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Chapter 9

Entertainment-education in development communication

Between marketing behaviours and empowering people

Thomas Tufte

Prologue

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A. In 1937 a statue of Popeye was erected in the American spinach capital, Crystal City, in Texas, USA. The first cartoon character ever to be immortalized in public sculpture, Popeye and his 'father', E.C. Segar, were credited by the spinach growers. Sales were up 33% and Popeye had saved an industry in the crisis-torn US of the 1930s. The marketing of spinach via Popeye's spinach-eating had worked. But more than a commercial success, Popeye had become a role model for many children in the US who had changed eating habits and begun eating more vegetables, spinach in particular. Popeye thereby became an early experience of what later was developed and came to be known as entertainment-education: "the process of purposely designing and implementing a mediating communication form with the potential of entertaining and educating people, in order to enhance and facilitate different stages of pro-social (behaviour) change" (Bouman, 1999: 25).

B. In 1996 the Brazilian telenovela *Rei do Gado* (The Cattle King) brought a very polemical issue to the screen, that of agrarian reform and the social movement of the landless peasants in Brazil (the SEM TERRA movement). The issue was raised in the midst of serious land conflicts in Brazil. Nineteen landless peasants were killed in a conflict with landowners shortly before the telenovela went on air. The narrative –telling the story of a rich landowner who falls in love with a poor landless woman who was part of a group that occupies part of the rich landowner's

160 | estate— becomes a direct comment to the contemporary conflict in Brazil. The fictitious senator fighting for an agrarian reform in Congress became a ‘true’ spokesman of the landless in Brazil, and achieved —acting as senator— twice to meet in real life with Brazil’s President Cardoso. This fictitious ‘senator’ had obviously gained clout and negotiation power. When he was killed in the telenovela, supposedly by the landowner’s contract killers, two real senators participated, acting themselves, in the fictitious burial of the fictitious senator. *Rei do Gado* thus visibilized a growing social struggle, making the problem an issue of public knowledge, debate and concern. It portrayed key characters legitimizing this particular social struggle as a political struggle. It had tremendous effect, significantly increasing public attention, both the media attention and the political attention —attributed to the real SEM TERRA movement (Tufte, 1998).

Both of these examples are drawn from the margins of entertainment-education, but they are brought here to illustrate some of the positions and trends in current EE-practice. The Popeye story is a very early example of how entertainment-genres, here a cartoon, have been used for the promotion of individual behavioural change. It pre-dates by decades what later came to be known as EE through social marketing. It is also an early example of how commercial and public health interests can merge in a joint communication effort, creating a win-win situation where both stakeholders —the spinach industry and the public health of the people— gain from the intervention. *Rei do Gado* is an example of how the prime genre in entertainment-education, the serialized TV narratives (be they telenovelas, soap operas or similar genres), can serve the agendas of social movements by making the core problems visible and thereby empowering audiences and putting pressure on politicians.

EE - a contested communication strategy

The use of entertainment-education (EE) as a communication strategy in development work has grown significantly over the past decade (Singhal and Rogers, 2004, 1999; Sabido et al, 2003; Tufte, 2001; Bauman, 1999). The use of EE has for decades been seen in addressing health-related issues as blood pressure, smoking, vaccine promotion and family planning. It has also been used for the past 15 years in HIV/AIDS prevention. EE is also a communication strategy which is being applied increasingly in sectors such as environment, rural development, conflict resolution and peace-building (Skeie, 2004). At the strategic level, the objectives vary: from promoting individual behaviour change to supporting social change; from enhancing social mobilization to articulating peoples participation and empowering minority or marginalized groups to collective action. The main point here is that EE is increasingly being used as a strategic tool with a varying diversity of agendas.

The aim of this article is two-fold. First, it is to provide an introduction to the history and development of the use of entertainment-education in communication for development, from the early experiences in the 1950s and 1960s

to the abundance of cases seen today. Second, it is to attempt a categorisation of the different approaches to EE, suggesting three generations of EE-communication; from the social marketing strategies which marked early experiences and continue to exist as a widespread approach, over the more interdisciplinary strategies linking diffusion and marketing with some degree of participation, to the transdisciplinary third generation of approaches. This third category is explicitly oriented toward identification of social problems, power inequalities and their root causes, most often enhancing collective action and structural change.

The EE-communication practice we observe today is a negotiated strategy with epistemological foundations from scholars and strategists rooted in different schools of thought; varying cultural traditions of storytelling; a breadth of organisational traditions, trajectories, priorities and constraints; political agendas; varying media infrastructures and, finally, with the *ad hoc* tool box of communication also playing a crucial role in determining the final outcome of *de facto* developed strategies. In providing a brief history of the development of EE and in outlining the three core generations of EE practice, some of these synergies and characteristics will appear.

Cutting across this article is the aim to deconstruct how and where EE has managed to transcend traditional dichotomies found within both development theory and communication theory –binary thinking of either arguing for diffusion of innovations *or* participatory strategy, either modernisation strategies *or* a dependency strategy, either top-down *or* bottom-up, etc. Thus, in addition to providing some categorisation of the different existing EE-strategies, the aim is also to provide some degree of substance to conceptually developing a more critical strand of EE, the third generation of EE.

A core element of contestation has been the nature of the impact of EE. Recurrently, critical scholars have questioned the possibilities and limitations of EE. The epistemological aims, theoretical foundations and working methodologies in the actual practice have been questioned. Nancy Morris (in this volume) indicates that popularity is not equal to efficacy. John Sherry (1997: 93), in reviewing 20 EE soap operas, states that “the best-designed research using powerful statistical controls suggests no significant effects on knowledge, attitudes, or behaviour which can be attributed to the soap operas”. Lettenmaier et al (1993: 9) indicate that they found it difficult to separate out the effects of radio drama from other factors. Thus, some clarifications are needed in understanding the possibilities and limitations of the three different approaches to EE, for example:

- » What aims and objectives drive EE-strategies?
- » At what level of society are interventions sought?
- » What notion of change informs the strategy?
- » What results do EE strategies seek?
- » How do EE-strategies work with the genre, and with the actual narratives?

- » Who participates in developing the content of the strategy and narrative?
- » What is the time line in an EE-strategy?
- » How is the impact assessed?

There is an abundance and diversity in current EE communication practice. There is also a growing number of recent works contributing to a furthering of the thinking around EE (Bauman, 1999; Fuenzalida, 2005; Gao, 2005; McKee et al, 2004; Parker, 2005; Skeie, 2005; Singhal and Rogers, 2004; Storey, 1999). Together, this is contributing to a gradual broadening in epistemological, theoretical and methodological foundations. It is a breadth that can sustain the argument that EE is not just one uniform communication strategy, that of social marketing conceived as far back as in the days of young Popeye in the 1930s. It is much more. My suggestion for a broad definition EE is thus:

Entertainment-education is the use of entertainment as a communicative practice crafted to strategically communicate about development issues in a manner and with a purpose that can range from the more narrowly defined social marketing of individual behaviours to the liberating and citizen-driven articulation of social change agendas.

From Mexican telenovelas to South African TV-series

If we make a brief retrospective into the history and development of EE as a sub-field of study within communication for development, the first characteristic to highlight is that, in many ways, it has followed the key theoretical and methodological trends from communication for development in general. It is reflected in the three generations of EE between which I am distinguishing in this chapter.

One of the first modern examples of EE is *The Archers*, a series produced by the BBC radio drama and broadcast in England in the early 1950s (it still runs!). Since 1951 it has communicated important information to the farmers in England, and in the mid 1950s it was listened to by two out of three adult Englishmen (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998). However, from 1972 it gave up its deliberate educational perspective, becoming 'just' an ordinary radio soap opera. It was in the 1970s, however, that EE began to gain some more elaborate theoretical grounding. Social marketing is one of the key origins of today's EE-strategies, and is still at the core of many first generation EE-communication interventions. The use of social marketing developed in the 1970s and was quickly tied up with music, drama and storytelling. Entertainment was particularly linked to mass media-based strategies, especially television and radio. It was also in the 1970s that some of the key theories were developed, including Albert Bandura's theory of social learning (Bandura, 1977).

One of the pioneers in the use of TV-fiction for pro-social behaviour change was Mexican Miguel Sabido. Between 1975 and 1985, Sabido produced

a total of seven soap operas with built-in social messages. They were broadcast at Mexico's largest television network, Televisa, and were large audience successes. In countries such as India, Kenya, Tanzania and Brazil the use of television and radio and the explicit use of fictional genres gradually developed and became building stones in the continuous development of EE communication strategies (Singhal and Rogers, 1999; Sherry, 1998; Japhet, 1999; Tufte, 2000).

First generation EE - marketing behavior

Several issues characterized the growing use of telenovelas in strategic communication with the development of EE strategies. Firstly, with the work of Miguel Sabido, *a particular development of the genre* was developed, where mass education and behavior change via the media grew as a concern and ambition. Telenovelas, which had traditionally been conceived of as entertainment, were increasingly ascribed an educational potential as a tool both for dissemination of information and for awareness raising and behavior change. Social marketing, as the first generation of EE, dealt with the marketing of social behaviors, most often health related behaviors –to individuals watching the programs. EE communication interventions have diversified in scope and aim, thereby also changing the content of the genre. Where many of the social marketing driven radio and television dramas have worked systematically to explore how best and most accurately to convey messages and promote individual behavioural change, more recent initiatives –reflected in the second and third generation EE interventions– have had a stronger focus on communicating structural inequalities, representing and working with power relations and social conflict in the everyday life of the characters, and by representation of such problems stimulating debate and collective action. The key distinguishing feature lies in varying definitions of the problem to be addressed. Social marketing strategies define the key problem as a lack of information, while the second and third generations of EE define the problem as societal problems such as structural inequality and unequal power relations.

Second generation EE - bridging of paradigms

The second generation of EE was characterized by introducing new theoretical and methodological perspectives to the first generation EE. Stated bluntly, what happened in the mid and late 1990s was an acknowledgement that marketing of individual behavioural change often constituted a limitation in scope with the sole focus of securing sustainable improvement in the area of the identified problem, be it health, as it often was, or education, rural development, etc. With a growing recognition of complexity in the social, health, and other developmental problems to be addressed, a furthering of the conceptual basis was required, beyond the exclusive focus on individual behavioural change. It resulted first and foremost in the introduction of participatory

164 | approaches into many EE-communication strategies, although in an instrumental manner.

While EE from its inception has maintained a focus on individual behavioural change, social change agendas began to emerge in the 1990s as a key goal for many EE-strategies. Alongside the individual as a unit of change, there grew an increased attention towards structural elements as equally important focal points. Society as a unit of change began to be addressed. Critical social theory has been increasingly incorporated into the theoretical debates about EE, challenging more behaviorist cause-and-effect understandings of communication. This is where both participatory communication and also more recent reception theory have become relevant, suggesting more nuanced and complex understandings of the process of interpretation, meaning making, and change.

This second generation of EE was still growing out of the historical roots of EE, thus not discarding nor social marketing as a strategy, individual behavior change as a goal, or social learning theory as a basis. It sought, however, to bridge this practice, originating in a modernization-oriented diffusionist paradigm of development with elements from the participatory development paradigm.

It is only in the most recent years that a more fundamental critique of EE has grown to what I, in this article, call a third generation EE. It is represented by not only a radical shift in definition of the key type of problem to be addressed, but also a changed understanding in the notions of entertainment, of culture, of education, and of change. Whereas the second generation EE marks a more interdisciplinary and inclusive furthering of the strategies known from the first generation EE, there is now a growing voice of critique, marking the emergence of a fundamentally different way of approaching EE as a communication practice. It is an approach which is in line with some of the post-colonial critiques of the dominating paradigms of development.

However, before engaging with the most recent third generation EE, a key innovator in the second generation of EE communication practice should be highlighted. It is the South African NGO Soul City. Soul City has increasingly pledged multimethodological strategies, combining several media, promoting partnerships to civil society and grassroot activities as well as to formal education institutions.

Soul City - a cyclical communication strategy

The pioneers of the Soul City project are two medical doctors, Shereen Usdin and Garth Japhet. During the early 1990s, Garth Japhet, executive director of Soul City, worked in clinics among poor groups in the city as well as in the countryside:

In the early 1990s I worked both in the rural areas of Zulu land and in the townships of Soweto and Alexandra in Johannesburg. Here I realized that I despite my training as a doctor had no real influence on the basic problems (Japhet, 1999).

Japhet and his colleague Shereen Usdin realized the need for health training on basic issues such as childcare, contraception, and AIDS. The overall objective, according to Japhet, was to develop an on-going vehicle that could promote social change. From the outset, the media were considered the vehicles whereby information had been and continued to be made accessible, real, and appropriate to the audience. Through formative research, the audiences played a crucial role in the overall message development process and were ultimately the agents of change, deciding for themselves how and if to use the information provided. Soul City developed an inclusive vehicle where the core agents of change were the audiences. The unit of change transcended the individual viewers, listeners and readers, and was, instead, the broad society.

The guiding communication strategy for Soul City is *edutainment*, or, their denomination of entertainment-education. Japhet argues for a *cyclical communication strategy*, where a number of inputs are fed into the media vehicle. The outcome of the evaluation then results in a number of outputs. The overall process and the outputs in particular are then evaluated which in turn serves as a key input into the next phase of the on-going vehicle (Japhet, 1999).

As for inputs, there are two key inputs: *the audience and expert centered research process*, the formative research, and *the partnerships* established with civil society, government, private sector, international partners, and others. In a very participatory process, messages are developed and worked into the creative products, the media narratives, including TV, radio, and print. Soul City emphasizes that the model is generic, and that any narrative form can be applied in the media vehicle. It could also be popular theatre, music or any other form of popular cultural narrative. Soul City has had the opportunity to work in prime time and with the mass media and firmly believes in the efficiency of this process. However, if those opportunities are not available, the medium may well be another. The media vehicle produces two key types of output: *the direct output* (changes in knowledge, attitude, social norms and intermediate and direct practices as well as the development of a supportive environment favoring these mentioned changes); and *the development of potential opportunities*. These potential opportunities, made possible through media intervention, include a number of interesting opportunities, some of which Soul City has come far in making use of. Others are still being developed. These include educational packages, advocacy at both community and national level, and the development and use of Soul City's brand name.

Soul City has been active since 1994 and has constantly and closely evaluated the outcomes of the ongoing communication interventions. It lies beyond this article to reveal the findings, except to state that the Soul City EE-vehicle has secured changes and results both by changing individual behaviour and by influencing more profound social change processes. The heavy emphasis Soul City puts on monitoring and evaluating its communication strategy has contributed to making it an international show case which has inspired many other

166 | EE focused communication strategies world-wide including Latin America (<www.soulcity.org.za>; Tufte, 2001).

Soul City represented a major methodological break-through in EE praxis when it initiated activities in the early 1990s. As such, it spearheaded the effort to bridge traditions of social marketing and health promotion with participatory strategies of involving the audiences in all stages of the communication strategies. It has been recognized internationally as a key innovator in the 1990s EE-initiatives, spearheading what I've called the second generation of EE-interventions.

Third generation EE - empowerment and structural change

Very recently, a new wave of initiatives is being seen in the field of EE. These are EE-initiatives which have moved beyond the 'either diffusion or participation' duality of previous initiatives. They differ conceptually, discursively, in practice, and in the manner in which issues are conveyed in the mass media. Previously, the focus was on correct and possibly culture-sensitive messages conveyed via the mass media. The focus today is on problem identification, social critique, and articulation of debate, challenging power relations and advocating social change. There is a strong recognition that a deficit of information is not at the core of the problem. Instead the core problem lies in a power imbalance, in structural inequality, and in deeper societal problems. Solutions are sought by strengthening people's *ability to identify* the problems in everyday life, and their ability to act—collectively as well as individually—upon them. Empowerment is the keyword of the third generation EE.

Because social and structural inequality lie at the core of the problem, the EE-initiative will advocate for social change—not excluding but often in addition to individual behavioral change—in order to find solutions. From a communications perspective, communication for social change is emerging as the key concept (<www.communicationforsocialchange.org>; Rockefeller Foundation, 1997; see also chapter 6 in this volume).

The most successful case of using TV fiction for social change purposes in Latin America is a genuine 'home-grown' case from Nicaragua. It is the case of the NGO *Puntos de Encuentro* that has succeeded not only in producing the first Nicaraguan telenovela ever, but also in putting a broad range of social issues on the agenda for large youth populations in Nicaragua. The telenovela is called *El Sexto Sentido* (The Sixth Sense). It included 36 episodes in the first series, transmitted in 2001, and 26 episodes in the second series, from 2004. The most innovative pro-social use of telenovelas in Latin America is currently growing in a small country with no tradition for domestic production of telenovelas. *El Sexto Sentido* was a tremendous success—the most popular TV program for the youth audience at all (see chapter 23 in this volume). Significant for this, as an example of the third generation of EE, is the strong community based approach. *Puntos de Encuentro* had a decade-long trajectory in community-based participatory work

with women. From that experience, the need grew to develop a media vehicle that could provide voice and visibility in pursuit of their social change objectives.

Learning how? From marketing and persuasion to participation and liberating pedagogy

Inherent in ascription to EE is the understanding that entertainment genres are used for educational purposes. However, what are the notions of education applied in these different EE-generations? Questions of how and to what degree audiences are influenced by what they see has led to controversy regarding the *educational* value of such strategies. This is reflected in the different approaches that exist within EE where strategies range from media-borne social marketing strategies to empowerment strategies as Augusto Boal's liberating theatre (Boal, 1979). Fundamentally, these different approaches are more than mere differences in communication tools. They reflect epistemological differences in how to conceive learning and education, how to conceive audiences as either passive recipients or active participants in the communication process, and they ultimately reflect different aims, objectives and understandings regarding development and change.

The epistemological differences within one or the other EE approach reflect similar differences within the overall field of communication for development. While social marketing strategies traditionally focus on individual behavior change, there has been a growing concern for the need to develop community-based strategies as a means to involve the audiences or target groups more effectively. Thus, the traditions of participatory communication –known for many decades from the field of grassroot communication, alternative communication, and citizen media initiatives– are finding their way into mass media borne EE strategies. This has led to a resurgence of the Brazilian adult educator Paulo Freire's dialogical pedagogy as a central perspective to second generation EE strategies (Freire, 1967, 1968). These EE strategies range from Boal's theatre for development strategies to JHU/PCS more recent strategic thinking that makes at least some initial mention of Freire and his principles of community involvement, dialogue and process-orientation (Figueroa et al ,2002).

Paulo Freire himself had no deep understanding of, or interest in, the mass media, as he made plain in an interview that I conducted with him in 1990 (Tufte, 1990). His main orientation was to face-to-face communication and small-scale group interaction. However, Freire had a clear understanding of the need to deal with the power structures of society, and the need for the marginalized sectors of society to struggle to conquer a space for their critical reflection and dialogue. A previous interview with Freire identified a clear strategic aspect required for social change communication: the need to conquer space, to challenge normative, moral, and social borderlines, and to arrange a critical dialogue on pertinent issues as a pathway towards social change (Tufte et al, 1987). Freire's *conscientização* (consciousness-raising) could be utilized to secure community involvement in EE strategies. This pathway –if followed consequently– offers a means through which EE

168 | interventions can be connected to the questions of power, inequality and human rights. While used only in a limited manner in the second generation EE, these are the principles guiding the third generation of EE communication practice.

Breaking the silence: the forces of narratives, emotion and popular culture

Having now outlined the brief history of entertainment-education and provided some notion of the characteristics of the three main lines of EE communication practices, some reflection is required as to what the main genre in EE, radio and TV soap operas, actually consist of in terms of content, dramaturgy, and other entry points that help explain why it has become such an attractive genre in communication for development.

One of the key issues is that the genre connects so very well –in dramaturgical rhythm and in content– with the everyday lives of many people. Thus, the format is very appropriate in order to reach to large audiences. Secondly, it is a genre which has a documented ability to articulate debate. People engage, identify and involve themselves strongly with the stories told in radio and TV drama. When this is explored strategically, it may well contain the potential to articulate debate around difficult-to-talk-about issues. HIV/AIDS is the case in point. With Freire's thinking increasingly incorporated into the conceptual basis of the second and third generations of EE-communication practice, a conceptual approach has been applied which helps break this widespread silence around HIV/AIDS and also the 'silence of poverty' experienced in many countries. In his most recent book (2002), Jesus Martin-Barbero mentions the 'culture of silence' that characterises large sections of the marginalized segments of (Latin American) societies in their response to dominating social classes. Martin-Barbero brings this concept forward, originally developed by Paulo Freire (Freire, 1967: 111). It is central to understand the need for strategies to break silence. Thus, it can very well be used in current discussions about HIV/AIDS and the far too widespread silence with which the epidemic is being accepted –by the victims as well as by the populations and opinion leaders of the developed countries.

The 'culture of silence' can be explained both in the history of some of the peoples (colonialism, the masses not having the strength and opportunity to go up against the root causes of the health problems they are faced with today) as well as in them not having the indignation and energized rage with which to demand changes and better conditions of life. The result is an internalized acceptance of the 'status quo'. However, today there are increasing numbers of minority and marginalized voices that –through electronic media– have gained access and are making their cases visible and voices heard. They are achieving advocacy communication, articulating a strong, powerful, and well-founded process of communication for social change. Although it is not always easy, and many voices are still silenced, what can be documented is the use of Freirean liberating pedagogy in identifying problems and in seeking to understand the mech-

anisms of the 'culture of silence'. Freire's liberating pedagogy becomes a communication practice in the development of solutions.

The force of fiction

Why then melodrama? Why telenovelas? Why these genres as the chosen form in entertainment-education strategies? To answer these questions, we must look closer at what this form of narrative offers audiences. Drawing on my own research upon Brazilian telenovelas, and recalling the example of *Rei do Gado* which I used in the prologue to this article, there are a series of elements in the narrative construction, and in the relationship between such narratives and their audiences, that make the genre attractive for strategic communication.

The field of tension created in the quotidian mixtures of dramatic love stories and subtle class conflicts has been, and continues to be, the main recipe stimulating what I have called socio-emotional reactions of the viewers, and in multiple ways articulating the cultural and social practices of everyday life among the audience (Tufte, 2000). On one hand, the love drama, being central in all telenovelas, enables the identification and engagement. For example, the concern with and responsibility for the family is central. It is present in the audience's identification with the often conflict-oriented relations between parents and children, men and women, brothers and sisters. Values such as unity, love, and mutual understanding are emphasized, when the women are asked to give reviews of favourite telenovelas and when asked to highlight positive elements. Negative elements present in their discourses include issues of disrespect, betrayal, and personal ruptures of various sorts, reflecting –as with the positive elements– dimensions of their own social reality and personal experience.

Along with the love story, social mobility of the principal female character is often a central element in the narrative, stimulating identification among low income women. Most of the women interviewed possessed this ambivalence between dreaming about an easier life and focusing on the positive elements among themselves and their associates.

Despite a clear class discourse in the readings, the physical portraits of the lower social classes in telenovelas tend not to be as physically explicit as in real life. Slums are seldom seen, and worker's boroughs are always built almost beyond recognition, being cleaner, more beautiful, and always more bountiful and richer than in real life. Nevertheless, the reader clearly comprehends who are the 'rich' and who are the 'poor'. So, despite a particular aesthetic that avoids the exposure of social inequality, a social interpretation of the narrative is clearly perceived in the language the women use in reference to the characters and the narrative in general. All of them use expressions as 'to rise in life', 'up there-down here', 'fight to get there', 'rise-fall', and 'ascend-descend'. There are many other similar expressions, internalized proverbs saying that 'you must not give up', 'keep your head up high', 'there is a reason for it all', 'keep going', etc. These expressions seem to reflect an understanding of the social inequality among the persons of the narrative, but the

170 | expressions also reflect a reasoning and interpretation whereby social inequality can be explained, although not justified, and secondly, giving room for hope and aspiration for social change and ascent. The struggle not to give up and to maintain their personal pride despite social misery becomes essential.

It is this fundamental struggle that telenovelas in some way recognize, and in which *Rei do Gado* is no exception. The poor landless woman, whose shelter is burnt to the ground, happens to marry the rich landowner, maintaining the hope and aspiration of the audience –some would say the delusion of the audience– for social change and ascent.

However, telenovelas also make visible (Thompson, 1995) and consider quotidian problems (and pleasures, I would add), as Brazilian media scholar Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva at one point called them (Da Silva, 1985: 114), problems that everybody has and fights with in their day-to-day life –relationship problems with family and friends, economic problems, personal dramas, etc. Despite portraying a material world often far from the viewers' own lives, the telenovelas strike some everyday experiences which are recognizable for the viewers, thereby sparking identification and feelings of satisfaction and pleasure. This recognition promotes a sense of social and cultural membership, counterbalancing the many processes of socio-cultural and political-economic marginalization experienced by many low income citizens in the world.

In addition to the symbolic order of everyday life constructed and reconstructed in these melodramatic narratives, telenovelas offer viewers a socio-cultural and often also political framework of reference. Altogether, the social and cultural particularities of the constructed roles and relations in the narrative are often very recognizable to the audience. These particularities are a product of, and referent to, a particular history, culture, and socio-economic situation that the members of the audience have in common. These processes of identification and recognition with "persons, problems and situations in common" contribute to and generate a sense of belonging, a sense often being of national belonging (Thompson, 1995). Thus, telenovelas emotionally enrich everyday life of the viewers, articulating and reinforcing particular social and cultural practices, thereby contributing to a particular symbolic construct of the country in question, and simultaneously articulating a feeling of member of a national collectivity (Tufte, 1998).

Because of their narrative structures and relevant content, telenovelas can promote a strong feeling of audience membership, especially into the imagined community of the nation, thereby creating the 'cultural connection', or a link, between the stories told in the telenovela and the viewers' struggles and concerns as citizens in society. It is in this perspective that telenovelas in Latin America, and similar entertainment and fiction genres in other countries, should constantly be revisited. The social and cultural role of television fiction in everyday life should increasingly be analysed, in order to understand the significance the audience give to them, and to understand how telenovelas –along with other cultural rituals of everyday life– make visible issues and struggles of common concern.

Swim in the cultural waters

Paulo Freire once said “you must swim in the cultural waters of the people”, paraphrased from an article comparing Freire and N.F.S. Grundtvig (Tufte, 1987). One of the problems in early forms of EE, and in many of the media-borne campaigns, has been the lack of connection to ‘the cultural waters’ –and the life experiences– of the people.

Paulo Freire’s ideas –developed from the 1950s into the 1970s– have regained momentum and force, amongst both scholars reflecting upon EE and a growing number of practitioners. Many of the ideas he launched and many of the analyses he conducted about how to articulate processes of *conscientização* have equal power today. Not least the fight against HIV/AIDS seems to carry the potential for policy makers, organisations, social movements and ordinary people in their communities, to come together and fight against this threat to human kind.

Freire’s thoughts are today the epistemological centre of many of the efforts to combat HIV/AIDS, be it in the work of theatre groups where Augusto Boal’s Freire-based methodology flourishes or large-scale media-heavy campaigns as the CADRE-run campaign Tsha-Tsha in South Africa (Kelly, 2002). In the academic writing around EE, Freire’s thoughts are coming forth after many years away (Singhal, 2004; Tufte, 2003a). As Andrew Skuse points out, instead of focusing on behaviour, community dialogue is crucial (Skuse, 2003). Even the ideas of theology of liberation from the church movements of Latin America in the 1980s resonate well with the type of social critique which drives this third generation of EE. The problem is not merely one of lacking information. The problem has to do with the structural violence in society.

What is characterising the third generation of EE-strategies is a conceptual basis that moves beyond integration of diffusionist and participatory approaches. The epistemological drive is a commitment to social change, based on analysis of the structural violence, the unequal power relations and guided by commitments to human rights and social justice. These still emerging third generation EE strategies are, furthermore, combined with a strong orientation towards collective action. *Puntos de Encuentro* with *El Sexto Sentido* is an example of that (see chapter 23 in this volume). EE communication efforts are increasingly seen applied to combat HIV/AIDS, poverty, conflict and thus combat what Skuse calls “the immoral of human action” (Tufte, 2001; Skuse, 2003).

One strategy - three approaches

The growing interest for EE, seen in practice in the cases mentioned above, is confirmed in the theoretical-methodological substantiation of EE as both a theoretical and practical approach to education, development, and social change. It can lead to belief that new strategies are developing to enhance education, development, and social change on the basis of competent and active involvement of the people it is about. The development of EE is seen in many elements; the increased recog-

172 | nition of radio and TV drama as expressions of popular culture, the increased publishing on EE, the institutionalisation of the field as seen with the global EE conferences (1989, 1997, 2000, 2004) in PCI's yearly Soap Summit, and the curricular development represented in the growing number of courses offered in EE. Finally, the epistemological, theoretical, and methodological diversification of EE is not least seen in the work of the new generation of EE scholars, which is characterized by both the critical and fundamental rethinking of EE based on the third generation conceptual basis, as well as bringing EE into new fields of practices, as is, for example, conflict resolution and environmental protection.

Applying EE in accordance with post-colonial, alternative, citizen-oriented and often grassroots-driven development theory and practice is, as I see it, an appreciation of new languages and formats in liberating pedagogy. At the level of communication practices for social change, it is a recognition of the need to move beyond information-driven solutions and towards communication-driven solutions, beyond *logos* alone to *mythos* as well, that is: beyond reason and towards emotion, not in an either-or dualism, but in integrated strategies where learning and awareness-raising is not just about conveying information but about involving people in changing society.

Concerns about citizenship and human rights are at the core of this matter, and when it comes to the use of radio and TV drama in EE strategies, it is also about exercising and recognizing the *cultural citizenship* of the audiences (Tufté, 2000). EE, as an educational strategy, in the language used, content focus, and notion of audience involvement as manifested in the third generation EE, is treading new ground as a strategy of *conscientização* that moves beyond marketing, towards empowerment, and more in sync with the mediated and globalized world of today.

In conclusion, the communication practices of entertainment-education are consolidated into what I view as three different approaches. They are referred to as three generations of EE because of the chronology of the development—the first generation emerging in the 1970s, the second generation emerging in the 1990s, and now, the third generation gaining voice and conceptual basis in the contemporary debate about communication for development. The first generation EE, having existed for longest, is, in many critiques of EE, the key object of criticism (Waisbord, 2001; Morris, 2003 and in this volume). However, some of the voices critical to EE begin now to connect the growing use of EE with the rehabilitation of popular culture as a source of power and change in everyday life (Martin-Barbero, 1993, 2002), exploring the options to formulate critical, post-colonial, post-development (Escobar, 1995), social change oriented uses of EE. This approach represents another way of thinking about development and change, despite drawing on the same genres as in the first and second generation EE. Figure 1 highlights—with the risk of simplification—the key differences.

The definition of the key problem is focused on structural inequalities more than on lacking a specific piece of information. This reflects that the notion

of change differs –the first generation focusing on changing the behaviour and norms of individuals, while the third generation is oriented towards also addressing the underlying causes influencing and determining individual behaviour. The notion of how to catalyse a change process differs from it seen as an externally driven change agent that targets a specific audience (first generation) to the third generation EE understanding the change process as something catalysed from within, by the community itself, or by members of the community.

Figure 1: (De-)constructing the field of entertainment-education

Entertainment-Education	First generation	Second generation	Third generation
Definition of Problem	Lack of Information	Lack of Information and Skills Inappropriate Contexts Structural Inequalities	Structural Inequalities Power Relations Social Conflict
Notion of Entertainment	Instrument: Tool for Message Conveying	Dynamic Genre: Tool for Change	Process: Popular Culture Genre as Form of Expression
Notion of Culture	Culture as Barrier	Culture as Ally	Culture as ‘Way of Life’
Notion of Catalyst	External Change Agent targeting X	External Catalyst in Partnership with Community	Internal Community Member
Notion of Education	Banking Pedagogy Persuasion	Life Skills, Didactics	Liberating Pedagogy
Notion of Audience	Segments Target Groups Passive	Participants Target Groups Active	Citizens Active
What is Communicated?	Messages	Messages and Situations	Social Issues and Problems
Notion of Change	Individual Behaviour Social Norms	Individual Behaviour Social Norms Structural Conditions	Individual Behaviour Social Norms Power Relations Structural Conditions
Expected Outcome	Change in Norms and Individual Behaviour Numerical Result	Change in Norms and Individual Behaviour Public and Private Debate	Articulation of Social and Political Process Structural Change Collective Action
Duration of Intervention	Short Term	Short and Long Term	Short and Long Term

Finally, it is important to highlight the different notions of education or learning. Drawing on Freire’s distinctions between the depositing of information –the *banking pedagogy* of education– and the empowering process of learning through ‘naming the world’ in a dialectic process of action-reflection-action –the *liberating pedagogy*, a clear parallel can be drawn to the approaches of the first and third generation EE. The first generation EE seeks to convey messages and

174 | transfer information through mass media in what is similar to the principles of banking pedagogy. The third generation seeks to articulate and to promote the dialectic process of debate and collective action centred on social issues, conflicts, inequalities, and power imbalances in societies. This is in line with the principles of Freire's liberating pedagogy.

It lies beyond the scope of this chapter to spell out the underlying analysis and theoretical-methodological rationale behind each categorization in the above Figure 1. My fundamental argument is that EE is not just one communication strategy. It can be many different approaches that all have in common the use of entertainment as a communicative practice crafted to strategically communicate about development issues in a manner and with a purpose that can range from the more narrowly defined social marketing of individual behaviours and to the liberating and citizen-driven articulation of social change agendas. At this stage, generation one and two have revealed some of the communicative potentials of using entertainment such as storytelling, drama or music. However, through investigation into how to use communication for development, a rethinking of development, as reflected in post-colonial and late modern thought as Escobar (1995), Appadurai (1996), Bauman (1998, 2003) and many others, has the potential to shape a very strong epistemological basis for entertainment-education communication practice based on diversity in voice, human rights, and cultural citizenship.