Chapter 2

Review of Literature
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REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The issue of how entertainment was being defined in relation to education among audience members had always been a basis for contemplation. Someone said that the job of a teacher was that of a job of entertainer and therefore the issue could arise as to whether all entertainment could have intrinsic educational value. On the contrary, was all education entertaining? The thought occurred was, sure, good entertainment could take people to where they had not been before and that had educational value. Hence, presented in this chapter had been an account of programmes from India and from around the world that assayed to provide good entertainment. These programmes tried to take viewers where they had not been before. Some of the programmes were more educational in nature than other programmes, rendering more information and education driven content while other programmes laid emphasis on social education than formal education with entertainment approach, of course. However, to understand edutainment and infotainment phenomena, it would be a prerequisite to enliven in concise how television sojourned in India and overseas.

INDIAN DIASPORA

Television first came to India named as ‘Doordarshan’ (DD) as the National Television Network of India. The first telecast started on Sept 15, 1959 in New Delhi. After a gap of about 13 years, second television station was established in Bombay in 1972 and by 1975 there were five more television stations at Shrinagar (Kashmir), Amritsar (Punjab), Calcutta, Madras and Lucknow. For many years, the transmission was mainly in black and white. Television industry got the necessary boost in the eighties when Doordarshan introduced colour television during the 1982 Asian Games (http://www.indiatelevision.com/indianbroadcast/History/Historyoftele.htm). The second phase of growth was witnessed in the early nineties and during the gulf war. This was followed by spurt in foreign channel like CNN, Star TV and domestic channels such as
Zee TV and Sun TV as they started broadcast of satellite signal. This changed the scenario and people got the opportunity to watch regional, national and international programmes. Starting with 41 sets in 1962 and one channel (Audience Research unit, 1991), television in India covered more than 70 million homes (http://www.indiantelevision.com). Easy accessibility of relevant technology, variety of programmes and increased hour of transmission had been main reasons for rapid expansion of television system in India.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES AND INDIA – TOWARDS ONE SUCH EDUTAINMENT AND INFOTAINMENT APPROACH

Presented here had been a brief account of details, which highlighted how edutainment and infotainment approach began through educational programmes and was integrated in general entertainment programmes by way of social education.

SECONDARY SCHOOL TELEVISION PROJECT (1961)

This project was designed for the secondary school students of Delhi with an aim to improve the standard of teaching in view of shortage of laboratories, space, equipment and dearth of qualified teachers in Delhi. This project started on experimental basis in October 1961 for teaching of Physics, Chemistry, English and Hindi for students of Class XI. The lectures were syllabus-based and were telecasted in school hours as a part of school activities. According to Paul (1968) ‘by and large, the television schools did somewhat better in the test then did the non-television schools’.

DELHI AGRICULTURE TELEVISION PROJECT (DATV OR KRISHI DARSHAN 1966)

The project named Krishi Darshan was initiated on January 26, 1966 for communicating agricultural information to the farmers on experimental basis. The project was for the 80 selected villages of Union territory of Delhi through community viewing of television and further discussions among themselves. Experiment was successful and that there was
substantial gain in the information regarding agricultural practices (http://tojde.anadolu.edu.tr/tojde8/articles/educationaltv.htm).

**SATELLITE INSTRUCTIONAL TELEVISION EXPERIMENT (SITE 1975)**

In 1975, the government carried out first test of the possibilities of satellite based television through the ‘Satellite Instructional Television Experiment’ (SITE) programmes. The great visionary scientist Dr. Vikram Sarabhai advocated use of satellite communication to reach out to remote areas. To him, it was a system for social transformation for the underprivileged. This path-breaking step was the conduct of ‘Satellite Instructional Television Experiment’ (SITE) by Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO) with the help of an American Satellite ATS-6. It had been acclaimed as one of the biggest socio-technical communication experiment in the world (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satellite_Instructional_Television_Experiment).

The ‘Satellite Instructional Television Experiment’ (SITE) programmes beamed to the villages contained information on agriculture, animal husbandry, dairy, poultry, health and hygiene, family planning, education, national integration, teachers’ training and other development related issues. The entertainment aspect was also taken into consideration by using various folk-forms and programme elements.

Thus, ‘Satellite Instructional Television Experiment’ (SITE) marked an important landmark in the history of television. Launched on 1st August 1975, it was a one-year experiment to see if television, imaginatively used, could play a role in socio economic development. Under the ‘SITE’ programmes, reception sets were given in 2400 village in six states. The programmes were broadcasted for about four hours a day – two and half-hours in the evening for general audience, one and half-hour in the morning on school days (http://www.isro.org/decu/projects/SITE.htm). The criteria for choosing villages for reception of ‘SITE’ programmes had been backwardness, common agro-socio-economic conditions and availability of infrastructure and probability of their continuing to receive
television programmes from other local transmitters. These were mostly remote villages cut away from the main stream of economic activity.

In the formulation of programmes for ‘SITE’, basic objectives were to ensure that television was utilized for social change and national cohesion. The programmes catered in school and out of school education with priority for primary education. ‘SITE’ focused attention on primary and pre-primary groups. The programmes were not syllabus-oriented, but it was seen that they widened child’s horizon and familiarized him with things around him (Agrawal and Malek, 1986).

Moreover, India became one of the first developing countries to experiment with the satellite television, when in 1975-76 it launched the ‘Satellite Instructional Television Experiment’ (SITE). The key lesson learned was that engaging television programmes produced in local languages, which were relevant to the needs and aspirations of people were in demand. It was found during ‘SITE’ that though viewers enjoyed entertainment programmes; there was also considerable demand for instructional programmes (Agrawal and Malek, 1986).

During ‘SITE’, feedback was collected from villages everyday to assess the interest, need, utility and comprehension of the television programmes. The study indicated that information programmes on agriculture and health was rated higher than the entertainment programmes on aspects like interest, need, utility and comprehension (http://tojde.anadolu.edu.tr/tojde8/articles/educationaltv.htm).

LESSONS LEARNED FROM SITE PROGRAMMES

• The experiment was considered as a learning experience to design, produce and telecast relevant educational and developmental programmes. The programmes were on widely spread areas with different problems and languages, on a time sharing mode, using a single broadcast channel.
• Many of the viewers of ‘SITE’ programmes were first generation mass media participants in the sense that they were never exposed to radio, newspapers or cinema before. Most of the first generation mass media participants were illiterate and came from the poorer sections of the rural society. ‘SITE’ was more effective than all other media in attracting female audience.

• The experiment was particularly successful in focused programmes such as those involving teacher training and training of field workers. As many as 50,000 rural teachers were exposed during ‘SITE’ to a multimedia package for training in teaching of science and mathematics.

• A number of lessons were learnt on efficacy of various types of programmes. The lessons were learnt about use of inexpensive portable equipments for decentralized participatory programme production and about problems of programming in situations where rural and urban audience was mixed.

• **Instructional programmes were preferred in comparison to entertainment programmes.** (Agrawal and Malek, 1986)

**Kheda Communication Project (KCP 1975)**

Inspired by the lessons learned from ‘SITE’, ‘Kheda Communication Project’ (KCP) was a decentralized experiment in community-based television. The ‘Kheda Communication Project’, earlier a part of ‘SITE’, was conceived to provide information to rural television viewers. Communication research played a vital role in making the Kheda system responsive. The ‘team-mode’ of production, an approach of emphasized participation and involvement of the audience had made ‘KCP’ unique.

‘KCP’ was an attempt to use television for communicating educational and development messages to those people of Kheda district who did not have any sort of media support or exposure. Programmes were made on agriculture, animal husbandry, health, education, social issues, family welfare and so on (http://www.isro.gov.in/decu/projects/mKCP.htm).
SOME OF THE NOTABLE PROGRAMMES OF KCP

Have Na Saheva Paap:

This was a serial of separate episodes against injustice and sufferings of people of scheduled castes and tribes. The serial was designed as a part of the programme campaign on television for oppressed. In each programme, a real case study was identified; actual interviews were recorded and real incidents were dramatized in a fiction form to conceal real identities of the victims.

Daad-Fariyaad:

Through this programme, villagers had raised questions, complaints, explanations and demands publicly. Decision makers and villagers had assembled on a common platform to discuss and dissolve the matter. The concerned authorities through the programme tried to answer problems by either providing solution or ensuring necessary action in the matter.

Tamara TV Maate Tame Lakho:

This series of programmes were a sincere effort to encourage Kheda village writers to write on topics concerned to them. The scripts written by these writers were later on produced in drama and documentary formats. It helped producers to sensitize audience and to produce authentic programmes with active participation from village artists and writers (Agrawal, 1981).

THE POST SITE PROJECT (1977)

The target group for this post ‘SITE’ project was villagers of Rajasthan. This was a ‘SITE’ continuity project and was initiated in March 1977 when a terrestrial transmitter was commissioned at Jaipur. The main objectives of ‘SITE’ continuity project were to
familiarize rural masses with the improved and scientific know how about farming, with the use of fertilizers and with the maintenance of health and hygiene. The other objectives were to bring about national and emotional integration; and to make rural children aware of the importance of education and healthy environment. This project was also successful in achieving its objectives.

**INDIAN NATIONAL SATELLITE PROJECT (1982)**

‘Indian National Satellite Project’ (INSAT) was making the rural masses aware of the latest developments in the areas of agricultural productivity, health and hygiene. It was initially targeted at villagers and their school-going children of selected villages in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh (IGNOU, 2000). As part of ‘INSAT’ education project, ‘Educational Television’ (ETV) broadcasts were inaugurated and continued through terrestrial transmission from 15th August 1982 in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Later, other states namely Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh were covered under ‘INSAT’ service using INSAT-1B in June 1983. In each state, a cluster of three to four districts were selected based on backwardness of the area, availability of suitable developmental infrastructure and utilization of existing production facilities (IGNOU, 2000).

Besides developmental programmes for community viewing, educational programmes (ETV) for two different age groups of schoolchildren (5-8 years and 9-11 years) were telecasted daily. A capsule of 45 minutes duration consisting of two separate programmes - one for the lower age group and the other for the upper age group - were telecast regularly. Each programme ran for duration of twenty minutes with five minutes change over time from one age group to the other. These ‘ETV’ programmes were offered in five languages viz. Oriya, Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi for a large population of primary school children. Programmes telecasted in Hindi were being received in all Hindi-speaking states in the northern belt (IGNOU, 2000).
UGC-HIGHER EDUCATION TELEVISION PROJECT OR COUNTRY WIDE CLASS ROOM PROJECT (HETV OR CWCR 1984)

University students were the beneficiaries of this project. The ‘University Grants Commission’ (UGC) in collaboration with ‘INSAT’ started educational television project, popularly known as ‘Country wide Classroom’ on August 15, 1984. The aim of this project was to update, upgrade and enrich the quality of education while extending the programmes’ reach. Under this programme, one-hour content in English on a variety of subjects presented with the objective of general enrichment for undergraduates, educated public and the teachers as well. An inter-university ‘Consortium for Education Communication’ (CEC) along with a chain of about twenty audio-visual media mass communication research centres were set up by the ‘UGC’ at different institutions in the country. The objective was to ascertain high quality of programming for this project. Besides producing programmes at these centres, some programmes had been imported from other countries and had been edited to suit the requirements of the Indian students. This project had been very popular among students, teachers and other learners (IGNOU, 2000).

IGNOU-DOORDARSHAN TELECAST (1991)

The programmes telecasted by ‘IGNOU’-‘Doordarshan’ were designed mainly for distance learners and were started in May 1991. Initially they were telecasted on Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 6.30 to 7.00 am through the national network of ‘Doordarshan’. The objective of these programmes was to provide tele-counselling to students of open universities in remote areas (IGNOU, 2000). Owing to the encouraging response from viewers, the frequency of this project was increased to five days a week. These programmes had been very popular among students.
GYAN-DARSHAN EDUCATIONAL CHANNEL (2000)

Ministry of Human Resource Development, Information and Broadcasting, the Prasar Bharti and ‘IGNOU’ launched ‘Gyan Darshan’ jointly on 26th January 2000 as the exclusive educational television channel of India. ‘IGNOU’ was given the responsibility to be the nodal agency for up linking, transmission. It started out as a two-hour daily test transmission channel for students of open and conventional universities. This duration was increased in February to nine hours a day. The time slot for transmission was further increased due to good response and made up to sixteen hours. By beginning of November, it turned out to be nineteen hours channel. Within one year of its launching, 26th January 2001, the channel had become non-stop daily twenty-four hours transmission channel for educational programmes (IGNOU, 2002).

“The programming constituted twenty three hours of indigenous programmes sourced from partner institutions and one hour of foreign programmes. Transmission of twelve hours each for curriculum based and enrichment programmes were being made. The programmes of ‘IGNOU’, ‘CIET-NCERT’ had been telecasted for four hours each, ‘IIT’ programmes for three hours, ‘CEC-UGC’ programmes for two and a half hours and one hour each for ‘TTTI’ and ‘Adult Education’,” (IGNOU Profile –2002). Although ‘Gyan Darshan’ had made its presence felt in all open universities and most of the prominent conventional universities, schools, it had potential to reach to the doorsteps of learners through cable television network. ‘Gyan Darshan’ through the cable transmission covered about 90% in Kerala, most parts of Tamil Nadu, a few pockets in the North East, Nashik, Ahmedabad and Pune. ‘Asia Net’ had been providing it free of cost in Kerala. Efforts were being made to make ‘Gyan Darshan’ available through terrestrial transmission (IGNOU, 2002).

ENTERTAINMENT VERSUS EDUTAINMENT AND INFOTAINMENT

Conventional soap operas were not purposely educational; the conscious aim of edutainment and infotainment soap operas was to attract large audience, be commercially
successful and to convey purposely an educational issue. While certain educational benefits might be realized by a conventional soap opera viewer, such learning was largely incidental. Edutainment and infotainment programmes, however, were designed to promote and reinforce particular pro-social beliefs and values.

‘TV Globo’, the dominant television network in Brazil, broadcasted a heavy fare of conventional soaps. They often showed the good life of well-off Brazilian urban families, who enjoyed nice homes and consume expensive products. Unintentionally these soap operas showed the Brazilian public la dolce vita (the good life), motivating them to have smaller families and to acquire money to purchase refrigerators, air conditioners and other consumer products. Professors Joe Potter at the University of Texas and Emile McAnany at the University of Santa Clara analyzed data on the television exposure of Brazilians to determine whether it led to smaller family size over recent decades (McAnany, 1993). In this case, soap operas were an ideal method of family planning.

Edutainment and infotainment programmes sought to avoid sending confusing signals to their audience (audience interpretation is not always as intended, however). An attempt was made to clarify the consequences of moral choices by rewarding positive behaviours and punishing negative behaviours. Furthermore, a carefully constructed epilogue, delivered by a respected authority figure, reinforced these moral distinctions for audience individuals.

Edutainment and infotainment soap operas had been designed to fit the reality of the target audience conditions. Formative evaluation was conducted to assess the needs of the target audience and details such as facial expressions, costumes and sets were used to enhance the realistic nature of edutainment and infotainment soap operas.
SOAP OPERA AND INDIA – ANOTHER EDUTAINMENT AND INFOTAINMENT ORBIT

Soaps on Indian television started back with ‘Hum Log’ in 1984 and had been quite popular from thereon until ‘Balika Vadhu’ (2008). Although there had been soaps on Indian screen which proved instrumental in bringing social change and change in behaviour and attitude of audience. In brief account, here an attempt had been made to highlight some of the milestones India learned from; ‘Hum Log’ being a foremost example. However, there were not just soaps alone but general knowledge based quiz shows, informative programmes and many other such programmes with wide-ranging formats that imprinted a significant impact on Indian viewer. One such notable general knowledge based quiz show on Indian television had been ‘Kaun Banega Crorepati’ (KBC) that persuaded viewers to remain up dated with surrounding and with happenings across the globe in order to participate in programme. It encouraged Indian viewer to win huge prize money and to meet iconic celebrity host on the programme, too. A trivial and selective description of the phenomenon celebrated as ‘Edutainment and infotainment’ in India and across the world had been presented for a brief overview.


The tale of ‘Hum Log’ cantered on the joys and sorrows of the ‘Rams’, a lower middle-class joint family of three generations, typical of many Indian households. Relationships between various joint family members, grandparents and grandchildren, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, husband and wife, brother and sister and parent-child were limned. Intergenerational differences in values about the status of women, family planning and family harmony were addressed. Nine members of the ‘Ram’ family were central to the educational issues in ‘Hum Log’. Singhal and Rogers (1989, 2002, 2004) two significant and noteworthy communication scholars who researched extensively about evaluating impact of ‘Hum Log ‘(Singhal and Rogers), noted this.
'Hum Log' was an attempt to blend Doordarshan's objectives of providing entertainment to its audience, while promoting, within the limits of a dominant patriarchal system, such educational issues as family planning, equal status for women and family harmony. 'Hum Log' spanned over 156 episodes, each lasting 22 minutes, for 17 months in 1984-1985. The episodes were in Hindi, the language of North India, in which most of Doordarshan's programmes were broadcasted. At the end of each episode, a famous Hindi film actor, 'Ashok Kumar', summarized the episode in a sixty-second epilogue, which provided viewers with appropriate guide to action in their lives (Singhal and Rogers, 1988).

**Research and Hum Log**

According to Rogers and Singhal (2002), 80% of television sets in India were at that time located in urban households. About 83% of total sample for the study resided in urban areas, while 17% of total sample for the study resided in rural areas. The ‘Hum Log’ viewers, as compared with non-viewers, were characterized by urban residence, younger age, higher education, higher income and by greater fluency in Hindi (the language of broadcast).

The first ‘Hum Log’ episode earned inadequate ratings. Individuals in 40 television viewing clubs, set up to provide feedback about ‘Hum Log’, complained of violent dramatic situations, didactic sermons about family planning, indifferent acting and a storyline that was too slow in developing. A motion against ‘Hum Log’ was raised in the Indian parliament.

Singhal and Rogers (2002) observed that after first 13 episodes, based on feedback received from the audience, scriptwriter Manohar Shyam Joshi gave ‘Hum Log’ a mid-course correction: He diluted the family planning theme and focused on such themes as the status of women, family harmony and national integration. A subplot addressing underworld activities and political corruption was also added, which, while popular with the audience, diminished the soap opera's major educational purpose (Singhal and Rogers, 1989c).
However, a post-hoc evaluation of television programme ‘Hum Log’ by Rogers and Singhal (2002) used a variety of methods for their study. A triangulation research strategy was employed by these researchers to understand effects of ‘Hum Log’, by gathering five types of data:

Personal interviews with key officials involved in ‘Hum Log’
Content analysis of scripts
A survey of the Indian television audience
Content analysis of viewer letters written in response to ‘Hum Log’
A mailed questionnaire to a sample of the letter writers

**Interviews:** Interviews of 25 key officials responsible for creating, maintaining and sustaining ‘Hum Log’ were taken. Among them was, Miguel Sabido, David Poindexter and Inder Gujral; S. S. Gill, Secretary in the Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting at the time and the leading promoter for ‘Hum Log’; Shobha Doctor, producer; Manohar Shyam Joshi, scriptwriter; Satish Garg, executive producer; Abhinav Chaturvedi and Vinod Nagpal, two ‘Hum Log’ actors; and Harish Khanna, former Director General of Doordarshan.

**Content analysis of scripts:** Contents of the scripts for 149 episodes of ‘Hum Log’ was analyzed (a) to identify the pro social themes portrayed, (b) to evaluate the degree of pro social versus antisocial behaviour of the ‘Hum Log’ characters and (c) to identify the nature and degree of reinforcement of the pro social messages provided in Ashok Kumar's epilogues.

**Survey of the Indian television audience:** A survey questionnaire was developed to reflect the thematic content of the series and pre-tested it with 148 urban and rural respondents around Delhi. These pre-test data were analyzed and the questionnaire was further refined.
An audience survey of 1,170 adult respondents residing in three geographic regions was conducted: in and around Delhi (599 respondents), a Hindi-speaking area in North India; in and around Pune (332 respondents), a Marathi-speaking area in Western India, near Bombay; and in and around Madras (239 respondents), a Tamil-speaking area in South India.

**Content analysis of viewer letters:** A random sample of 500 viewers' letters written in response to ‘Hum Log’, out of the 20,000 viewers' letters were provided by Manohar Shyam Joshi, the writer of the soap opera to the researchers Singhal and Rogers (2002). These 20,000 letters were a non-random sample of an estimated 200,000 letters received by Doordarshan in response to ‘Hum Log’.

A content analysis of 500 letters written to Doordarshan showed that most were written in Hindi. These letters came from cities, towns and were fairly detailed in content, came mainly from North Indian viewers and were written by young, well-educated people. These characteristics reinforced the finding that ‘Hum Log’ was more popular in Hindi-speaking North India.

**Mailed questionnaire to letter writers:** Researchers had mailed questionnaires about ‘Hum Log’ to 321 of the 500 letter writers. In August 1987, 20 months after ‘Hum Log’ broadcasts had ended, received a response of 295 mailed questionnaires.

According to Singhal and Rogers (2002), a questionnaire mailed to 321 of the 500 letter writers yielded 295 replies, a response rate of 92%: 34% were less than 20 years old, 41% were between 21 and 30 years old and 25% were more than 31 years old. Some 77% had earned a university degree, while 21% had a high school diploma. 42% of the letter writers were students, 15% were government employees, 13% unemployed, 10% were homemakers and 9% of the letter writers were in business. Most of the letter writers were middle class.
Approximately 20% of respondents said they had written two or more letters to ‘Hum Log’ (some as many as four); 95% of these watched most or all episodes, reinforcing the notion that they constituted a highly involved group of viewers.

**Educational Content and Hum Log**

Singhal and Rogers (2002) observed from content analysis of 149 episodes that series addressed many of the 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. The unit of analysis was the sub-theme. Some 10,668 sub-themes were coded in the 149 episodes in eight thematic categories, such as family harmony, status of women, character and moral development and so on. In the category of family harmony, for instance, the most common sub-theme was ‘mutual respect among family members lead to family harmony’. In the category ‘status of women’, the most promoted sub-theme was ‘women should value their self-esteem.’ An average episode of 22 minutes contained approximately 70 sub-themes. Researchers noted, ‘Hum Log’ promoted an average of 3.2 pro social sub-themes during each minute of broadcasts, representing a highly pro social text, observed these researchers. However, this pro social content was subjected to varied interpretations by the audience, based on personal experiences and beliefs (Singhal and Rogers, 1989c).

‘Hum Log's popularity provided broad exposure to educational issues. A high degree of para social interaction also occurred between viewers and the characters. The outpouring of letters was unprecedented and modelling effects of viewers with role models were observed. Singhal and Rogers (2002) observed that survey respondents connected with positive role models and expressed a desire to emulate them in their daily lives (Singhal and Rogers, 1989c).
**POPULARITY OF HUM LOG**

Singhal and Rogers (1988) noted that results from 1987 survey of 1,170 Indian adults showed that 96% of the respondents who had watched at least one episode of ‘Hum Log’ liked the television soap opera. Ninety-four percent thought it was entertaining, 83% said it was educational and 91% said that it addressed social problems. In chennai, a Tamil-speaking area, only 48% of respondents had seen at least one episode of ‘Hum Log’, mainly because it was broadcast in Hindi. However, the individuals who did view ‘Hum Log’ in Chennai liked the programme (93%) about as much as did viewers in North India.

‘Hum Log’ rose rapidly in popularity, earning ratings of up to 90% in Hindi-speaking North Indian towns and cities. The soap opera maintained this high attraction for the final 15 months of its broadcasts. When it ended on December 18, 1985, its departure was marked by widespread sentimental protest from ‘Hum Log’ viewers. Videotapes of the episodes enjoyed a brisk commercial sale for the next several years, both in India and to Indians living overseas (Singhal and Rogers, 1989c).

‘Hum Log’ was broadcasted at a time (1984-1985) when Doordarshan, then a virtual monopoly in India, was experiencing an unparalleled expansion due to the launch of the Indian National Satellite in 1983. This greatly increased public access to television. The increase was due to the large-scale installation of television transmitters in India: from 42 in 1983, to 175 in 1985 (Singhal, Doshi, Rogers and Rahman, 1988). During the 18 months of ‘Hum Log's broadcast, number of television viewers in India increased sharply from 37 to 60 million. During the same period, the number of television sets in India doubled from 3.5 million to 7 million. The rapid expansion created a need on the part of Indian government officials to broadcast attractive programming. The timing of ‘Hum Log’, coupled with its first-of-a-kind nature, boosted its popularity, in addition to the epilogues delivered by a celebrity actor ‘Ashok Kumar’. Ashok Kumar's popularity, credibility and friendliness coupled with his words of wisdom, added to ‘Hum Log's audience popularity and to its educational effects.
**Hum Log and epilogues:** A content analysis of 114 epilogues by researchers showed that 40% provided a commentary on human virtues and vices. 14% epilogues clarified status-of-women issues, 12% addressed family harmony issues, 8% highlighted the need to preserve local cultural traditions and 2% epilogues promoted family planning.

28% of the epilogues encouraged viewers to write letters to Doordarshan in response to a social or moral dilemma raised in the episode and 25% encouraged viewers to either write to or visit a public agency or service organization, for example, a women's organization. The epilogues encouraged viewers to become efficacious in controlling their future. 99% of Ashok Kumar's epilogues at the end of the opera provided a hook for the next episode, encouraging viewers to tune in, often to resolve a suspenseful situation, observed Singhal and Rogers (Singhal and Rogers, 1989c).

Kumar's influence was profound. Young boys and girls wrote pleading with him to convince their parents that they be allowed to marry the man or woman of their choice. Several parents, in turn, sent horoscopes of their daughters to Kumar, requesting that he find a suitable match. Many viewer letters pleaded with Kumar to be their family counsellor, while others indicated how important ‘Hum Log’ had become in their daily lives. Even though the series ended in 1985, 13 years later Kumar was still receiving occasional letters.

The viewer outpouring of 400,000 letters was unprecedented in Indian television. An estimated 150,000 were addressed to Ashok Kumar. They voiced concerns about such social ills as dowry and alcoholism.

**‘Hum Log’ and some other reasons for popularity:** Another reason for this programme’s popularity was that many viewers empathized with the ‘Hum Log’ family, becoming vicariously involved in their daily affairs. ‘Hum Log’ provided audience feedback via viewer letters that helped the scriptwriter Joshi to write and rewrite the storyline, suggesting new twists to the plot and new characterizations.
Prior to ‘Hum Log’, short, edutainment and infotainment television serials were only produced and broadcasted by the ‘Space Application Centre’ (SAC) in Ahmedabad to raise consciousness, to initiate local development programmes in Gujarat's Kheda District (Kalwachwala and Joshi, 1990; Mody, 1991). Whereas SAC's television series were relatively short (up to 40 episodes) and only broadcasted locally, ‘Hum Log’ was the first long-running soap opera broadcasted to a national audience. The entertaining nature of the genre, compared with the dull nature of existing Doordarshan programmes, helped boost ‘Hum Log’s audience appeal. After ‘Hum Log’ broadcasts were completed in 1985, a soap opera dominated Indian television for the next several years: ‘Buniyaad’ in 1986-1987, about the 1947 separation of India and Pakistan and ‘Ramayana’ in 1987-1988 and ‘Mahabharata’ in 1989-1990, were based on religious epics.

COMMUNICATION THEORY AND HUM LOG

Social learning theory explained how humans learn behaviours by modelling others with whom they interact or observe in the mass media (Bandura, 1977, 1986). The scriptwriter of ‘Hum Log’, Shyam Manohar Joshi sensed that television viewers learn educational behaviours from positive and negative role models. The scriptwriter of ‘Hum Log’ read Miguel Sabido's paper from the 1981 Strasbourg Conference and grasped the general idea. Content analysis of 149 scripts revealed the extent of pro-social and antisocial behaviours performed by the various characters in ‘Hum Log’. In ‘Hum Log’, ‘Grandfather’, ‘Bhagwanti’, ‘Badki’, ‘Chutki’ and ‘Ashwini’ performed mainly pro-social behaviours. Pro-social behaviours were those that were desirable and beneficial to other individuals and/or to society at large (Rushton, 1982). Essentially, they were positive role models. ‘Basesar Ram’, ‘Grandmother’ and ‘Majhli’ displayed anti-social behaviours and were intended to be negative role models. Anti-social behaviours were those that were undesirable or detrimental to other individuals and/or to society.

Singhal and Rogers (1989b) noted that degree of exposure to the programme, the level of Hindi-language fluency and place of residence were found to be important mediators of
'Hum Log's modelling effects. A multiple regression analysis of learning from each of the ten main ‘Hum Log’ characters indicated that viewers reported learning pro-social behaviours from characters of the same sex, age and socioeconomic status (Singhal, 1988). For higher socioeconomic class viewers, the modelling effects were not as pronounced, which made sense given that the ‘Hum Log’ television family was a lower income family (Singhal, 1988).

‘Hum Log’ study was one of the first on how edutainment and infotainment soap operas had their effects through role modelling. What implications research had on social modelling in ‘Hum Log’ hold for designers of edutainment and infotainment? Viewer learning of certain pro-social behaviours from media models could be enhanced: if the models were perceived as pro-social by the audience, if audience individuals were exposed to the television model over a long duration of time, if the audience shared relevant socio demographic characteristics with the media models and if viewers comprehended the language and actions (Singhal, 1988).

One of the most important fronts in communication research dealt with the effects of the mass media. Several thousand-communication effects studies had been published each year. Out of this huge body of research had come a conceptualization of possible media impacts in terms of a hierarchy of effects (McGuire, 1981).

Singhal and Rogers (2002) argued that through edutainment and infotainment soap opera, create widespread exposure, awareness and comprehension about the message, content could be created. Fewer individuals could be typically persuaded to change attitudes toward the message, content or intend to change their behaviour. Few individuals (perhaps a small percentage) would change their overt behaviour, such as by adopting a family planning method or by maintaining behaviour change. These latter effects were the bottom line for most national policymakers. An individual could changes behaviour not only due to exposure to edutainment and infotainment messages, but also if the appropriate infrastructure would be available and if the individual could feel efficacious
in being able to implement the behaviour change. Different research methods were more appropriate for gathering data at each level of effects.

Horton and Wohl (1956) originally described the para-social relationship between media personality and audience individual as giving the illusion of a face-to-face relationship. An audience member formed a relationship with a performer that was perceived as analogous to the interpersonal relationships of people in a primary, face-to-face group. Para-social interaction between audience individuals and media characters like newscasters and actors had been investigated in various re-search studies (Auter, 1992; Avery and Ellis, 1979; Babrow, 1987; Conway and Rubin, 1991; Gans, 1977; Grant, Guthrieand Ball-Rokeach, 1991; Houlberg, 1984; McGuire and LeRoy, 1977; Perse and Rubin, 1989; Rubin and McHugh, 1987; Rubin and Perse, 1987; Rubin, Perse, and Powell, 1985; Sood and Rogers, 1996; Turner, 1992, 1993).

Edutainment and infotainment programmes were designed to generate socially desirable effects among audience members. What was the role of para-social interaction in bringing about these socially desirable effects? Horton and Wohl’s (1956) initial description of para-social interaction argued that this relationship could be extremely influential for an audience individual. Once a para-social relationship had been established, a media consumer appreciated the values and motives of the media character often viewing him or her as a counsellor, comforter, and role model. Horton and Wohl (1956) argued that enactment of the para-social role might ‘constitute an exploration and development of new role possibilities, as in the experimental phases of actual, or aspired to, social mobility’ (Horton and Wohl, 1956).

About 50 million people watched each ‘Hum Log’ broadcast, with audience ratings of up to 90% in Hindi-speaking areas. Eighty-three percent of 1,170 respondents watched at least one episode. A high proportion of respondents (between 64 and 75%) reported becoming aware and being informed, about such educational contents of ‘Hum Log’ as family harmony, limiting family size, gender equality and cultural diversity. Regression analysis was conducted to determine the degree to which exposure to ‘Hum Log’
predicted attitudes and behaviours related to the status of women and to family planning. Exposure to ‘Hum Log’ was found to be positively related to attitudes toward freedom of choice for women, toward equal opportunities for women. (Brown and Cody, 1991; Singhal, 1990; Singhal, Rogers and Cozzens, 1989). The magnitude of these effects, although statistically significant, was found to be very small.

Exposure to ‘Hum Log’ was positively related to behaviours indicating freedom of choice for women, but not to behaviours indicating equal opportunities for women or smaller family size norms (Brown, 1988, 1991; Brown and Cody, 1991; Singhal, 1990; Singhal, Rogers and Cozzens, 1989). Again, the magnitude of the behavioural effects on freedom of choice for women was small (Singhal, Rogers and Cozzens, 1989).

Content analysis of the 500 ‘Hum Log’ viewer letters provided additional support for the hierarchy-of-effects model, noted Singhal and Rogers (Singhal and Rogers, 1989c). The effects were stronger for letter writers than for other viewers. Letter writers represented a unique audience segment. Most letter writers, for instance, were heavy viewers of ‘Hum Log’. Analysis showed that ‘Hum Log’ influenced 92% of the letter writers in a pro-social direction. Some 47% of the 500 letters indicated that ‘Hum Log’ affected the writers' cognitions regarding the educational issues, 33% showed that ‘Hum Log’ influenced attitudes regarding these issues and 7% showed that ‘Hum Log’ resulted in overt behavioural change on the part of the letter writer.

‘Hum Log’ demonstrated that India could produce a commercially viable entertainment television programme, which, despite its many limitations, could address educational issues (Singhal and Rogers, 1989a). Once that fundamental point was demonstrated, other developing countries began to follow India's lead: In 1987, Kenya broadcasted its first edutainment and infotainment television soap opera centred around family planning called ‘Tushauriane’ (Let's Discuss), followed by a family planning radio soap opera, ‘Ushikwapo Shikimana’. During 1992-1993, an edutainment and infotainment soap opera, ‘Hum Raahi’, written by Joshi, was broadcasted in India. Beginning in 1993, a family planning-HIV prevention radio soap opera, ‘Twende na Wakati’ (Let's Go with
the Times) was broadcast in Tanzania and a similar radio soap opera, ‘Tinka Tinka Sukh’ (Happiness Lies in Small Things) was broadcasted in India in 1996-1997.

‘Hum Log’ was of historic importance as it occurred 9 years after Miguel Sabido’s first edutainment and infotainment soap opera (Ven Conmigo in 1975-1976) and was the first non-Mexican use of the edutainment and infotainment strategy in television. Its greatest impact might have been to break the temporary logjam in the early 1980s in the international diffusion of edutainment and infotainment soap operas.

**Tinka Tinka Sukh (19996)**

‘Tinka Tinka Sukh’ (Happiness Lies in Small Things) was a 104-episode edutainment and infotainment radio soap opera broadcasted in India from February 1996 to February 1997. Its purpose was to promote gender equality, women’s empowerment, small family size, family harmony, environmental conservation and HIV prevention.

‘Tinka Tinka Sukh’ explored how everyday ordinary acts of human interaction hold happiness. In this radio play, ‘Navgaon’ had been a farming community struggling to understand the value of modern traditions and moving in progressive directions. ‘Suraj’, his father ‘Chaudhri’ and mother ‘Chaudhrain’ represented an ideal family. Chaudhri and his wife understood the role of tradition; progressive ways were growing in importance. The couple represented women’s causes like anti-dowry, marriage and divorce, women’s empowerment and importance of an integrated harmonious community.

An evaluation of ‘Tinka Tinka Sukh’ was conducted by Singhal and Rogers (2002) and others at Ohio University and the University of New Mexico. Multiple types of data were collected to evaluate the effects of ‘Tinka Tinka Sukh’: content analyses of scripts of programme; interviews with key officials involved in the production; a before-after survey in a treatment area (Gonda District) and a control area (Allahabad District). Moreover, content analyses of a random sample of 237 of the 150,000 letters written by listeners; and an in-depth case study of Village Lutsaan in the state of Uttar Pradesh,
India where the radio programme seemed to have especially strong community effects was studied.

The results indicated that ‘Tinka Tinka Sukh’ promoted women's issues. Women's empowerment was addressed in 80% of all episodes of programme, 86% discussed ways for suppressed women to restore self-confidence. Women's education was featured in 51% of all episodes, 32% addressed women becoming self-reliant. Women's right to equal nutrition with men was dealt with in 18% episodes and equal access to health care in 15% episodes (Singhal and Brown, 1997).

Although it had been illegal to give or receive dowry in India, the custom had been widely practiced. The negative consequences of the dowry system were examined in 21% of the radio soap opera's episodes. Torture of a bride (Poonam) for an insufficient dowry was emphasized in 25%; 8% dealt with not victimizing a woman if she did not become pregnant and deliver a son; 41% showed harmonious relationships between a woman and her husband's parents and family.

In 62% of the episodes, parents were encouraged to talk to their children about education, plans and so on. The soap opera also dealt with the preferential treatment of male children in half of its episodes. In addition, in 29% of the programmes, ‘Tinka Tinka Sukh’ proposed that sons should participate in domestic chores. This attitude was demonstrated by the model youth, ‘Suraj’ and reinforced by his parents and by his friends (Singhal and Brown, 1997).

**Balika Vadhu (2008)**

‘Balika Vadhu’ could be considered a serial with a thumping social message on the evils of child marriage that had taken Indian viewers by storm. Here, the story revolved around life of an eight-year-old child bride and a protagonist named ‘Anandi’, married to an equally young boy ‘Jagdish’. Her education was discontinued and she had been sent off on a journey to discover new customs and relationships. Set in a village of Rajasthan, the
serial portrayed (in a sensible manner) the miseries faced by the young children in India, particularly girls on being married at a tender age. What complimented their misfortune was the presence of nasty, depraved in-laws. Additionally, the superstitions, gender discrimination and malpractices that had been haunting the country in the name of ‘tradition’ had been unfolded.

Although programme had been aired on one of the recently launched private channels, weekday for half and hour duration with a repeat telecast, it had proved a big hit with Indian audience with a slogan and thought provoking subtitles at the end. The interesting plot of the programme, easy to identify characters, music, costumes, set up and core social content wrapped in a drama format had worked with the audience across class, gender and age and promised to deal with many social issues in time to come. Most importantly, the serial had a message at the end of every episode to discourage the practice of child marriage across the country.

EDUTAINMENT, INFOTAINMENT AND UNITED STATES

MAUDE’S DILEMMA

One of the earliest and most widely known illustrations of a Hollywood advocacy group injecting a social issue into primetime television occurred in 1972 when ‘Maude’, a 47-year-old woman (played by Bea Arthur) in Lear’s ‘CBS’ series by the same name, became pregnant. Indecisive for two episodes (called "Maude's Dilemma"), ‘Maude’ finally decided to obtain an abortion rather than bear an unwanted child. Within minutes, CBS received 373 angry telephone calls and a public controversy erupted (Montgomery, 1989).

The ‘Maude’ controversy "tested, as never before, the boundaries of acceptability for programme content" on prime time broadcasts (Montgomery, 1989). The broadcasts of ‘Maude’ represented an important event in Hollywood's brush with edutainment and infotainment genre and demonstrated that situation comedies (sitcoms) need not be looked on as a "mindless genre" (Miller, 1993).

SESAME STREET (1969)

One exceptional example of an edutainment and infotainment programme in the United States had been ‘Sesame Street’. Created in 1969 by the ‘Children's Television Workshop’ (CTW) of New York. An estimated 12 million Americans every week, including 6 million preschoolers, about 40% of all U.S. children aged 2 to 5 (CTW, 1987) watched ‘Sesame Street’. The television series, which helped prepare preschoolers for classroom learning, had been broadcasted in an English-language version in 53 countries. Sixteen foreign language adaptations of ‘Sesame Street’ had been broadcast in 47 countries (CTW, 1988). Reaching audience in more than 140 countries in six continents, ‘Sesame Street’ was easily "the longest street in the world" (CTW, 1998; Lesser, 1974).

The idea of creating ‘CTW’ originated in 1966 when Joan Ganz Cooney, then a television producer and Lloyd Morrisett, an executive at the Carnegie Foundation, decided to explore television's usefulness in teaching young children (Palmer, 1988).
Start-up funds of $7 million were obtained from government agencies and private foundations to create the ‘CTW’, an autonomous, non-profits organization free from political and economic pressures (Lesser, 1974). Eighteen months of formative evaluation research preceded the first broadcast of ‘Sesame Street’ in 1969. Entertaining formats with strong educational appeals were pre-tested and often revised many times to obtain the desired effects. Such intense evaluation, which continued in many productions, was a major reason for ‘Sesame Street's audience success (Singhal and Rogers, 1994). Edutainment and infotainment represented a delicate balance between entertainment and education and thus required use of formative evaluation.

‘Sesame Street's purpose was to develop the cognitive learning skills of preschool children, teaching those letters, numbers, geometric forms and such valued pro-social qualities as kindness and cooperation. The programme utilized Piaget's (1952) principle of knowledge acquisition: In order to teach something new, relate it to something that the learner already knows. For instance, to teach the letter ‘Y,’ a comparison was made with a forked road and with a slingshot. Each lesson was repeated several times for enhanced learning. Other techniques were employed to make the child an active participant in the learning process, overcoming the one-way nature of most television broadcasting. A variety of entertainment formats were employed to hold children's attention: muppets, music, animation, live-action films, special effects and celebrity visits (CTW, 1988). Each segment of ‘Sesame Street’ was short (usually less than three minutes) and designed to catch and hold the attention of children.

Summative evaluations of the U.S. and international productions of ‘Sesame Street’ consistently showed that children who had been viewers scored higher than non-viewers did in tests of ability in all curriculum areas (Ball and Bogatz, 1970; Bogatz and Ball, 1971; Tan, 1985; CTW, 1988). ‘Sesame Street's success came from combining the technology of television with the art of entertainment and specific educational aims, claimed Morrisett (Lesser, 1974). However, there was evidence that ‘Sesame Street’ might increase the information gap between children that were already better informed and of higher socioeconomic status than their less fortunate counterparts (Cook et al., 1975). That was, the programme raised the level of information of all children, but it
especially benefited the information-rich, thus widening the information gap (Tichenor, Donohue and Olien, 1970).

‘Sesame Street’ was only one of the several edutainment and infotainment television series created by ‘CTW’. Others included 3-2-1 Contact, a series focusing on science and technology; The ‘Electric Company’, designed to enhance students' reading skills; and Square One TV, geared to enhancing children's mathematical ability. In Jordan, ‘CTW’ co-produced ‘Al Manaahil’ (The Sources), a new Arabic television series designed to enhance language and reading skills among Arab children. The international transfer of the ‘Seasame Street’ (CTW's) methodology was not just one-way: ‘Rechov Sumsum’, the Israeli version of ‘Sesame Street’ had been adapted into a series of home video programmes for consumption in America titled ‘Shalom Sesame’. The purpose of the video series was to motivate (and supplement) the learning of Hebrew as a second language in the United States and to spread awareness among Americans about Israeli people, places and culture (CTW, 1988). Several lessons had been learned about the edutainment and infotainment communication strategy from ‘Sesame Street’ (CTW, 1988; Lesser, 1974):

- Entertainment television could be used to educate young viewers without making the educational content subtle and could attract large audience. For instance, ‘Sesame Street’ made little effort to disguise its educational content: It was an experiment to see how well entertainment could be used in the service of education (CTW, 1988).

- Start-up costs for edutainment and infotainment programmes were typically high and such programmes took a relatively longer time to produce than did strictly entertainment programmes, in part due to the time and costs of formative evaluation research. On the other hand, edutainment and infotainment programmes had been found to be very efficient in achieving relatively low-cost behaviour change.

- Formative evaluation research was crucial to the success of edutainment and infotainment.
• The design, production and evaluation research for an edutainment and infotainment programme could be transferred across national and cultural boundaries, with suitable adaptation to local conditions.

• Edutainment and infotainment television programmes offered tremendous economies of scale in delivering messages to a target audience. For example, the cost of reaching each preschooler in the United States via ‘Sesame Street’ was less than one cent per child per viewing hour (Lesser, 1974).

• Television content was strongly shaped by economic and political realities. One disappointment with ‘Sesame Street’ was that it did not inspire commercial television networks to broadcast similar edutainment and infotainment programmes.

**PERKINS AND EDUTAINMENT, INFOTAINMENT PROGRAMMES IN JAMAICA**

Perkins' first well known radio programme, ‘Raymond, the Sprayman’ (1958, 1959), was designed to promote the Jamaican Government's mosquito eradication campaign. The 'Aedes Egypti' mosquito was causing widespread dengue fever and malaria in Jamaica. Many people thought spraying would poison their children and destroy crops and gardens. Perkins' series was designed to help Jamaicans overcome their fears.

‘Raymond, the Sprayman’ went from home to home allaying fears about mosquito spraying. He was a likable character. He often mixed the wrong sprays keeping the audience in high humour through his bumbling efforts-important in softening audience attitudes toward malaria health inspectors. ‘Raymond, the Sprayman’ was immensely popular among radio listeners in Jamaica and appeared to have contributed to the success of the mosquito eradication campaign, although no summative evaluation research was conducted. (Singhal and Rogers, 2002)

Perkins searched for creative ways to disseminate information about government health services, literacy efforts, agricultural innovations and other development activities.
Overwhelmed by the task of creating separate programmes for each development issue, Perkins decided to create one radio serial, ‘Hopeful Village’ (1963-1973). It was the story of a typical Jamaican village. Through this fictional venue, Perkins sought to boost the self-efficacy of listeners and promote self-determination, self-respect and self-sufficiency. ‘Hopeful Village’ was popular with its intended listeners and earned Jamaica's prestigious Musgrave Medal.

Perkins became a consummate creator of believable radio characters, as corroborated by the audience reaction to her two radio series: ‘Life at the Mimosa Hotel’ (1984) and ‘Naseberry Street’ (1985-1989).

Perkins created ‘Life at the Mimosa Hotel’ at the request of the Jamaican Tourist Board. This soap opera cantered on a small hotel located on Jamaica’s Northern Coast and was designed to modify attitudes and behaviours of the street vendors who frequently harassed foreign tourists. The series portrayed the conflict between the hagglers (nonlicensed street vendors) and foreign tourists, hotel officials and local shop owners. It earned very high audience ratings before Jamaican government officials cancelled it within a year (Singhal and Rogers, 2002).

In creating her radio soap operas, Perkins did not think of them as edutainment and infotainment. It was just the most convenient way of telling people about development issues. What Miguel Sabido did for edutainment and infotainment television, Elaine Perkins did for this strategy in radio.

**SABIDO, SIMPLEMENTE MARIA, EDUTAINMENT AND INFOTAINMENT PROGRAMMES IN PERU AND LATIN AMERICA**

‘Simplemente María’ was a television soap opera broadcasted in black-and-white for 21 months from 1969 to 1971, produced by ‘Panamericana de Televisión’ (PANTEL) in Peru (Quiroz and Cano, 1988). The telenovela consisted of 448 episodes, each lasting one hour, broadcast daily from Monday through Friday (Simplemente María se acabo, 1971).
‘Simplemente María’ was the longest running telenovela in Latin America. Nearly three decades later, it had been remembered as the most popular telenovela ever broadcasted in Latin America.

The central character, ‘María Ramos’, a rural-urban migrant from the Andes Mountains, arrived in the city in search of a better life. She found work as a house cleaner in the household of a wealthy family. ‘María’ met ‘Roberto’, a rich medical student who attracted to ‘María’. He gave her the impression that he would marry her and then deserted her. A pregnant ‘María’ lost her job as a house cleaner and move into a lower middle-class immigrant neighbourhood where she struggled to survive.

‘María’ worked as a house cleaner during the day and in the evening attends adult literacy classes, conducted by ‘Maestro Esteban’, for neighbourhood house cleaners. When ‘María’ gave birth to ‘Antonio’, she was fired by her employers, ending her career as a house cleaner. ‘Esteban’s mother, ‘Doña Perin’, taught ‘María’ how to sew. ‘María’ worked as a tailor in a local dress shop where she used a Singer sewing machine. She then launched her own fashion business. Soon, ‘María’s fame spreaded and she became a successful fashion designer, lived in a large mansion and eventually moved to Paris to direct her fashion empire.

This melodramatic tension involved the audience in the telenovela's plot, as ‘María’s life story moved through four decades during the 21 months of the soap opera's broadcasts. The high point of the telenovela's storyline occurred when ‘María’ and ‘Maestro Esteban’ ended their 20-year courtship and married.

‘María’ was depicted in the series as hard working, honest, progressive and idealistic. She provided a positive role model for upward social mobility. ‘María’ symbolized the classic ‘Cinderella’ story, rising from desperate poverty to become the owner of a high-fashion empire. Her upward social mobility resulted from hard work, study and self-improvement. Her success was earned, rather than resulting from winning the lottery or from inheritance.
The series showed the real-life problems faced by migrants to urban areas. ‘Simplemente María’ boldly addressed many social topics that were considered taboo in Peru at that time: the liberation of migrant women, just treatment of domestic house cleaners and inter-ethnic romance (Geddes-Gonzalez, 1992; personal communication, P. Poppe, March 3, 1987; Singhal, 1990). Other social themes in the telenovela were social class conflict, intergenerational differences and the value of adult literacy.

Enrolment in adult literacy classes expanded in Peru, Mexico and other Latin American countries when the soap opera was broadcast there. In Peru, the military government launched a special programme of literacy classes for house cleaners. The Mexican government began a nationwide literacy campaign, inspired by the impact of ‘Simplemente María’.

‘Simplemente María’ was important in influencing the attitudes of elite Peruvians toward their house cleaners. The series helped viewers understand problems associated with rural-urban migration, the acculturation process of migrants and the specific problems faced by domestic house cleaners in the city.

The most important indirect effect of ‘Simplemente María’ occurred in the early 1970s, when Sabido developed the edutainment and infotainment strategy based on his analysis of the audience effects of ‘Simplemente María’ in Mexico. Sabido realized the educational potential of telenovelas by analyzing the ‘educational’ effects of the Peruvian telenovela’s broadcasts he observed in Mexico. There was a sharp increase in the enrolment in adult literacy and sewing classes and in the sale of Singer sewing machines. The success of ‘Simplemente María’ indirectly led to implementation of numerous other edutainment and infotainment efforts utilizing television and radio soap operas, popular music, films, comic books and street theatre.

The most intriguing aspect of the series was its unintended educational effects. In countries in which ‘Simplemente María’ was broadcast, house cleaners began to sew. The
number of sewing centres increased in Peru and other Latin American countries and enrolment in sewing classes rose sharply. This effect was striking because the sewing of clothes at home then was being replaced by cheaper manufactured clothing throughout Latin America.

The sale of Singer sewing machines increased sharply in each Spanish speaking country where the series was broadcasted. ‘María’ used a Singer machine on television and Singer purchased advertising in the broadcasts. The company reported ‘record sales and earnings’ in 1969, 8.6% higher than the previous year (Reckert, 1970).

At least five versions of ‘Simplemente María’ had been broadcasted in almost all countries of Latin America, each version a tremendous audience hit. The Peruvian version of ‘Simplemente María’ in 1969-1971 was an adaptation of an original Argentinean version broadcast in 1967-1968. Venezuela produced a third version in 1972 and Argentina broadcasted a colour version in the early 1980s.

Mexico produced the fifth version of ‘Simplemente María’ in 1989-1990, which was broadcasted in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America and exported for broadcast to Hispanic populations in the United States. It was also dubbed in various languages for broadcast in other non-Spanish-speaking countries. In 1994, this television soap opera earned the highest audience ratings ever achieved in Russia (Stanley, 1994).

VEN CONMIGO (1975)

In 1975, an estimated eight million Mexican adults, about half of Mexico's labour force, were illiterate. Their lack of formal education prevented these individuals from contributing fully to Mexico's socioeconomic development. Mexico's Ministry of Public Education created an Open Education System to enable Mexican adults to earn a primary school diploma (Singhal and Rogers, 2002).
Sabido designed Ven Conmigo (Come With Me) to support the Ministry's efforts and to reinforce the value of adult education, self-teaching (to encourage illiterate adults to study) and altruism (encouraging literate adults to tutor illiterates). He wanted to take advantage of the infrastructure for adult education that the Ministry of Public Education had created.

Ven Conmigo was broadcasted by Televisa from 1975 to 1976, a total of 280 half-hour episodes that were aired five times each week. The early episodes of Ven Conmigo tried to teach adults how to read and write. This didactic approach did not work well. The soap opera content was dull. Sabido changed Ven Conmigo to encourage adults to enrol in and to continue to participate in literacy classes. For instance, the telenovela centred on the lives of the dozen adults enrolled in one literacy class. One individual, a very old man, had to overcome his initial doubts about whether he could still learn to read and write. With the encouragement of other members of his class and teacher, the old man continued to study. Eventually, he became literate. He was a positive role model for the educational purpose of Ven Conmigo. The telenovela climbed in popularity, eventually achieving average audience ratings of 33%, higher than the ratings of other soap operas broadcast by Televisa (Berrueta, 1986). Ven Conmigo’s average rating represented an estimated audience of four million people in metropolitan Mexico City.

Sabido ended each episode with a 30-second epilogue, delivered by Marga Lopez, a well-known Mexican film and television actress. She summarized the main educational point of each episode and related it to the daily lives of the telenovela’s viewers. Sabido introduced epilogues to provide specific information about the infrastructure needed for a viewer to convert an intention, motivated by television, into action. For example, epilogues of Ven Conmigo provided the street address of the Ministry of Education building where free literacy booklets were distributed (Berrueta, 1986).

To assess the impacts of Ven Conmigo, Televisa’s Institute for Communication surveyed a panel of 600 adult respondents living in Mexico City. This investigation showed that Ven Conmigo viewers were higher in knowledge about the Mexican National Plan for
adult education than were non-viewers and that exposure to the telenovela was related to a more positive attitude towards helping other individuals study (Berrueta, 1986). Data gathered by Mexico's adult system showed that between November 1975 and December 1976 (the period in which Ven Conmigo was broadcast), 839,943 illiterates enrolled in adult literacy classes in Mexico. This number of new enrolments was nine times the number in the previous year and double the number of enrolments the following year, when Ven Conmigo was no longer broadcasted (Berrueta, 1986). Undoubtedly, exposure to the edutainment and infotainment soap opera was a major influence in encouraging Mexicans to enrol in literacy classes, although contemporaneous changes might have had an effect.

**ACOMPÁÑAME (1977)**

Encouraged by the success of Ven Conmigo in 1975-1976, Miguel Sabido and his sister Irene designed a second edutainment and infotainment telenovela, Acompáñame (Come Along with Me). This soap opera promoted the adoption of family planning, a sensitive topic in catholic Mexico. ‘Acompáñame’ was a bold step and a major innovation for Miguel Sabido. He purposely incorporated principles of Bandura's social learning theory in the series design. ‘Acompáñame’ was broadcasted by Televisa from August 15, 1977 to April 21, 1978, as 180 half-hour episodes. Like ‘Ven Conmigo’, ‘Acompáñame’ was highly popular with Mexican viewers, achieving average audience ratings of 29%, higher than the average ratings for Televisa's other soap operas (Rogers and Antola, 1985). ‘Acompáñame’ promoted the value of family harmony, with family planning as one means for achieving this goal. Other topics, such as equal status of women and the importance of spousal communication were also emphasized.

The story followed the lives of three sisters from a lower class Mexico city family. Each had a distinctive marriage situation. One enjoyed a healthy, happy marriage. The second, ‘Martha’, had three children and suspected that she was pregnant again. In one scene, while her 6-month-old child was crying, a pot was boiling over on the stove and the telephone was ringing, her son complained. Martha lost control and slapped him, just as
her mother had beaten her children. Guilt-stricken, ‘Martha’ moved her bed into the kitchen, vowing never to have sex again. In the following weeks, Martha and her husband talked about alternatives to abstinence. They visited a family planning clinic, where Martha learnt that she was not pregnant. They were happy to begin a family planning method. The third sister represented a negative role model for family planning. She did not adopt contraception and subsequently suffered from unwanted pregnancy.

A before-after panel study of 800 adult respondents living in Mexico city showed that ‘Acompáñame ’s viewers were higher in knowledge about family planning methods than were non-viewers and that exposure to Acompáñame was related to a positive attitude toward family planning methods (Nariman, 1993; Berrueta, 1986).

Data provided by Mexico's national family planning programme showed that during the 1976-1977 year when Acompáñame was on air, 562,464 individuals adopted family planning at government health clinics, an increase of 33% over the previous year. The number of phone calls per month to the national family planning programme increased from zero to five hundred. Most callers said they were motivated by Acompáñame to seek such information (the telephone number was shown at the end of each episode). Some 2,500 Mexican women registered to work as volunteers in the Mexican national family planning programme, an idea promoted by Acompáñame (Nariman, 1993; Berrueta, 1986)). Exposure to the telenovela also influenced Mexican couples to talk about contraception. Acompáñame was exported to twelve countries in Latin America, where it also achieved high audience ratings. The main lesson learned by Sabido from this edutainment and infotainment telenovela was that this strategy could be applied to a very sensitive issue.

From 1979 to 1982, Sabido and his sister designed five more edutainment and infotainment soap operas for Televisa:

1. **Vamos Juntos (When We Are Together)** in 1979- 1980, to promote the value of responsible parenthood.
2. El Combate in 1980, to reinforce the value of adult literacy.
4. Nosotras las Mujeres (We the Women) in 1981, to promote equal status for women in Mexican society.
5. Por Amor (For Love) in 1981-1982, to promote family planning.

These five edutainment and infotainment telenovelas earned ratings of between 11% and 16%, lower than Ven Conmigo and Acompáñame, but were high enough to be commercially viable. These five telenovelas were also exported to other Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America.

MIGUEL SABIDO AND EDUTAINMENT, INFOTAINMENT STRATEGY

Sabido, a producer from Latin America found the television soap opera format ideal for edutainment and infotainment. Soap operas were highly popular in Mexico and commercial sponsors were willing to underwrite production costs. A soap opera typically was broadcasted for 30 minutes daily, five times a week, for about one year, thus providing massive, ongoing exposure to an educational message. Viewers talked about the characters and plot of the soap opera at home and at work. The melodrama in a soap opera represented a confrontation of good versus bad, offering a unique opportunity to promote good behaviours and dissuade bad behaviours (Sabido, 1989).

Sabido's historical-cultural soap operas dramatized momentous epochs in Mexico's past, rejuvenating public interest in Mexican history and culture. He was pleased with the audience popularity of these programmes. However, it was the unprecedented popularity of Simplemente María, which convinced Sabido that soap operas represented a powerful means to promote educational issues.
From 1970 to 1974, Sabido worked with his sister, Irene Sabido (a teacher and television producer at Televisa), to formulate his theory-based strategy for designing commercial soap operas for educational purposes. Sabido's methodology had two components: an integrated, multi-disciplinary theoretical framework and a well-defined production system, which preserved the qualities of a commercial soap opera while promoting an educational issue.

Sabido's ideas were revolutionary; most television officials insisted that commercial entertainment television could not be used for educational purposes. In 1975, Televisa officials gave Sabido the green light to produce Ven Conmigo (Come With Me), a soap opera designed to promote adult literacy. Ven Conmigo represented the first decisive test of Sabido's strategy.

THEORETICAL BASES OF EDUTAINMENT SOAP OPERA


Imitation, identification and modelling: Imitation was the process by which one individual matched the actions of another, usually closely in time (Bandura, 1986). Identification was the process through which an individual took on a model's behaviour and/or personality patterns in some form. Bandura defined modelling as the psychological processes in which one individual matched the actions of another, not necessarily closely in time (Bandura, 1977). Modelling influences had broader psychological effects than identification or the simple response mimicry implied by imitation.
**Observational learning from television:** Observational learning occurred when a viewer acquired new knowledge about certain rules of behaviour from a model through the cognitive processing of information (Bandura, 1977). Bandura (1986) explained that observational learning was regulated by four cognitive sub-processes: attention, retention, production and motivation.

Viewers learned socially desirable behaviours from role models depicted in the television series. For example, when a character in an edutainment and infotainment soap opera modelled a behaviour that was socially desirable, the character was rewarded. If the character emulated a socially undesirable behaviour, he or she was punished (Brown, Singhal and Rogers, 1988).

**MacLean’s triune brain theory:** To achieve their goals, edutainment and infotainment soap operas could evoke cognitive (intellectual), affective (emotional) and animalistic (physical) responses in their audience. Sabido drew upon the theory of the triune brain proposed by Dr. Paul D. MacLean, a leading brain researcher at the National Institutes of Health. Humans processed messages in three brain centres: the neo-cortex (representing intelligence), visceral (representing emotions) and reptilian (representing physical urges like sex) (Brown, Singhal and Rogers, 1988).

Sabido hypothesized that sports programming, contests, slapstick comedy and pornography elicited reptilian-type responses. Soap operas typically elicited visceral-type emotional responses. News and political analysis elicited neocortical intellectual responses.

In order to achieve its educational purpose, an edutainment and infotainment programme must agitate emotions, create conflict between viewers' physical urges and prevailing social norms and encourage viewers' intellectual activity to make judgments about moral values. Sabido contended that most educational programmes failed because they only trigger intellectual (neo-cortex) responses. An edutainment and infotainment soap opera
should evoke emotional (visceral) and physical (reptilian) responses from its viewers in order to have the desired educational effect.

Sabido's strategy was to use the soap opera's plot to trigger reptilian and visceral responses from the audience and to use epilogues in each episode to stimulate the viewers' neo-cortex. Sabido drew from social scientific and human communication theories to formulate his strategy for creating edutainment and infotainment telenovelas. For Sabido, each of these theoretical perspectives served a useful function in his design of edutainment and infotainment telenovela.

**Jung's theory of the collective unconscious:** In contemporary society, confusion existed about the meaning of life, to which the media contributed (Berrueta, 1986). Sabido believed that drama, ritual and stories derived from myth could counter such confusion. Sabido based his edutainment and infotainment soap operas on Jung's theory of the collective unconscious, archetypes and stereotypes. Soap opera characters that imitated a myth represented archetypes; those who imitated life represented stereotypes.

Sabido's edutainment and infotainment telenovela capitalized on the mythical quality of melodramatic soap operas, which provided a fertile learning experience for audience individuals (Lozano, 1992; Lozano and Singhal, 1993)

**Bentley's dramatic theory:** Bentley's (1967) theory described the structure and effects of five key theatre genres: tragedy, comedy, tragicomedy, farce and melodrama. Sabido drew on Bentley's description of the structure and effects of melodrama to design the characters and plots of his telenovelas, which had a structure, tone, anecdote, theme and characters organized to affect its audience.

Sabido was convinced that melodrama was a powerful emotive genre in which good and bad moral behaviours could be contrasted. This conflict, Sabido argued, focused audience attention on the anecdote, causing them to champion the forces of good over the forces of bad (Nariman, 1993).
**Rovigatti's circular model of communication:** Sabido modified the mathematical model of communication proposed by Claude E. Shannon in conceptualizing the effects of his telenovelas on their audience (Shannon and Weaver, 1949). He was directly inspired by Rovigatti (Berrueta, 1986), who rearranged the five basic elements in Shannon's communication model: communicator, message, medium, receiver and response--into a circular, rather than linear, arrangement. Sabido recognized the inadequacy of a linear model and re-invented it into an interactive communication model.

Sabido proposed a layered communication model involving several communicators, messages, media, receivers and responses. Sabido saw one communicator as the manufacturer of a product, the message as "buy my product," the medium as the soap opera, the receiver as the consumer and the response as the purchase of the advertised product (Nariman, 1993).

**UNITED KINGDOM, BBC AND THE ARCHERS (1951)**

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) radio serial The Archers: an everyday story of country folk was designed to promote the diffusion of agricultural innovations to British farmers and to help urban listeners understand rural problems. It was created at a critical time for British agriculture in 1951; The Archers had been quite popular with the farmers.

During World War II, food imports were restricted and the British government made food production a top priority. Radio programmes about agriculture were highly technical, uninteresting and seldom heard (Food and Agriculture Organization, 1987). Godfrey Baseley organized rural programmes for the BBC from 1942 to 1965, comprised of a radio drama.

Before implementing The Archers, Baseley hosted a talking head radio programme on agriculture. He soon realized that it was boring his target audience and ineffective,
cantering on agricultural innovations, his supervisors were sceptical. However, after two years of negotiation, Baseley received the go-ahead to produce The Archers.

The plot initially cantered around ‘Dan Archer’, a progressive farmer; his wife, Doris, a kind, gentle homemaker; and their three children. Baseley insisted the characters be authentic, so he detailed their personal characteristics, providing a history for Dan and Doris Archer back several generations. A fictional village, Ambridge, was invented with farms, a school, church, chapel, shops and pubs. Ambridge was geographically located in the Midlands of England and its nearest market town was Borchester. The Archers' farm, Brookfield, represented a typical mid-sized dairy farm that employed crop production and raised pigs, sheep and poultry.

Baseley instructed the soap opera's scriptwriters to avoid didactic lectures at all costs and instead to feature short, crisp dialogue. A prime consideration was to attract and hold the audience, so a formula of 60% entertainment and 40% education was followed. Each fifteen minutes episode contained three scenes, each no longer than six minutes. Each episode ended with a cliff-hanger.

The Archers quickly built a regular audience of two million listeners. When the programme was moved to prime time, its audience swelled to four million (Food and Agriculture Organization, 1987). In 1955, when The Archers was at its peak popularity (before television diffused widely in Britain), two out of three adults in Britain, about twenty million people, were regular listeners. In the mid-1990s, The Archers commanded a regular audience of about eight million. The educational content kept up with the times. During the 1990s, issues such as organic farming and HIV/AIDS were addressed (James, 1992).

The Archers met several of its educational goals. Millions of urban dwellers learned of happenings in the countryside and about the problems of farmers and farming, which gained prestige for agriculture and understanding of its problems. The Archers provided useful information to farm families about animal diseases, how to increase farm
productivity and new crop practices. Research conducted by the BBC indicates that The Archers played an important role in helping a relatively inefficient agriculture in the post-war years become one of the most efficient in the world (Food and Agriculture Organization, 1987).

**DIALOGO IN COSTA RICA (1970)**

An example of talk radio that addressed sensitive educational topics was Dialogo in Costa Rica. This 10-minute radio programme was broadcasted each weekday morning at 7 a.m. to promote sex education in Costa Rica. Dialogo was broadcasted by five national and regional radio stations in Costa Rica; most were commercial. About 4,000 Dialogo broadcasts occurred from 1970 to the mid-1980s (Singhal, 1990).

Dialogo was produced by the Centro de Orientación Familiar (COF), a private Costa Rican family planning organization. David Poindexter played an important role in Dialogo. ‘COF’ underwrote the production costs by selling family planning booklets and audio cassettes of the programmes, with funds provided by local and international donor agencies.

Padre Carlos, an Episcopalian Minister who became interested in population issues, hosted Dialogo. It featured frank dialogues about sex education, such as between a parent and a child, a doctor and a patient, a professor and a student or between friends. Dramatized life stories of women, couples and families were presented to educate viewers about family planning. Thousands participated in the programme via letters and phone calls. Questions were answered on ‘Dialogo’; in a daily newspaper column, "Dialogo Abierto (Open Dialogue)"; and by direct mail. Dialogo helped remove the taboo from family planning in Costa Rica (Risopatron and Spain, 1980).

An amazing 40% of Costa Rica's adults regularly listened to ‘Dialogo’. The programme's reach was higher in rural, low-income and poorly educated Costa Rican households, the target audience (Population Reports, 1986; Risopatron and Spain, 1980). Half of
Dialogo's audience were males, even though it focused on human sexuality and family life education, subjects usually of greater interest to women. Research on the effects of Dialogo in the late 1970s, showed that listeners had greater knowledge about family planning methods than did non-listeners, displayed more positive attitudes toward family planning and were more likely to adopt family planning (Risopatron and Spain, 1980).

**TOM KAZUNGU, EDUTAINMENT AND INFOTAINMENT IN KENYA (1987)**

Kenyans had heard about family planning since 1962, when the Kenyan Family Planning Association was established. Nevertheless, relatively few Kenyans had adopted family planning methods by 1987 (Rogers et al., 1989). The average Kenyan women bore eight children. Polygamy was common, so a Kenyan man with four wives could easily father 30 or more children.

To address this population growth problem, Tom Kazungu, a radio producer at the government radio network, Voice of Kenya, was asked to create a family planning radio soap opera, ‘Ushikwapo Shikimana’ (Hold on to He Who Holds You). ‘Ushikwapo Shikimana’ had been a popular Swahili saying meaning, "when given advice, take it.

Voice of Kenya producers, writers and researchers travelled through rural Kenya to conduct formative evaluation. Anecdotes, folk sayings and information about obstacles to family planning were obtained and the plot, storyline and characters developed. Ushikwapo Shikimana was targeted to audience in six Kenyan states with very high fertility and infant mortality rates. The soap opera was designed to appeal to the nation's general radio audience.

The family of ‘Mzee Gogo’, a traditional ‘Kenyan’ man who had four wives, several children and many grandchildren, formed the main characters. Old man ‘Gogo’ derived esteem and security from his large family that lived on a small farm in ‘Pambazuko’ village. The smaller family of ‘Jaka’ and ‘Lulu’ and their two children represented a
monogamous marriage. The two families, representing negative and positive role models, were contrasted in terms of family harmony and opportunities for their children.

Funded by the Kenyan National Council for Population and Development (NCPD), each episode of ‘Ushikwapo Shikimana’ costed 10,000 Kenyan shillings, about $500 (U.S.), to produce. ‘Ushikwapo Shikimana’ did not convey specific details about family planning methods but instead motivated listeners to adopt family planning (Rogers et al., 1989). The soap opera also promoted such educational issues as reducing poverty, increasing personal self-efficacy, raising agricultural productivity and eliminating child abuse, a growing problem in Kenya.

The three scriptwriters wrote the soap. Dr. Jay Kitsao wrote the early episodes, Dr. Kimani Njogu wrote the middle episodes and Kadenge Kazungu wrote the last several episodes. All were linguistics professors at the University of Nairobi. No epilogue was provided. Instead, a summary of the educational messages in each episode was delivered by Kazungu.

A 1988 evaluation of ‘Ushikwapo Shikimana’ estimated a regular audience of 7 million people, 40% of Kenya’s population (Mazrui and Kitsao, 1988). Seventy-five percent accurately comprehended the family planning messages. A post-hoc research evaluation in 1990 indicated that by the time ‘Ushikwapo Shikimana’ ended in 1989, its audience had increased to an estimated 60% of the Kenyan population. Listeners reported learning the following from the soap opera: the need for family planning, the disadvantages of polygamy, the advantages of fewer children, the importance of family harmony, how to raise healthy children and the importance of mutual respect between husband and wife. Several thousand audience letters were received at Voice of Kenya headquarters in Nairobi, mostly from women who told how Ushikwapo Shikimana had affected their lives (Singhal, 1990).
Twende na Wakati (Let's Go with the Times), was a family planning and HIV prevention radio soap opera broadcast twice weekly in the evening hours in Tanzania. The series began broadcasting in Tanzania in 1993 and continued through 1998. Its purpose was to slow population growth and the spread of disease.

Realizing the harmful consequences of rapid population growth on the nation's social and economic development, the government adopted a National Population Policy in 1992. This led to a major expansion of the national family planning programme. Contraceptive services were provided free of charge at 3,000 Ministry of Health clinics, so most couples had access to family planning methods. However, the 1991-1992 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) in 1995 found a contraceptive prevalence rate for married women at a lower end (Singhal and Rogers, 1999).

The formative research provided scriptwriters and producers with a detailed understanding of the educational issues to be addressed and with the nature of message content that would be appropriate for the audience. Based on the pre-production research, a values grid was formulated in February 1993 to guide the content of Twende na Wakati at a workshop of religious, governmental, educational and other organizations.

Patterned after Sabido's methodology, three character types were featured in Twende na Wakati. Positive and negative role models shared or rejected the educational values and transitional characters, whose attitudes, behaviours changed and who eventually adopted the positive educational value. Positive role models were rewarded in the storyline; negative role models were punished. For example, ‘Mkwaju’ was a long-distance truck driver, who was promiscuous, contracted HIV and eventually suffered from AIDS. ‘Mkwaju’ preferred male children but was punished by having daughters: at one point, his wife and two girlfriends delivered five daughters, to his great disappointment.
‘Tunu’, Mkwaju's wife, was a compliant, submissive spouse during the early months of the broadcasts. After tolerating her husband's infidelity and alcoholism, Tunu became a positive role model for female equality, economic self-sufficiency and HIV prevention. She separated from Mkwaju and established a small business to support herself and her children. Tunu was positively rewarded by being spared from HIV infection and by prospering economically.

The messages conveyed were subtle. No preaching about family planning or HIV prevention occurred. The role models provided the vehicle for the educational message as Bandura's (1977, 1997) social learning theory dictated.