

The Rising Tide of Entertainment–Education in Communication Campaigns

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THE ENTERTAINMENT–EDUCATION STRATEGY

The idea of combining entertainment with education goes as far back in human history as the timeless art of storytelling. For thousands of years, music, drama, dance, and various folk media have been used in many countries for recreation, devotion, reformation, and instructional purposes. However, *entertainment–education* (E–E) as a purposive communication strategy is a relatively new concept in that its conscious use in radio, television, popular music, films, and digital gaming has received attention only in the past few decades (Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido, 2004; Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Wang & Singhal, 2009).

In its initial decades, E–E was broadly defined as “the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message both to entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members’ knowledge about educational issues, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior” (Singhal et al., 2004, p. 5; also see Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p. 9). However, in recent years, with the exponential growth in the development and popularity of digital interactive entertainment, especially gaming applications and practices, Wang and Singhal (2009) proposed a reformulation: “Entertainment–education is a theory-based communication strategy for purposefully embedding educational and social issues in the creation, production, processing, and dissemination process of an entertainment program, in order to achieve desired individual, community, institutional, and societal changes among the intended media user populations” (pp. 272–273).

In radio, the most well-known E–E application occurred in 1951, when BBC began broadcasting *The Archers*, a British radio soap opera that carried educational messages about agricultural development. As the world’s longest-running radio soap opera, *The Archers* continues to be broadcast to this date, addressing contemporary issues such as

HIV/AIDS prevention and environmental conservation. In television, E-E was discovered more or less by accident in Peru in 1969, when the television soap opera *Simplemente María* (Simply Maria) was broadcast (Singhal, Obregon, & Rogers, 1994). The main character, María, a migrant to the capital city, worked during the day and enrolled in adult literacy classes in the evening. She then climbed the socioeconomic ladder of success through her hard work and strong motivation and later developed seamstress skills with a Singer sewing machine. *Simplemente María* attracted record audience ratings, and the sale of Singer sewing machines boomed in Peru. So did the number of young girls enrolling in adult literacy and sewing classes. When *Simplemente María* was broadcast in other Latin American nations, similar effects happened. Audience identification with María was strong, especially among poor, working-class women: She represented a Cinderella role model for upward social mobility.

Inspired by the audience success and the unintentional educational effects of *Simplemente María*, Miguel Sabido, a television writer-producer-director in Mexico, developed a production method for E-E soap operas. Its key elements include: a moral grid; a set of protagonists, antagonists, and transitional characters as role models; a narrative structure that confronts the status quo and progresses through stages of suffering, doubting, and overcoming obstacles to achieve the ultimate triumph; and the use of epilogues and infrastructure to facilitate public discourse and support social change (Sabido, 2004). Between 1975 and 1982, Sabido produced seven E-E *telenovelas* that helped motivate enrollment in adult literacy classes, encourage the adoption of family planning, and promote gender equality. These programs were also commercial hits for Televisa, the Mexican television network, earning audience ratings equivalent to Televisa's other soap operas (Nariman, 1993).

The Sabido production method snowballed globally, inspiring the development of television soap operas such as *Hum Log* (We People) in India, radio soap operas such as *Twende Na Wakati* (Let's Go With the Times) in Tanzania, and the use of rock music campaigns in Mexico and Nigeria (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). Since the mid-1980s, E-E has continued to expand at a rapid rate (Singhal & Rogers, 2002). In the past 25 years, it has spread to thousands of projects, spurred by the efforts of dozens of global and local organizations, notably, Population Communications International (now PCI Media Impact), Johns Hopkins University's Center for Communication Programs, BBC World Service Trust, Population Media Center, Search for Common Ground, Oxfam-Novib, University of Southern California's Norman Lear Center, Soul City Institute of Health and Development Communication, Heartlines, Puntos de Encuentro, Breakthrough, and Centrum Media & Gezondheid. E-E has also been widely adapted by creative media professionals in television, radio, film, print, theater, and new media.

Research has been built into E-E programs since early practice, and it routinely includes formative and summative evaluations (Singhal et al., 2004; Singhal & Rogers, 1999; see also Atkin & Freimuth, Chapter 4; Valente & Kwan, Chapter 6). A majority of the work from the mid-1980s to early 2000s focused on message design and delivery to close gaps in knowledge, attitude, and practice (KAP) and effects of the change mechanism through parasocial interaction, role modeling, self-efficacy, celebrity identification, and the mediation of interpersonal communication. Audiences find E-E to be highly engaging,

and it often attracts widespread viewership or listenership as well as generating excellent audience response via handwritten letters, phone calls, and e-mails. Such campaigns are also proven to be effective for raising awareness and knowledge, changing individual attitudes and behaviors, and creating conditions to change social and cultural norms.

SOUL CITY: AN ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION EXEMPLAR

To better understand the role of E-E in large-scale, national-level communication campaigns, let us consider the case of the Soul City Institute of Health and Development Communication in South Africa, an institution regarded as an international leader in E-E (Lacayo & Singhal, 2008). The Soul City multimedia platform reaches 16 million South Africans regularly, influencing their norms, attitudes, and behaviors on a wide range of health and social topics. Its two flagship series are *Soul City* and *Soul Buddyz*, each containing a television series, a corresponding radio drama—broadcast in nine of South Africa's 11 official languages—as well as glossy print material, including comic books, life skills materials, and workbooks.

Soul City's origins go back to 1992, when Dr. Garth Japhet was working as a medical doctor at a clinic in Alexandra, a township just north of Johannesburg. The number one cause of child death in Japhet's clinic was diarrhea, which was easily preventable if mothers knew how to rehydrate their children (see also Rice & Foote, Chapter 5). Teaming up with another medical doctor, Dr. Shereen Usdin, Japhet launched Soul City, a health education initiative that was to reach the people through multimedia edutainment programming. Its television series *Soul City* became an instant hit, and the organization has continued to march forward ever since. In 1999, *Soul Buddyz*, a sister brand, was launched especially to serve the younger generation of 8- to 12-year-olds, addressing their problems and concerns in school, at home, and in their communities.

Soul City uses an exhaustive research process to create highly compelling story lines. For each of its series, Soul City chooses to prioritize three or four health and development issues to address and provides consultations with experts, civil society groups, medical doctors, and scholars. Its in-house researchers engage in a long consultative process with audiences, trying to understand what they know about the issue, how they feel, and what barriers prevent them from practicing desired behaviors. Accordingly, scripts are developed and pretested for their entertainment and educational value, clearing the way for production, broadcast, and distribution of multimedia materials.

A case in point is the fourth *Soul City* television series in which a well-respected character, Thabang, a school teacher, slapped his wife, Matlakala. As the story line progressed and the cycle of violence increased and began to take a heavy physical and emotional toll on Matlakala, she was advised by her mother to *bekezela*, that is, endure the abuse as it was primarily a woman's duty to make a marriage work. Thabang's father agreed, emphasizing that, as per tradition, a husband must discipline his wife. When Matlakala's beatings got worse, including a hospitalization, she learned about South Africa's new Domestic Violence Act and served Thabang a protection order. Matlakala's father, speaking on behalf of his abused daughter, and thereby modeling a new paternal behavior, explicitly urged

the neighbors to not be "silent colluders," but rather to intervene. As the story unfolded, and when in an episode, Thabang began to beat Matlakala, her neighbors, collectively, stood outside Thabang's house beating their pots and pans. The loud noise of dozens of pots and pans sent a clear message to Thabang that the community disapproved of his actions and an assurance to Matlakala that her neighbors cared about her.

This pot-banging episode, which earned one of the highest audience ratings in South Africa in 1999, demonstrated the importance of creatively modeling collective efficacy in order to energize neighbors, who for social and cultural reasons, felt previously ineffective. By watching the neighbors collectively act against an abuser on-screen, viewers learned and practiced new ways to break the cycle of spousal abuse (Usdin, Singhal, Shongwe, Goldstein, & Shabalala, 2004). Pot banging to stop partner abuse was reported in several communities in South Africa (including in Khayelitsha Township, Cape Town). Patrons of a local pub in Thembisa Township in South Africa self-organized to reinvent the new collective action they learned. Together, they banged bottles in the bar when a man physically abused his girlfriend (Singhal, 2010a).

In 2009, Soul City broke new ground in E-E by broadcasting *Kwanda, Communities With Soul* (www.kwanda.org), a prime-time reality TV program that sought to transform dysfunctional social relationships in communities facing high unemployment and under-employment, HIV/AIDS, alcoholism, drug abuse, and gang warfare. *Kwanda*, an Nguni term meaning *to develop* or *to grow*, was a prosocial spin on the hit ABC television program *Extreme Makeover*, which depicts ordinary men and women experiencing plastic surgery, exercise regimes, new hairstyles, and wardrobes; at the end of the episode, they are revealed to their loved ones, evoking "jaw dropping" reactions (Lacayo & Singhal, 2008).

In a similar vein, *Kwanda* depicted five communities spread across South Africa (Pefferville in Eastern Cape, Mthwalume in Kwa-Zulu Natal, Tjakastad in Mpumalanga, Lephephane in Limpopo, and Kwakwatsi in Free State) that competed in an "extreme community makeover" competition in order to look better (e.g., removal of garbage dumps), feel better (e.g., young women feeling safe in their neighborhoods), and work better (e.g., a responsive local administration). *Kwanda's* larger goal was to build social capital among community members who were united by a common purpose and engaged in trusting, collaborative interactions for the greater public good. Toward this end, Soul City worked with some 50 men and women in each participating community, training them over a period of five weeks to attain the organizational skills needed to design, implement, and scale up local initiatives. Ten of the 50 participants in each community were especially trained in fashion design and sewing so that they could lead the *Kwanda Clothing* project that was launched alongside the TV show, allowing their communities to generate sustainable income and jobs. Designing a chic urban collection for both men and women, *Kwanda Clothing* incorporates indigenous designs involving denim, wraps, beads, and buttons to appeal to contemporary South African styles and tastes.

When *Kwanda* was broadcast in 2009, each community's "makeover" received an airtime of two reality TV episodes. *Kwanda's* final episode recognized the community of Kwakwatsi as the winner, and Team Kwakwatsi was applauded for their role in planting vegetable gardens for poor families; cleaning streets, garbage dumps, and graveyards; creating services and safety nets for disabled children; enrolling children in schools; and creating profitable sewing, beading, and other allied businesses (Mkhetho, 2009). They

received a large amount of prize money from South Africa's National Development Agency and from state and local agencies to continue their good work. Postbroadcast, more than 2,000 people in the community of Kwakwatsi were working in Kwanda-related social and entrepreneurial enterprises, demonstrating that the entertainment component of the reality TV format could be harnessed for community organization, development, and transformation (see <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Kwanda/118735351447?ref=ts>).

EMERGING TRENDS IN ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION

There are six emerging trends in the practice of E-E, signifying its consolidation, growth, expansion, and integration with other approaches: 1) consultative social merchandizing, 2) social movements, 3) invitational approaches, 4) positive deviance, 5) digital technology, and 6) transmedia storytelling.

Trend #1: Entertainment-Education and Consultative Social Merchandizing

Up until the mid- to late 1990s, the E-E approach, barring some exceptions, was almost exclusively applied in the developing countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Employing entertainment programs for health promotion and social change in media-saturated environments can be particularly challenging (Hether, Huang, Beck, Murphy, & Valente, 2008; Sherry, 2002). In recent years, E-E practitioners have found new consultative ways to work with the creative industry in media-saturated environments. Commonly referred to as *consultative social merchandizing*, in such an approach, an E-E institution consults with and serves as a resource for creative writers, producers, and entertainment professionals so that social topics can accurately be inserted and portrayed in the commercial media. Akin to the practice of product placement that commercial marketers employ, social merchandizing is about placing social and health topics in dramatic story lines. The telenovelas of TV Globo in Brazil are well known for employing the social merchandizing strategy (La Pastina, Patel, & Schiavo, 2004).

The Hollywood, Health & Society (HH&S) program at the University of Southern California's Norman Lear Center (www.usc.edu/hhs) in the United States, and the Centrum Media & Gezondheid in Gouda, Netherlands, represent two E-E institutions that serve as leaders in this approach. Since 2000, HH&S has partnered with a wide range of donor and government agencies, professional health institutions, and communication and public health researchers to serve as a 24-7 resource for Hollywood producers and writers. For millions of Americans, television is an important and often primary source of health information and a variety of health story lines have been used in prime-time and daytime television shows (Beck, 2004; Murphy, Hether, & Rideout, 2008). Viewers learn from these dramas despite the often inaccurate content (Morgan, Movius, & Cody, 2009). HH&S strives to help the creative community incorporate accurate health information and key messages for attitudinal and behavioral change in their entertainment programming in multiple ways: individual consultations with case examples and assistance to the development of specific story lines; group briefings on top issues in public health; quarterly "Real to Reel"

newsletters with health headlines; an expanding list of writer's tip sheets; and panel discussions at Writers Guild of America, West (Beck, 2004; Movius, Cody, Huang, Berkowitz, & Morgan, 2007; Roberts, 2011). By serving as a consultative bridge, they connect health expertise with compelling storytelling to produce television drama with accurate portrayals and effective social modeling (e.g., Hether et al., 2008; Morgan et al., 2009; Movius et al., 2007; Wilkin, Valente, Murphy, Cody, Huang, & Beck, 2007).

Trend #2: Entertainment–Education and Social Movements

One emerging and encouraging trend in E–E is the harnessing of its ability to stimulate mass-mediated public discourse on important social topics and coupling them with on-the-ground alliances to create social movements. An exemplary organization in this realm is *Puntos de Encuentro* (Meeting Places or Common Ground), a Nicaraguan organization that promotes youth and women's rights primarily by challenging social norms and unequal power relationships (Lacayo & Singhal, 2008). *Puntos* combines cutting-edge media, leadership training, community education, and alliance building as tools for creating a just society. Its popular television soap opera *Sexto Sentido* (Sixth Sense) is part of a multimedia strategy that includes a daily radio talk show, a feminist magazine, billboards, and other allied activities.

Puntos takes a relatively nonprescriptive route: Through various media vehicles and outreach programs, it aims to influence the social contexts in which individuals live and create conversational spaces where citizens can discuss and decide the kind of change they wish to achieve (Rodriguez, 2005). Founded in 1991 by a small group of feminist activists, *Puntos* relentlessly links the personal with the political; questions power relations and shows alternatives; encourages networking, critical thinking, and private and public dialogue and debate; and builds social support systems to create an environment open to informed personal and collective change (Lacayo, 2006; Lacayo, Obregon, & Singhal, 2008).

Puntos' engagement with the media started modestly with the mimeographed newsletter *La Boletina*, which covered Nicaragua's women's movement. By 2007, *La Boletina* was the most widely circulated magazine in Nicaragua. Distributed to more than 1,000 women's groups by a volunteer network, *La Boletina* is *Puntos*' means for local organizing, consciousness-raising, and popular education. It is *Puntos*' most significant contribution to the Nicaraguan women's movement, connecting women and women's groups across the country, building a sense of belonging, and fostering visibility of the women's movement and its actions (Lacayo & Singhal, 2008).

Puntos also sought to develop a constituency among youth, who were equally silenced (as women) by authoritarianism and violence in Nicaraguan society. The organization launched *Sexto Sentido Radio*, a daily, youth-run, call-in radio program, which became an instant hit. In 2007, in its 15th year of live broadcast on 11 local stations and via the Internet, *Sexto Sentido Radio* is perhaps the longest-running radio program in Nicaragua of the youth, for the youth, and by the youth.

Puntos expanded into television with the indigenous television soap series *Sexto Sentido* (Sixth Sense). Running for four seasons (2001 to 2005) and watched by 70% of Nicaragua's

television audience, *Sexto Sentido* addressed bold topics in sexual and reproductive health; overt and covert prejudice and discrimination; and rights of the weak, vulnerable, and the marginalized, personalizing them in stories that reflected the problems, decisions, triumphs, and challenges of a group of young Nicaraguans. Research evaluations of *Sexto Sentido* demonstrate the program's wide audience appeal, the spurring of new conversations among viewers on a variety of sensitive topics (such as abortion, incest, homosexuality, and others), and the synergistic effects of E–E drama within a social movement strategy (Lacayo & Singhal, 2008). In 2010, reruns of *Sexto Sentido* were broadcast on major television channels in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Mexico. *Sexto Sentido* has won several international awards and has been featured in over 40 film festivals in the United States and internationally.

Beyond mediated television and radio fare, Puntos's media protagonists (e.g., major characters in *Sexto Sentido*) further break the silence about issues such as rape, abortion, and HIV stigma in real life. They take stands against abusive relationships, question gay stereotypes, and create visible and audible alternatives to unequal power relations. Building on platforms for public discourse created by popular television and radio, tours of the *Sexto Sentido* cast to high schools all across Nicaragua (and in other Central American countries), and the accompanying large-scale distribution of educational audiovisual and print materials, young people are provided safe spaces where they can facilitate dialogue and debates to voice opinions, share experiences, challenge biases, negotiate different viewpoints, and make decisions about how and where to create change in their lives (Lacayo & Singhal, 2008). In overall terms, Puntos strategically combines media and education with alliance-building partnerships with youth and women-friendly service providers to support on-the-ground social change movements in Nicaragua and Central America.

Trend #3: Invitational Entertainment–Education

Another trend in E–E is to incorporate the principle of invitation along with persuasion (Greiner & Singhal, 2009). In contrast to the element of push in persuasion, invitation is more of a pull strategy, acting on those who choose to willingly engage, seek, imagine, create, and generate (Greiner, 2009). The invitational approach, by definition, overcomes resistance to change, increasing people's participation, and spreads the burden of action across more shoulders (Foss & Griffin, 1995). The underlying assumption of invitational E–E is that any community members can be agents of change for themselves and for others.

The seeds of invitational E–E can be found in Augusto Boal's (1979) Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) movement, where audience members are invited to take control of situations rather than be passive consumers (Singhal, 2004). Inspired by the pedagogy of Paulo Freire (1970), Boal openly invited audience members to stop a theatrical performance and suggest different actions for the actors, who would then carry out the audience suggestions. During one such performance, a woman in the audience was so outraged that the actor could not understand her suggestion that she charged onto the stage and acted out what she meant. For Boal, this defining event marked the birth of the *spect-actor* (not spectator). From that day, audience members were invited onto the stage. Thus, passive

spectators are changed into actors who then become transformers of the dramatic action. They are invited to assume a protagonist role, change the dramatic action, try out various solutions, discuss plans for change, and train themselves for social action in the real world.

The notion of invitational E-E is firmly embodied in the Scenarios From Africa project, which consists of three key components: a scriptwriting contest for young people ages 15 to 24 on themes related to HIV/AIDS, a juried selection of winning scripts, and production and distribution of short films created from the winning script ideas (Winskell & Enger, 2005). The Scenarios process is implemented by hundreds of international and community-based organizations across sub-Saharan Africa. Since its inception in 1997, there have been five completed editions of the Scenarios contest with a cumulative total of 55,072 scripts submitted by 145,875 young people from 47 different countries (D. Enger, personal communication, January 2, 2011).

Designed to invite young people to take part in a creative contest, Scenarios opens dialogue and debate on HIV/AIDS and sexuality topics among and between young people and a range of community interlocutors (Winskell & Enger, 2005). Story lines submitted by youth reflect their humor, compassion, perceptiveness, and ingenuity (Greiner & Singhal, 2009). For instance, in a short, award-winning script for a film *The Shop* presented by Olga Ouédraogo, a young man enters a shop to buy condoms but has little courage to do so publicly. Embarrassed to ask for condoms, he ends up purchasing several packets of biscuits until he watches an elderly man enter the shop and openly asks for condoms (Winskell & Enger, 2005). Overcoming his embarrassment, the young man purchases the condoms and arrives at his girlfriend's house. "It's too late!" she tells him and rides off on her moped. The film has proven so popular with audiences that it was dubbed into 19 languages and has been broadcast in dozens of countries including Fiji, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, and Haiti (Winskell & Enger, 2005).

Trend #4: Integrating Positive Deviance and Entertainment-Education

One approach that holds great promise of integration with E-E is the positive deviance (PD) approach to social change (Singhal, 2010a, b; Singhal, Buscell, & Lindberg, 2010; Singhal & Dura, 2009) that enables communities to discover the best practices and local wisdom they already have and then to act on it (Sternin & Choo, 2000). PD is an assets-based approach, identifying what's going right in a community in order to amplify it, as opposed to focusing on what's going wrong in a community and fixing it (see also Bracht & Rice, Chapter 20, for community-based campaigns).

From the perspective of E-E producers, there are important implications of conducting PD inquiries on the ground as part of formative research and then finding ways to incorporate these findings in the message design process by creating role models to exemplify the PD behaviors on E-E narrative. Such happened in North West Frontier Province of Pakistan where, in 2003 to 2004, a 13-episode entertaining magazine show called *Zindagi ki Dore* (Threads of Life) was broadcast to educate audiences about maternal and newborn care practices and included the role modeling of pregnancy-related PD behaviors. One example is a mother-in-law who hand stitches a small mattress for the baby to have a clean and warm surface immediately following delivery and the husband who gives the traditional birth attendant a clean blade to cut the umbilical cord.

These individuals are *deviants* because their behaviors are not the norm, and they are *positive* as they model the desirable maternal and newborn care behaviors. In *Zindagi ki Dore*, such PD behaviors were role modeled so that the audience members could observe them, consider them, and learn from them. As more people in the audience discover how to practice the new PD behaviors, the norm across institutions and communities can begin to shift.

The PD approach is now yielding home-grown insights on how to address diverse and intractable behavioral issues such as childhood anemia, increasing school retention rates, reducing hospital-acquired infections, promoting condom use among commercial sex workers, and a variety of child protection issues. These include the eradication of female genital cutting in Egypt, the curbing of girl trafficking in Indonesia, and the empowerment and reintegration of child mothers and vulnerable girl survivors in Northern Uganda. Insights gleaned from such ground-based understandings can directly inform mass-mediated role modeling in E-E programs. This is an area of high future potential. Not much of it has been tapped thus far.

Trend #5: Entertainment-Education and Digital Technology

As communication technologies become increasingly accessible, portable, and affordable, they offer important implications for the scholarship and practice of E-E. The prevalence and popularity of digital entertainment media such as games are astonishing (see Lieberman, Chapter 19). In 50 years, digital games have gone through phases to first become as a medium, then through public debates and industry development, a legitimate entertainment and social media platform, and now one of the largest and most profitable media industries with its products being integrated into contemporary, everyday life (Juul, 2010; Vorderer, Bryant, Pieper, & Weber, 2006; Williams, 2006). Meanwhile, tremendous interest and effort among the gaming, health, advocacy, and academic communities have generated a new field called serious games, which includes digital games for learning, health, and social change (Ritterfeld, Cody, & Vorderer, 2009). Wang and Singhal (2009) explicated five unique qualities of digital games to the advantage of the continued development of E-E: 1) experiential game play, 2) multimodality, 3) interactivity, 4) persuasive, interactive narrative, and 5) social interaction. Role taking, rather than the vicarious experience in traditional TV viewing and radio listening, is a distinctive characteristic of digital game play and can empower people through their own journeys of exploration, experimentation, and discovery (Peng, Lee, & Heeter, 2010). Applications such as *Re-Mission* by HopeLab and *ICED! I Can End Deportation* by Breakthrough are great examples to show the potential of digital games in E-E (Wang & Singhal, 2009).

Trend #6: Entertainment-Education Goes Transmedia

Another emerging trend in E-E is to engage audience members through a narrative that unfolds across different media platforms over time. *Transmedia* (or *cross-media*) *storytelling* is a complex process where elements of a narrative are strategically designed and implemented across different communication platforms to create a coherent entertainment experience (Davidson et al., 2010; Gomez, 2010; Jenkins, 2007). An example of

transmedia storytelling is *The Matrix* franchise, where key bits of the overarching story line were conveyed through the trilogy movies, a series of animated shorts, two comic book story collections, and video game tie-ins (Jenkins, 2006). Such a format offers audiences different entry points. Each element stands as an independent media and narrative experience yet also contributes to the larger picture through the puzzles and clues that encourage people to extend their participation across multiple platforms over time. Therefore, unity and variety are two critical characteristics that enable transmedia storytelling to engage people from all walks of life via their own choices of media and art forms (Dena, 2010).

Communication campaigns (including many E-E programs) have often used more than a single mode of communication. However, the mind-set behind transmedia storytelling is centered on art, play, experimentation, cocreation, and collective action. Compared to traditional campaigns, it is rather open-ended, exploratory, nonlinear, process-oriented, and fun! The emergence of transmedia storytelling coincides with the rapid development of new information and communication technologies and the transformational practices of media convergence and participatory culture (Jenkins, 2006).

There have been numerous successful transmedia examples in recent years, ranging from commercial projects and educational programs to grassroots initiatives (Davidson et al., 2010). *EVOKE* (urgentevoke.com), a 10-week crash course in changing the world, uses a graphic novel as a textbook to broach a weekly global crisis, teaching players essential skills like creativity, collaboration, entrepreneurship, and sustainability to tackle intractable world problems such as hunger, poverty, and access to clean water. Developed by Jane McGonigal and the World Bank Institute, this project attracted 8,000 students in 120 countries within the first week of its launch in March 2010. Students are encouraged to come up with innovative solutions to urgent problems, report on their activities through blogs and videos, and at the end of the course, set themselves up to carry out an actionable project in the real world with others. *EVOKE* was awarded the #1 Social Impact-Game by Games for Change in 2010. More organizations such as HH&S and Tribeca Film Institute are interested in using transmedia storytelling for health promotion and social advocacy.

LOOKING BACK AND LOOKING FORWARD

Communication campaigns need to engage members of the intended population group in compelling ways in order to accomplish their goals. Practice and research in the area of E-E have demonstrated that thoughtfully incorporating public health concerns and intractable social issues into entertainment programs and activities can foster desirable social change. Hundreds of E-E applications are currently underway in Latin America, Asia, Africa, Europe, and North America (Singhal & Rogers, 2004; Wang & Singhal, 2009).

E-E harnesses the appeal of entertainment formats, providing a communication platform for powerful storytelling as well as scripting of new possibilities and realities. By watching, listening to, and even participating in new stories, audience members are empowered to question their existing realities and encouraged to take new actions individually and collectively. As shown in the case of Soul City's ongoing, multiscale,

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