenage fans. But I'm still the same old Abhinav," he told the present author in a 1987 personal interview. People who have known Abhinav Chaturvedi from his school days, believe that his television success has not changed him. Other than to make him wealthy.

In 1987, Chaturvedi completed his M.A. in history at St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi. Since then he moved to Bombay, where he now stars in several feature films. In 1989, Chaturvedi participated in the Entertainment for Social Change Conference in Los Angeles where he said: "We actors are in the hands of the director, and the scriptwriter." The actor has little direct control over the decision whether or not to include an educational theme in a film or a television series. However once that decision has been made, actors are crucial in depicting the behavior changes that the viewing audience is expected to make by providing positive and negative role models. Role models

are also provided by the personal lifestyles of film and television actors, whether they like it or not. In India, the personal lives of Bombay film stars are reported in detail by the mass media (Rogers & others, 1989).

CONCLUSIONS

"Hum Log" was highly popular with Indian audiences. It commanded audience ratings from 65 to 90 percent in North India (a predominantly Hindi-speaking area), and between 20 and 45 percent in the main cities of South India. "Hum Log" was popular with its audiences because (1) it was broadcast at a time when Doordarshan, the government national television network, was experiencing an unparalleled expansion, (2) it was Indian national television's first long-running soap opera, (3) viewers identified with the members of the "Hum Log" family, and were highly involved in their daily affairs, (4) Ashok Kumar's epilogues were highly popular, and (5) because scriptwriter Joshi's creatively used rustic Hindi language.

NOTES

1. The present chapter draws heavily upon Singhal & Rogers (1989a, 1989b, & 1989c), and Rogers & others (1989).
2. By the year 2000, India will have an estimated 63 million television sets, and the number of television viewers will increase to an estimated 378 million people (Srivastava, 1987).
3. SITE also provided Indian technologists with an opportunity to gain television expertise prior to launching their own national satellite, INSAT, about eight years later.
4. Chatur Mota started out as an orthodox negative character, and as the series developed, increasingly became a positive role model for development.

Chapter 10

INTENDED AND UNINTENDED EFFECTS OF "HUM LOG"¹

"Hum Log" was a serial I tried never to miss. It created a precedent. Imagine 156 episodes! It could be a world beater.

Dr. Shriram Lagoo, a Bombay film actor, quoted in Singh & Virtti (1986, p. 6), The Sun.

"Hum Log" was the only serial with which I could identify. Its ending is a big blow to me. I'll miss it.

Indra Khosla, an author quoted in Singh & Virtti (1986, p. 5), The Sun.

The purpose of the present chapter is to investigate the intended and unintended effects of the "Hum Log" television series. The modeling phenomenon of "Hum Log" is analyzed, and the relationship between viewers' exposure to "Hum Log" and their attitudes and behaviors toward an equal status for women and family planning is presented. The pros and cons of "Hum Log" are described.

MODELING IN "HUM LOG"

Television provides its viewers with a variety of observational learning experiences through role models,

both positive and negative. Bandura's (1977; 1986) social learning theory explains the ways in which humans learn social behaviors as a result of modeling their behavior after that of others with whom they interact, or that they observe in the mass media (discussed previously in Chapter 6). Bandura's (1973) research shows that children can learn behaviors from observing others, and that such observation may be of (1) real life, or (2) of behavior in films or on television. Bandura claims that real-life models and television models do not differ in influencing the learning of new behaviors. Models presented in televised form are so effective in holding attention that viewers can usually learn a model's behaviors (Bandura, Grusec, & Menlove, 1966).²

Miguel Sabido's entertainment-education soap operas in Mexico consciously drew upon Bandura's social learning theory, so that television viewers learned the intended behaviors and values from positive and negative role models depicted in the television series. In India, incorporation of Bandura's social learning theory in the design of "Hum Log" was relatively less rigorous than in Mexico. "Hum Log's" scriptwriter Manohar Shyam Joshi never personally met Miguel Sabido, nor did he

participate in one of Sabido's workshops. While Joshi followed the general design of the Mexican entertainment-education soap operas, "I did not rigorously utilize social learning theory in designing 'Hum Log' " (said Joshi to the present author in a 1987 personal interview).

But based on the rather limited extent to which Joshi directly utilized social learning theory in designing "Hum Log", did viewers model their behavior after that of the television soap opera characters?

Our content analysis of the 149 "Hum Log" scripts shows the extent of pro-social and anti-social behaviors performed by the various "Hum Log" characters (Table 10-1). Grandfather, Bhagwanti, Badki, Chutki, and Ashwini exhibited highly pro-social behaviors in "Hum Log's" episodes, whereas Basesar Ram and Majhli exhibited considerable anti-social behaviors.

Pro-social behavior is behavior that is desirable and beneficial to other individuals and/or to society at large (Rushton, 1982). Anti-social behavior is behavior that is undesirable or detrimental to other individuals and/or to society at large. Measurement of the concept of pro-social/anti-social behavior involves a value

Table 10-1. The Degree of Pro-Social/Anti-Social Behavior Exhibited by the Ten Main "Hum Log" Characters in the Soap Opera's Episodes.

Character	Percent* of "Hum Log" 149 Episodes in Which the Characters' Behavior Was Adjudged as:			
	Pro-Social	Neutral	Anti-Social	Totals
1. Grandfather, Rijjak Ram	97%	3%	0%	100%
2. Grandmother, Imarti Devi	55%	21%	24%	100%
3. Father, Basesar Ram	27%	20%	53%	100%
4. Mother, Bhagwanti	75%	22%	3%	100%
5. Eldest son, Lalloo	39%	54%	7%	100%
6. Youngest son, Nanhe	66%	27%	7%	100%
7. Eldest daughter, Badki	67%	25%	8%	100%
8. Middle daughter, Majhli	36%	50%	14%	100%
9. Youngest daughter, Chutki	70%	30%	0%	100%
10. Badki's husband, Ashwini	77%	15%	8%	100%

* Each percent here is the proportion of the number of the 149 episodes in which a character was present in the "Hum Log" television series.

judgement based on the wider social context, as is acknowledged by communication scholars (Comstock & others, 1978; Rushton, 1982).

Results from our 1987 survey of 1,170 respondents show that "Hum Log" viewers learned pro-social models of behavior from generally positive role models, and expressed a strong desire to emulate them in real life (Table 10-2). Thirty-seven percent of our respondents believed grandfather (a positive role model) to be the best model to copy in real life, and 18 percent of our respondents chose Bhagwanti (a stereotype of the traditional Indian wife/mother) to emulate. Eleven percent of our respondents believed Badki (a positive role model for female equality) to be the best model to copy in real life and 5 percent chose Chutki (a career-oriented girl) to emulate. Only 1 percent of our respondents believed Majhli (a negative female role model) to be the best model to copy in real life, and 4 percent chose Basesar Ram (a negative male role model) to emulate. The remaining 24 percent of our respondents chose relatively neutral characters like Nanhe, Grandmother, and Lalloo as the best models to copy in real life. So our "Hum Log" respondents believed in copying the positive role models in the television

Table 10-2. The 10 Main "Hum Log" Soap Opera Models, Their Characterizations, the Degree of Audience Learning From Them, and the Degree of Audience Modeling.

Family Members	Characterization*	Percentage of Survey Respondents Who Said They Learned Pro-Social Behaviors from This Model (N = 1,170)	Percentage of Survey Respondents Who Said This Character Was the Best Model to Copy in Real Life (N = 1,170)
1. Grandfather, Rijjak Ram	A World War II veteran, a strict disciplinarian, highly moral, and hardworking. A positive role model.	63%	37%
2. Grandmother, Imarti Devi	A beautiful, indulgent person believing in tradition and rituals. Somewhat selfish and sarcastic.	42%	6%
3. Father, Basesar Ram	A boorish drunkard who illtreats his wife and children, is superstitious, and always tries to make a fast buck. A negative male role model.	39%	4%
4. Mother, Bhagwanti	A self-effacing woman who looks after the needs of her family members. She suffers at the hands of her husband and mother-in-law. Portrays the stereotype of the traditional Indian wife/mother. A negative role model for gender equality, but a positive model for family harmony.	53%	18%

Table 10-2
Continued

5. Eldest son, Laloo	Lethargic, timid, and stupid to the extent of being hilarious. Moves from the city to a village to confront corrupt politicians.	36%	6%
6. Youngest son, Nanhe	A fun-loving sportsman, and a "know-it-all" in wheeling and dealing. A smart lovable rascal who wants to get rich quick.	46%	10%
7. Eldest daughter, Badki	Hard-working, brilliant, and proficient in sewing. She is rejected by prospective grooms because her parents cannot afford a large dowry, and because she is plain-looking. She works hard, establishes her own identity by becoming an official in a women's welfare organization, and later marries a handsome medical doctor. A positive role model for female equality.	52%	11%
8. Middle daughter, Majhli	Beautiful and glamorous. A failure in school, displays a warped sense of modernity. Initially, a negative role model, she mends her ways and marries a police inspector.	33%	1%
9. Youngest daughter, Chutki	A studious, no-nonsense, practical person who studies medicine. Although adopted by a Muslim couple, she lives with her original family. A positive role model.	44%	5%

Table 10-2
Continued

10. Badki's husband, Ashwini.	A handsome medical doctor, who respects his wife's "feminist" views, and cares for her family.	42%	2%
	Total		100%

* These descriptions are based on the character profiles prepared by scriptwriter Manohar Shyam Joshi while designing "Hum Log" (Joshi, 1984). Our content analysis of the scripts of 149 "Hum Log" episodes supports the fact that Joshi designed the "Hum Log" characters based on his initial character profiles.

program (53 percent in total), rather than imitating the negative role models (a total of 23 percent).

When "Hum Log" was planned, Bhagwanti was conceived as a negative (in the sense of the educational purpose of the soap opera) role model for female equality. She would quietly let her husband and mother-in-law berate her for her inadequate family lineage, her lack of cooking skills, and so forth. However, several "Hum Log" viewers sympathized with Bhagwanti's character and viewed her as a positive role model of tolerance, compromise, and patience. One 75-year old woman who wrote to Ashok Kumar said: "Bhagwanti is the epitome of tolerance. She suffers, but quietly. Young Indian women should learn a lesson in patience from Bhagwanti."

Results from our 1987 survey show that 80 percent of viewers who chose Bhagwanti as a positive role model were women. Seventy-six percent of housewives compared to 7 percent of the employed women chose to emulate Bhagwanti. These viewers' perceptions of Bhagwanti's role suggest that "Hum Log's" modeling effects were mediated by the viewers' prior attitudes and occupational experiences. While Bhagwanti's character was delineated as a negative role model for female

equality, viewers overwhelmingly identified her as a positive role model for family harmony. Our content analysis of "Hum Log's" episodes showed that Bhagwanti's behavior in three-quarters of the 149 episodes was assessed as being "pro-social". Obviously, measurement of the concept of pro-social behavior involves a value-judgement on part of the researcher.

Our 1987 survey respondents clearly recalled the perceived pro-social qualities of each of our 10 "Hum Log" soap opera characters (even 18 months after the final broadcast of "Hum Log") (Singhal, 1988). Our further data-analysis showed that "Hum Log's" viewers' learned pro-social behaviors from those characters whom they perceived as pro-social, and not from those whom they did not perceive as pro-social. In addition, Table 10-3 shows that male viewers learned more pro-social behaviors from male "Hum Log" models, younger viewers learned more pro-social behaviors from younger "Hum Log" models, and viewers with low monthly household incomes learned more pro-social behaviors from "Hum Log" models, which makes sense given that the "Hum Log" television family was a low-income family (Singhal, 1988).

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Table 10-3. Partial Beta Coefficients for the Relationships of Each Independent and Control Variable with the Dependent Variable, Pro-Social Learning from (1) All Ten "Hum Log" Soap Opera Models, and (2) Each "Hum Log" Model, While Controlling on All Other Such Variables.

Dependent Variable	Independent Variables			Control Variables				R	F
	Perception of Model	Exposure	Hindi Fluency	Sex	Age	Education	Family Income		
All Models	.10*	.43*	.11*	.20*	-.04*	.02	-.04*	.15	28.9**
Grandfather	.004	.19*	.05*	.12*	-.006	.02	-.02	.11	11.3**
Grandmother	.10*	.17*	.01	.06	-.002	.06	-.02*	.12	12.3**
Basesar Ram	.08*	.16*	.04	.12*	-.012	-.01	-.01	.11	11.8**
Bhagwanti	-.01	.18*	.03	-.05	-.003	-.01	-.02	.09	9.4**
Laloo	.09*	.15*	.02	.12*	-.006	.002	-.01	.11	11.3**
Nanhe	.02	.19*	.01	.06*	-.03*	.01	-.02*	.11	11.4**
Badki	.03*	.15*	.04	-.03	-.02*	-.03*	-.02*	.10	10.2**
Majhli	.10*	.11*	.05*	.05	-.01*	.002	-.01	.13	13.7**
Chutki	.01	.13*	.05*	.001	-.02*	.02	-.02*	.07	7.8**
Ashwini	-.01	.18*	.02	.08*	-.02*	.01	-.02*	.11	11.1**

* Indicates a beta coefficient that is significantly different from zero at the 5 percent level of significance.

** Indicates an F-statistic that is significant at $P < .05$ level.

Source: Singhal (1988).

Our present research findings suggest that television models can help viewers' learn certain pro-social behaviors (1) if the model were perceived as pro-social by the viewer, (2) if the viewer were more exposed to the model, (3) if the viewer understood the models' language, and (4) if the model possesses certain characteristics that the viewer also possesses (Singhal, 1988). Our research provided answers to such questions as: Given a variety of models, who would a viewer be more likely to model? Here we are talking about self-reported modeling only. How does the age, sex, and other personal characteristics of a television model influence viewers' modeling of a learned behavior?

In the past, Bandura's social learning theory has been primarily used to demonstrate observational learning (1) by children, (2) in laboratory settings, and (3) with aggression measures as the dependent variable (Comstock & others, 1978). Our research on "Hum Log" demonstrates the potential of utilizing Bandura's social learning theory for (1) larger populations, (2) in natural field settings, and (3) with pro-social learning measures as dependent variables. Because "Hum Log" closely approached the everyday life of India, rather than the fantasies depicted in most Indian films, it encouraged

television viewers to identify with various actors' roles (there was one role for almost every gender and age category). Thus "Hum Log" had its effect on viewers through the social psychological process of social learning.

Further research utilizing Bandura's social learning theory needs to be carried out on observational learning from television, in large populations, in natural field settings, and with pro-social dependent measures. Entertainment-education television soap operas offer researchers an unusual opportunity to test and refine Bandura's social learning theory in such settings.

Further, research literature on the incorporation of Bandura's social learning theory in the design of pro-social television programs is virtually non-existent. Almost all research attempts related to Bandura's social learning theory have been to test or to modify the theory. We need to better understand the incorporation of social learning theory in designing pro-social television programs, as happened in the Mexican television soap operas (Bandura, 1986), and to a certain extent in "Hum Log".

INTENDED EFFECTS OF "HUM LOG"

"Hum Log" intended to promote more favorable attitudes and behaviors toward gender equality and smaller family size norms among its viewers. So how is viewers' exposure to "Hum Log" related to their attitudes and behaviors toward an equal status for women and toward family planning? We considered McGuire's (1981) classification of the hierarchy of effects in conceptualizing "Hum Log's" effects.

Hierarchy of Effects

There is a long tradition of communication research on the effects of the mass media. Several thousand communication effects studies are published each year. Out of this huge body of research has come a conceptualization of possible media impacts in terms of a hierarchy of effects (McGuire, 1981).

In evaluating the effects of an entertainment-education television soap opera (or of any other mass media strategy), it is useful to consider the hierarchy of effects (McGuire, 1981). Table 10-4 shows the main components in this hierarchy of effects. These elements

Table 10-4. The Hierarchy of Media Effects and the Sources of Possible Data about these Effects.*

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

* This table is adapted from McGuire (1981).

are cumulative in the sense that an individual must move progressively from the first to the later stages. For instance, one would not usually change one's overt behavior without having previously been exposed to broadcasts of the soap opera. Hence, the effects shown in Table 10-4 occur in a hierarchy.

Typically, we expect an entertainment-education message like a soap opera or rock music to have its effects mainly near the top of the hierarchical model (that is, on exposure and awareness). We expect entertainment-educational mass media strategies to create widespread exposure (#1), awareness (#2), and information about the message content (#3). Fewer individuals in an audience will be persuaded to change their attitudes toward family planning (#4), or intend to change their behavior (#5). Very few individuals (perhaps only 1 or 2 percent) will change their overt behavior (such as by adopting a family planning method) (#6), or maintaining the behavior change (#7). These two effects are the real bottom-line for most national policy-makers, even though these effects probably will occur for only a very small portion of the total television audience.

As suggested in Table 10-4, different research methods may be relatively more appropriate for gathering data about effects at each of the levels in the hierarchy of effects. For example, an audience survey may be utilized to measure the degree to which individuals are informed about the educational message, but point-of-referral monitoring data (such as might be gathered from new clients in a family planning clinic) are more effective for measuring actual behavior change. Such relatively "harder" data are more likely to convince policy-makers who make decisions about pro-development mass media strategies.

The Hierarchy of "Hum Log's" Effects

On average, about 50 million people watched a "Hum Log" broadcast, and the television soap opera achieved spectacularly high ratings (up to 90 in Hindi-speaking areas). So a very high proportion of the television audience in India was exposed to the "Hum Log" broadcasts. Eighty-three percent of our 1,170 respondents watched at least one episode of "Hum Log". Table 10-5 shows the extent to which our respondents reported learning new information about pro-social

Table 10-5. Extent of Learning from "Hum Log" about Pro-Social Issues.

Pro-Social Issues	Percent of Survey Respondents Who Said They Learned from " <u>Hum Log</u> " (N = 1,170)
1. Women should have equal opportunities.	70%
2. Women should have the freedom to make their personal decisions in life.	68%
3. Family size should be limited.	71%
4. Family harmony should be promoted.	75%
5. Cultural diversity should be respected.	68%
6. Women's welfare programs should be encouraged.	64%

Source: Singhal & Rogers (1989a).

issues from "Hum Log". A high proportion of our respondents (between 64 and 75 percent) were aware and informed about the message content of "Hum Log".

Further, Table 10-6 shows that exposure to "Hum Log" was found to be positively related to attitudes (1) toward freedom of choice for women, (2) toward equal opportunities for women, and (3) toward smaller family size norms (Singhal, Rogers, & Cozzens, 1989), despite controlling for several socio-demographic characteristics of our respondents. Also, exposure to "Hum Log" was positively related to behavior indicating freedom of choice for women, but not to behaviors indicating (1) equal opportunities for women, and (2) family planning. Although statistically significant, the effects were all quite small (Singhal, Rogers, & Cozzens, 1989).

Of our 500 "Hum Log" viewers' letters which we content analyzed, 92 percent showed that "Hum Log" influenced the letter-writer in a pro-social direction. Some 47 percent of the 500 letters indicated that "Hum Log" affected the letter-writers' cognitions regarding social issues, 33 percent showed "Hum Log" influenced the letter-writers' attitudes regarding social issues, and 7

Table 10-6. Regression Coefficients Predicting Attitudes and Behaviors Related to the Status of Women and Family Planning.

Independent/ Control Variables	Dependent Variables					
	Attitudes			Behaviors		
	Equal Opportunity for Women	Freedom of Choice for Women	Family Planning	Equal Opportunity for Women	Freedom of Choice for Women	Family Planning
Scale Reliability Coefficient (Theta)	.72	.71	.53	.74	.77	.76
Degree of exposure to "Hum Log"	.06	.11	.08		.08	
Rural- urban location	-.05	.05		.07	.11	.12
Age	.07		-.05	.14	.10	.11
Sex	-.11			.11	.09	.08
Education	.15	.34	.12		.08	.11
Household income						
Hindi language fluency	.12	-.11				-.07
R-square	.05	.16	.03	.04	.05	.06
F statistic (df 6,1136)	9.66	30.80	4.09	6.99	9.01	9.62
p	<.05	<.05	<.05	<.05	<.05	<.05
N=	1,143	1,143	1,143	1,143	1,143	1,143

Note: All the coefficients are statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Source: Singhal, Rogers, & Cozzens (1989).

percent of the letters showed that "Hum Log" resulted in some behavioral change on the part of the letter-writer.

Our findings about "Hum Log's" modest effects fit well with our conceptualization of the hierarchy of media effects (McGuire, 1986 & 1981).³ We expected "Hum Log" to create widespread audience exposure, widespread awareness and information about the message content. Exposure to "Hum Log" broadcasts was less likely to change the audience's attitudes about the status of women and family planning, and even fewer individuals were expected to change their overt behavior.⁴

Point-of-referral data could not be systematically gathered in the case of "Hum Log", a limitation of our ex-post facto research design. Point-of-referral monitoring (collecting referral data from new acceptors at family planning clinics, or from new clients of women's welfare organizations) is a data-gathering strategy that can measure overt behavior change effects. Such point-of-referral data were gathered in the case of "In a Lighter Mood", a family planning television variety show broadcast in Enugu, Nigeria, during 1986-87 (as we discussed previously in Chapter 3).

While point-of-referral data could not be obtained in the case of "Hum Log", the viewers' letters that we content analyzed suggest that "Hum Log" helped change overt behaviors in the case of at least certain viewers. The president of the Legal Aid Centre for Women, in New Delhi, in her letter to Ashok Kumar said: "Your encouragement on "Hum Log" boosts our organization's morale. During June-July, 1985 [when "Hum Log" was being broadcast], a record number of women's cases (152) were handled by our office, out of which 56 were new." The president of a youth club in Chandigarh in his letter to Ashok Kumar said: "After getting an inspiration from the "Hum Log" television series about eye donation, we the members of Chandigarh's Youth Club have launched a campaign to sign up eye donors. We plan to enroll 5,000 prospective eye donors in the next one month....To date we have enrolled 982 members." While organ donation is extremely rare in India, "Hum Log" spurred several eye donation campaigns.

Limitations of the Present Research

The present research was limited by its reliance on ex-post facto data. Also our research was limited by our

inability to measure whether the viewers actually performed the behaviors they learned from the television soap opera models at a later time. Nor could we measure the exact nature of the pro-social behaviors that viewers learned from the televised models. For example, we could not measure whether the viewers learned to treat women as more equal to men, or to adopt family planning, based on his/her observational learning. Future research on pro-development soap operas can overcome such limitations by point-of-referral monitoring in family planning clinics, to gather data from new adopters of family planning methods (Rogers, Hodge, & Jara, 1988). Needed are more processual effects studies of pro-social television messages, in which the viewers' actual performance of a learned behavior can be measured.

INDIRECT, UNINTENDED IMPACTS OF "HUM LOG"

In addition to the direct effects of the television program of study, at least three indirect impacts of "Hum Log" occurred.

Commercial Sponsorship

"Hum Log" launched the era of commercially-sponsored programs on Doordarshan. A sponsored television program is one in which an advertiser pays the production costs of a program, in return for several minutes of spot advertisements, just before, during, or immediately following the broadcast of the program. The Singer Sewing machines of "Hum Log" were Maggi 2-Minute Noodles, a product marketed by a Nestle subsidiary called Food Specialities Limited. Maggi 2 Minute Noodles were a radical consumer innovation, and they were launched in India via advertising carried in the 17 months of "Hum Log" broadcasts.

Maggi 2-Minute Noodles

The success story of Maggi 2-Minute Noodles in India demonstrates how the rapid diffusion of television, the great popularity of an indigenous soap opera, and organizational innovations in marketing and advertising can launch an alien product in a Third World country. The successful experience of the company selling Maggi Noodles with television ads demonstrated the potential of commercial television advertisements for launching

new products to a nationwide audience. In fact, the Maggi noodles story is considered to be the most successful use of advertising and marketing strategies in India during the decade of the 1980s (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a).

Food Specialities Limited (FSL), who market Maggi noodles in India, is a subsidiary of Nestles, the Swiss multinational corporation. This corporation set up facilities for manufacturing food products in India in the 1960s. Since then, Nestles has sold such food products in India as Milkmaid, coffee, cereals, and baby food. In 1984, Nestles (through their Indian subsidiary, FSL) introduced Maggi 2-Minute Noodles, a new food product in India.

"Maggi" is an international brand name. Other Maggi products include food flavorings, mashed potatoes, soups, noodles, and ketchups. For many years, Maggi had sold noodles in Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, China, and Japan. FSL executives said: "Why not in India?" They knew that India is a wheat-eating country (about 50 percent of Indians eat wheat regularly). Maggi noodles are made with wheat, so FSL thought Maggi noodles had a

promising future in India, especially in North India, where wheat-eaters are concentrated.

However, noodles were perceived in India as a very Chinese product. FSL's task was to put noodles across to the Indian consumer as an Indian product. FSL developed "tastemakers" (a small packet of flavoring that added taste to the noodles) in India. FSL's flavors include masala, chicken, capsicum, and garlic. So the taste of Maggi noodles was Indian.

Needed next was an effective marketing strategy. FSL heavily advertised their new product on television (in "Hum Log" broadcasts), which in 1984-85 reached a captive audience of over 50 million people. FSL sold noodles in India not as "Chinese noodles", but as a snack food. Most Indian hot snacks (for example, samosas and jalebis) are difficult and time-consuming to prepare. The main appeal of Maggi noodles was convenience. FSL told consumers: Prepare noodles in two minutes. The slogan was: "Fast to cook, and good to eat."

Initially, FSL executives doubted whether an Indian housewife would acknowledge that sometimes she was too

tired or too short of time prepare traditional hot snacks. Via television advertising, FSL sought to persuade children to ask for Maggi noodles. Thus the housewife was preparing noodles not because she was lazy, but because her children wanted them. The first advertising spots showed noodles cooking, and two children eating them. Later television spots showed Indian children engaged in a physical activity like playing cricket. Then these hungry children rushed home to ask their mother for noodles. Mother quickly served them the two-minute "magic" snack.

FSL began sponsoring "Hum Log" in July, 1984. The company wanted to be associated with a long-running television program which was broadcast frequently, as opposed to just buying isolated advertising spots. If an advertiser just buys television spots in India, the spot becomes one in a continuously broadcast series of about 35 to 40 spots each evening, which leads to clutter. By sponsoring "Hum Log", FSL for the most part was the sole advertiser, which bred viewer identification of the noodles product with the television program (a few early episodes of "Hum Log" were also sponsored by the Colgate-Palmolive Company).

"Hum Log's" high viewership, coupled with the rapid diffusion of television sets, helped Maggi noodles get off to a fast start in the Indian market. The volume of Maggi products increased from none in 1982 to 1,600 tons in 1983, to 2,600 tons in 1984, to 4,200 tons in 1985, and to about 5,000 tons in 1986. Since then, the product continued to attract new consumers, but its rate of spread has slowed down. Today, Maggi noodles has several competitors in India. The initial price in 1983 was 2.50 rupees for a 100 gram package. In 1988, Maggi noodles sold for 4 rupees (25 U.S. cents) per packet.

Maggi noodles were an "instant" success. The successful experience of Food Specialities Limited with this new product convinced many other advertisers that television program sponsorship could be an attractive investment. Before long, a queue of advertisers was lined up at Doordarshan, eager to buy advertising. Advertising rates for television spots rose accordingly. And advertising revenues poured into Doordarshan (Figure 10-1). So "Hum Log" represented a turning-point in the commercialization of Doordarshan.

"Hum Log's" impact in promoting sales of Maggi noodles might also be viewed as an indirect pro-social outcome

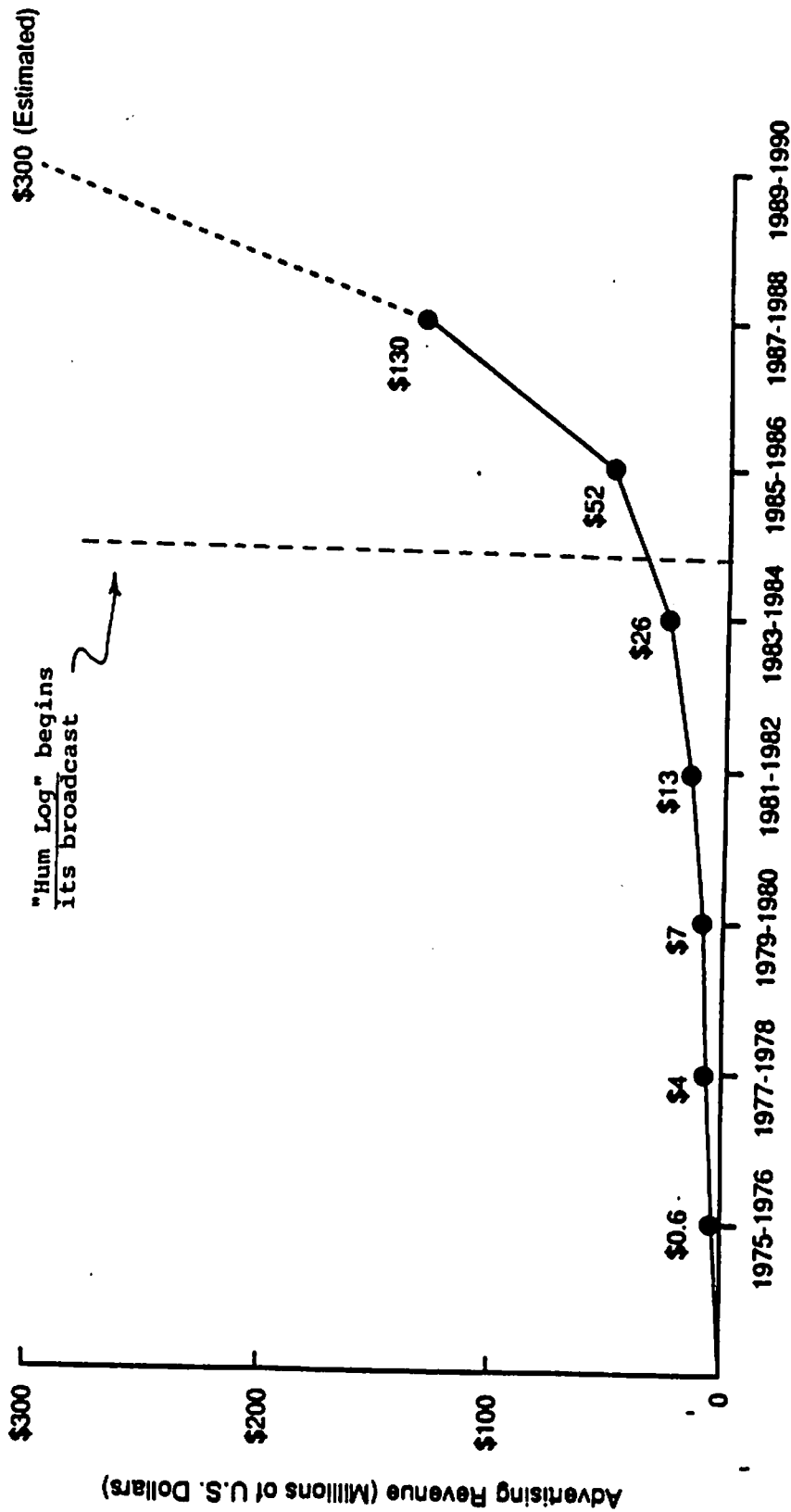


Figure 10-1. Revenues from Advertising on Indian Television.

Source: Television in India (1986), New Delhi: Audience Research Unit, Doordashan Kendra.

by arguing that individual-level adoption of Maggi noodles freed Indian women from the stove (Singhal & Rogers, 1989c). Our survey of the "Hum Log" audience in India showed that of the 84 percent of our respondents who had heard about Maggi Noodles, half had consumed Maggi Noodles at home. About 45 percent of these noodle-eaters (or 31 percent of our 1,170 respondents) started using Maggi Noodles after viewing television advertisements for this new product (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a).

Television Serials Come of Age in India

"Hum Log's" commercial success led to a proliferation of domestically-produced television serials on Doordarshan. When "Hum Log" went on the air in 1984, it was the first long-running indigenous television serial broadcast on national television. Three years later, in 1987, over 40 such domestically-produced serials were broadcast on Doordarshan: Soap operas, detective serials, educational serials, sitcoms, quiz shows, and biographies of Indian leaders.

The main lesson from the "Hum Log" experience was that indigenous soap operas in India could attract large

audiences and big profits. "Buniyaad", a historical television soap opera about the 1947 Partition of India and Pakistan, followed "Hum Log" in 1986-87 (and was written by the same scriptwriter, Manohar Shyam Joshi, and featured several of the same actors). It overshadowed even "Hum Log" in its popularity, achieving ratings of up to 95 percent in North India. At any given time, at least one soap opera reigns supreme on Indian television: First it was "Hum Log" (in 1984-85), then "Buniyaad" (in 1986-87), then "Ramayana" (in 1987-88), a Hindu religious epic, and "Mahabharata" (in 1989-90), another Hindu religious epic. Our 1987 survey showed that 82 percent of our respondents rated either "Hum Log", "Buniyaad", or "Ramayana" as the best Hindi program broadcast on Indian television.

"Ramayana": Revival of an Epic

For 18 months, in 1987-1988, Ramanand Sagar's television serial "Ramayana", based on India's legendary religious epic, was broadcast by Doordarshan every Sunday morning. Sixty million Indians watched the average "Ramayana" broadcast, with many Hindus taking a bath to purify themselves prior to the television serial's broadcast.

During the sacred 45-minute "Ramayana" broadcasts, many viewers lit incense-sticks before their television set, crowds thinned on city streets, and trains screeched to unscheduled halts at railroad stations that were equipped with public television sets. Doordarshan earned \$20 million in advertising revenues from "Ramayana", and the serial's audience ratings reached 95 percent in several North Indian towns and cities (Jain, 1988).

Producer-Director Sagar read 14 different versions of "Ramayana" to create his television serial, which promotes such human values of morality, obedience, discipline, and loyalty. The "Ramayana" epic story by itself represents an illustration of the entertainment-education communication strategy (discussed previously in Chapter 1). Chaupaiyans (verses) are put to melodious music, each conveying a moral theme. While "Ramayana's" critics label the television serial as a rather poor representation of the original epic, many admire the "Ramayana's" positive influence on its viewers. Badri Narayan, a famous Indian painter, said: "Today, man is questioning the values of his time. 'Ramayana' tells him how to face life, how to take a course of action with

integrity, even if it is not pleasant" (quoted in Tripathi, Singh, Awasthi, & Sardana, 1988, p. 151).

So intense was Sagar's involvement with his TV serial that he vowed not to touch meat or alcohol during the entire 18 months of "Ramayana" broadcasts. Sagar transported 10 cooks to Umbergaon, in Gujarat state, site of the "Ramayana" set, to prepare vegetarian food for the 150 TV crew members (Bhargava, 1987). Arun Govil, who plays God Rama, became a cult figure in India; in Umbergaon, villagers routinely fell at his feet to ask for blessings (akin to the tremendous adulation that Saby Kamalich received after she portrayed the character of Maria in "Simplemente Maria").

"Ramayana's" tremendous popularity helped sell videotapes of the serial, books about the epic, and packaged toys like bows and arrows, which earned heavy profits for Sagar and his business associates. Overseas Indians in the U.K. and the U.S. watched "Ramayana" videotapes, rented from Indian grocery stores.

When "Ramayana" went off-the-air in July, 1988, 2,000 street-cleaners in Jalandhar, Punjab went on a

brooms-down strike, demanding that the serial continue. Doordarshan, the major beneficiary of "Ramayana's" advertising incomes, revived the serial in late 1988 to coincide with the Indian "Dussehra" festival, which celebrates God Rama's victory over Demon King Ravana (Jain, 1988).

Encouraged by the tremendous success of "Ramayana" another Indian epic serial, "Mahabharata", began broadcasting in India in late 1988, and in 1990 is India's most popular television serial.

These Indian-produced television programs are consistently more popular than are foreign (imported) serials, which is the main reason why Doordarshan broadcasts so much less imported programming (about 5 percent of the total broadcast time) than do most other Third World countries (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). Our 1987 survey showed that 88 percent of the 1,170 respondents said they liked Hindi serials, while 55 percent of our respondents said they did not like foreign serials. One reason for this preference for India-made television programs is the audience's favorable initial experience with "Hum Log". "Hum Log" demonstrated that domestically-produced television shows

could be enormously attractive to the Indian audience.

The Marriage of Delhi and Bombay

The proliferation of domestically-produced serials on Doordarshan occurred thanks to important inputs from the Bombay film industry. Bombay film moguls, once apprehensive about sponsored television serials like "Hum Log", soon rushed to Delhi to get their programs on Doordarshan. Television's expansion created a need for the film industry's equipment, studio facilities, and creative talent. Said Harish Khanna, former Director-General of Doordarshan: "It is a marriage of convenience between Bombay and Delhi" (Jain, 1985, p. 25). In India in the 1980s, as in the United States in the 1950s, the film industry at first fought the rise of television, but finally joined it with enthusiasm. In the U.S., Hollywood shortly emerged as the main center of television production, rather than New York City, where the three U.S. television networks are headquartered. Similarly, following the commercial success of "Hum Log", most Indian television production moved from Delhi (which remains the headquarters for Doordarshan) to Bombay, where film production facilities and talent were converted to television production.

WHY DID "HUM LOG" END?

Unlike U.S. soap operas, which continue almost endlessly, "Hum Log" was based on the Mexican telenovela (television novel) format, which usually has a pre-defined beginning, a middle, and an end. When "Hum Log" was originally planned, it was slated for 300 episodes to be broadcast over a three-year period. But it ended in 17 months, after 156 episodes.

Why did "Hum Log" end earlier than originally planned? Economic reasons were important; "Hum Log" actors and actresses had become stars during "Hum Log's" first year of broadcasting. Some had offers to star in other television serials, at salaries five to ten times what they earned from "Hum Log" (Abhinav Chaturvedi, who played Nanhe, was in a similar situation, as we discussed in Chapter 9). Also, this television series faced increasing competition from other popular serials launched on Doordarshan during 1985 (most of them produced in Bombay): "Yeh Jo Hai Zindagi" ("This Is Life"), "Khaandan" ("Dynasty"), "Rajani", and others. Doordarshan was under considerable pressure from private television producers who wanted their new serials to

replace existing programs like "Hum Log". Gill's patronage of "Hum Log" waned, as he became heavily involved in implementing the "one-transmitter-a-day" expansion program of Doordarshan in 1984-85. Shortly thereafter, he retired from public office. Finally, the "Hum Log" story had reached a natural ending point: Grandmother died of cancer, Basesar Ram mended his errant ways, Nanhe had a decent job, Chutki entered medical college, and Majhli had found Samdar. It looked like an appropriate end-point.

Beyond the Indian Experience with "Hum Log"

"Hum Log" has been off-the-air since late 1985, but its effects continue. "Hum Log" demonstrated that India could adapt the Mexican strategy of entertainment-education soap operas to its specific socio-cultural needs. This successful experience persuaded several other Third World countries to launch television programs patterned after "Hum Log". "Hum Log" is of historic importance, given that it occurred nine years after Miguel Sabido's first entertainment-education soap opera ("Ven Conmigo" in 1975-76), as the first non-Mexican use of the entertainment-education strategy.

Inspired by "Hum Log's" audience success, and based on Sabido's soap opera methodology, Kenya began to broadcast its first family planning television soap opera, "Tushauriani" ("Let's Discuss"), in 1987. Broadcast in Swahili, the lingua franca of Kenya, "Tushauriane" became the most popular program ever on Kenyan television. Unfortunately, "politics intervened and "Tushauriane" was discontinued abruptly in late, 1988" (Tom Kazungu, a producer at the Voice of Kenya, told the present author in a personal interview in 1989).

J.R.D. Tata, a leading Indian industrialist, pledged financial support for a successor to "Hum Log", called "Hum Rahi" ("Come Along With Me"). Produced by Roger Pereira, a former advertising official in Bombay, "Hum Rahi" is entirely a private effort. It can learn from "Hum Log's" mistakes. Now several years in the planning, "Hum Rahi" expects to begin its broadcasts during 1990. Also in 1990, Miguel Sabido at Televisa is producing a family planning/AIDS soap opera, "Sangre Joven", to be broadcast throughout Latin America and in the U.S. The epilogue at the end of each episode will be delivered by a well-known national figure in each country of

broadcast. Several other Third World nations (Brazil, Nigeria, Egypt, and others) plan to produce television soap operas for family planning in the near future.

An almost two-and-a-half year gap occurred after Miguel Sabido's "Por Amor" (1981-82) soap opera in Mexico, and the first attempt to adapt this concept in another nation (that is, "Hum Log" in 1984-85). During this hiatus, David Poindexter and others were promoting the idea of entertainment-education soap operas to various nations, but the typical reaction was: "Okay, Mexico did it, but they have a genius in Miguel Sabido. Without Sabido, we could not produce a successful family planning soap opera." The "Hum Log" experience in India showed that another nation could successfully follow Mexico's lead, even without the unique talent of Miguel Sabido. Once that point was demonstrated, Kenya and other Third World nations then followed India's lead. So perhaps one of "Hum Log's" greatest impacts may have been to break the temporary log-jam in the early 1980s in the international diffusion of entertainment-education soap operas.

CONCLUSIONS

"Hum Log" ushered in a new era on Indian television, which was aided by the simultaneous expansion of the television audience in India via satellite transmission. While there is little doubt that "Hum Log" was an unqualified success with both its audiences and advertisers, its success regarding the achievement of its educational-development goals is not so clear-cut, given the limitations of our research design (Table 10-7). However, there is enough research evidence to suggest that "Hum Log" met at least some of its educational-development goals.

As national television audiences continue to expand in Third World countries, the content of television programming becomes a crucial factor in determining whether television broadcasting will advance national development goals or just be used for entertainment purposes. Entertainment-education soap operas provide one means of utilizing television's expanding audiences to reach development goals. The "Hum Log" experience in India suggests the important potential of entertainment-educational soap operas.

Table 10-7. The Pros and Cons of "Hum Log".

Pros	Cons
1. Full government support (initially).	1. Lost some government support over time.
2. Intended to promote development.	2. Intentions were not fully carried out, e.g., the family planning content was considerably deemphasized after the first 13 episodes.
3. Highly popular.	3. Less popular in South India because of language and cultural differences.
4. High audience involvement, as illustrated by the 400,000 letters written by viewers.	4. Little follow-up by Doordarshan with viewers' letters; many were not opened.
5. Family drama based on an understanding of the Indian ethos.	5. Also had a major cops-and-robbers underworld sub-plot with little educational relevance.
6. Very effective television scriptwriter.	6. Written under great time pressure, while the scriptwriter tried to serve several masters (such as Doordarshan and the commercial sponsors like Food Specialities Limited).
7. A major commercial success.	7. The advertising sponsors influenced the content of the soap opera; " <u>Hum Log</u> " promoted consumerism.
8. Used the rustic Hindi language spoken by the average North Indian.	8. Alienated many non-Hindi speakers in South India.
9. A tri-partite arrangement between Doordarshan, the advertising sponsor, and the scriptwriter.	9. Constant struggle over control of the soap opera's episodes.
10. The first Indian TV soap opera.	10. Useful lessons were not learned from mistakes made in " <u>Hum Log</u> " for the benefit of later television series in India.

Table 10-7
Continued

- | | |
|---|--|
| 11. A low cost television production. | 11. Relatively poor production quality due to a lack of adequate prior experience and television production equipment. |
| 12. Liked by middle-class and lower middle-class viewers. | 12. Less well-liked by highly elite, upper-class viewers. |
| 13. Helped expand the television audience in India. | 13. Most television sets were in urban elite homes. |

Source: Singhal & Rogers (1989a).

NOTES

1. The present chapter draws heavily from Singhal (1988), Singhal, Rogers, & Cozzens (1989), and Singhal & Rogers (1989a).

2. In a review of more than three dozen experimental investigations from both laboratory and naturalistic settings, Rushton (1982) concluded that pro-social television can affect individuals' social behavior in a positive, pro-social direction. Examples of pro-social behavior include helping and sharing behavior in children (Bryan & Walbek, 1970; Rushton & Owen, 1975); resisting temptation and delaying gratification (Staub, 1972; and Yates, 1974); and coping with fears (Bandura & Barab, 1973). Elliot & Vasta (1970) and Collins & Getz (1976) demonstrated that school children learned such pro-social behaviors as donating to charity and sharing candy through observational learning from television models. Johnston & Ettema (1986) argued that creating more effective pro-social television is possible, although only a very small proportion of U.S. television programming is pro-social at present.

3. Most empirical studies on media effects show that the mass media have only a limited effect in influencing viewers' attitudes and behaviors. In a comprehensive review of the media effects literature, McGuire (1986, p. 177) argued that few studies show overall effects sizable enough to reach statistical significance.

4. The magnitude of our findings in terms of variance explained is relatively small, but our results suggest an interrelationship between "Hum Log" exposure and the status of women and fertility behavior in India (after controlling for six socio-demographic variables). Since this relationship was demonstrated after an 18 month time-gap between the final broadcasts of "Hum Log" and our data-collection, they must be interpreted with caution. At the same time, the hierarchy of effects suggests that some delay may be needed for the earlier effects (like exposure to the message, awareness of the message, etc.) to cause the later effects (like changing behavior).

Our survey respondents easily recalled details about the "Hum Log" television series. Possible reasons for the high degree of recall about "Hum Log" among our survey

respondents include (1) the popularity of "Hum Log" with its audiences, (2) the relatively low level of clutter experienced by Indian television viewers because there is only one network television channel, and (3) the relatively low media program diversity on Indian television because of limited broadcast hours (six per day).

Chapter 11

IMPLEMENTING THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION STRATEGY ¹

The present dissertation was organized in two parts. The objective of Part I (Chapters 1 to 6) was to review recent experiences worldwide with entertainment-education communication strategies in rock music (Chapter 2), television (Chapter 3), radio (Chapter 4), film, print, and theater (Chapter 5), and Miguel Sabido's soap operas in Mexico (Chapter 6).

In Part II, Chapters 7 to 10, we investigated India's experience with the entertainment-education strategy in the form of the "Hum Log" television series. We discussed the history of "Hum Log's" creation in Chapter 7, our methodology and data-collection procedures to evaluate "Hum Log's" effects in Chapter 8, the tremendous audience involvement in "Hum Log" in Chapter 9, and the intended and unintended effects of "Hum Log" in Chapter 10.

The present chapter summarizes the main points learned to date about implementing the entertainment-education strategy in Third World and Western industrialized

countries, and derives the main lessons that were learned (see Figure 1-1). Ethical dilemmas associated with the use of the entertainment-education communication strategy are also presented.

COMBINING ENTERTAINMENT WITH EDUCATION

Entertainment-educational programs are an emerging genre in mass media programming. Entertainment-education is a performance which captures the interest or attention of an individual, giving pleasure, amusement, or gratification, while simultaneously helping the individual to develop a skill to achieve a particular end by boosting his/her mental, moral, or physical powers. The key idea is to combine entertainment and education so as to obtain certain advantages of each.

While the idea of combining entertainment with education goes as far back as the timeless art of story-telling, "entertainment-education" (or "enter-education") is a relatively new term. Coined in the mid-1980s by the officials of Population Communication Services of the Johns Hopkins University's School of Hygiene and Public Health, the term, "entertainment-education", was proposed to counter a negative trend in Western popular

mass media; that of "degrading" a message to increase its entertainment value in order to achieve a larger audience.

The mass media strategy of entertainment-education has been applied in creating messages for rock music, television, radio, film, print, theater, and other media. So it is quite versatile.

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Rock Music

Patrick Coleman, Deputy Director of Johns Hopkins University's Center for Communication Programs and Project Director of its Population Communication Services (JHU/PCS), pioneered in utilizing the entertainment-education strategy in rock music for promoting sexual responsibility among adolescents in Mexico and the Phillipines, for promoting responsible parenthood in Nigeria, and in various other projects.

The experience of Tatiana and Johnny with the super-hit song "Cuando Estemos Juntos" in Mexico, Lea Salonga and Charlie Masso with the hit song "I Still Believe" in the Philippines, and King Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu with

the super-hit song "Choices" in Nigeria provided evidence of how popular rock music songs can promote sexually responsible behavior, without sacrificing commercial objectives. However, not all such songs are successful in attracting a large audience, as the 1989 experience with Karina and Charlie in Latin America illustrated.

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Television

During the 1980s, television audiences expanded tremendously in Third World countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These millions of new television viewers provide a huge potential audience for development communication. Also, television's audio-visual quality makes it a potentially powerful tool for entertainment-education. However, with few exceptions, much of this potential remains unrealized both in Western industrialized nations and in Third World countries.

In recent years, several Third World countries have created effective "dramatic" entertainment-educational television programs: "Cock Crow at Dawn" and "In a

Lighter Mood" in Nigeria, "Ana Zananna" in Egypt, "Neighbors" in Israel, and others. Miguel Sabido, a creative writer-producer-director at Televisa, Mexico's national network television, pioneered in creating entertainment-educational telenovelas ("television novels"), all of which were audience and commercial successes, and achieved their educational-development goals.

U.S. commercial television broadcasts predominantly entertainment programs because this genre achieves higher audience ratings and maximizes advertising incomes. The "Hollywood lobbyists" try to influence U.S. television producers to raise public conscience about a social issue, often in a single episode. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and its programs like "Sesame Street" are rare exceptions in the generally dismal educational quality of U.S. television programs.

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Radio

Radio's wide reach makes this medium appropriate for carrying entertainment-education messages, especially in Third World countries. Unfortunately, with the rise of

television, most countries have relegated radio to back burner status. In recent years, several radio programs have successfully utilized the entertainment-education communication strategy: The BBC's "The Archers", "Dialogo" in Costa Rica, Elaine Perkins' radio soap operas in Jamaica (including the highly popular family planning radio soap opera, "Naseberry Street"), "Butir-Butir Pasir Di Laut" in Indonesia, "Ushikwapo Shikimana" in Kenya, and others.

The Entertainment-Education Strategy in Film, Print, and Theater

An opportunity exists for the entertainment-educational communication strategy in film, print, and theater. However, box-office receipts and profit motives dominate most commercial film production, and few filmmakers worry about their films' "messages" (as long as they are entertaining). Sarah Pillsbury and Randall Frederick (in the U.S.), John Riber (in Zimbabwe), and Badal Rahman (in Bangladesh) represent a few such individuals among a large pool of filmmakers who have consciously and successfully applied the entertainment-education strategy in film.

The use of the entertainment-education communication strategy in print goes back several thousand years to India, where the Jatakas and Panchtantra provided an entertaining narrative about people, their work, their lives, their relationships, and their codes of conduct. In recent years, comics, comics-type "information design" books, children's storybooks, and even best-selling business executives' books have employed an entertainment-education strategy in order to reach a wider audience with a desired effect.

Further, community theater presentations, street theater performances, pantomime, and traditional art forms (such as the Malian "Koteba") represent a potentially powerful entertainment vehicle with which to address educational-development themes.

Miguel Sabido's Entertainment-Education
Television Soap Operas in Mexico

The roots of the Mexican entertainment-educational telenovelas go back to 1969, when the television soap opera "Simplemente María" was broadcast in Peru. María was a migrant to the capital city of Lima, where she worked as a household maid for a wealthy family, and

learned how to read and write during the evenings. She then climbed the socio-economic ladder of success through her expertise with a Singer sewing machine (Rogers & others, 1989). "Simplemente María" was successful in attracting very high audience ratings, and the sale of Singer sewing machines increased. So did the number of young girls enrolling in sewing and adult literacy classes. When "Simplemente María" was broadcast in other Latin American nations, similar effects happened.

In the mid-1970s, Miguel Sabido, a brilliant television producer and director in Mexico, proved that the lesson taught by "Simplemente María" could be utilized for motivating enrollment in adult literacy classes, for the adoption of family planning, for gender equality, and for other educational issues (Rogers & others, 1989). Sabido's telenovelas (literally "television-novels") were audience rating successes for Televisa, the Mexican television network, and resulted in widespread behavior change by the audience members. In all, Sabido produced seven entertainment-education soap operas in Mexico from 1975 to 1982, one each year.

Miguel Sabido's television soap operas in Mexico were based on several time-tested human communication theories. One such theory was Albert Bandura's social learning theory, which explains how humans learn social behaviors as a result of modeling their behavior after that of others with whom they interact, or that they observe in the mass media (Bandura, 1977). Thus, the entertainment-education strategy utilized in Miguel Sabido's soap operas is not just practically useful, but also of theoretic importance.

Population Communications-International, an organization headquartered in New York City, and led by its President, David Poindexter, played an important role in transferring the entertainment-education strategy from the Mexican "telenovelas" of Miguel Sabido to India, where a television soap opera called "Hum Log" ("We People") was broadcast in 1984-85, and to Kenya, where a television soap opera, "Tushauriane" ("Let's Discuss"), and a radio soap opera, "Ushikwapo Shikimana" ("When Given Advice, Take It"), were broadcast from 1987 to 1989 (Rogers & others, 1989).

INDIA'S EXPERIENCE WITH "HUM LOG"

"Hum Log" was an attempt to blend Doordarshan's stated objectives of providing entertainment to its audience, with promoting pro-social values such as the status of women, family harmony, and smaller family size norms. Broadcast by Doordarshan for 17 months in 1984-85, Hum Log continued for a total of 156 episodes, each lasting 22 minutes. The episodes were in Hindi, the language of North India in which most of Doordarshan's programs are broadcast. At the close of each episode, a famous Hindi film actor, Ashok Kumar, summarized the episode in an epilogue of 60 to 90 seconds, and provided viewers with appropriate guides to action in their lives (Singhal & Rogers, 1988).

The first "Hum Log" episodes earned disappointing ratings. After the first 13 episodes, scriptwriter Joshi gave "Hum Log" a mid-course correction: The family planning theme was diluted, and themes such as the status of women, family harmony, and national integration became central to "Hum Log". A sub-story addressing underworld activities and political corruption was also added, which, while popular with the audience, detracted from the soap opera's major purpose.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. This section outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data, ensuring that all information is up-to-date and reliable.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the implementation of internal controls and risk management strategies. It details the processes for identifying potential risks and developing effective mitigation plans. This section also covers the role of the audit committee in monitoring and evaluating the organization's internal control systems to ensure they are robust and effective.

3. The third part of the document addresses the financial reporting and budgeting processes. It describes how the organization's financial performance is tracked against its budget and how any variances are analyzed and explained. This section also discusses the importance of providing timely and accurate financial information to stakeholders.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the organization's compliance with applicable laws and regulations. It outlines the measures taken to ensure that the organization operates within the legal framework and maintains a strong ethical culture. This section also covers the role of the legal department in providing guidance and support to the organization.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the organization's human resources management and talent development strategies. It outlines the processes for recruiting, hiring, and promoting employees, as well as the various training and development programs offered to support employee growth and performance. This section also covers the organization's commitment to diversity and inclusion.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the organization's environmental, social, and governance (ESG) initiatives. It outlines the organization's commitment to sustainable development and its efforts to address environmental, social, and governance issues. This section also covers the organization's reporting on its ESG performance and its engagement with stakeholders on these issues.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the organization's information technology (IT) systems and data management practices. It outlines the organization's IT strategy and the various systems and applications used to support its operations. This section also covers the organization's data security and privacy policies and its efforts to protect sensitive information.

8. The eighth part of the document discusses the organization's communication and public relations strategies. It outlines the organization's communication goals and the various channels and methods used to engage with stakeholders. This section also covers the organization's public relations efforts and its commitment to transparency and open communication.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the organization's overall performance and future outlook. It provides a summary of the organization's key achievements and challenges over the reporting period and outlines the organization's strategic vision and goals for the future. This section also covers the organization's commitment to continuous improvement and its efforts to stay ahead of the competition.

"Hum Log" rose rapidly in popularity (earning ratings of up to 90 percent in Hindi-speaking North Indian towns and cities), and maintained this high attraction for its audience for the final 15 months of its broadcast.

The plot of "Hum Log" centered around the joys and sorrows of the Rams', a lower-middle class joint family of three generations, typical of many Indian households. Family relationships between grandparents/grandchildren, mother-in-law/daughter-in-law, husband/wife, brother/sister, and parent/child were portrayed. Inter-generational differences in values about status of women, family planning, and family harmony were also addressed.

Methodology and Data-Collection

We used a variety of methods and collected multiple types of data, as we sought to follow a "triangulation" research strategy in determining the effects of "Hum Log". Five types of data were gathered: (1) personal interviews with key officials that were involved in "Hum Log", (2) content analysis of the "Hum Log" scripts, (3) field survey of the television audience in India, (4) content analysis of a sample of viewers' letters written

in response to "Hum Log", and (5) a mailed questionnaire to a sample of our letter-writers.

Social Themes in "Hum Log"

Our content analysis of the 149 episodes of "Hum Log" indicates that the television series addressed many of the important pro-social issues confronting contemporary Indian society: Family harmony, status of women, character and moral development, national integration, family planning, health, problems of urban life, and public welfare services.

Audience Popularity

"Hum Log" was highly popular with Indian audiences. It commanded audience ratings from 65 to 90 percent in North India (a predominantly Hindi-speaking area), and between 20 and 45 percent in the main cities of South India, where Hindi language programs cannot be understood by most television viewers.

Indian television (Doordarshan) received an average of 400 letters a day from "Hum Log" viewers during the 17 months of its broadcast, a total of about 200,000

letters. In addition, another 200,000 letters were received by the "Hum Log" actors and actresses. This viewer outpouring of 400,000 letters is unprecedented in the history of Indian television, and perhaps of television worldwide.

Modeling in "Hum Log"

Our research showed that "Hum Log's" viewers learned pro-social behaviors from those characters whom they perceived as pro-social, and not from those whom they did not perceive as pro-social. In addition, male viewers learned more pro-social behaviors from male "Hum Log" models, younger viewers learned more pro-social behaviors from younger "Hum Log" models, and viewers with low monthly household incomes learned more pro-social behaviors from "Hum Log" models, which makes sense given that the "Hum Log" television family was a low-income family (Singhal, 1988).

Effects of "Hum Log".

Our findings about "Hum Log's" somewhat modest effects fit well with our conceptualization of the hierarchy of media effects (see Table 10-4) (McGuire, 1986 & 1981).

We expected "Hum Log" to create widespread audience exposure, and widespread awareness and information about the message content. Exposure to "Hum Log" broadcasts was less likely to change the audience's attitudes about the status of women and family planning, and even fewer individuals were expected to change their overt behavior.

The "Hum Log" experience in India showed that another nation could successfully follow Mexico's lead, even without the unique talent of Miguel Sabido. Once that point was demonstrated, Kenya and other Third World nations then followed India's lead. So perhaps one of "Hum Log's" greatest impacts may have been to break the temporary log-jam in the early 1980s in the international diffusion of entertainment-education soap operas.

LESSONS LEARNED ABOUT THE ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

As we have shown, the mass media strategy of entertainment-education has been applied in creating messages for rock music, television, radio, film, print, theater, and other media. What general lessons can we

derive about the entertainment-education communication strategy based on worldwide experiences?

1. The mixture of entertainment and educational message content can serve to attract large audiences to the media, and thus earn high profits from advertising and/or sales (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). Education is ordinarily a cost, and often it is a huge and expensive drain on the national exchequer. In comparison, the entertainment-education strategy provides an opportunity for an educational message to pay for itself, and often to yield a profit. Thus the entertainment-education strategy appears to be a "win-win" situation, in which both the educators' goals, and those of commercial media institutions, can be met.

Individuals involved with entertainment-education have often been "winners". For example, the acting career in television and film of Abhinav Chaturvedi was launched by playing the role of "Nanhe" in the Indian television soap opera, "Hum Log". Tatiana's singing career greatly benefited by her 1986 hit song "Cuando Estemos Juntos". This song was on top of the popular music charts in Mexico within six weeks of its release, and it stayed number one for over three months. It sold over 500,000

copies in Mexico. Tatiana was then a 16-year old singer in the early stages of her musical career. In a similar way, Lea Salonga's musical career was greatly advanced by her highly popular song "I Still Believe" in the Philippines.

Even with the help of considerable financial resources, formative evaluation, talented music writers and singers, and extensive promotion, each song implementing the entertainment-education strategy cannot be assured of success. The relative successes to date in Mexico, the Philippines, and Nigeria, however, suggest that the above factors are important in contributing to these successes. Certainly one can conclude that the educational message need not seriously impede the entertainment effectiveness of a popular song. A parallel conclusion seems evident in the case of entertainment-education radio and television soap operas in Mexico, India, Kenya, Jamaica, and Indonesia.

2. Entertainment-education communication cannot make the educational content too blatant or hard-sell, or else the audience will reject such messages (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). How much education should be included in an entertainment-education message? No hard-and-fast

rule is available, but experiences to date suggest that the educational content can be overemphasized to the point of turning off the intended audience. The educational theme must be woven into the entertainment message in a subtle way, without seeking to indoctrinate or dogmatize (Rogers & others, 1989).

Most educational media messages are relatively dull and dispassionate (for example, most educational television programs). But when the educational content is embedded in an entertainment context, the result can help break down audience resistances to the educational content. For example, the Indian public had become resistant to government communication messages about family planning by 1984, but after some serious difficulties with low ratings in the first 13 episodes of "Hum Log", this television soap opera attracted a then-record television viewing audience in India (the amount of family planning content in the soap opera was toned down considerably after the first 13 episodes, but family planning still represented 6 percent of the total content). Some critics of "Hum Log" in India, however, claim the family planning content was deemphasized too much. For example, a lengthy underworld sub-plot was included in

the later episodes of "Hum Log", which may have built and maintained television ratings, but which had little bearing on the educational purpose.

On the other hand, it is possible that the entertainment aspect of a mass communication message can create resistances to the entertainment-education strategy. For instance, "Don't Rush Me," the first attempt at entertainment-education via television in Kenya (which predated the broadcasting of "Tushauriane" by about six months), was abortive because the first episodes showed a bedroom scene involving an adolescent girl and an older "sugar daddy". The resulting uproar from national legislators in Kenya led to a cancellation of the television series. By creating too much controversy, the entertainment dimension of this television soap opera destroyed the educational effects regarding teenage pregnancy that its designers had intended it to have.

Television can also be used to educate young viewers without making the educational content subtle, and still attract large audiences. For instance, "Sesame Street" makes little effort to disguise its educational content (Lesser, 1974). A caveat in the case of "Sesame Street"

might be that while preschoolers and young children may be relatively less discriminating in selecting their television fare, adults might be more easily turned off by an overtly-educational program.

3. Use of the entertainment-education strategy in mass communication is much more effective in creating knowledge of an educational issue than it is in changing overt behavior regarding the issue (Singhal & Rogers, 1989b). In thinking about the effects of the entertainment-educational strategy, it is useful to consider a hierarchy of effects (McGuire, 1981). Typically, we expect an entertainment-education message like rock music or a soap opera or a comic book to inform a considerable portion of the intended audience about the educational issue (such as family planning, female equality, adult literacy, or AIDS prevention), while only a very small percent of the target audience (perhaps only 1 or 2 percent) will change their overt behavior (such as by adopting a family planning method). But this 1 or 2 percent of the target audience may constitute a large number of people. For example, 1 to 2 percent of "Hum Log's" audience amounts to from 600,000 to 1.2 million people.

As previously suggested (in Table 10-4), different research methods may be relatively most effective for gathering data about effects at each of the levels in the hierarchy of effects. For example, an audience survey may be utilized to measure the degree to which individuals are informed about the educational message, but point-of-referral monitoring data (such as might be gathered from new clients in a family planning clinic) are more effective for measuring actual behavioral change. Such relatively "harder" data are more likely to be convincing to the policy-makers who are involved in decisions about entertainment-education projects. Point-of-referral data were gathered in research on the effects of Lea Salonga and Charlie Masso's "I Still Believe" song in the Philippines, and on the effects of the Nigerian television variety show "In a Lighter Mood".

4. By combining entertainment with educational content, the entertainment-education strategy can appeal to the emotions (thus influencing attitudes and perhaps overt behavior) of audience members, as well as to the intellects of audience members. At the heart of understanding the process of the effects of

entertainment-education messages (especially Miguel Sabido's soap operas in Mexico) are human communication theories. For instance, Albert Bandura's social learning theory states that individuals can be influenced by the positive and negative role models for a certain behavior that are depicted in the media. For example, Scattershot is a sexually irresponsible male character in the Jamaican radio soap opera "Naseberry Street". It is possible that some male audience members might mimic this negative role model (George, 1990). However, the designers of entertainment-education messages who follow social learning theory are careful to punish their negative role models (like Scattershot) and reward the positive role models. Also, in Miguel Sabido's soap operas, certain of the negative role models are converted to become positive role models during the broadcast of the television soap opera.

5. The effects of using the entertainment-education strategy are increased when the entertainment-education strategy is accompanied by supplementary messages to form an integrated communication campaign (Singhal & Rogers, 1989c). What is a campaign? A communication campaign (1) intends to generate specific outcomes or effects, (2) in a relatively large number of

individuals, (3) within a specified period of time, and (4) through an organized set of communication activities (Rogers & Storey, 1987). The rock songs promoting sexual responsibility among teenagers in Mexico and in the Philippines were accompanied by print and broadcast advertisements, personal appearances by the singers, label buttons urging "Say No to Sex," posters, and a telephone ("Dial-A-Friend") hotline. These attempts at behavior change consisted of a coordinated communication campaign, rather than just a song featuring lyrics with an educational message.

6. Repetition of the educational content in an entertainment-educational message is important in achieving its desired educational effects (Singhal & Rogers, 1989b). Compared to the results of most communication research on a single message (which typically finds only minimal effects), studies of the effects of entertainment-education messages show they have considerable effects. Why? One main reason is repetition. A television soap opera that is broadcast for one hour per day, five days a week, for a year or more, represents massive exposure for a regular viewer

of the program. Similarly, a super-hit song like "Cuando Estemos Juntos" was played by the typical Mexican radio station 14 times per day for the three or four months of the song's peak popularity! In comparison, a regular hit song like "Detente" was played only five times per day by the typical radio station in Mexico. Research indicated that the intended message of the two songs was correctly identified by the target audience, and they could remember the lyrics several months later (Kincaid & others, 1988)

Unlike a single-shot message which if once missed is lost forever, a soap opera or a rock music campaign provides several opportunities for the message to "connect" with its target audience. The effects produced by a single-shot message are vastly different from effects produced by repeated persuasive messages (Bradac, Hopper, & Wiemann, 1989). We know from psychological research that heavy repetition of a message results in it being stored in an individual's longterm memory (Cacioppo & Petty, 1985). Thus an entertainment-educational message is more likely to effect overt behavior change over time, and to maintain the changed behavior.

The effects of heavy repetition of entertainment-educational messages in Third World nations, as compared to a single episode approach utilized in most U.S. television series, helps one understand why the latter probably have very small effects (although very little evaluation research has been conducted on the effects of the Hollywood single episode approach). In 1988-89 the "designated driver" message (which is intended to combat traffic deaths due to drunken driving) was injected into 77 U.S. prime-time television series. The Harvard University's School of Public Health conducted audience research with a national sample of adults to determine the effects of the designated driver campaign in the United States, and found modest effects (Winsten, 1990).

7. Use of the entertainment-education strategy can "fail by succeeding" if an adequate infrastructure for providing services does not accompany the mass media messages (Singhal & Rogers, 1989b). In Mexico in 1976, an episode of the telenovela "Ven Conmigo" announced the location of a government warehouse in Mexico City where free literacy booklets were available. Unfortunately, the demand exceeded the ability of the warehouse staff to provide the literacy booklets, and a huge traffic jam

resulted. Similarly, when the Mexican telenovela "Acompañame" was rebroadcast in Peru in 1979, it still contained the telephone numbers and street addresses of family planning clinics in Mexico City. The result was puzzlement and frustration on the part of this telenovela's audience in Peru. In the Philippines, thousands of young people reported trying to call a telephone hot-line advertised in television spots, but were not able to get past a busy signal.

On certain occasions, however, a mass media message may help create the needed infrastructure of services. "Hum Log" encouraged the signing of eye-donation cards in India in 1985, when one episode showed a policeman who needed an operation to restore his eyesight. One viewer, the president of a youth club, was galvanized by this television soap opera to sign up five thousand eye-donors.

8. The use of formative evaluation in designing an entertainment-educational message contributes to its increased effectiveness (Singhal & Rogers, 1989b). 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

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all business transactions. It emphasizes the need for a systematic approach to bookkeeping, including the use of journals and ledgers. The text also touches upon the significance of regular audits and the role of accountants in ensuring the integrity of financial data.

In the second section, the author explores various methods for cost accounting and budgeting. It provides a detailed look at how businesses can track their expenses and allocate resources effectively. The discussion includes practical examples and formulas to illustrate the concepts.

The third part of the document focuses on the legal aspects of business finance. It covers topics such as the formation of partnerships, the responsibilities of shareholders, and the implications of different business structures. The author provides clear explanations of the legal requirements and offers advice on how to navigate these complexities.

The fourth section delves into the intricacies of tax law as it applies to businesses. It discusses the various tax obligations, including income tax, sales tax, and property tax. The author provides a comprehensive overview of the tax code, highlighting key provisions and offering strategies for minimizing tax liability. This section is particularly useful for business owners who need to stay up-to-date on the latest tax regulations.

In the fifth part, the author examines the role of insurance in protecting a business's assets and liability. It discusses different types of insurance policies, such as general liability, professional liability, and property insurance. The text provides a clear understanding of the coverage options available and the importance of having adequate insurance to safeguard the business against unforeseen risks.

The sixth section discusses the importance of financial ratios and analysis in evaluating a business's performance. It explains how various ratios, such as the current ratio and the debt-to-equity ratio, can provide valuable insights into the company's financial health. The author provides a step-by-step guide to calculating these ratios and interpreting the results.

The seventh part of the document focuses on the importance of cash flow management for the success of a business. It discusses the various factors that can affect cash flow, such as accounts receivable and accounts payable. The author provides practical tips and techniques for improving cash flow, including the use of credit terms and the implementation of effective collection procedures.

In the final section, the author discusses the importance of staying informed about the latest trends and developments in the business world. It emphasizes the need for continuous learning and professional development. The text provides a list of resources, including books, articles, and online courses, that can help business owners stay ahead of the curve.

effectiveness (Rogers, 1986, p. 193). Accumulated communication research-based knowledge is incorporated, along with "feedforward" data about the campaign's audience. This formative evaluation strategy brings communication scientists and communication practitioners together (as happened in the design of "Cuando Estemos Juntos" in Mexico), rather than creating a tension between them, as when communication scholars simply tell practitioners (on a post hoc basis) that their campaign failed. The audience success of the children's television series "Sesame Street" is attributed largely to the program's extensive system of formative evaluation.

While formative and summative evaluation are crucial in determining the success of the entertainment-education strategy, they cost money and involve large amounts of time (often several years). So the point at which the cost of formative and summative evaluation outweighs the advantages accrued by each must be carefully determined.

9. Entertainment-education communication suffers if there is not enough time to incorporate research results into production processes (Mendelsohn, 1971). For example, once he was convinced to create an

entertainment-education television soap opera for Indian television, S.S. Gill, Secretary in the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, created "Hum Log" in such a rush that a values analysis of Indian society could not be completed. Instead, a report on Indian family values prepared by Dr. S.C. Dube, a noted Indian social anthropologist, was provided to scriptwriter Joshi as a guidepost in designing "Hum Log". For an entertainment-education strategy to have maximum impact, a detailed, time-ordered production plan should be established, which takes into account expected and unexpected contingencies.

10. Collaboration between creative professionals and social science researchers is essential for a successful entertainment-education strategy. The collaboration between JHU/PCS public health officials, communication researchers, and the creative professionals of Fuentes y Fomento Intercontinentales (FFI), a Mexican music marketing and production company, was an important part of the success of "Cuando Estemos Juntos" and "Detente". Such cordial collaboration between creative producers and social science researchers was also typical of the "Sesame Street" production team. Yet social science jargon is generally "remote, dull, difficult to grasp,

and ultimately threatening to a creative person" (Mendelsohn, 1969; 1971). On the other hand, a creative person's "because-I-feel-this-is-right" rationale is often distressing to social scientists. While it is important that social scientists and creative professionals accept and appreciate each other's unique role in creating entertainment-education, the task of fostering mutual trust and cooperation can be challenging.

11. A delicate balance between creativity and research is needed in producing entertainment-education programs.

Clearly, one must guard against a research "overkill". As pointed out previously, scrutinizing every moment of a program could become analogous to analyzing every element of a joke, only to find there is nothing to laugh about (Mielke & Swinehart, 1976).

12. Start-up costs for entertainment-educational programs are usually very high, and considerable start-up time is required. Creating the first-year broadcasts of "Sesame Street" cost \$7 million, and took 18 months of research and production time. In India, the successor family planning/status of women television

serial to "Hum Log", "Hum Rahi" has been on the drawing boards for over three years. It might be several more months before "Hum Rahi" begins its broadcasts. However once begun, the relatively detailed production planning of entertainment-education programs, could utilize resources in a more efficient manner.

13. Entertainment-educational television programs offer tremendous economies of scale in delivering messages to target audiences. For example, the cost of reaching each preschool child via "Sesame Street" is less than one cent per child per viewing hour (Lesser, 1974). The cost of reaching one audience member per episode of "Hum Log" came to 0.02 cents (U.S.).

14. When creating an entertainment-education communication strategy in a Third World country or in a Western industrialized country, one must keep in mind that mass media content is strongly shaped by economic and political realities (Montgomery, 1989). The discontinuance of the family planning television soap opera "Tushauriane" in Kenya represents an example of how politics got in the way of Kenya's most popular television program. In the U.S., one failure of "Sesame Street" has been that it did not inspire commercial

network television to broadcast similar entertainment-educational programs.

15. Entertainment-education communication strategies are most successful when public health officials, broadcast media officials, development planners, religious organizations, commercial sponsors, and other involved parties work collaboratively. Miguel Sabido insisted that a written agreement be drawn and signed by all concerned institutions before the production of one family planning soap opera began. Such an agreement created consensus between participating organizations, and facilitated coordination of the public service infrastructure. For example, the success of Sabido's "Acompañame" can be attributed to the cooperation between Mexican government officials, family planning organizations, the Catholic Church, Televisa (the Mexican national television network), and the development infrastructure of government clinics.

16. A great deal of personal contact by leaders of an external organization with national leaders over several years is usually necessary to successfully transfer the entertainment-education mass media strategy to a country (Singhal & Rogers, 1989b). For example, David O.

Poindexter, President of Population Communications-International, shuttled for several years between New York, Mexico, New Delhi, and Nairobi before "Hum Log" (in India) and "Tushauriane" (in Kenya) saw the light of day. This extensive personal contact must be maintained for the entertainment-education strategy to take hold. Johns Hopkins University helped transfer the idea of "Cuando Estemos Juntos" from Mexico to the Philippines in the form of "I Still Believe". Not all transfers of the entertainment-education communication strategy are successful. For example, the songs of Karina and Charlie in Mexico, based on Lea Salonga and Charlie Masso's previous songs in the Philippines, met with only a lukewarm audience response.

The entertainment-education strategy may also be developed locally, for example, the work of Miguel Sabido in Mexico, Elaine Perkins in Jamaica, and Mohammed Fadel in Egypt. So the strategy has often been independently invented.

17. Several champions in a nation must become interested in an entertainment-education mass medium, and put the weight of their position behind the idea, for it to be

carried forward into action. So ultimately the success of an entertainment-education project depends on committed local leadership. The entertainment-education strategy is still regarded as rather daring by many national government officials, and they must be willing to accept the risks that often accompany such an innovative idea.

ETHICAL DILEMMAS

The use of the entertainment-education communication strategy to promote national development presents several ethical dilemmas with which communication scholars, mass media officials, and national policy-makers need to wrestle (Brown & Singhal, 1990). Ethics is a branch of philosophy which studies the principles of right or wrong in human conduct. Given that 5 billion people (almost the entire global population) presently consume some form of modern and/or traditional communication media, the ethical dilemma becomes complicated. While the use of the entertainment-education communication strategy is rising in Third World countries and elsewhere, scholarly literature on media ethics is severely limited. Existing

research focuses mainly on the ethics of news-gathering and reporting (Cooper, 1988).

Ethical communication is one which upholds and protects an individual's freedom, equality, dignity, and physical and psychological well-being (Brown & Singhal, 1990). If the communication media fail to uphold and protect basic human values, or if they limit people's access to resources for their basic needs, then it is used unethically.

The entertainment-education communication strategy presents four important ethical dilemmas: (1) the pro-social content dilemma, that is, how to distinguish pro-social from anti-social content; (2) the socio-cultural equality dilemma, that is, how to ensure that the pro-social media uphold socio-economic equality among viewers; (3) the unintended effects dilemma, that is, how to respond to the unintended consequences of pro-social media, and (4) the pro-social development dilemma, that is, how to respond to those who argue it is unethical to use media as a persuasive tool to guide national development (Brown & Singhal, 1990).

The Pro-Social Content Dilemma

The pro-social content dilemma is manifest in the ethical question: "Who will decide for whom what is pro-social and what is not?" In most Third World nations, including those broadcasting entertainment-education programs, the national government usually decides what is pro-social. History tells us of several national governments which have abused the media to promote anti-social beliefs and behaviors, and also about other national governments which have used the media ethically and responsibly for pro-social purposes.

Unfortunately, the assurance that the media will be used for pro-social purposes is not any greater in nations where the responsibility for pro-social media is left to television producers and commercial advertisers, rather than to national governments. Such a responsibility shift creates problems for television producers and advertisers who usually avoid addressing controversial social and educational issues (Montgomery, 1989). For instance, U.S. television networks have opposed until recently the broadcast of condom advertisements, even though they depict numerous sexual acts on television

every day (Lowry & Towles, 1989). The reconciliation of pro-social media messages in free market economies like the U.S. (where television systems are commercially driven) is in itself a possible ethical dilemma (Brown & Singhal, 1990).

The Socio-Cultural Equality Dilemma

A second ethical dilemma in using the entertainment-education communication strategy concerns the problem of ensuring socio-cultural equality, that is, providing an equal treatment on television of various social and cultural groups. Socio-cultural equality means regarding each social and cultural group with the same value or importance (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 5). In nations with a high degree of homogeneity, there is a high degree of consensus regarding a society's normative beliefs and behaviors. In Japan, where cultural homogeneity is 99 percent, people have less problems agreeing on what is pro-social than do people in the U.S., where the homogeneity index is perhaps 50 percent (Kurian, 1979).

Ensuring socio-cultural equality through pro-social television is especially important and problematic in

such socio-culturally diverse countries as India. While the "Hum Log" television series confronted viewers' traditional beliefs about women's status in Indian society, the viewers' ethnicity, linguistic background, and gender were found to be significant determinants of beliefs about gender equality (Brown, 1988; Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). The subservience of women is considered to be socially and culturally appropriate by many Indian households, but not by all. So television's treatment of all viewers as socio-culturally "equal" in India is an ethical dilemma.

The Unintended Effects Dilemma

A third ethical dilemma brought about by the use of the entertainment-education communication strategy is the problem of unintended effects. Social development is a complex phenomenon whose consequences are not always predictable. Undesirable and unintended consequences can result from the diffusion of pro-social messages. Reluctance to condom ads on U.S. television, demonstrates how a fear of unintended consequences can discourage broadcasts of pro-social content. Many fear that media messages intending to promote sexual responsibility might encourage sexual promiscuity

instead (Brown & Singhal, 1990). When the present author showed the Tatiana and Johnny music videotape to a 1990 media effects class at the University of California at Los Angeles, pointing out how successful the rock music campaign was in persuading teenagers to say "no" to sex, a student replied: "I thought it said 'yes' to sex".

The Pro-Social Development Dilemma

Even if a society agrees on a set of pro-social beliefs and practices, can maintain a reasonable degree of socio-cultural equality, and can control unintended effects of pro-social television, is it ethical to use the entertainment-education strategy as a persuasive tool to guide social development?

Scholars argue that it is virtually impossible to produce "value-free" or "socially innocuous" entertainment programs (Thoman, 1989). The idea that persuasive communication is unethical and therefore should be avoided denies the reality of what past research indicates. For instance, television persuades people; how much, is debatable. Even if 1 percent of a population is persuaded to change a belief or behavior on account of watching television, that is still an

important change. Persuasive communication can not, and should not, be eliminated in a democratic society (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987, p. 14). Therefore, arguing that it is unethical to use television to promote pro-social beliefs and behaviors seems unreasonable and inconsistent with democratic freedom.

However, unequivocal promotion of an entertainment-education communication strategy for development can also represent an untenable ethical position. When disagreement exists about the "rightness" or "wrongness" of certain media message, it becomes obvious that what is considered to be "pro-social" by a group of people (whether that group represents the majority of a population or the highest court of the land), should not be uncritically promoted on the media. Whether or not it is ethical to produce entertainment-education depends on a number of factors, including the nature of the belief or behavior being promoted, who decides the pro-social status of a certain belief or behavior, and what effects the promotion of a certain belief or behavior are likely to have on an audience.

Thus the ethics of using entertainment-education as a persuasive tool for development is inextricably

intertwined with the three other ethical dilemmas that we previously discussed (Brown & Singhal, 1990).

CONCLUSIONS

The entertainment-education strategy represents a commercially viable communication strategy to promote education-development in Third World countries, as well as in Western industrialized countries. But as mass media audiences expand in Third World countries, and as the number of pro-social programs increase, an understanding of these ethical dilemmas associated with the entertainment-education strategy becomes crucially important.

It makes little sense to purposefully discourage the production of entertainment-education programs, despite the ethical dilemmas associated with their effects. If media consumers are unhappy with the content of entertainment-education programs, they must participate in determining the content that they desire. The entertainment-education communication strategy can improve the quality of people's lives, but a determination of its content cannot be made by commercial sponsors and television networks, who usually

avoid pro-social content, or by government officials who arbitrarily decide what is pro-social and what is not. The ethical use of mass media must be based upon the imperative of protecting people's freedom, equality, dignity, and physical and psychological well-being.

The ethical dilemmas of the entertainment-education communication strategy, ultimately, must be decided by the audience. But when will that happen?

NOTES

1. The present chapter draws directly from Rogers & others (1989); Singhal & Rogers (1989), and Brown & Singhal (1990).

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APPENDICES

- Appendix A: English Lyrics to the Song "Quando Estemos Juntos" ("When We are Together").
- Appendix B: English Lyrics to the Song "Detente" ("Stop")
- Appendix C: Lyrics of "That Situation", Sung by Lea Salonga and the Menudo
- Appendix D: Lyrics of "I Still Believe", Sung by Lea Salonga and Charlie Masso
- Appendix E: Lyrics of "Choices", Sung by King Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu.

Appendix A

English Lyrics to the Song "Quando Estemos Juntos"

("When We Are Together")

Johnny: When we cross the park walking hand in hand,
When we daydream, awaiting the day when we will no
longer be apart. You always tell me to wait, that it
still is not the moment to give ourselves completely,
I know you are right when you say no, my heart tells me
so.

Tatiana: When our moment comes, we can love each other
without setting limits, then we will discover the most
beautiful things that life can offer. I don't want us to
regret having lived an adventure. You will see that I'm
right when I say no, although my heart is burning.

Duet: When we are together, two springtimes will
enlighten our world and there will be more time for
love. There will be plenty of time to love each other,
and we can give our children the best moments of our
love.

Appendix A

Continued.

Johnny: Whenever I am at your side, I forget everything. I don't understand reasons, for when I kiss your lips, I feel your emotions tremble in my arms. Yet you tell me to wait, that its not the moment to give ourselves completely.

Tatiana: You will see that I am right when I say no, although my heart is burning.

Source: Kincaid & others (1988).

Appendix B

English lyrics to the song "Detente" ("Stop")

Johnny: Listen how our heart beats, listen as it beats rapidly.

Tatiana: Stop.

Johnny: Feel how the great love grows, feel how everything shakes.

Tatiana: Stop.

Johnny: I can't wait, I can't wait, I want you in my arms, I want to love you.

Tatiana: Let's love step by step, let's love step by step. Stop.

Johnny: I can't. I understand you. Tatiana: Try it drop by drop, it will taste better. Try it drop by drop and plant the seed.

Johnny: I don't want to. We will do it.

Tatiana: You don't have to run, you don't have to run. Love on the run is love to be lost.

Chorus: Stop.

Duet: Let's not love at the wrong moment.

Chorus: Stop.

Duet: Later to regret.

Appendix B

Continued.

Chorus: Produces

Duet: Children of only bread and water.

Chorus: Love on the run produces children of bread and water.

Duet: Produces children [Tatiana] without love, with nothing.

Appendix C

Lyrics of "That Situation", Sung by
Lea Salonga and the Menudo

There's so much in life, that we would like to do.
We can wait for love, until we know it's true.
It's up to us, not to jump into that situation.
I'm too young, not ready yet, I've got so much to do.

Got to take it step by step, it's best for me and you.
It's up to us, not to jump into that situation.
Let's take it easy, one step at a time.
Why should we risk it, our future's on the line.

It's up to us, not to get into that situation.
Is this what, what we want, is it worth risking.
All we have ahead to do, let's not make that mistake.
We're gonna be all right, if we choose to wait.

Source: Kincaid & others, 1988.

Appendix D

Lyrics of "I Still Believe", Sung by Lea
Salonga and Charlie Masso

Charlie: I suddenly feel so alive.

Lea: I know that we're meant for each other.

Duet: 'Coz I still believe in love at first sight.

I don't think it's right to need me just for a lonely
night. And if our love will stand the test of time,
baby, you and me, we'll play it right.

Charlie: I'm willing to wait for a while.

Lea: Wait and see, what our love can be.

Duet: 'Coz I still believe in love at first sight.

I don't think it's right to need me just for a lonely
night. And if our love will stand the test of time,
baby, you and me, we'll play it right.

Source: Johns Hopkins University/Population
Communication Services.

Appendix E

Lyrics of "Choices", Sung by King Sunny Ade
and Onyeka Onwenu

Choices
Choices
Choices
We can make the choice

This is the time
When we have to make a choice
Take a stand
On the kind of world we want
Is it love with peace of mind
Or children we are not prepared for?

We can make that choice
I want you
And I know you want me too
That's a natural way to be for you and me
But love has its rewards
And responsibility
Let us love with care

You know
making love is beautiful
But don't forget
You can make children sometimes
When you don't want to
Yes we shouldn't make children
We cannot take care of
There are ways of making love
Without making children

That's (Family Planning).

This is the time
When we have to make a choice
Take a stand
On the kind of world we want
Is it love with peace of mind
Or children we are not prepared for?

**Appendix E
Continued.**

We can make that choice
I love you
And I know you love me too
I know you'll understand
When I make my choice
let's work it out together
I know we can
Let us love with care

Choices
Choices
Choices
We can make the choice

Source: Johns Hopkins University/Population
Communication Services