

New Directions in Entertainment-Education

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1 Points of Departure

1.1 Entertainment-Education: ontology, epistemology and theoretical basis

The story of Entertainment-Education (EE) seems to be a story of a very successful communication strategy which in the last years has achieved global recognition as an applicable, useful and efficient approach with which to tackle contemporary development challenges. With origins in agricultural extension services and especially in family planning and later education, public health and HIV/AIDS prevention, EE has today spread to all walks of the development practice. EE-based communication strategies are today used in good governance, climate change prevention, peace and reconciliation processes as well as being well established in all facets of the sectors of health, education and sustainable development. Arvind Singhal and Everett Rogers in 2004 identified 200 development project using EE as a communication strategy (Singhal and Rogers 2004??).

EE has in other words consolidated itself as a proven communication strategy for change. An increasing number of case-based peer-reviewed articles have documented the success story of EE, reflecting a growing variety of theoretical perspectives, although, we argue, with a very strong bias towards a functionalist communication paradigm rooted in effects studies and oriented towards articulation of individual behaviour change. This is confirmed in the bulk of the peer-reviewed journal articles reviewed in a recent study exploring the theories informing articles about empirically evaluated EE programs (Sood, Menard and Witte 2004: 118pp). The 7 theoretical constructs they identified covered: steps or stages individuals pass through in behaviour change process; social psychological theories related to behaviour change; psychological models related to behaviour change; drama and role theories in relation to how people script/enact their own lives; audience centred effects studies; and finally hybrid models combining elements from various theories, however maintaining the centre-focus on individual behaviour change. Only one of the identified theoretical constructs move beyond the focus on individual behaviour change and that is the 'contextual theories' which include theories of power and social constructionism (ibid: 130-131).

The aim of this paper is to analyse the theoretical basis underlying this success story of EE. We will deconstruct the theoretical constructs informing the practice of EE and we will do it guided by a series of questions: What epistemological aims inform the practice of EE? What are the explicit development goals they aim to tackle? How are these aims and goals translated into communication strategies? What theories inform the conceptual and strategic approach? What characterizes the knowledge produced in the evaluations of the practice of EE?

This article seeks to dig into the ontology of EE. What are the origins, what is the essence and what is the actual ‘meaning’ or ‘raison d’être’ of this successful communications approach? By unpacking the ontology of EE, we identify some of the conceptual and practical shortcomings vis-à-vis the development challenges they speak to. Our point of departure is that EE as conceived today contains a series of conceptual and theoretical limitations which inhibits EE to unfold its full potential to tackle the development challenges they are brought in to work with.

An introduction to and discussion of ‘the known story’ of EE, including both the theory and practice of EE, will help us identify some of the critiques that have emerged in recent years. Based on this retrospective analysis we will introduce three theoretical pathways which each provide some options for further theoretical developments and, consequently, an improved practice of EE. Ultimately, we outline some of the principles of an alternative and more interdisciplinary theoretical framework upon which to understand the practice of EE and the potentials it contains in the pursuit of tackling contemporary development challenges.

1.2 Notions of Subject

Our analysis of the ontology of EE is centred around three fundamental concepts – concepts which in each their way contribute to understand what possible societal dynamics can be articulated with the use of communication. Or stated differently: clarifying your understanding of communication and its potential strategic role in development processes is about clarifying your implicit notion of the subject, notion of culture and notion of social change.

What understanding of the subject informs your approach to communication? Without unpacking a full philosophical discussion of notions of subject, subjectivity and self, it is important to be clear about the fact that different philosophical perceptions of the subject result in different understanding and expectations as to what communication is about and what a communication intervention may entail. If you conceive of the subject as a unitary, autonomous subject (inspired by Kant) you are most likely perceiving the subject as a rational subject which, in accordance with linear communication models can be influenced to change behaviour if the communication is clear, well planned and in sync with what formative research may show. In other words, in terms of communication theory, the notion of subject is linked to a functionalist school of thought, be it effects studies, social learning theory and behaviour change communication.

If you conceive the subject as a social construction (inspired by Althusser, Foucault and Bourdieu) where the construction of the subject occurs in the discourses that emerge in the interplay between (media) texts, audience and context, you will find your theoretical resonance within reception studies. Consequently, your notion of the subject is aligned with the sense-making models and theories of communication which conceive of the subject as an active player in the production of meaning. This notion of the subject is seen in reception theory from about 1980 and onwards (Hall 1973/1980, Radway 1984, Morley 1986 and the following proliferation of qualitative audience studies). We argue that this notion of the subject is one of the key distinctive features characterizing reception studies in opposition to previous audience studies known from uses and gratification and effects studies.

The non-controllable and unpredictable sense-making process is a distinctive feature recognized in reception theory. It contrasts the concern for predictability and control of sense-making inherent in many EE-initiatives. However, reception theory it is not the only communication theoretical take on a social constructivist notion of the subject. The political subject, linking the subject to identity

politics is seen in the work of scholars as Michel de Certeau (1984) and Chantal Mouffe (Laclau and Mouffe 1985, Mouffe 1993). This again is tied in – as is reception theory – with the emergence of cultural studies in the UK, Scandinavia, Australia and Latin America in the 1980ies and in the US in the 1990ies (see below, the section on notion of culture). The determining role of everyday life as the locus for the construction of the subject is central in both Michel de Certeau's and Chantal Mouffe's work. It is a social construction of a political subject which emerges as discourse and as a social action, but is rooted firmly in the practices of everyday life.

Consequently, our working hypothesis - when it comes to the notion of subject in the mainstream of EE thinking up until today - is that of a unitary, autonomous and rational subject which connects primarily with the functionalist school of thought and hardly can connect with the notion of subject as reflected within reception theory and political theory as outlined above. We see this as a limitation and will argue for a reorientation in the notion of subject in EE towards a social constructivist perspective.

1.3 Notions of Culture

An inspiring and recent book which helps clarify our proposed notion of culture is 'Communicating Health' by Mohan Dutta (2008). In this book Dutta presents and applies a culture-centred approach to health communication which in turn reflects the emergence of cultural studies as articulated at the Birmingham School in the early 1980ies and since spread in the Anglo-Saxon academic world. Similarly, the Latin American School of Cultural Studies¹ developed along a similar pathway, rehabilitating the credibility of popular culture as a nexus in the articulation of subjectivity and identity formation. The key difference between the British and the Latin American schools of cultural studies was the strong Latin American focus on connecting the proliferation of popular cultural forms of expression with social and political critique. This was also present in early British Cultural Studies, but tended up through the 1980ies to dissolve into a mere celebration of active audience sense-making and cultural expression, with less emphasis on the social critique and orientation towards required social and structural change.

The way Dutta presents his culture-centred approach to health communication is by making explicit the interaction between structure, culture and agency:

The intersection of structure, culture and agency creates openings for listening to the voices of marginalized communities, constructing discursive spaces which interrogate the erasures in marginalized settings and offer opportunities for co-constructing the voices of those who have traditionally been silenced by engaging them in dialogue (Dutta 2008: 5)

As alike with the way Raymond Williams in the early 1970ies termed culture as, namely 'a way of life' (Williams 1975), Dutta speaks of culture as 'the local contexts within which health meanings are constituted and negotiated (...)'. Culture is constituted by the day-to-day practices of its

¹ The Latin American scholars that contributed to what we here call the Latin American School of Cultural Studies have never identified themselves with such a school. However, in retrospective, looking at what happened from the late 1970ies and onwards in Latin America, we find patterns of thought and epistemological concern which identify such a label in equal terms as what has come to be known as the Birmingham School and as British Cultural Studies. Timewise, these were parallel intellectual trends, occurring in the 1980ies and as such pre-dating the subsequent North American interest in cultural studies, emerging in the 1990ies and onwards.

members as they come to develop their interpretations of health and illness and to engage in these day-to-day practices' (ibid: 7). In other words, rather than working with a static notion of culture as an essentialist category where culture becomes a container of static practices in the lives of people, his emphasis is on the way people in dynamic ways engage with and negotiate local cultural practices, interpreting phenomena of everyday life, be it illnesses, campaign-based media texts, famine, music or whatever element of everyday life. Culture, consequently, becomes a lived and negotiated social practice.

In relation to EE, the most important difference becomes apparent when identifying the starting point of an EE initiative. Is the focus on a pre-established goal to which you wish to apply culture-sensitive communication strategies, or is your starting point an analysis of everyday life (read: cultural practices) from which you draw the key development challenges.

Consequently, our working hypothesis - when it comes to the notion of culture in the mainstream of EE thinking up until today - is that EE-strategies, rather than taking the in-depth analysis of everyday life, culture and cultural practices as their starting point from which to develop the goals to pursue with the help of EE, they rather tend to pursue pre-established goals with the help of culture-sensitive applications of a basic EE model. We see this as a limitation and will argue for a reorientation in the notion of culture in EE, aiming towards a culture-centred approach to communication.

1.4 Notions of Social Change

Conceptualizing social change in the context of development work and EE is about aligning the concept with the competing paradigms of development. The prevalent paradigms each imply a particular notion of social change, a conceptualization of what social change is about, who are the key stakeholders and what social dynamics the change process entails.

In rough terms, we may distinguish between 4 overall notions of social change, reflected in 4 different development theories. These core distinctions are as follows:

- the linearity of the modernization paradigm and its conceptualization of social change as a one way development process
- the emerging critiques of the modernization paradigm but the retaining of a linear thinking in the dependency
- the participatory paradigm (or multiplicity paradigm) and its opening up to a sense of agency
- the post-development paradigm and its emphasis on voice and representation of the marginalized in the mainstream discourse of development

Although these distinctions point towards different notions of how to conceive of social change processes, there are interrelations. The main point for this paper is however to establish the point of social change not being a neutral concept but being embedded in theories of development and change.

1.5 Three Points of Departure

Based on the above reflections regarding the ontology, epistemology and theoretical basis of EE, we end this first section of the paper formulating 3 points of departure. These three points of departure

incorporate the above stated working hypothesis, but here formulated as statements whereby we connect the above reflections about the conceptual limitations of mainstream EE approaches to now deal with the practice of EE. Our points of departure are:

1. While EE emerged at the time as a fresh contribution to the field of development and health communication, it has failed to incorporate new theoretical perspectives and intervention models that address the underlying causes on poverty, underdevelopment, and health inequities.
2. The application and practice of EE remains heavily driven by perspectives focused on creating change at individual level, the result of the short-sighted agendas of international donors and funding agencies.
3. Evaluation of EE interventions have failed to take into account richer culture-driven communication perspectives that could help examine how EE content serves as a platform for people to make sense of their own realities, create and circulate meanings, and act upon to transform their environments.

2. The “Known” Story of EE

2.1 EE Practice

The Rise and Proliferation of EE: 1970s-1998

In recounting the history of entertainment-education (EE), David Poindexter (2004) traces origins of EE back to 1958 when he worked in the production of a series of short dramas for a local project led by the Methodist Church. Poindexter’s recollection of EE fifty years back lends support to an existing consensus among most EE scholars (xxxxxx) on how the use of entertainment for educational purposes has historically been a part of almost every society. However, only by the late 1960s and early 1970s did EE emerge as a strategy that began to incorporate more elaborate theoretical perspectives, concepts, and methods that eventually led to its growth and preeminent positioning as a core element of development and social change communication. A chronological account of the growth and development of entertainment-education may not strictly reflect the way in which it has evolved. However, the fact that numerous development and health communication programs and projects have been driven by entertainment-education approaches or have had a visible entertainment-education component speaks to the influence that entertainment-education has exerted in international development communication efforts.

Mexican producer Miguel Sabido’s work in developing a conceptual and methodological approach for the use of soap operas for behaviour change (Nariman, 1993; Sabido, 2004; Singhal and Obregon, xxx; Ryerson, xxx) is credited as the first attempt to develop a conceptual and theoretical approximation to entertainment-education. Sabido’s framework, which built upon the success of a rags-to-riches story popularized throughout Latin America by the Peruvian soap opera “Simplemente Maria” (Singhal, Obregon, Rogers, xxx), drew on theoretical elements from Carl Jung’s theories of archetypes and stereotypes, Drama theory, Albert Bandura’s Social Learning and Cognitive Theory, and Shannon and Weaver’s communication model both to explain how a well designed and produced soap opera could lead to behavioral changes. Sabido’s subsequent development of a conceptual framework and methodology on the use of soap operas for behaviour change for Mexico’s Televisa led to a series of soap operas that promoted adult literacy and family planning in the country. Sabido’s work convinced many that the entertainment function of mass

media could also be channeled to promote rapid changes on some of the most pressing issues in international development.

It did not take very long before such an innovative idea would catch the attention of many organizations and individuals working in international development. Poindexter points out that India's need for a rapid introduction and expansion of national television coupled with outreach efforts developed by Mexico's Televisa to export its approach and media products led to the production and broadcast of Hum Log (We People) in 1984. Hum Log focused on issues of gender, family planning, and other countries followed India's examples and produced radio and TV soap operas on family planning issues and following the Sabido model for EE. EE had just entered the arena of international development and health communication. In retrospect, this rapid popularity transformed an ancient and widely used communication approach into a theoretically and conceptually driven communication strategy for development and social change.

While entertainment-education as a strategy grew out of the success and popularity of soap operas, its newly-found theoretical basis and behavior-change driven focus quickly resonated with the needs of various organizations involved in international development. The notion of rigorously using data and research driven process for the production of entertainment media products aimed at creating social change was highly appealing and garnered tremendous interest. Chief among those organizations were the Johns Hopkins University's Center for Communication Programs (JHU/CCP), and the Population Communication International (PCI). These organizations took on leadership roles in international efforts aimed at expanding the reach and acceptance of family planning programs and later HIV/AIDS, environment, gender, and other health-related issues. JHU/CCP and PCI capitalized on the appeal of EE and experimented and innovated through the use of other entertainment-formats that included the use of short TV and radio dramas, theater, music, reality television, circus-like activities, board games, etc (xxxx, xxxx). Conceptually, the field began rethinking its focus in the late 1990ies, experiencing a change in discourse from a traditional focus on behaviour change to an increased attention to structural and social challenges. Communication for social change began having an impact upon EE practice.

In 1997, JHU/CCP, in collaboration with Ohio University, took a decisive step in convening the first International Entertainment-education Conference. This conference brought together practitioners and researchers from all over the world, a gathering that provided participants with a sense of belonging to community of practice. Subsequent international conferences were held in the Netherlands in 2000, and in South Africa in 2003, as well as a Latin American EE conference held in Mexico, 2005. A fourth international conference is planned for 2009 in India. Apart from the opportunity to share their work, these conferences also suggest a degree of institutionalization of EE that adds to its increasing organizational development, transiting from its theoretical and conceptual development, to its centrality in international development work, to the teaching of EE in higher education institutions, to the creation of an EE community worldwide. While JHU/CCP have had decisive influence on these international EE conferences, the basis has been broader in the parallel developments experienced with EE in especially two international fora for communication scholars: ICA and IAMCR. In both research associations, papers on EE began appearing in the late 1990ies and have continued to appear in increasing numbers.

The Golden Years of EE Practice (1999-2004)

By the mid to late-1990s entertainment-education had become a sort of staple of most international development and health communication programs. Organizations that started to use dramas for

educational purposes nearly fifty-years ago, such as the BBC and its long-running radio drama *The Archers*, decided to incorporate entertainment-education components into their international development work. In India, the BBC developed and broadcast a series of EE dramas aimed at raising awareness of HIV/AIDS. Various international NGOs and projects, some in collaboration with local organizations, developed and used multiple entertainment-education media products in Africa, Asia and Latin America (xxxx, xxxx). Entertainment-education, as defined and conceptualized in its early form, was a central piece of international development and health communication work. In 2004, Rogers and Singhal stated that “since our involvement in EE began in the mid-1980s, over 200 EE interventions, mainly for health-related educational issues and mostly broadcast as radio and television soap operas” (p.7).

As the use of EE grew in popularity and visibility, more home-grown EE projects were developed around the world, some of them with remarkable success such as *Soul City* in South Africa, and *Puntos de Encuentro* in Nicaragua. *Soul City*, launched in 1992, has become not only a brand for sound and successful entertainment-education, but more broadly a reference for comprehensive development communication work. Based on its focus on three levels of change –individual, community, and social/policy-, *Soul City* developed a conceptual model that places EE at the heart of its practice. *Puntos de Encuentro* in Nicaragua, which started as a media for development project, later identified its own work as EE and developed its own EE approach (Rodriguez, 2005). *Puntos* uses a less structured process but it is equally focused on facilitating dialogue, debate, and discussion on socially sensitive issues around youth sexual and reproductive health, and gender and masculinity. In *Puntos*’ view such facilitation of public dialogue and debate is a catalyst for change.

2.2 Entertainment-Education Scholarship

In December 2008 we conducted a search of entertainment-education-related scholarly papers on EBSCO, a database that hosts more than 25 academic databases. This search produced a total of 569 entries that referred to or dealt with entertainment-education projects both in developing and developed contexts, including South Korea and Germany. Health continued to be the most prominent topic, although the list included a larger number of health issues and conditions

Between 1999 and 2006 five books dealing with the history, theory and practice of EE were published: four authored books and one anthology (Bouman 1998; Singhal and Rogers 1999 and 2003; Singhal, Cody, Rogers and Sabido (eds) 2004; Papa, Singhal and Papa 2006). Complementing this was published a special EE issue of journal ‘*Communication Theory*’, several doctoral dissertations focused on EE (Bouman 1998, Obregon XX, Jesus Arroyave XX, etc). Furthermore, various international organizations developed conceptual and methodological EE frameworks, and numerous journal articles and book chapters have discussed different dimensions of EE. Not only had EE become a central piece of development communication practice, but it was also backed by a productive pace of scholarly work that made this a golden period for students, scholars and practitioners of EE.

One of the earlier contributions to provide an overview of Sabido’s theoretical approach was Noel Nariman’s *Soap Operas for Social Change: Toward a methodology for entertainment-education television* (1993). While this text emphasized methodological and practical aspects of EE, Nariman explicitly laid out Sabido’s theoretical EE framework. Building upon Shannon and Weaver’s communication model, Nariman explains, Sabido understood that a communication model “could be adapted to include several communicators, messages, media and responses”. Under this linear

approach to communication, Sabido integrated Bentley's Dramatic Theory, Jung's Theory of Archetypes and Stereotypes, Bandura's Social Learning Theory, and the MacLean's concept of the triune brain. Sabido's models argued that these theoretical elements could be integrated into a melodramatic story, and create a communication circuit that could influence attitudes and behaviors of well-defined target audiences on specific social issues.

In his foreword to Nariman's book, Everett Rogers wrote: "So the world has been waiting for the present book. It will fulfill these high expectations for a single volume that thoroughly explains the theory of Miguel Sabido, how to utilize it in the design of entertainment-education messages, and how the audience effects of this approach can be measured. I commend it to you" (1993, p.xiv). Nariman's book allowed development practitioners and scholars to better grasp EE from a theoretical standpoint. It also articulated how Sabido's model remained focused on a prevailing understanding of communication as a unidirectional communication process that did not address larger socio-cultural and contextual factors underlying people's practices and behaviors.

Piotrow and colleagues (1997) articulated a more comprehensive theoretical argument for their EE interventions. They emphasized self-efficacy as the pillar of effective EE and integrated it into larger health communication interventions, particularly for family planning. In essence, Piotrow and colleagues argued that carefully designed EE interventions could increase demand for health services and change people's attitudes and behaviors toward adoption and use of family planning methods. Other organizations whose approaches emphasized EE also followed the dominant EE theoretical components. For instance, PCI developed a values grid through which they identified positive, negative, and neutral values and practices. Positive values were to be reinforced (i.e., appreciation for small family size), while negative values were to be changed (i.e., xxx).

Over nearly 25 years, a set of theories dominated EE thinking and influenced its practice. Most influential among those theories was Albert Bandura's Social Learning and Cognitive Theory. Bandura's concepts such as role modeling, observational and vicarious learning, message reinforcement, and punishments and rewards for specific actions, as well as later revisions of his own theory to incorporate new dimensions such as self and collective efficacy, drove most EE interventions and projects. Other theories previously put forward by Miguel Sabido were less visible or were discussed in a more limited way in entertainment-education projects, particularly in those cases that did not include a drama-driven component.

Unquestionably, JHU/CCP was the leading organization doing EE around world. As a core partner of the US Agency for International Development in implementing large scale family planning communication programs worldwide, and later on other health-related issues such as malaria, it set a trend around the value of EE in health and development communication. One good example is the EE Masters program at University of KwaZulu Natal in Durban, South Africa, a masters program which has been supported financially and with lecturers the last 7-8 years. Many other influential U.S.-based organizations such as the Academy for Educational Development and Family Health International (FHI), projects working on child health issues (i.e., BASICS) also used EE to certain extent (i.e., Ecuador, Honduras), as well as United Nations agencies such as UNICEF, UNFPA, and UNDP. These projects were typically informed by the early theoretical EE perspectives.

Partly because of its affiliation with an academic institution, JHU/CCP also explored new theoretical approaches to EE. Two important theoretical developments informing EE were Ideation Theory (Kincaid) and Discourse analysis (Storey). Kincaid's articulation of ideation theory posits

that people's attitudinal and behavioral changes are a function of cognitive (include variables), emotional (include variables) and social interactions (include variables). This perspective somehow addressed one of the earlier theory-focused criticisms to EE interventions concerning the limitations of social learning theory to explain behavior change (Sherry, 1997). Entertainment-education products such as dramas, therefore, are well positioned to trigger such interactions and that the cumulative effect of those interactions may lead to attitude and behavior change (Singhal and Rogers, 2005). Babalola et. al. (2002) drew upon ideation theory to identify positive deviant behaviors among youth in Rwanda concerning sexual and reproductive health behavior in Rwanda. However, our review of the academic literature shows that only a handful of researchers have further explored and used ideation theory in EE research.

The early theoretical developments of entertainment-education were pivotal in providing a clear conceptual basis for scholarship and practice in EE. Research and practice in entertainment-education followed functional theoretical articulations focused on how EE communication processes could facilitate multiple interactions and lead to changes in behaviors and attitudes. However, by the late 1990s the international development communication community was already engaged on a debate that attempted to redefine the role of communication in development, underscoring the need to explore new ways to facilitate processes of social change, both in an attempt to 1) move away from the ideological tone embedded in the notion of development and 2) explore new conceptual possibilities focused on empowering individuals and communities to become more active participants in processes of social change. In our next section we provide an overview of this debate and explain how revisiting entertainment-education theoretical approaches began to be questioned as well.

The Thematic Dominance of HIV/AIDS

The reorientation of EE took place in a quite particular setting. Firstly, it was influenced strongly by a limited number of individual researchers and institutions, as outlined above. This materialized in a scenario where there was a close interaction between theory and practice. Secondly, the reflection and innovation in the use of EE was thematically focused very much on health issues, and in particular to HIV/AIDS. Thirdly, we have seen a strong increase in orienting the attention to the audience reception of EE interventions. A growing recognition can be noted as to the need to move beyond effects studies in order to explore how individual and social change processes were articulated, and how.

However, of these three issues of reorientation, the most prominent has been the thematic dominance of HIV/AIDS. The academic field of EE has grown in close connection with the growing attention given to HIV/AIDS and the communication challenges this pandemic posed. The exponential growth and visibility of the HIV/AIDS tragedy in the 1990ies created a strong sense of urgency in the call for responses – and here was a well-proven communication strategy known from family planning...In the impossible dilemma between the need for long-term engagement with the underlying causes and the need for immediate responses with high impact, the focus became on the short-term, high impact, emergency response. To this end, a particular form of communication was welcomed, with high reach, strong visibility and supposedly high impact. This spoke to PR and marketing logics and fell well in line with the social marketing experiences known from family planning experiences of the 1980ies and early 1990ies.

The longer-term perspective, be it with focus on long-term processes of empowerment and social and structural change, be it in the modes of assessing how communication strategies influence

societies, there was seemingly no time, nor interest. Also, a certain moral imperative lay implicit in the lack of questioning of the underlying ontology and epistemology informing and guiding HIV/AIDS communication.

2.3 Audience Orientation and Focus on Evaluation

Within the logic of behaviour change communication, a turn occurred in the early 2000s towards more and more assessing audiences' "degree of exposure" to the E-E intervention and to measure whether and how E-E interventions spur interpersonal communication between audience and non-audience members, thus a way to measure the "indirect" effects of an E-E intervention and a kind of "two-step flow" communication process (Singhal & Rogers 2002 p130). In the book *Entertainment-Education: A Communication Strategy for Social Change*, Singhal & Rogers summarize that research and theorizing in recent years have shown that entertainment-education has turned out to motivate audience individuals to talk to each other about what they learn from the E-E messages, and to engage audience individuals in what they call *socially supportive behaviour change*.

According to many studies the effects of the entertainment-education implementations often come about as a result of *parasocial interaction* and, following Bandura's Social Learning Theory, *role modelling* through positive and negative media characters, combined with representations of self-efficacy for performance of pro-social behaviors. There is evidence of how audience individuals incorporate the language of their role models when talking with others about the entertainment-education messages, as well as of how they carry out new behaviours in their real-life contexts.

One example of how everyday discourse is influenced of the programs was when the broadcasts of *Simplemente María* in Peru 1969-70 led to that all housemaids in Peru were called Maria in Peru. Another example is how the name of the negative role model Mkwaju in *Twende na Wakati* became a nickname for sexually promiscuous men in general in Tanzania in the 1990's (Singhal & Rogers 1999 p144). Based on studies like these, Singhal & Rogers suggest that "entertainment-education has certain of its effects as a catalyst for triggering *interpersonal peer communication* leading to changes in the *social discourse* of the audience" (ibid. Italics author's own).

At the backdrop of these notes, a still weakly developed pathway of EE research is focusing on the discursive formations appearing in the EE texts. It remains to be further investigated the articulation of discourses on the levels of edutainment texts, as well as edutainment production and reception.

Audience Involvement and Intermediate Effects

As stated above, much of the early research on EE focused on assessing *whether* the strategy had effects. These studies analysed the changes in audience members' knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours. But they did not look into *how* these changes took place. More recently, researchers interested in EE have begun to explore the process through which E-E interventions have their 'effect', and in which ways audiences involve in the programs. "Audience involvement is the degree to which audience members engage in reflection upon, and parasocial interaction with, certain media programs, thus resulting in overt behavior change," writes Suruchi Sood (2002 p153). The focus here is still primarily on emotional and psychological involvement, and is not oriented towards social action. Nevertheless, Sood's operationalisation of audience involvement represents a important opening towards the broad field of reception studies which grew out of British Cultural Studies in the 1980ies.

However, most EE research is still today rooted in communication studies (including marketing and PR) and especially in exploring behaviour effects, drawing on social psychological theories. Contrary to this research agenda, the epistemological aim of communication for social change, as will be outlined in the following section, is not only about individual behavioural change, but speaks to human rights, citizenship and social justice agendas. CFSC digs deeper into the relation between communication and empowerment, communication and collective action, communication and the articulation of critical thinking. The epistemological aim, as well as the underlying ontology, is distinct from ‘mainstream’ EE as it emerged and has developed up until very recently.

Audience Involvement

Suruchi Sood (2002 p157) provides clear definitions of the most commonly analysed forms of audience involvement in her article “Audience Involvement and Entertainment-Education”.

- (1) *Reflection* is described as “the degree to which audience members consider a media message and integrate it in their own life,” and divided into (a) *referential reflection*: “the degree to which audience individuals relate a media program to their personal experiences” by for instance discussing it with others in terms of their own problems, and (b) *critical reflection*: “the degree to which audience members distance themselves from, and engage in, aesthetic construction of a media program” by for instance reconstructing the program or suggesting changes in the program.
- (2) *Parasocial interaction* is divided into (a) *affectively oriented interaction*: “the degree to which audience members identify with characters or with other salient characteristics of a media program (for example, a place or community),” (b) *cognitively oriented interaction*: “the degree to which audience members pay careful attention to a media program/episode and think about its educational content once it is over,” and (c) *behaviourally oriented interaction*: “the degree to which individuals talk to, or about, media characters and rearrange their schedules to make time for exposure to a media program”

In addition to these levels of involvement, Sood, in line with others, also discusses three specific forms of *intermediate effects* that are often analysed in E-E research. These are (1) an increase in *self-efficacy*, (2) an increase in *collective efficacy*, and (3) increased *interpersonal communication* among audience individuals, defined as follows:

- (1) *Self-efficacy* is a term used by social psychologist Albert Bandura, and defined as “peoples’ beliefs about their capabilities to exercise control over events that affect their lives” (Sood 2002 p159). This concept draws attention to the importance of a person’s cognitive reflections when he or she evaluates a media message (Papa et al 2000 p34), and according to Bandura it should be studied as situation-specific as possible (Sood 2002 p159).
- (2) *Collective efficacy* is a relevant concept in many countries where E-E interventions are implemented, since these cultures often are collective rather than individual. It is a system-level aspect of Bandura’s social cognitive theory, and in his words it is defined as “people’s beliefs in their joint capabilities to forge divergent self-interests into a shared agenda, to enlist supporters and resources for collective action, to devise effective strategies and to execute them successfully, and to withstand forcible opposition and discouraging setbacks.” (Bandura 1995 in Sood 2002 p159).

- (3) Spurring of *interpersonal communication* is believed to be an essential step for social change, and research of E-E programs have shown that E-E implementations often lead to discussions about the programs and their educational themes among peers and in their communities.

As often is done in EE effects research, Sood conducts a quantitative analysis of audience involvement in *Tinka Tinka Sukh* in India, using these terms as pre-given categories. She suggests in the end that “sense-making and reception analysis techniques” could be utilised in order to take this analysis a step further. Interestingly enough for our study, she mentions that “[f]or example, qualitative textual analysis of letters by audience members can help in understanding audience involvement through the words of the audience themselves” (Sood 2002 p168). A problem with this quantitative approach, which we have brought forward elsewhere² (and which Sood is also admitting herself), is the total lack of cultural contextualisation. Furthermore, her suggestion of using ‘reception analysis techniques’ does not change the epistemological aim of the study, but rather introduces new techniques to better understand how the communication intervention impacts upon individual behaviour.

Despite the limitations identified in Sood’s methodological proposal, it constitutes a useful first step to explore audience involvement and ‘intermediate effects’. Rather than providing an interpretation of the process of sense-making and the nature of this production of meaning, Sood remains discursively and largely theoretically as well, embedded in a functionalist paradigm of trying to understand the effects of the EE interventions.

Measuring Societal Impact

Complementing the work to assess ‘intermediate effects’ which Sood’s outline has helped us delineate, growing academic attention is being given to develop monitoring and evaluation instrument that can assess the outcomes of communication for social change. An early piece was developed by Figueroa et al (2002), identifying 7 key indicators of social change. Developed within the logic of effects studies, the study developed a methodology to quantify the changes occurring, thus seeking to numerically ‘weigh’ the change. This is a difficult task, as the indicators are seeking to capture social change processes. However, despite the limitations, these indicators are what we also have used elsewhere (ADRA 2008, Tufte et al forthcoming). The seven social change indicators are: Leadership, Degree of equity of participation, information equity, collective self-efficacy, sense of ownership, social cohesion and social norms. These indicators have been incorporated into the coding scheme where a total of 11 indicators were thematized (see Annex 1). The indicators of audience involvement and participation have thus been developed to both capture processes of individual reflection and interpersonal dialogue, as well as processes contributing to societal change.

3 The ‘Unknown’ Story of EE

Despite the rich history and growth of EE projects and scholarship over the past three decades, many other other stories and experiences with EE remain unknown in the academic literature. Because entertainment, and its use in social endeavours is so common to most cultures, academics and practitioners in various geographical regions and from multiple disciplines also have used EE for various purposes. Beyond that fact, what is even more important from an academic and research

² See e.g. Tufte, Thomas (2003)

standpoint is the limited cross-fertilization that has taken place across regions and disciplines. In addition to Latin America, experiences are found in Europe, Asia and Africa, which provide new insights and approaches to EE work and scholarship.

European EE-focused Public Broadcasting for Agricultural Development

After the Second World War, Europe was struggling to regain strength, economic development and productivity. One area of concern was agricultural development. In the UK, the Ministry of Agriculture initiated what came to be one of the earliest known examples of EE. Based on early ideas of agricultural extension and the use of communication for the dissemination of information the BBC broadcast the EE-oriented radio drama *The Archers*, from 1951. It is still around, being the worlds longest lasting radio drama. As for the educational dimension of it, it was abandoned by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1972.

This EE-story is distinctive in many ways from the Miguel Sabido story in so far as: it is European and it is a post-second World War initiative initiated by the Ministry of Agriculture in the UK, and thus the focus is on agriculture, more specifically on the dissemination of information to help increase the productivity of small-scale farmers. It pre-dates Ev Rogers work in the same area in the mid-50ies and onwards (which led to his diffusion of innovation theory), and it connects with the European focus on the use of communication in agricultural extension – also very well developed in Holland (Niels Rohling and the old guy whose name I forget, at Wageningen). Finally, it is distinctive in the sense that it is the story of a public service radio channel taking this one in collaboration with the government, contrary to the Miguel Sabido experience which was a large commercial tv-station taking EE on, based on a market logic and rating requirements being predominant.

The above marks quite distinctively two pathways in the early days of EE. On the one hand we can with the *Archers* detect the early government supported public broadcasting European initiative focusing thematically on agricultural extension and increase of productivity. On the other hand, we can identify, 15-20 years later, a market based, commercially driven health focused pathway informed by Sabido's theoretical proposal from the early 1970ies gained terrain.

While the *Archers* and the government supported public broadcasting continued, with *Sesame Street* as a North American proliferate example beginning late 1960ies, EE in Europe lost terrain while it gradually gained terrain in the field of development cooperation (note: it was later 'rediscovered', not least in Holland in the late 1990ies and onwards with the work of Martine Bouman in the field of health. Bouman has been instrumental in the development of a number of Dutch EE-driven tv-series on health related issues targeting youth and in 2007 opened the EE Centre for Research thus establishing a European hub which gathers numerous European scholars, increasingly also from Eastern Europe).

EE in Latin America

The use of entertainment or "ludic" approaches to social development has been an integral part of development communication work in Latin America. From the use of radio dramas to comic books

to music to multiple folk performances edutainment approaches have been used to address social and political issues.

EE-related Latin American scholarship has been characterized by three lines of thinking: rehabilitation of popular culture; empowerment processes; and social movements, citizenship and social change. Thus, what may be quite distinctive in EE work in Latin America is that it has been both pro-social orientation, as in more traditional EE approaches, and political, as a way to resist dominance or provide the means for alternative discourses. For instance, Augusto Boal's work on popular theatre, which follows Freirean dialogic perspectives, has provided an opportunity for groups to critically reflect on various social issues. The use of drama to articulate social and political change has a long-standing history in Latin America. The multiple variants of this Latin American experience constitutes an important parallel track to the main US-centred tradition of EE which has been described under 'the 'known' story. We briefly described three tracks that capture elements of the unknown story of EE in Latin America.

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LA Track 1: Cinema and Video for Social Change

In the 1960ies Octavio Getino and Fernando E. Solanas developed a cinema style which can be seen as a deliberate struggle for visibility of marginalized populations, seeking to give them voice by telling their stories on the film screen: 'the power of the best works of militant filmmaking show that layers of the population considered to be in an inferior situation are well able to grasp the exact sense of a metaphor made of images (...) revolutionary cinema is not fundamentally one that illustrates and documents, or passively fixes a situation, but one that tries to influence it as a driving or rectifying element. It is not just testimonial cinema, or communicational cinema, but prominently action-cinema (Getino and Solana; 1969/2006: 43-44).

Active audience sense-making and action-oriented.

However, up through the 1970ies, this action-cinema lost ground to the massively growing tv-industry and its appeal to the large populations. However, some continuity may well be seen in the connection to 'video popular', widespread in the pro-democracy social movements of the 1980ies, where for example TV Maxambomba in Brazil made use of comics and a lot of humour in their articulation of awareness raising, public debate and advocacy (Ceccon 2009). In the 1980ies TV Maxambomba made large film screening in public squares in the most marginalized neighbourhoods of Rio de Janeiro, using comics and humours as their EE strategy.

LA Track 2: Theatre of the Oppressed

A parallel movement can be seen in the theatre based communication strategy which was developed by the Brazilian theatre directo Augusto Boal, likewise back in the 1960ies. Working with Arena Theatre in Sao Paulo in the 1960ies, Boal developed formats and strategies for a participatory, political and very social change oriented theatre which well can be seen as an entertainment-education strategy. While Boal was very strongly opposed to the Aristotelian rhetoric and forms of communication, arguing it being a 'formulaic drama style' (Wikipedia, find other ref), he proposed

a reverse theatrical strategy for change, laid out in his book 'Theatre for the Oppressed'. Following rather a Brechtian orientation towards active engagement of the audience, he goes a step further in opening up for full audience participation in the formulation and evolution of the storyline and in the pursuit of solutions to the dilemmas the theatrical director would expose initially in the drama.

Boal was heavily inspired by his friend and mentor, Paulo Freire, and the principles of dialogic communication and conscientizing pedagogical strategies are very apparent in Boal's work. Today, Boal's Forum Theatre has gained global recognition and is today applied in multiple forms all over the world, ie in Mozambique (Jakob XX), Angola (Araujo – check ref), etc...

LA Track 3: Broadcasting Fiction for Development

A third line of Latin American EE which is virtually unknown to a non-Spanish speaking academic readership is the use of tv-fiction for the articulation of social change. The most prominent proponent of this line of thinking is the Chilean reception theorist and long-standing research director in the public broadcasting tv station TVN in Chile, Valerio Fuenzalida. For the past 25 years Fuenzalida has worked with the strategic field of '**broadcasting for development**' (Fuenzalida 1992). A lot of his work has focused on exploring how audiences get involved in, recognize and feel relevance of what they see on TV (Fuenzalida, 1985, 1992, 1997 and 2005). In exploring the nexus between television content and audience involvement, Fuenzalida has been particularly interested in understanding the potential of mass media in articulating social processes. He has studied the manners whereby 'voice' can be secured to marginalized and voiceless groups of people.

A key concept in both his theory and his practice in the broadcasting industry has been 'protagonismo social' (*social protagonism*) whereby Fuenzalida depicts ordinary people with ordinary everyday problems becoming protagonists in the TV series. From this perspective he has especially explored how soap opera storylines can enhance social development.

The approach of Valerio Fuenzalida transcends the more individual-oriented social learning theory often used as the theoretical basis for health communication interventions. Fuenzalida's approach is broader in the sense that it emphasizes collective action – most often community based social processes – as the development goals of audiences' use of the media flow. As such Fuenzalida's work can be seen as a more collective, voice-giving and action-oriented variant of entertainment-education strategies.

Focusing on audience relevance and recognition, as is done in Fuenzalida's work enhances the **cultural citizenship** of the viewers (Tufté 2000). In many cases of successful communication, cultural citizenship is articulated as a citizen identity through the producer's choice of genre, television language, aesthetics, storyline and characters. Television fiction as an expression of popular culture constitutes a space for different social groups to be recognized and to feel recognized, thereby contributing to the articulation of a citizen identity. This can be useful in HIV/AIDS communication but also as a strategy to address many other issues.

EE in Africa and Asia

Even less known to most EE scholars and researchers is the work conducted in Africa and Asia. While many initiatives and projects supported by international donors have been documented in

academic journals and books, many of which are part of the known story of EE, numerous locally-driven projects and approaches remain largely unknown in this field.

Perhaps, the most well-known African EE initiative is the Soul City series in South Africa, which in itself represents an example of how locally-driven approaches to EE are extremely innovative. As Tufte puts it (2005), Soul City represents an example of third generation EE that attempts to change not just individual behaviors, but also more deeply rooted social and cultural norms as well as institutional and political barriers in order to promote social change.

However, in countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and Ethiopia new initiatives are emerging, and in some cases some of those initiatives have been documented as well. (NEED AN EXAMPLE HERE)...

Asia has not been the exception either. Our review of EE work includes several examples of EE initiatives in that continent. In India, for instance, EE has been used both in its more dominant forms (radio and TV dramas), but also through some of the most culturally ingrained folk practices in local communities. For instance (NEED EXAMPLE).

In Retrospective

Our review shows that entertainment-education has become a well-established discipline which has evolved and grown to incorporate different theoretical perspectives across geographic regions, many of which have been locally driven. However, while these perspectives have been part of EE work, they are not necessarily reflected in dominant EE scholarship. For EE to continue growing as a field of study, it urgently needs new and refreshing theoretical and applied perspectives which will both reinvigorate EE's theoretical groundings and will make it an even more interdisciplinary approach.

4 Communication for development and social change, and EE: Critiques and Theoretical Revisions

4.1 From C4D to Communication for Social Change

The growth of entertainment-education was part of larger efforts undertaken in the context of international development and health communication work. As such, entertainment-education was part of the broader communication and development field (Waisbord, 2001). The field of communication and development has moved through periodic paradigm shifts that have followed some of the paradigmatic shifts in international development and which have been well documented elsewhere (xxxxxxx, xxxxx). These paradigmatic shifts in communication and development include the Diffusion paradigm in which communication was assumed as a unidirectional process that relied heavily on the powerful role of media as a force of change; the Dependency paradigm in which communication for development was characterized as a tool for hegemonic and ideological purposes; and the Participatory paradigm in which communication is perceived as a process that creates opportunities for people's engagement and participation on issues that affect them.

In the late 1990s The Rockefeller Foundation devoted a significant amount of resources to push for a new concept called communication for social change. It strongly argued that communication for development needed to move beyond individual behavior change approaches and instead focus on facilitating the conditions and environment that would facilitate social change processes (Rockefeller Foundation, 1999). This idea garnered support in the communication and development community, which was particularly concerned about the lack of progress in curbing the HIV/AIDS epidemic. By November 2001, in the context of the UN Communications roundtable convened by UNFPA in Nicaragua, which focused on HIV/AIDS communication, James Deane wrote a background piece that aptly captured the axis of the debate concerning HIV/AIDS communications and, by extension, notions of communication and development. Deane stated that”:

“The last two years have seen intense debate over different approaches to HIV/AIDS communication. In particular, there has been a growing questioning of social marketing and behavior change oriented communication, and increased interest and debate focused in the field of Communication for Social Change, an approach to communication that focuses less on changing individual behaviors and more on empowering communities and societies to tackle the underlying issues of discrimination, poverty and marginalisation that are driving the epidemic in the first place” (p.5).

The role of HIV/AIDS Communication

Between 1997 and 1999, UNAIDS, jointly with the Pennsylvania State University, led a process that brought together over a hundred scholars, practitioners, and people living with HIV/AIDS, leading to the formulation of the UNAIDS’ Communication Framework for HIV/AIDS. The framework argued for a renewed look at HIV/AIDS communication interventions on the basis of the continued growth of the epidemic which was spreading rapidly despite the numerous communications interventions carried out worldwide. These interventions, it was argued, were primarily based on some of the most important behavioral psychology theories, including Social Learning and Cognitive Theories (UNAIDS, 1999; Airhihenbuwa & Obregon, 2000).

The primary thesis of the framework stated:

“Seeking to influence behavior alone is insufficient if the underlying social factors that shape the behavior remain unchallenged. Many communications and health promotion programs proceed on the assumption that behavior, alone, needs to be changed, when in reality, such change is unlikely to be sustainable without incurring some minimum social change. This necessitates attention to social environmental contexts” (UNAIDS, 1999).

The UNAIDS framework called for greater attention to five contextual domains: (1) government & policy, with a focus on the role of policies and laws in supporting or hindering intervention efforts (2) socio-economic status, with a focus on issues such as income and its impact on communications interventions (3) culture, with emphasis on positive, neutral or negative aspects of culture that may help or prevent the adoption of healthy practices (4) gender relations, focused on the status of women in society and how it impacts their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS; and (5) spirituality, focused on the role of religion/spiritual practices in the adoption/rejection of certain healthy practices (UNAIDS, 1999; Airhihenbuwa, Obregon & Makinwa, 2000). Communications could play a specific role in helping produce change in one or more of these five key domains to facilitate behavior change processes, as opposed to targeting people’s behaviors regardless of the context in which behaviors took place.

Arguably, the framework was an attempt to conceptually organize a set of ideas that many practitioners and academics, primarily in the developing world, have expressed for many years with regards to interventions centered on carefully designed messages to affect people's behaviors, while paying little attention to the actual social and environmental contexts that ultimately determine those behaviors. While culture and socio-demographic aspects are typically taken into account in the design and implementation of communication strategies, they basically serve as elements that inform message strategy and design but remain unchanged as deeper causes and determinants of unhealthy behaviors. This paradigmatic shift also began to influence scholarly thinking on EE.

4.2 Critiques of EE

In 1999 Singhal and Rogers defined entertainment education as “the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message both to entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, and change overt behavior” (p.9). Piotrow and colleagues defined entertainment-education as xxxxx. A few years later the definition of EE was expanded to incorporate the notion of “changing social norms” (Papa, Singhal and Papa, 2006, p.53; Singhal and Rogers, 2005, p.5). Increasingly, these definitions acknowledged the need to focus both on individual and social change (Singhal and Rogers, 2005).

Typically, EE programs and products are part of a larger communication intervention that may include other communication efforts such as social mobilization and media advocacy. Even though existing definitions of EE do not necessarily take into account other socio-cultural dimensions critical to the process of social change, perhaps a more critical aspect of EE is the perceived philosophical approach and theoretical context under which EE operates.

Waisbord (2001) characterized entertainment-education as part of the dominant paradigm of development. He stated that EE was another strategy that followed behavior change models of “the dominant paradigm in the field of development communication”, and argued that “different theories and strategies shared the premise that problems of development were basically rooted in lack of knowledge and that, consequently, interventions needed to provide people with information to change behavior” (p.7). Although Waisbord recognized that promoters of entertainment-education were increasingly open to incorporating other social dimensions in their programs, entertainment-education remained anchored on behavior change models.

In fact, Waisbord suggested that there was a need to look for a convergence approach that could allow communication and development researchers and practitioners to integrate and work with various communication strategies regardless of their apparent disconnect. This question was taken on by Morris (2003) who analyzed xx journal articles that used communication for development purposes. A large numbers of those articles indicated that they had used Using specific criteria that included – xxxxxxxx- these articles were classified as either as anchored in the diffusion or participatory paradigm. Morris concluded that there was a false dichotomy in most of the projects analyzed. Diffusion-based projects often used elements that could be defined as anchored in the participatory communication and viceversa.

Sherry (1997) reviewed twenty soap opera interventions around the world. Sherry identified a number of methodological limitations and theoretical implications. At the theoretical level he

emphasized that complexity of social learning theory to explain changes in behaviors had not been fully captured in the operationalization of the entertainment-education projects analyzed. An even more striking observation made by Sherry referred to the limited understanding of audiences' interaction with entertainment-education content and messages and negotiation and sense-making processes, following the reception studies tradition, and suggested the need for further studies in this area.

One of the most recent and explicit critiques of the entertainment-education strategy is posed by Dutta (2008). In addition to labeling entertainment-education approaches as primarily a "one-way flow process" of communication (p.33), Dutta states that entertainment-education programs have served as a conduit for the promotion of Western values in developing contexts, and as a platform to prioritize certain health issues over others, that they pay limited attention to contextual and environmental factors that determine people's behaviors, and the episodic nature of entertainment-education interventions. By contrast, Dutta argues, the emphasis should be "on developing a meaningful and profound relationship without the thrust of achieving campaign objectives within short-term periods" (p.36). This perspective resonates with ideas espoused in approaches such as communication for social change whereby communication must focus on the creation of communication spaces for people's voices.

(unfinished)

5 New Theoretical Perspectives for EE

To be further elaborated.

1. Participation and empowerment

- a. Challenging the status quo...The social determinants of health perspective emphasizes the need to address the larger determinants that affect individuals and communities for them to enjoy an optimal health status. International agencies and organizations working in international health stress this approach. How does current EE deal with this and how new EE approaches should do this?
- b. Connecting communities to other levels of participation...the excessive EE focus on large scale, media-centered approaches often overlooks EE that takes place at local level or that emerges from local initiatives. Oramedia as an example....
- c. Challenging participatory approaches-is participation a value-neutral concept or should EE-drive process explore other forms of participation that build upon local expressions of participation? Need examples – Dutta and the SHIP case.

(**remember** to use p.243 in Papa and Singhal as an entry point for critique and theoretical furthering, together with Figueroa. The point is they are 'derailing' Freire, taking him out of context. His point is not to criticize expert knowledge, but rather the way it may be communicated and brought into the sphere of collective knowledge building)

2. Culture as the circulation of meaning

- a. Cultural studies...limited research into sense-making and negotiated meaning of EE content and approaches.
- b. Revisiting the notion of audience. How should EE define the notion of audience. Should it be along the lines of traditional, commercial definitions of audience or should it explore definitions of audience in the cultural studies traditions, particularly on notions of active audiences?
- c. Sense-making and multiple mediations. How the multiple realities with which people interact, whether through EE products or any other media, communication processes...how do these multiple sense-making processes come together?

3. Notion of development and social change

- a. Organization and systems perspective. Very little written on organizational aspects of communication and development (Rogers...Health comm....what works?). Organizational aspects of EE also should be paid attention to (Case of Puntos).
- b. Systems perspective...time for EE to take a systems perspective?
- c. Complexity theory...how it helps us understand the way EE contributes, catalyzes social change processes.

6. Conclusions