# Entertainment-Education Television Process, Construction and Strategies: A Case Study

Television's effects have long been studied by mass media scholars, who often emphasize its negative effects. But could television instead be used as a positive force, delivering messages to change behavior and attitudes on a large scale?

For several decades, television has been used in developing countries as a tool to get people to change their attitudes and behavior regarding a host of social issues, primarily focusing on public health initiatives like alcoholism and drug abuse, hygiene, sexual assault, the role of women in society and in the home, literacy, and family planning and contraception, but now the messaging is expanding to cover nonviolence and principles of identity, harmony and conflict resolution.

This paper will identify the strategies used to create a successful television program in developing countries that promote prosocial behavior, or behaviors that are beneficial to others and/or society, and then use the Kenyan program *The Team* as a case study to illustrate the challenges producers face when developing a program based around social change.

There is a type of entertainment known principally as "entertainment-education," which puts educational content in entertainment programs. Lessons learned are ideally taught through stories, and entertainment-education "influence[s] audience members' knowledge, attitudes and overt behavior regarding an educational issue," (Papa, Singhal, Law, Pant, Sood, Rogers, & Shefner-Rogers, 2000, 32). Entertainment-education stories are not medium-specific; they can be found on television, video games, radio, plays, music, even online stories.

Entertainment-education programs are designed to promote a specific social behavior, changing attitudes through the audience identifying with characters, who themselves undergo change. The social messages are woven into the storyline. While they are not necessarily subtle, the story is the driving force behind the narrative and not the educational or informational message.

## Serial Dramas

Entertainment education is primarily found in fictionalized narratives, and on television is usually identified through soaps. Soap operas, however, operate differently in the United States than they do in other countries, especially compared with Latin American telenovelas. American soap operas, coined because they were first sponsored by soap companies, usually air during the day and had a history of aiming for housewives (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, 60). They are open-ended in duration, air five days a week, and feature a rotating, evolving cast. They also, notably, feature incredibly unrealistic storylines and plotlines, and offer what Singhal and Rogers (1999) terms "moral confusion," in that there "no clear moral distinctions are made between *good* and *bad* behaviors" (61).

Although telenovelas are considered a Latin American genre, they have successfully been imported to Asia and Africa. Generally, they have a definite beginning, middle and end, and often end each episode with an epilogue that reiterates the relevant message of that broadcast. They are meant to be emotional. (Barker & Sabido, 2005, 22) Some entertainment-education organizations prefer to use the term serial drama, as that is more encompassing. While these, too, generally have definitive endings, they run for months or years, giving both the audience time to identify with the characters and their problems and the characters time to change their behaviors, with all the attendant "hesitations and

setbacks that occur in real life," and are able to essentially build a universe that has a large cast of characters and subplots that address issues realistically, credibly and logically. (Barker & Sabido, 2005, 21-22)

Soap operas that follow entertainment-education paradigms generally follow a certain framework. Moral choices are clarified; there are clear consequences for bad behavior, and positive behaviors are rewarded. Since the producers want the audience to identify with the characters, entertainment-education programs have a realistic setting meant to mirror the show's target audience. (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, 61)

## History, Practice and Theory: An Overview

Miguel Sabido is considered the father of the genre. He created several phenomenally successful soaps in Mexico and Latin America in the 1960s through the 1980s, focusing on literacy, public health, and family planning. An influential television executive in Mexico, Miguel Aleman, advocated that mass media play a greater role in spawning social change, and he was looking for strategies to connect certain themes with an audience. Sabido, a playwright grounded in dramatic theory, was recruited. (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, 51-52) Over the next decade, he refined his process and created a framework that is now standard practice in developing entertainment-education programs.

Sabido grounded his practice in theory, most notably using psychologist Albert Bandura's theories. Bandura's social learning theory posits that people model their behavior on others who they identify with and who offer a model of concrete and realistic steps to take in order to achieve a goal (Rosin, 2006). There are several communication theories at work, including the elaboration likelihood model, which involves how people process messages that lead to decision-making, and the use of different types of modeling

theories and visual codes or symbols. More details on specific theories will be addressed later in the paper.

Sabido's methodology starts and ends with research. Any entertainment-education program involves a large team of producers, writers, researchers and communicators in a number of fields and with different specialties. In the pre-production stage, research is begun, usually in the field. Before any characters are developed or a plotline sketched out, an analysis of the audience and the cultural and societal forces that affect this audience is done (Barker & Sabido, 2005, 23), usually with an eye towards the central messaging. Note that while entertainment-education programs might have one overarching goal or message (condom use or HIV awareness, for example), there are often several significant subcategories, like women's rights or family planning, incorporated. Research is both qualitative and quantitative, with a heavy on-the-ground component to get information on what the primary audience target actually believes and the struggles they face as it relates to the specific issue, and also includes the necessary resources and framework that surrounds decision-making.

Interviewing leads to brainstorming story ideas, often based on real-life situations and people the researchers interviewed. The scriptwriter then begins to write drafts of the story, with notes and input from health communications professionals. They in turn review the story, verifying the information before it goes into production.

Program design follows. This includes developing communication objectives, approaches and channels for communication. (de Fossard, 2009, "The Research Process.) Entertainment-education shows do not operate alone; not only are other organizations involved in supporting the messaging through other materials, but social media and other

platforms are concerns. An entertainment-education program is a large-scale undertaking involving many people and organizations.

The evaluation of materials is a complex process involving many stakeholders. Although commercial considerations are important, often entertainment-education programs are produced, at least in part, by non-governmental organizations. Although the funder or the sponsor can and often does control the messaging, Sabido's style is to have the messaging backed by the feedback and the research conducted. (Barker and Sabido, 23).

Production values and story structure – essentially the "entertainment" part – might be listed last, but it is not the last concern; if anything, the program must answer to the audience, and if they are not entertained, then the messaging means nothing. Sabido incorporates dramatic, psychological and neurological theories in his work, but making sure that the storyline, above all, is "fully emotional… It is often helpful if the emotion can be buttressed by reason. But if one's behavior is to be modified, cognitive messages alone will not get the job done. The message must…also be emotive." (Barker & Sabido, 24).

Monitoring the audiences' reactions and behaviors to determine how effective the messaging is a critical component that is done during and after the actual airing of the program. It's not enough to focus on the number of viewers; actions like a reduction in measles rates or enrollment in literacy classes means the message was successful. (Barker & Sabido, 24) Depending on the nature of the production, the feedback could be used to alter components in the show. Evaluation of materials and revision is included if necessary. (de Fossard, 2009, "The Research Process.")

## What Works in a Mediated Environment?

Social change is very complex, and even strong social messages in entertainment-education-oriented shows can backfire or not work. Papa et. al. (2000) investigate how exactly social changes through a mediated environment work, arguing that "the mass media alone seldom effect individual change," but it is the act of "stimulat[ing] conversations among listeners, which create opportunities for social learning as people, individually and collectively, [to] consider new patterns of thought and behavior," (33) which set the mechanisms of change in motion.

The authors note that social change is not linear. Conversations do not always lead to action, and barriers, restrictions and community norms are still often a very real obstacle. Oftentimes people act contradictory, supporting something in theory but not in action, or do not recognize that an action supports or oppose an idea. "All change occurs in a broad social context in which people actively juxtapose their past thoughts and actions with possible alternatives for the future," they write, adding "social change requires system-level consensus and action." (50) Changes on a widespread scale might take some time and upset existing power dynamics; these all must be taken into account when evaluating the effectiveness of a given message.

As Papa et. al. (2000) wrote, "What works for a media character may not work so easily in real-life situations in which there is community resistance to new behaviors." (37) Yet continuous discussion is positive, as it gives people the ability to work through their contradictions and paradoxes of their lives. Navigating between old ways and new modes of thought is often tricky, and this is where complications ensue; people can essentially talk about new modes of behaving yet not follow through with their actions. Yet while change is

circuitous, frustrating and fraught with contradictions, that is all part of the process. (Papa et. al., 2000, 49)

Authenticity is paramount; because entertainment-education is meant to persuade people to change their behavior, the show must be grounded in reality, and an understanding of the real struggles everyday people in a given area face is necessary. This again underscores the importance of carefully done research, as characters and scripts must blend a sense of realism with dramatic weight, a "context that will mirror society and create multiple opportunities to present a social issue in various forms" (Barker & Sabido, 2009, 22). While shows and overarching health messages can be imported from different countries or regions, each must adapt to the cultural environment of its audience (Bennett 2010).

Entertainment-education stories must also ensure that there are resources for the audience if they do follow characters' positive behaviors. Local or state organizations must be part of the effort, not only to reinforce the messaging behind the story but to offer resources for those that need support. "Without a window to ground realities, soaps may inadvertently point people to services that do not exist," writes Bansal (2012) in "Soap Operas for a Social Message." If you want people to start using condoms, you have to make sure there are condoms available for when they ask for one – and even when they aren't even ready to ask.

Bandura categorized this as "environmental support," (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, 149), where the environment of the individual must be able to sustain the behavior change; Esta de Fossard (2009), an entertainment education scholar affiliated with Johns Hopkins University's School of Public Health, calls it "participation and capacity strengthening"

("The Research Process."). According her (2009), the program "should fully engage multiple stakeholders at the national, district, and community level," and "always consider ways to build capacity at the institutional and community level." ("The Research Process.") Singhal and Rogers (1999) adds that in Johns Hopkins' model, the actual television program is just one component in "a multimedia, multi-pronged communication campaign, which may also involve training clinic providers, advertisement, and other communication activities" (149).

The aim of any entertainment-education piece is to be entertaining without moralizing or proselytizing. Length and pacing becomes critical, as does high production values. Good actors convey deep emotions. de Fossard (2009) outlines an equation for success, boiling it down to a few keywords: emotion, empathy, example, efficacy, and enhancement for the entertainment section; and correct, clear, complete, concise, consistent, compelling, and culturally appropriate for education. The program must provide quality entertainment and offer accountability. Accountability is on the producers' end because they are, in a sense, dealing with people's livelihoods and very sensitive topics, beholden to the actions they adopt as a whole. ("The entertainment-education equation.")

## Story Construction and Audience Involvement

What needs to happen for behavior change to occur? Although there are many, many theories that span multiple disciplines that touch on this, this paper will only touch on a few.

Outside of educational and entertainment modules, behavior change is reliant on four factors: self-efficacy, outcome expectations, aspirations, and perceived impediments. (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, 149)

Even within Bandura's social modeling theory, which posits that people learn behavior by observing and imitating people who serve as models, there are different types. Successful entertainment-education initiatives include characters that follow these types. Prestige modeling is behavior that is deemed culturally admired; similarity modeling is placing characters that fit different audience segments; and transitional modeling, where characters exhibit positive, negative and transitional behavior. (Cohen, 2001, 249) Transitional behaviors, which will be discussed in more detail later, are extremely important both in a narrative and modeling sense.

In order for a large-scale behavior change to take place, as is usually the case with public health initiatives, individuals must first change their thinking and behavior. Entertainment education objectives obviously try to do both. A large component of any entertainment-education objective is to have a character that exhibits strong self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is "an individual's perception of his or her capability to deal effectively with a situation" and their perceived control over a given situation (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, 150). Collective efficacy is "the degree to which individuals in a system believe that they can organize and execute courses of action required to achieve collective goals," and "is concerned with people's confidence in their joint capabilities to accomplish set goals and to withstand opposition and setbacks," (Papa, et. al., 2000, 36). Collective efficacy helps promote social change, they write, as groups work together within a system to change norms and behaviors. Large-scale goals (i.e., outside of one individual's control) have a greater chance of succeeding if there is collective action. (Papa, et. al., 2000, 37).

Outcome expectations outline the costs and benefits of different styles of behavior. Audiences need to see both the physical and material costs and the social costs of behavior.

They have to have an incentive to change, and unless they see that there are personal stakes involved, they won't. (Bandura, 2011, 33)

Aspirations offer another type of motivation. This is where goals come from, and having steps to complete their goal. (Bandura, 2011, 33) Characters in entertainment-education dramas offer a model of steps taken so that audiences can learn how they can achieve a particular outcome.

Impediments are what stops or stalls people from making a change. These barriers have to be addressed, either directly or indirectly, as change will not occur unless people feel that they have the mechanisms to cope with obstacles. (Bandura, 2011, 34)

Part of having a good story is having characters the audience can identify with. Researchers have identified two concepts related to audience involvement specifically for entertainment-education: transportation and identification. Transportation is being "cognitively and emotionally involved in the story," (Quintero Johnson et. al., 2013, 161), whereas identification is essentially when the audience experiences the story as if it was happening to them (Cohen, 2013, 245). Both of these theories center on the audience as being absorbed in the story, through the head and the heart, and are tied into other concepts related to television, like social effects, fandom, and participatory studies. Both also tie into narrative immersion and support emotional engagement. When this happens, audiences tend to believe the information presented in a story is "true" (Quintero Johnson et. al., 2013, 162). A successful entertainment-education show will have a strong, supportive audience. Researchers hint that audiences who are so deeply involved in a story are unable to judge it critically, and cognitive dissonance in the show creates distance between the audience and its characters, leaving it less likely that messages will lead to

behavior change (Quintero Johnson et. al., 2013, 162). Multidimensional and/or more realistic characters are also more likely to foster audience transportation (Krakowiak and Oliver, 2012, 120).

In order for the behavior changes modeled in the characters to be accepted by the audience, the producers have to reduce the amount of resistance to the message; they do that by making sure the message topic is personally relevant to the target audience (Quintero Johnson et. al., 2013, 161). Sabido, in his shows, made sure to feature a large cast that would have characters stand in for many different age groups and persuasions, so that he could reach a wide audience (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, 148) Although entertainment-education shows can and do spotlight taboo topics, they have to be dealt with sensitively or else the audience can reject them (Barker & Sabido, 2009, 24). Understanding the cultural and social climate of the audience is key to figuring out how to communicate delicate issues.

Educational messages must be integrated in the entertainment. The greater the distance between the story and the message, the greater that the initiative will fail. A main character has to be afflicted with a disease or a dilemma, and not her friend. Having the dilemma being an obstacle faced in the first person increases the likelihood that the audience will feel closer to the struggle the character is going through, as well as make it more relevant to the overall story. (Quintero Johnson, et. al., 2013, 163) Quintero Johnson et. al. (2013) found that stories which integrated the message well had high rates of information recall by the audience, as well as the capacity to inspire. One of the reasons that entertainment education is successful compared to basic informational fact sheets is

the possibility of modeling and inspiration that stories and people offer. (Quintero Johnson et. al., 173 – 174).

Identity, as defined by Cohen (2013, 250) is fleeting, varying in intensity, an experience "in which one adopts the goals and identity of a character." It's "a process" of responding to storytelling conventions "intended to provoke identification." (Cohen, 2013, 251) It's important to note that identity is not always couched in positive terms; audience members can identify with bad or evil characters, and can provoke negative emotions like guilt and fear. (Cohen, 2013, 252)

It is exploiting these negative emotions that also helps inspire people to make changes. Sabido's model, which is essentially followed in most entertainment-education programs, features three basic character types: positive (prosocial), negative (antisocial), and transitional (doubting) characters. The transitional character is often the protagonist and the character the audience is supposed to identify with the most. The transitional character is often at the center of the drama, subject to the bad decisions and major dilemmas around on which the show focuses. Crucially, she gets rewarded for making good decisions but suffers the consequences when she makes bad ones. (Bansal 2012) Transitional characters represent different categories of people on different wavelengths of acceptance and behavior change, caught in between the positive and negative role models, although they usually move to one of those categories by the end of the show (Tully and Ekdale, 2012, 4). The positive role models support the values the show is espousing, while the negative role models reject them. Entertainment-education programs often features several characters in each of those three types, reflecting the range of thinking and demographics of the audience.

Transitional characters are designed to be the most relatable to the audience, because they are supposed to represent them: being caught in between two ends of a line on a given attitude or behavior. Most people are not purely good or bad, and their behavior reflects that (Krakowiak & Oliver, 2012, 119); audience members evaluate characters based on judgments like these, assessing the likelihood of a given character's actions. This is why purely good or purely bad characters can often fall into caricature or be viewed as one-dimensional, and thus be less enjoyable to watch. Purely good characters can irritate viewers because they seem "super human" (Krakowiak & Oliver, 2012, 119), yet characters who are perceived as being more realistic encourage empathy and identification (120).

In entertainment education programs, consequences of actions – both rewards and punishments – are necessary to reinforce behavior. Yet Nabi and Clark (2008) studied whether audiences' perceptions of television conventions affected their ability to internalize negative consequences. Although they studied American television, which often features protagonists who suffer little consequences for their actions or "bounce back" from setbacks rather quickly, some of their findings are relevant to what makes a characters' actions stick in the minds of an audience. (Nabi & Clark, 2008, 408) These assumptions, which they call schemas, are not cross-cultural; that is, each country or cultural environment might operate under different assumptions. This underscores how important it is for entertainment education practioners to research and fully understand the culture their show will operate in.

They warn that it is important for positive behaviors to be positively reinforced and negative behaviors to be negatively reinforced (Nabi & Clark, 2008, 409). Even with likable characters, there is the risk that negative behaviors won't be viewed that way, and that

messaging can backfire. If the audience implicitly understands that a show's genre conventions make it that a main character won't face extreme consequences for a risky move, they may reject the underlying messaging, even if they view it as negative (Nabi & Clark, 2008, 424). For example, if characters are repeatedly shown having unsafe sex yet they do not face pregnancy or disease, viewers may not emotionally understand the very real consequences of that behavior. A risk with negative characters is that they can prove to be very likeable (through humor or entertainment value) and so viewers will excuse their bad behavior, sometimes even modeling it if it is perceived to be rewarded in some fashion (Krakowiak & Oliver, 2012, 119). This underscores the importance of carefully planned research and execution in crafting entertainment education shows.

## Case Study: *The Team*

A successful example of a franchise that follows entertainment-education models is the Kenyan series *The Team*, centering around an ethnically diverse football (soccer) team. Although the story's overarching message is to promote national identity and nonviolence (Bennett 2010), the characters have to learn to overcome tribal conflicts and to work together in order to win. Plot lines revolve around real-world issues like hunger, poverty, death and revenge. The show was replicated in several other African countries, with a focus on gender in Congo, religion in Cote d'Ivoire and wealth disparities in Morocco.

*The Team* is a half-hour show, meant to be a metaphor of Kenyan society ("About us") that was developed by the global nonprofit Search for Common Ground after a rigged election in 2008 left the country in the throes of violence and tribalism. Season one aired thirteen episodes between May and August 2009, which were replayed in early 2010 (Tully & Ekdale, 2012, 7); the show eventually went on to have two more seasons. It was

consistently one of the top ten most popular shows in the country, with 2.8 million viewers, or 25 percent of the television audience. It was also broadcast on the radio. (Abdalla, "Mid term evaluation.")[1]

Kenya is a country that holds many different ethnic groups and tribes. Writers and actors were recruited from different tribes and were allowed to explore storylines that were based on personal experiences, grounding the show on firm Kenyan cultural soil. This authenticity was replicated when the show moved to different countries, as local writers from each location were hired to tweak the storylines to reflect their culture. (Bennett, 2010)

Although the overarching message behind *The Team* is national unity, the show addresses other social ills like alcoholism and prostitution. Social contexts and forces are interrelated, and in that regard, *The Team* cannot promote unity without addressing why people feel so alienated and territorial. Showing the reality of poverty and the emotions that living a hardscrabble life entails ensures that the show is trying to be relevant and understanding of its audience.

*The Team*'s website explains that all the characters come from broken families to symbolize that Kenya is a broken country ("About us"), and through the game of sport, become a family, even though this comparison is never made directly on the show. (Tully & Ekdale, 2012, 8) Although the characters use language to indicate "ethnic sameness and otherness," there are no specific markers to identify the tribes the characters come from. This is done deliberately so that audience members can see the effects of tribalism without

[1] According to Bennett (2010), the show actually had its origins in 2006; Search for Common Ground was looking for a country that had the right environment for the show.

connecting characters to a particular tribe. Class differences and gender divides, however, are made explicit, so that lessons are more obvious. (Tully & Ekdale, 2012, 7)

Morally ambiguous characters can be a risk in entertainment-education stories. That was the case with *The Team*, in which one popular character, Priest, a transitional character, was murdered after reverting back to dealing drugs. Although he was designed to be a negative role model, he was imbued with positive characteristics, making changes in his life. He verbally expressed a desire to reform and regret for his past; helped raised money to support an ill friend; and helped another teammate stay in school. Accordingly, a portion of the audience didn't interpret his death as a consequence of his actions, but instead saw it as a message of defeat – that reformation will only amount to failure. (Tully & Ekdale , 2012, 11)

Further complicating the producers' vision was that they didn't provide a "consistent interpretive frame," as Tully and Ekdale (2012) put it, for the audience to process his death (12). Characters describe him positively, and there are flashbacks to his good deeds. He was a highly sympathetic character, buoyed by humor and charm. In their attempt to create a realistic character, the producers mistakenly emphasized his good traits and did not provide enough negative actions to counter this portrayal.

Despite this unanticipated effect, research showed that a statistically significant portion of the viewing audience began to change their attitudes regarding national Kenyan identity (Abdalla, 2012, 18, 30), including evidence and evaluation done on attitudes and beliefs of fostering harmony, patience and cooperation. According to the Search for Common Ground's evaluation (Abdalla, 2012), comments on Facebook and other online

portals reflected excitement and positivity, specifically on "two major themes: Effecting change, and setting an exemplary model" (19).

Part of this was due to the resources available outside of the show. There was a national advocacy campaign behind *The Team*, with several nonprofits affiliated with a movement known as "One Kenya." There were town-hall screenings, mobile efforts for rural communities (Bennett, 2010), and crucially, a robust Internet presence with two Facebook pages, a Twitter account, a YouTube channel, and a website, which engaged viewers (Tully & Ekdale, 2012, 7). Although the show's endorsement of its central themes was woven into the storyline, the online efforts, most notably *The Team*'s Facebook page, was overt in its messaging, prompting the audience to respond with cues and questions designed to elicit discussion of sensitive topics.

However, behavior change doesn't rely on attitudes alone. Questions to interview subjects focused on specific actions in a given community, which included forming an inclusive soccer team, youth and other civic groups; other campaigns on social issues; and training on conflict management. Perhaps most notable is that after Kenya held another national election in March 2013, violence was largely absent. Over 80 percent of registered voters voted and the election, while not without hiccups, was declared to be fair and credible. (Kimenyi, 2013)

After the first season, the U.S. State Department and the Skoll Foundation, an American nonprofit that focuses on social entrepreneurs, poured money to see its expansion. Unlike many traditional entertainment-education television programs, *The Team* does not focus on public health initiatives, and so much of their research is qualitative in nature. Because this show is so new, there has not been a lot of research on it,

so further studies, including long-term effects, are needed. Most of the research on *The Team* has either been done internally, by Search for Common Ground or affiliated organizations, and so might be overstating its impact.

## Conclusion

Entertainment-education as a genre has enormous potential. With the addition of online social networks, stakeholders and producers can mine their audiences for feedback, furthering developing storylines and assessing whether their methods and strategies are working. They can "correct" problem areas, like discovering that a character meant to be a negative role model is actually quite beloved by the audience and not doing its "job" to distance the audience from bad behavior modeling, like what happened in *The Team.*

However, there still is a need for research and analysis, especially after the show has aired. A lot of audience analysis and television research is grounded in the U.S., and many of the assumptions that American television rests on does not carry over cross-culturally. For many entertainment-education stories, their impact is concentrated within those small communities and the organizations that produced them. Without greater awareness of strategies and impact, entertainment education stories will remain an approach meant for developing countries. Furthermore, while these types of stories are doing well in certain countries, there is no research to suggest that it wouldn't work in other countries or other circumstances. Entertainment-education programs, both in television and in other mediums, have mostly been studied in Mexico, Latin America, India and Africa. Why couldn't these types of shows work in more developed nations, or in developing countries in Eastern Europe?

Sabido's methods are based on classical notions of drama and psychological and communication theories, many of which do work cross-culturally. He uses serial dramas as the term for the types of programming that he does; that type of drama is still prevalent in Western television, although each country has varying designations of its parameters (e.g., length of series). Entertainment education traditionally focuses on public health, and it might be that stakeholders feel their efforts are better concentrated to markets and people that need them more, even if they do require a lot more resources.

Support remains an essential element for any type of entertainment-education initiative. If all the effort is put into the show, any attitude change the show causes will have a short life. Audience members must actively engage with the messaging and be consistently reminded of it in order for it to stick. This does not have to be didactic, but audiences must have a way for their newfound attitudes and behaviors to have a chance in an environment that will still have barriers. Without support or an outlet to learn more or get reinforcement, audience members will revert back to old habits and ways of thinking because there will be too much resistance to change. *The Team* did this through several fronts – social media, yes, but also community outreach.

The models that Sabido and his entertainment-education practioners use hold up outside of the genre. The models of behavior change – self-efficacy, outcome expectations, aspirations, and impediments – work in other contexts outside of drama, and the backbone of audience engagement (transportation and identity) are the hallmark of audience studies. Because entertainment-education is grounded in such strong theories and a rigorous research process before anything is ever produced, the model can be replicated across countries and time. It is the details that matter – the characters, the storyline, even the

messaging – but the overarching structure stays the same. The authenticity and realism that infuses each show is the second pillar of the entertainment-education strategy, ensuring its success. Combining the elements of a strong theoretical approach with details grounded in reality, compelling characters that follow standard human modes of emotion, drama and behavior, and a supportive structure that enables the audience to connect and reach out to others for guidance, entertainment-education television programs will be successful in their initiatives to influence societal standards of behavior and create change.

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