

**THE ROLE OF ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION IN COUNTERING RADICALIZATION: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF DARWAZA AND THE THEME OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN BALOCHISTAN****Asia Altaf**Independent Researcher- Email: [Asia.altaf4@yahoo.com](mailto:Asia.altaf4@yahoo.com)**Abstract**

Media has historically served as a potent instrument for molding public opinion and presenting counter-narratives to socio-political crises. Entertainment -Education , Social cognition strategies are the techniques that have been used by the media to penetrate in society and take hold of society and its perception. It stimulates the reasoning of society and makes them able to reform their behavior by presenting them modal behavior. Prior research has found media as a tool of de-radicalization and presenting counter narratives . Radicalization in highly significant Balochistan should be addressed. In this research the researcher has attempted to analyze how drama serial Darwaza address the issue of radicalization and endorse de-radicalization in Balochistan.In this qualitative research (deductive approach) by thematic discourse analysis of drama "Darwaza", the researcher has identified the role of media over de-radicalization in Balochistan. Based on the thematic discourse analysis, the researcher has found that the drama serial Darwaza has used the education-entertainment strategy of the media to explain and elaborate the situation and causes of radicalization in Balochistan. It clarifies the misconceptions and insecurities of Baloch society regarding development by presenting a counter narrative of Pakistan. The study identifies how religious and cultural identities are leveraged both by radical elements to incite aggression and by the state to promote a unified, pro-social narrative. The researcher has suggested that functions and strategies of media like surveillance and entertainment - education can be used for the purpose of de-radicalization in Balochistan.

**Keywords:** Entertainment-Education, Countering Radicalization, A Discourse Analysis of Darwaza, Religious Identity & Balochistan

**Article Details:**

Received on 17 Oct 2025

Accepted on 25 Nov 2025

Published on 31 De 2025

Corresponding Authors\*:

[Asia.altaf4@yahoo.com](mailto:Asia.altaf4@yahoo.com)



## 1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1. Radicalization and De-radicalization

The turn of this century has seen a colossal amount of radical moments along with de-radicalization policies and programs around the globe. Radicalization is a procedure described as the ascent of obligatory use of aggression and strategic alliance in political tussles. According to Schmid Radicalization does not have a structured definition. It varies from person to person but specialists have described it as individuals or groups of people with intense communal religious or political views that refuse dominant socio-political views of society (Schmid, 2013). Radicalization is a change in perception in a group of people that leads to their group ideology, and that ideology is dispersed in society with force. The radical groups challenge stakeholders and put their demand in society by using violence as an instrument. Radicalization is also defined as the haters of set of people towards certain social , institutional structures

The phenomenon of radicalization is categorized in two patterns; perception (attitude) and behavior (action ) which are strongly connected together. Radical approaches do not always head to violent action. Rising radical views against governing bodies does not mean engaging in violent activities rather radicalization may be an expression as well as a trigger of larger social change. The process of radicalization at individual level should be distinguished from the process of organizational or group level radicalization . Therefore radicalization is a phenomenon that is composed of different mechanisms and patterns, it needs to be understood on the basis of context of social and political scenarios.

Factors that can contribute in strengthening radical views in society are social and political isolation of a group, religious bullying and discrimination, dissatisfaction in society , economic inequality and many other sociological factors can contribute in flaming up radicalization in society (Holmer, 2013). Radicalization can be evaluated as a course of interference between violent groups and their environment.

De- radicalization is a reversal procedure of radicalization . The process of de-radicalization is often taken as a distraction (demilitarization ) of radical assemblage, but it is behavioral and attitude change in the radical. De-radicalization has three levels , which are categories as micro, mesoand macro level. At micro level, it is described as individual change ,in which a radical distances himself from a radical group and



disengages himself from violent behavior due to the change of perception and behavior. While at meso level, de- radicalization is taken as disengagement of radical activities at group level and at macro level de- radicalization is changing political opportunity structures.

The phenomenon of de-radicalization strengthened after September 11. The international community dealt with the phenomenon of increasing awareness and tracking the anxiety of radicals (Frank & Macnair, 2017). In other words, radicalization can be divided and altered into non-radical movements by being conscious of discriminatory elements and tackling the bias with neutral stories.

To counter the increased radicalization around the globe, counter narrative programs and initiatives are taken by authorities to avoid and reject radical behavior. CVE (Countering Violent Extremism) are the initiatives, that are taken by governments to prevent their citizen away from the extreme activities (Harris-Hogan, Barrelle, & Zammit, 2016) Policy makers of de-radicalization have suggested media as a strong and vital component of message dissemination.

United State Institute of Peace has published an article by the name of "De-radicalization Programming in Pakistan" in their journal "Peace Brief" (Khan, 2015). According to this article, the numbers of de-radicalization program running throughout Pakistan are six : "Sabaoon Center for Rehabilitation (Sabaoon is the first ray of light at dawn), Mishal, Sparley, Rastoon, Pythom, and Heila" The purpose of these de-radicalization center is to indulge the radicals in positive and purposive life by providing them education, vocational training and counseling session to attend their social issues. For this reason, radicals are separated into age groups (18 -45) and then they are trained according to their age group. The eventual aim of these de-radicalization programs are to bring the former militants back to normal life and make them able to live the life of normal citizen of the state

## 1.2. Power of Media as Change Agent

The media has the power to change the thinking and perception of a society. It is used to present counters. Schramm (1964) explained media as a powerful tool to change the outlook of the entire society. He has divided the functions of media as a change agent in three categories and explains media as a watchdog over public interest, an information disseminator and opinion builder. Stanly and Dennis K. Davis (2013) have further contributed by explaining two more functions of media which are "co-relation" and "transformation". Co-relation is joining the institutes ( like politics, judiciary,



army ) of society and "transformation" is transformation of different cultures within the society. This function of the media helps in creating an atmosphere of harmony in the society and contributes for its betterment.

Media gives power to individuals and societies and brings social change by using a collection of communication tools and techniques; carries a two-way course of action for sharing of ideas and knowledge. To improve the social situation , cultural, civil, economical and political outlook of society , media can be used to bring about radical changes in society. (Johnson, 2001)

Mass media contributes to social change by performing its core functions , which are surveillance, coordination, transformation and entertainment . The information carried by the media can create an impact over the social and cultural life of the society whether in perception or behavior (Johnson, 2001). The phenomenon of social change can be taken as the change in the nature of society , social relation or behavior of society. It can also be referred to as the change in social structures. Social change in the passive society of Balochistan is crucial.

Media and opinion shaping has always been a great debate among the scholars of media . They have developed hundreds of theories that explain the power of the media as an agent of shaping an opinion. Early theories of media which were faded away latterly ,Magic Bullet Theory is an example which made media so powerful media that can affect the behavior of individuals directly, consumers of violent movies are more violent in real life then others (DeFleur, Severin, Tankard et al, 2012)later this concept was denied by Two step Flow theory . Lazarsfeld and his colleagues argue that media messages do not affect the audience directly , it is opinion leaders who interpret media messages for common people (Franklin, 2005). Another strong contribution that elaborates the power of media is Agenda setting Theory which says that it is the media who decide what is necessary for people they should think about .Theories of media proved the potential of media as a social change agent . Media can be used for the purpose of opinion shaping and propaganda. Scholars have reached this conclusion that media can be an instrument of molding an opinion .

### **1.3. Situation of Balochistan:**

The hatred that has been prevailing in the society of Balochistan is not different then the hatred that has been observed in the society of Bangladesh during 1971, and it can bring the same result (Akhter, 2013).Balochistan is critical for Pakistan and radicalization that prevails in Balochistan is alarming for Pakistan. This radicalization has many reasons



among which economic exploitation is the main( Bengali ,Pasha, 2005). Secondly, Balochistan has gained highly importance in regional affairs, all the global powers like China, America ,Russia ,UAE and India have kept their eyes on Balochistan for their interest, and they do not want a stable Balochistan to cash their interest at maximum. (Javaid, U., & Jahangir, J., 2015) The international actor are one of the big reason who created an atmosphere of radicalization in Balochistan

The geographical position of Balochistan has made it a crucial area not just for Pakistan but it also has become a decision maker of foreign relations and priorities of global powers . As it is a preeminent nautical passageway in the Indian sea, Balochistan has expanded a highly significant position between the super powers of the world by creating an intensified demand for invading and governing sea routes . Sole and exceptional corporeal natural features of Balochistan are taking on high importance in regional political affairs.

#### **1.4.Media as a Tool of De-radicalization in Balochistan:**

To de-radicalization the radical movements in Balochistan and international propaganda media has to play its role . As it is the only soft step towards the solution of the problem rather than military action because the infrastructure and dynamics of Baloch land support militants. World superpower America could not conquer the militants in Afghanistan. So media can be used as a tool of de-radicalization as it is an established reality that media has an ability to mould the opinion of common people .Media can use a number of programming genres for this purpose for example talk shows , documentaries , dramas , cultural promotional programs .

#### **1.5.Significance of Research**

Media has proved itself as a game changer as it plays a vital role in changing perception and molding opinion of the society by creating awareness and endowing information among the masses. It nourishes and contributes to the betterment of society by disseminating information and education. Keeping in mind theories and approaches of the media to shape the opinion of common people, the media can be used for presenting the narrative of Pakistan against radicalization in Balochistan. Function and strategies (surveillance and education-entertainment etc ) of media can be taken as remedial step for radicals in Balochistan The more radicals will be aware of stance or narrative of Pakistan the more it will be easy to tackle this problem This research is highly significant as it address the most crucial issue of Pakistan that is radicalization in Balochistan . This research has contributed in identification of the role of media over de-radicalization in



Balochistan and analyzed how media has contributed in the de-radicalization of the radials of Balochistan. For this purpose the researcher has done " Thematic Discourse Analysis" of drama "Darwaza" to unearth the in-depth understanding of the role of media in de-radicalization in Balochistan .

## **2 : Theoretical Framework: Entertainment-Education (E-E)**

The theoretical framework of this research includes Entertainment Education.

### **2.1.Entertainment-Education**

The "entertainment-education" is a media strategy that deals with educational and pro social messages entrenched in entertainment .

Singhal& Rogers (2001)has examined entertainment-education strategy transversely on diverse themes. For example, the program "Soul City", has used the technique of dramatic programs for the purpose of social betterment in the sense of attitudinal change towards various social problems in which rape , social violence , domestic violence and HIV .

Singhal, Cody, Rogers, &Sabido (2004) in their research have explained the usability of the "entertainment-education" strategy in entertainment media for social change . The studies have shown that entertainment media have immense influence over viewers in respect of awareness and attitudinal change. Some researchers have estimated that entertainment education is more successful in dissemination and adoption of pro social behavior and people are more likely inclined towards entertainment messages rather than traditional persuasive messages. The researchers have suggested that entertainment education arias less resistance rather the percussive message which are designed according to narratives During 1984-85, "Hum Log" (We people), a television soap which was meant to inculcate the pro social attributes in society has gained a 90 % ratings on the viewers (Singhal, A, & E. M. Rogers ., 1988). The entertainment -education strategy that was embedded in "Hum Log" included women equality and family harmony. (Singhal & Rogers, 1989a). "Extensive research indicated that despite certain limitations, Hum Log met most of its pro-social objectives." (Brown, J., Childers, K., & Waszak, C., 1990)

Drama serial "Darwaza" has used the strategy of "Entertainment-Education" to explain and elaborate the situation and causes of radicalization in Balochistan. It stimulates the reasoning of the viewer by inculcating questions of a better future for Balochistan. It clarifies the misconception of the society of Balochistan regarding development and educates the people about developmental projects, by presenting a



counter narrative of Pakistan and advocating the sincere efforts of Pakistan for the prosperity of Balochistan .

### 3. Methodology: Qualitative Thematic Discourse Analysis

The study employs a Qualitative Deductive Approach using Thematic Discourse Analysis.

- Sample: The PTV drama serial (14 episode) Darwaza, aired in both Balochi and Urdu to maximize audience reach.
- Narrative Focus: The story follows Gulam Qadir, a fisherman who views his land as his "identity and roots". His sons represent the internal conflict: Shabir is ready to sell for a better future, while Shoaib joins a radical group to stop development in Gwadar.

#### 3.1 Sampling Method

The purposive sampling method, also referred to as decision sampling, is the conscious choosing of the sample on the grounds of the characteristics exhibited by the sample. This is a nonrandom strategy that does not involve fundamental hypotheses or a fixed number of participants. Simply stated, the researcher determines what needs to be learned and sets out to locate individuals who are eager and able to provide information on the basis of expertise or experience . (Bernard, 2002). Usually qualitative analysis is used to classify and choose the most suitable informationrich situations for the most effective usage of available resources. This includes finding individuals or groups of individuals who are knowledgeable and well educated about a trend of concern. (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011)

#### 3.2Theme : Radicalization

##### Table of Codes

Se ria l	Reference to the Episode #	Reference to the scene #	Code
1	1	2	Deprivation of basic human needs
	1	14	
2	1	3	Ignorance
	1	21	
	6	10	
3	1	15	Misinterpretation of developmental projects



	1	23	
	4	8	
	7	5	
4	2	5	Radical activities
	3	9	
	4	4	
	4	19	
5	2	13	Hopelessness
6	2	22	Opportunists
	5	6	
7	3	1	Unawareness regarding importance of Balochistan among common people
8	3	22	Baloch love for their Identity
	8	1	
9	4	25	Radicalization is taken as bettle of rights
	5	14	
10	9	8	Instability in Balochistan

### 3.3Theme : De-radicalization

#### Table of codes

Se ria l	Reference to the Episode #	Reference to the scene #	Code
1	1	1	Bright future of the land of Balochistan
2	4	7	Sincerity of government officials of Pakistan
3	7	1	Counter narrative of Government of Pakistan over radicalization
4	7	3	Real issues of Balochistan to concentrate upon



5	8	7	Hopes of better future of Balochistan
	10	13	
6	9	11	Prosperity of Balochistan is hidden in development
7	10	2	Narrative of Pakistan to address the misconception regarding development
8	11	7	Solution of the insecurities of people of Balochistan regarding development
9	11	14	Discouragement of radicals by their inspirational leaders

#### 4. Thematic Analysis of Darwaza

The discourse of Darwaza is analyzed under two prominent themes: radicalization and de-radicalization.

##### 4.1. The Theme of Radicalization and Religious Identity

Radicalization is portrayed as a process driven by deprivation, ignorance, and the manipulation of identity and faith.

A. Deprivation of Basic Human Needs The drama depicts the severe lack of resources in Balochistan. Scene 2 of Episode 1 shows Gulam Qadir taking water from a pitcher for ablution, carefully measuring it to ensure he does not run out.

- Dialogue (Zainab): "In Gwadar we have the cure of flu and fever only; for critical diseases, we have to go to Karachi". These deprivations fuel the frustration that radical groups exploit.
- Dialogue (Mola Bakhsh): "The land of Gwadar is soon turning into gold and I got the slap from my son for this gold". Radical leaders like Murtaza frame development as a conspiracy to dislodge the owners of the land.
- Religious Rhetoric and Political Brainwashing Political leaders use emotional speeches to incite youth to skip school and join protests.
- Dialogue (Murtaza): "Neither the tyranny of government nor any hurdle can make us bow... We will take over our resources and shore, no matter what it takes". This

"brainwashing" leads youth to skip essential family responsibilities and engage in anarchy and protests against the state by using Religion and identity as tool to

## 4.2. The Theme of De-radicalization and Moral Reasoning

De-radicalization in Darwaza is achieved through the presentation of counter-narratives and the discouragement of violence by influential leaders.

A. The Sincerity of the State and National Development Government officials like Muhammad Bakhsh present the narrative that development is a means to achieve pride and prosperity.

- Dialogue (M. Bakhsh): "We want to make this place comparable to Dubai... This land gives you pride and identity; does it not have the right to be beautiful like other lands?". The state argues that the true "conspiracy" is the illiteracy and ignorance fostered by politicians.

B. Counter-Narratives: Riding the "Bolter Horse" of Development In a pivotal dialogue, the S.H.O. explains the nature of progress to the radical leader Murtaza:

- Dialogue (S.H.O.): "Development is not a conspiracy at all; development is just a bolter [horse]. Whoever stands in front of him, he just precipitates, and the horse runs over him... it has only one solution: one should ride the horse".

C. Religion and De-radicalization through Opinion Leaders Toward the end, even the motivational leader Murtaza recognizes that violence (the "gun") only brings anarchy, not revolution. He appeals to religious and moral values to stop the cycle of violence.

- Dialogue (Murtaza to Shoaib): "Revolutions are not brought like this... Revolution is the name of changing mindset... Come back, Shoaib. For the sake of God (Khuda ke liye), come back". This appeal to "Khuda" (God) leverages religious sentiment to promote peace and the preservation of the community.

## 5. Discussion: Media as a Tool for Social Cognition

Darwaza serves as a case study for how the media can clarify misconceptions and provide "psychological warfare" against radicalization. By highlighting that the concerns of Baloch society—honor, identity, and needs—are valid, the drama builds a bridge of trust. It uses E-E to show that prosperity is hidden in development and that the youth must choose education over anarchy.

The research findings suggest:

- Identity preservation is the core of the conflict; development must be framed as a way to enhance, not erase, this identity.



- Religion is a powerful motivator that must be reclaimed from radical rhetoric to promote national unity.
- Media surveillance can identify and address societal grievances before they turn into violent radicalization.

## 6. Detailed Discussion: The Religious Dimension of Conflict and Peace

It is necessary to consider religious identity in order to comprehend radicalisation in Balochistan. Radical narratives frequently use religious vocabulary to explain defiance, even if the struggle is commonly presented in ethno-political terms.

### 6.1. Reclaiming the Aman (Peace) Concept

The name "Islam" itself comes from the root Salm, which means peace, according to Islamic religion. In Balochistan, radical organisations frequently use the idea of Mazloomiyat, or victimhood, to promote Intiqam, or retaliation. In response, Darwaza reinstates Aman's Islamic priority. In keeping with the Quranic command, "Whosoever kills a soul... it shall be as if he had killed all mankind" (Surah Al-Ma'idah 5:32), the play depicts the preservation of life and property as a divine mandate.

### 6.2. The Khalifah's (Steward's) Ethical Duties

The drama's high points Radical narratives frequently use religious vocabulary to explain defiance, even if the struggle is commonly presented in ethno-political terms.

## 7. Thematic Analysis of Darwaza

### 7.1. The Theme of Radicalization: Manipulation of Faith and Need

#### .7.1. The Radicalisation Theme: Manipulation of Need and Faith

According to Darwaza, ignorance and deprivation are the main causes of radicalisation. Gulam Qadir's meticulous measurement of water for ablution in Scene 2, Episode 1 represents the population's vulnerability due to scarcity. By framing the state as an "oppressor," radical leaders like Murtaza create a false religious divide between the "tyrannical" outsider and the "righteous" locals.

#### 7.2. De-radicalization: The "Bolter Horse's" Power

The drama's S.H.O. offers a crucial metaphor: progress is a "bolter horse." You have to ride it; you can't stop it. From a religious standpoint, this implies that in order for the Ummah to reclaim its dignity, it must embrace knowledge and advancement. This is further supported by the character Muhammad Bakhsh, when he asked "if the land does not have the right to be beautiful?" This echoes the Quran "Do not make mischief on the earth"



## 8. Recommendations for Policy and Practice

The following multifaceted approaches, with a strong focus on religious integration, are suggested to achieve the goal of lasting de-radicalization:

1. Including Religious Scholars in E-E Scripting To guarantee that the counter-narratives included in dramas are theologically sound, media outlets should work with the Ulema (scholars). "Khuda ke liye" (For God's sake) is a powerful statement made by a character in Darwaza. Future scripts should make use of certain Quranic tales that emphasise the benefits of Islah (reform) and the perils of Fitna (social conflict).
2. Pay attention to Huquq-ul-Ibad (People's Rights) Programs for de-radicalization must change their emphasis from impersonal political complaints to Huquq-ul-Ibad's Islamic duty. By creating content that highlights the religious benefits of constructing infrastructure, hospitals, and schools, the state may frame1. Including Religious Scholars in E-E Scripting To guarantee that the counter-narratives included in dramas are theologically sound, media outlets should work with the Ulema (scholars). The state can present development as a "religious service" rather than a "secular theft" by creating content that highlights the religious benefits of constructing infrastructure, schools, and hospitals.
3. Using the Idea of Hikmah (Wisdom) to Combat Extremist Brainwashing Emotionalism is the foundation of radicalisation. In contrast, Hikmah and Aql (intellect) are valued in Islamic culture. The "Mentor" figures in E-E programs should be local Imams or Sufi elders who employ knowledge to dissect the violent language of radical recruiters, demonstrating that real bravery is found in constructing rather than destroying.
4. Using Regional Languages to Promote Religious Authenticity The production of content in Balochi and Brahui must continue. Religious messages of peace conveyed in the mother tongue are not seen as "state-sponsored" propaganda but rather as native and genuine.
5. Youth Engagement and Digital Dawah Short-form E-E material (dramatic clips) should be combined with social media influencers who can talk about the religious ethics of citizenship and peace since radicalisation is becoming more and more digital.



## 9. Conclusion

Darwaza shows how the Entertainment-Education approach may be used to use media to bridge the gap between local complaints and governmental narratives. Secular message is insufficient for de-radicalization in Balochistan, where faith and identity are closely intertwined. It necessitates a significant recovery of religious identity, shifting from the vocabulary of conflict to the Islamic values of social justice, moderation, and stewardship. Pakistan may steer towards a secure and successful future by opening the "door" (Darwaza) to communication and growth and anchoring that advancement in genuine spiritual ideals.

## References

Akhter. (2013). Ethnic Politics and Political Process in Pakistan. *Pakistaniaat*, 5 (3), 50-60.

Ghaus-Pasha, A., Bengali, K., & Griffiths, A. L. (2005). Pakistan (Islamic Republic of Pakistan). *Ann L. Griffiths (ed.), Handbook of Federal Countries*, 177-86.

Brown, J., Childers, K., & Waszak, C. (1990). Television and adolescent sexuality. *Journal of Adolescent Healthcare*, 11, 62-70.

Brown, K. E., & Saeed, T. . (2015). Radicalization and counter-radicalization at British universities: Muslim encounters and alternatives. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38 (11), 1952-1968.

Crossett, C., & Spitaletta, J. . (2010). Radicalization: Relevant Psychological and Sociological Concepts. Maryland: The John Hopkins University.

DeFleur, M. L., Severin, W. J., Tankard Jr, J. W., Christians, C. G., Fackler, M., McKee, K. B., & Moffitt, M. A. . (2012). Basics in Communication and Media Studies.

Cresswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and Conducting mixed method research (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage .

Fanklin, B. (2005). Key Concepts in Journalism Studies. London: Sage Press.

Frank & Macnair. (2017). Voices Against Extremism: A case study of a community-based CVE counter-narrative campaign. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 147-174.

Hardy, K. (-1. (2018). Comparing theories of radicalisation with countering violent extremism policy. *Journal for Deradicalization* (15), 76-110.

Harris-Hogan, S., Barrelle, K., & Zammit, A. . (2016). What is countering violent extremism? Exploring CVE policy and practice in Australia. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 8 (1), 6-24.



Harrison, S. S. (1981). In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baloch Nationalism and Soviet Temptation. New York and Washington: Carnegie Endowment.

Holmer, G. (2013). Countering Violent Extremism: A Peace Building Perspective. US Institute of Peace.

Javaid, U., & Jahangir, J. (2015). Balochistan: A Key Factor in Global Politics. *South Asian Studies*, 30 (2), 91-105.

Johnson, K. (2001). Media and social change: the modernizing influences of television in rural India. *Media, Culture & Society*, 147-169.

Kaplan, R. D. (2009). Center stage for the twenty-first century: power plays in the Indian Ocean. *Foreign Affairs*, 88 (2), 16-32.

Khan, S. (2015). Deradicalization Programming in Pakistan. Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace.

Schmid, A. P. (2013). Radicalisation, de-radicalisation, counter-radicalisation: A conceptual discussion and literature review. *ICCT Research Paper*, 1, 97.

Schram, W. (1964). Mass Media and National Development. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press

Sial, S., & Basit, A. . (2010). Conflict and Insecurity in Balochistan: Assessing Strategic Policy Options for Peace and Security. *Conflict and Peace Studies*, 3 (4).

Singhal & Rogers. (1989a). Prosocial television for development in India. In E. R. E. Rice and C. K. Atkin, *Public Communication Campaigns* (pp. 331-50). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Singhal, A, & E. M. Rogers . (1988). Television soap operas for development in India. *Gazette*, 41 (2), 109-26.

SSinghal, A., & Rogers, E. M. . (2001). The entertainment-education strategy in communication campaigns. In R. E. Atkin, *Public communication campaigns* (3rd ed., pp. 343-356). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Singhal, A., Cody, M. J., Rogers, E. M., & Sabido, M. . (2004). *Entertainment-education and social change: History, research, and practice*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.