The Substance Behind the Images: A.I.D. and Development Communicat

Agency for International Development

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Foreword

A.I.D.'s experience in development communication spans more than two decades and covers a diversity of programs and approaches to applying communication concepts and technologies to development. The result is impressive. A.I.D. and its cooperating agencies in the United States and developing countries have made a significant impact on a broad range of behaviors and outcomes across all development sectors. This book reviews a major part of this A.I.D. experience.

Development communication practitioners today want more than to heighten awareness. Their programs support real change in the practices of people: government officials, medical doctors and health workers, farmers, married couples, women and other childcare givers, or teenagers. As a result, development communication has become more than the production of a poster and a couple of jingles. It has become a strategy for change.

Development communication has also become more scientific. A growing understanding of the psychology of human behavior and the ways in which people interact with communities have fueled and grounded today's communication efforts solidly within social science. Now, the state-of-the-art approach uses a carefully researched mixture of many media, including the latest technological "hardware" and interpersonal networks, to deliver tested messages to specified audiences.

An innovator in development communication practice for over 25 years, the U.S. Agency for International Development and its communication programs have inspired behavior change which continue to save and enhance lives. Its programs have expanded participation in decision-making, strengthened community institutions, and provided new knowledge to millions of people with little or no formal schooling.

A.I.D. development communication programs and strategies remain diverse. They have borrowed the best ideas from consumer product marketing and extended them to the marketing of contraceptives, oral rehydration salts and Vitamin A capsules. Even more important and exciting, A.I.D. has applied social marketing principles to the arena of behavior—protected sex, breastfeeding of infants, and agricultural practices such as integrated pest management which serve to increase productivity and protect the environment.

The channels of promotion have also been diverse: messages have been sent through schools, radio and television, friends and family members, newspapers, extension services, pop records and music videos, tee-shirts, sails on boats, billboards and almost anything that makes a noise or carries an image.

Now, the lessons learned have come full circle. The creativity and innovation of programs developed by A.I.D. project implementors to decrease the transmission of the AIDS virus, encourage the use of ORT and increase child survival, for example, are now influencing U.S. communication efforts. The strategies we have developed now serve as models in federal and state efforts to reduce mortality and alter high-risk behaviors in the United States.

The future is bright. But advances in communication technologies and opportunities to meet global challenges such as universal basic education and the prevention of unnecessary health risks will require further innovation. We hope that A.I.D. will continue its leadership role as the world grapples with these important issues.

Ann Van Dusen
Acting Assistant Administrator for
Research and Development
U.S. Agency for International Development

Acknowledgments

This book grew out of a series of meetings of A.I.D.'s Communication Cluster organized within the Bureau for Research and Development under the leadership of Richard E. Bissell and drew insights from the Offices of Education, Health, Nutrition, Agriculture, and Economic and Institutional Development. Mike Laflin developed the draft text for the book with patience and excellence, and Andrea Bosch provided editorial and graphic expertise. Special acknowledgment is due for the technical contribution and guidance of Anthony Meyer and the input of Norma Ayers, Ron Grosz and Sam Rea of the Bureau for Research and Development.

Many of A.I.D.'s contractors have contributed abstracts, information and graphic materials, and have reviewed drafts. In particular, but in no particular order, gratitude is due to Bill Smith, Renata Seidel, Peggy Parlato and Ed Toute at the Academy for Educational Development; Marcia Griffith at Manoff International; Sheila Maher and Cindy Cisek at The Futures Group; David Greeley at Population Services International; Janet Hayman at Family Health International; and Jose Rimon at Johns Hopkins University.

Finally, a special thanks to Kathy Selvaggio for her work on the Digest of Development Communication, a major reference tool on which she has worked so hard at the Clearinghouse on Development Communication, which provided much support material for this book.

This book describes select A.I.D. experience with development communication and does not attempt to fully represent the state of the art or the full extent of A.I.D. experience with it.

A complete list of major A.I.D. communication projects discussed here and their prime contractors is contained on the next page. In the text, they are simply described as A.I.D. projects rather than repeating the names of the cooperating agencies who implemented them.

** Michael Laflin is currently Director of A.I.D.'s Learning Technologies Basic Education project, and former Director of A.I.D's Clearinghouse on Development Communication. Andrea Bosch is Editor of the Development Communication Report of A.I.D.'s Clearinghouse on Development Communication. This book was drafted under purchase orders DPE-1406-0-00-1025-00 and HRN-1406-0-00-3004-00.*

A.I.D. Communication Projects and Prime Contractors

Education

Nicaragua Radio Mathematics Project: Stanford University
Kenya Radio Language Arts Project: Academy for Educational Development
Papua New Guinea Radio Science Project: Educational Development Center
RADECO Project: Inter-American Research Associates
Radio Learning Project: Educational Development Center
Learning Technologies for Basic Education: Educational Development Center
Educational Technology Studies and Applications: Institute for International Research
Rural Satellite Project: Academy for Educational Development
Nepal Radio Teacher Training Project: Southern Illinois University and Academy for Educational Development

Population

Social Marketing for Change Project (SOMARC): The Futures Group
Resources for the Awareness of Population Impacts on Development (RAPID): The Futures Group
Population Communication Services: Johns Hopkins University
Population Information Program: Johns Hopkins University

Nutrition

Nutrition Communication Project: Academy for Educational Development
The Weaning Project: The Manoff Group
Vitamin A Field Support Project: International Science and Technology Institute

Health

AIDSCOM: Academy for Educational Development
AIDSTECH: Family Health International
Water and Sanitation for Health: Camp, Dresser and McKee
Mass Media and Health Practices and Communication for Child Survival (HealthCom I and II): Academy for Educational Development
Technologies for Primary Health Care: Management Sciences for Health
Narcotics Awareness and Education Project: Development Associates

Agriculture

Communication for Technology Transfer in Agriculture: Academy for Educational Development
Guatemala Basic Village Education Project: Academy for Educational Development

Multisectoral

Clearinghouse on Development Communication I: Academy for Educational Development

Clearinghouse on Development Communication II: Institute for International Research

Liberian Rural Communications Network: Institute for International Research

Executive Summary

Over the past 25 years, A.I.D. has become a leader in the use of communication methods and technology to raise people's awareness, increase their learning and change their practices to support development. This expertise is known as *development communication* and includes the approaches of social marketing, nonformal education and distance learning. This book reviews A.I.D.'s experience with development communication.

A.I.D. began to experiment with development communication during the 1970's — with radio to support improved infant feeding; with social marketing to increase contraceptive use; with multi-media campaigns to promote oral rehydration therapy and the adoption of improved agricultural practices; with radio to increase the quality and pace of primary school education. Today, development communication has become one of A.I.D's comparative advantages. No other donor has as long, as diverse and as successful a history with this important tool.

Chapter One documents success in achieving behavior change across sectors. A.I.D. programs in child survival, population, basic education, nutrition, agriculture and, more recently, AIDS, have introduced behavior change at a pace equal to or better than that expected for the introduction of new commercial products in the U.S. marketplace. Chapter Two presents the underlying process of planning, implementation and evaluation characteristic of A.I.D. development communication programs which has evolved over the past 25 years.

Chapter Three describes social marketing, both for products such as condoms and oral rehydration salts and for behavior such as planting practices. Chapter Four reviews A.I.D. experience with radio and other media in formal and nonformal education systems. With fifty percent of children in the poorest countries not in schools, the potential for radio to reach these children is only beginning to be realized. Chapter Five points to more recent innovative strategies — communication for policy change; telecommunications; the "enter-educate" approach, using popular entertainment media; and integrated communication systems for the greater informed participation of rural populations in development.

Finally, Chapter Six addresses the need to build sustainable systems of communication to maintain the pace of change and looks to the future — the further application of development communication to increase partici-

pation in emerging democratic institutions and to face the global environmental challenges that confront us today.

The lessons learned from twenty-five years in development communication offer new approaches and technologies, the infrastructure to communicate efficiently, and the capacity to affect change. A.I.D.'s leadership during the last quarter century in exploring the power of communication will be even more critical as we enter the Twenty-first Century.

A.I.D.'s Communication Programs

New challenges exist in the field of development today. The realities and repercussions of environmental degradation, increasing world population, structural adjustment, and the spread of diseases such as AIDS are coupled with rapidly changing scenarios of democratization and decentralization. More than ever, it is important to understand how and when development strategies work and what can be done to maximize their effectiveness.

New development opportunities also exist. Information technologies can now connect urban centers to remote, isolated areas and spread and share knowledge across distinct regions. Insights into how people learn, what motivates behavior change and how to mobilize project and policy support have become more acute and practical applications have been developed. Indeed, the ability to use development communication to communicate with beneficiaries and others invested in their welfare and to inspire real change has grown so dramatically that communication strategies should be considered indispensable to any development project.

The U.S. Agency for International Development has funded communication programs in almost every area of development. In its 1984 *Policy Determination*, A.I.D. summarized four reasons why investing in communication technology and strategies makes sense. Communication technologies showed substantial potential for:

> "(1) reducing rural isolation,
> (2) increasing the productivity and effectiveness of economic and social development programs,
> (3) strengthening key private and public sector institutions, and
> (4) advancing the basic human right of people to have the information needed to make informed personal choices."

Through extended experience, A.I.D. has realized much of that potential using various techniques including:

- social marketing to promote new technologies, ideas and practices;
- mass media to provide direct instruction in and out of the class room;
- integrated communication systems to foster change at national and local levels; and
- technology to package and present information, and to influence and advocate for policy change.

During the 1970s, communication media in developing countries were

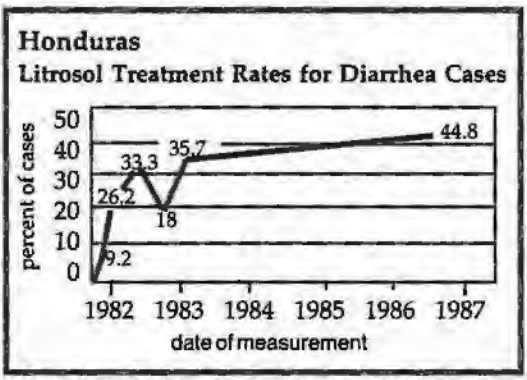
limited to creating awareness about new ideas and services; increasing consumer demand for products; spreading knowledge and education; and mobilizing communities. With evidence that communication strategies in the U.S. actually altered people's behavior around smoking and heart disease, *development communication* (defined as the use of communication methods and technologies to approach development problems) gained recognition. Particular approaches, such as social marketing began to be applied internationally to child survival, nutrition and family planning. From the belief that communication could play a role in social change, emerged a history of experimentation and evidence that the role could, in fact, be quite significant. A.I.D.'s last 20 years of experience in development communication tells its own story.

AED

Child Survival

Communication for child survival has generally concentrated on increasing immunization, the use of oral rehydration therapy (ORT), breast-feeding and growth monitoring. Using marketing strategies which emphasize behavior change, A.I.D. has changed behavior around ORT and immunization practices. These projects have provided valuable insight into the use of communication for behavior change across sectors. Other behavior-based health care problems such as vector-borne diseases and poor hygiene have also begun to implement these techniques.

The results are compelling. For example, in Honduras, the proportion of deaths associated with diarrhea among children under five years dropped from 40% to 24% in the two years after the communication program began intensively promoting LITROSOL, the local ORT packet.



HealthCom/Applied Communication Technology

Lesotho had similar results. Before a health communication campaign, 58% of mothers gave some treatment for a case of diarrhea. After three years,

75% of mothers treated diarrhea and most did so at home.

In Ecuador, A.I.D. tested the mass distribution of oral rehydration salts during immunization campaigns. At the time of the test, over 70% of mothers had an ORT packet in their home and had learned how to mix it correctly.

Tatiana and Johnny sing about safe sex (JHU/PCS).

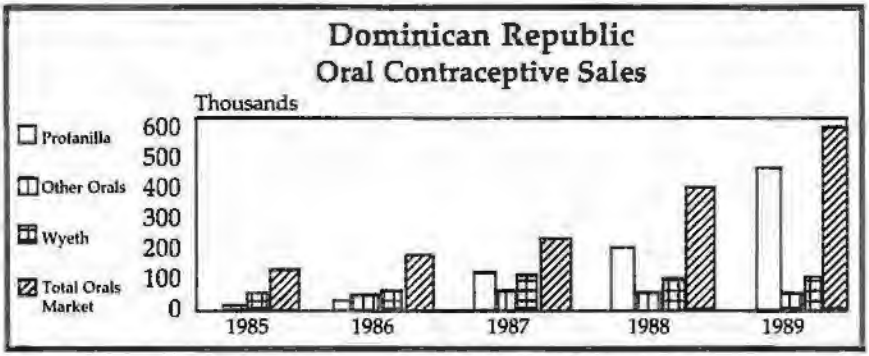
Finally, in Swaziland, A.I.D. taught mothers how to improve dietary management of diarrhea in the home. After eight months of intensive communication work emphasizing local radio and face-to-face communication, the numbers of mothers who reported that children should be fed special foods after an episode of diarrhea increased from 16 to 44%.

Population

A.I.D. recognizes behavior changes around family planning as particularly sensitive global issues. The rate of population growth worldwide will largely determine the future health of the world's people and the environment. Family planning—behaviors governed by motivation and product availability—can make a pivotal difference. Communication strategies in the population sector have moved family planning services beyond a limited, government-sponsored activity into a more sustainable, market-supported service available at low cost.

Contraceptive social marketing (CSM) projects have demonstrated enormous results. Since the first large scale project was launched in India in 1969, CSM projects have used partnerships to collaborate with the private sector in improving communication and distribution. In Indonesia, the Dominican Republic and Barbados, projects have actually

Mass media works in Nigeria (JHU/PCU).



SOMARC/The Futures Group

achieved self-sufficiency by creating self-sustaining communication and distribution activities.

Information, education and communication have also been unusually critical to sustaining the attention and affecting the sexual behavior of young people. Increased knowledge about responsible sexual practices has relied heavily on particular strategies, such as the use of entertainers as youth role models. Stars such Lea Salonga in the Philippines, for example, have donated their talents, while major corporations and broadcasting channels worldwide have donated airtime and other services.

Basic Education

Development communication has played a slightly different role in formal and nonformal education. In the quest for improved quality and access to basic education, instructional design principles and communication technologies have proved to be effective and relatively inexpensive. Radio-based instruction for improved language and numeracy skills, for example, was developed in settings as diverse as Nicaragua, Kenya and Papua New Guinea, and adapted or replicated in other countries around the world. Individuals otherwise denied access to

A Honduras math class using interactive radio technology (LearnTech/Education Development Center).

education due to the high cost of school fees, a physical lack of schools or their remote locations have gained education, information and skills training through these media-based systems. At the same time, the quality of instruction has been enhanced, particularly in remote regions.

In other areas of education, A.I.D. has supported nonformal education strategies such as mass media for adult education and many others. Mediated instruction, such as radio lessons or self-instructional modules, demonstrated that it could match or improve traditional teacher-delivered instruction at a much lower cost.

Nutrition

While developed countries suffer from problems of excess (heart disease, obesity), nutrition problems in developing countries involve malnutrition, night blindness and diarrhea. Nutrition communication projects promote products such as denser weaning foods, dishes and supplements with high protein and vitamins, and positive health behaviors.

Breastfeeding poster for rural Honduras (HEALTHCOM/ AED).

Introducing improved nutrition often requires sustained behavior change in feeding patterns, food preparation and other household food-related activities. To be effective, communication efforts have to be concentrated and specific. Therefore, breastfeeding, Vitamin A supplements, maternal nutrition, infant weaning and growth monitoring require distinct marketing techniques which alter the type and intensity of intervention over time.

The 1970s marked a dramatic shift in attitude and methodologies for promoting nutritional practices. A.I.D. supported some of the earliest efforts including the CARE-India Nutrition Education campaign (1970-73) which tested the use of market research to identify practical, culturally appropriate messages and used an advertising agency to conduct a large-scale mixed-media campaign. Other A.I.D. pioneer projects included the "Dr. Hakim" Project in Tunisia (1975), and the Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Philippines Mass Media Nutrition Advertising Campaigns (1974-76) which explored the use of "reach and frequency" advertising techniques to disseminate information

to audiences via brief radio spots.

Even in these early projects, the results were promising. For example, the Nutrition Communication and Behavior Change Project in Indonesia (1977-82) implemented product testing techniques which brought about improvements in the nutritional status of 40% of the children in target villages. In another example, the National Jamaica Breastfeeding Campaign (1977-79) used commercial marketing strategies to raise the average duration of breastfeeding—a practice substantially correlated with long term child health—by three months.

AIDS and Substance Abuse

The challenges of AIDS and substance abuse have further confounded development efforts in the 1980s and 1990s. Incurable, yet preventable by avoiding certain behaviors, they have left the world with little protection other than information, education and communication. Based on these characteristics, A.I.D. has sponsored worldwide communication projects based on interventions advocating prevention and behavior change.

The *AIDS Report to Congress* (May 1991) documented the action taken around the world: public education, condom distribution to those with high-risk behavior, treatment of sexually transmitted diseases, the clean-up of national blood supplies, AIDS testing services, and community education. Due to the strong link between AIDS avoidance and behavior, worldwide AIDS projects have concentrated on innovative communication strategies and have pioneered new approaches.

(AIDSTECH/FHI)

Substance abuse also presents difficult problems solvable only through behavior change. Long regarded as a problem for industrialized countries, the problem of addiction in drug-producing countries has also become

apparent in recent years. A.I.D.-funded projects are promoting awareness and prevention training activities as well as conducting research to uncover new ways to counter drug abuse.

Currently, research is taking place in Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Mexico, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Panama and Pakistan with the following objectives: to define the attitudes of people toward abuse, to develop campaigns to promote awareness of the costs of abuse, and to design education programs for schools and workplaces.

A Peruvian woman weeding her corn CTTA/ AED).

Agriculture

Agriculture projects have a long history of using development communication to achieve their goals. Extension and demonstration plots have been the primary means of communicating with farmers for decades, with face-to-face training as the means of introducing field assistants to new ideas and technologies. Evidence shows, however, that face-to-face agricultural extension services often reach less than 15% of farm families with any regularity.

A.I.D.-sponsored projects in Guatemala, Peru, Indonesia, Honduras and Jordan demonstrated that more directed approaches such as social marketing and interactive communication systems can be more effective and reach more farmers. For example, simple photo-novels in Java increased knowledge about pesticide safety fourfold. In Honduras, the number of farmers reached with messages about soil conservation rose from 2,200 to 32,000 in three years when specialized media were added. In a similar project in Peru, the number of farmers adopting new maize-spacing practices increased from 4,400 to 21,000. While these more intricate communication cost more, the benefits gained by these increases far outweighed the additional expense.

Environment

Like other sectors, the environment has pioneered its own particular communication tack. In efforts to mobilize communities, environmental projects have largely focused on public awareness and education, and have successfully created used local activism to inspire change. The process of mobilizing and responding to communities around local issues has proven

to be a major springboard for development communication and environmental responsibility. For example, in Ecuador, the A.I.D.-supported Fundácion Natura has linked community education and action with increased support for local groups seeking to revise or enforce local regulations. The community is not only heavily involved, but critical to policy enforcement, political change and environmental protection.

The field of environmental education has also led the use of popular education media, such as comic books in eastern Africa and television in India. A.I.D. has funded the development of environmentally conscious science curricula, and is developing an interactive radio series in Costa Rica for environmental instruction in schools. Other types of environment projects with important communication components include: a radio campaign to promote the safer use of pesticides in Bolivia, a television campaign to promote better water management in Yemen, the use of computer models to project the effect of population increases on the environment, and communication support for reforming marine-life management in Ecuador. With increasing worldwide concern, environmental education and communication will probably continue to initiate new ideas and development strategies.

Multisectoral Communication Systems

While some projects use communication strategies to reach their goals, other projects have increased communication as a major goal in itself. In an

(Liberian Rural Communications Network/ IIR)

attempt to reach and connect remote and marginalized populations, A.I.D. has helped to develop multisectoral integrated communication systems.

In the early 1970s, for example, A.I.D. supported a local radio project for the Miskito Indians in Nicaragua so that they could communicate among themselves and receive information from the outside world. The increased access to information and education not only increases awareness across sectors, but it also builds the organizational capacity of communities. A similar project was implemented in Honduras in the 1980s.

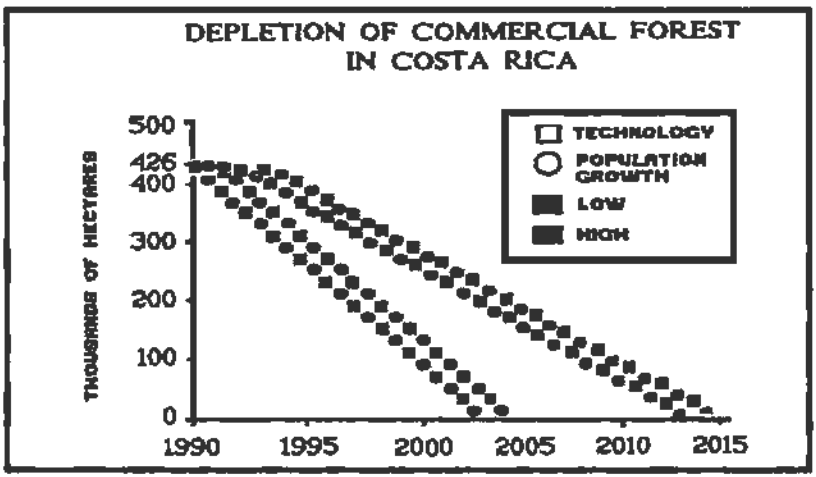
Another major effort involved the establishment of a network of radio stations in Liberia to provide multisectoral community news, information, education and entertainment. Always remaining local, each radio station was user-driven and sought to strengthen community-led development through collaboration with indigenous knowledge systems.

In the Caribbean, the South Pacific and Peru, the technologically ambitious Rural Satellite Project provided links among rural towns and regional centers for broad development purposes.

In all of these projects, the communication networks complemented, and were often integrated into, other communication efforts, such as education and marketing. In other words, the mass media option offered by the radio stations supported other communication channels by either making initial contact, providing education and training, or reinforcing and sustaining behavior change.

Communication for Policy Change

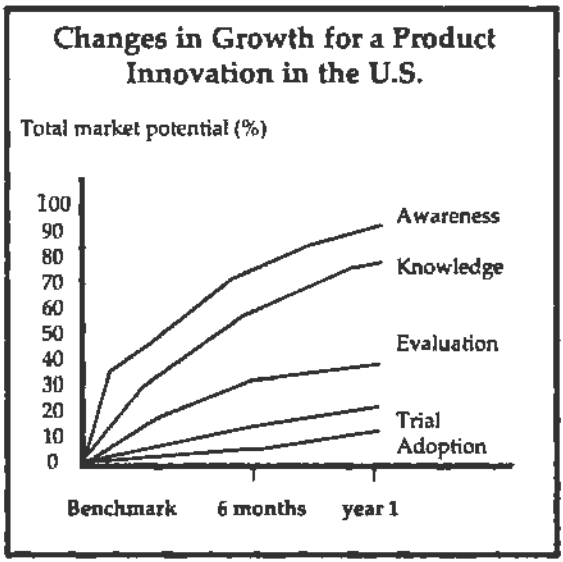
As data collection and processing methods and technologies have



This computer graph predicts relationships between the environment and population (POMA/The Futures Group).

advanced and policy decisions became better informed, communication strategies have been used to promote policy change and have become increasingly influential. Keeping up with new technologies, A.I.D. has, for example, used interactive, computer-based modelling systems to raise awareness among heads of state and senior policy makers about relationships between trends and development and to predict consequences of related policy decisions. To advocate for policy change, technologies have also created specialized briefing brochures for upper level decision makers.

Results beyond expectations



Advertising Research Foundation

Putting the results of development communication projects into context makes them even more impressive. While marketing products and behaviors are not synonymous, this figure presents the growth patterns that are expected for a new product marketed in the United States. A.I.D. social marketing projects have typically equalled and have in some cases exceeded these expectations despite the complexity of marketing *behavior* rather than products—especially when considering the types of behaviors involved and the distribution problems which prevail in most developing countries.

Clearinghouse for Development Communication

Documenting and disseminating A.I.D.'s 25 years of experience, the Clearinghouse on Development Communication reaches out to an audience of planners and practitioners worldwide. Now in its twenty-first year of operation, this knowledge center is considered an international leader in development communication by universities, planners and implementors, and the *Development Communication Report* (DCR) is regarded as its flagship.

The Effect of Communication on Development

Over the years, A.I.D. development communication programs have effectively informed people worldwide of their options. They have taught families how to use oral rehydration therapy and receive immunization; to plan the size and spacing of their families; to cultivate productive, nutritious and uncontaminated food crops; to prevent the spread of AIDS; and to avoid the onset of night blindness through the consumption of Vitamin A. Overwhelmingly, people have responded by absorbing information and changing particular behaviors—by learning ways they can avoid disease, be healthier and more educated, and by actively participating in programs designed to improve their quality of life.

The experience from these and other projects clearly shows the power of communication when integrated into a broader development program. Conversely, programs which *have not* included a communication component or have not integrated it well, do not show the same level of results.

In summary, communication can make a valuable contribution to development in the following ways:

Behavior change: Communication has demonstrated that it can support change in the behavior of individuals so that they have greater skills to control their lives and are more informed when responding to new situations.

Social change: Where communication networks have become localized and accessible, they have democratized the flow of information and opinion and have been effective in mobilizing communities to help themselves.

Institutional change: Communication has acted as a catalyst for change in the capacity and practice of institutions. For example, public health communication has helped to shift the public health emphasis from curative medicine to preventive medicine. Local radio systems have worked to integrate local action rather than create a series of discrete sectoral activities.

Policy change: Communication technology and strategies have improved policy making by widening the realm of stakeholders who are consulted and sharpening the quality of the data that inform policy decisions. Communication has also altered the policy environment by influencing public opinion.

Access and efficiency: Communication has increased access to knowledge and new technologies at a lower cost and often

higher quality than conventional delivery systems. Interactive radio, for example, provides enjoyable, carefully structured, consistently paced instruction in basic subjects day in, day out, year after year.

The Changing Face of Development Communication

Evidence indicates that communication interventions have the power to affect a broad range of behaviors and outcomes across development sectors. However, the behavioral objectives, approaches and technologies vary depending on the specific project and the interaction of planned events. *What common elements account for the success?*

The major improvements in communication practice in recent years can be attributed to the following seven changes:

1) There has been a trend away from using single channels and one time campaigns, towards using multiple channels over a sustained period with increased awareness of how they interact (e.g., the combined roles of mass media and interpersonal communication, or the use of print materials and electronic media).

2) Social science has contributed to the practice of communication so that when strategies and messages are being conceived and selected, they are shaped by an improved understanding of why individuals and societies behave as they do.

3) Development communication is based more on operational research and has become increasingly thorough in checking assumptions, designing appropriate media strategies, testing messages and materials, training trainers and selecting and programming media channels.

4) A commonly accepted process which follows a logical planning and management sequence of activities has been widely adopted.

5) Communication has become integrated into the broader system of development planning, management, training, commodity delivery systems, community programs and so on, rather than being an independent and marginalized operation. Communication often provides the organizing mechanism for these other inputs;

6) Development communication programs provide training and institutional development support to participants so that communication systems will sustain change beyond the immediate impact; and

7) Private sector and public sector institutions have learned that they often have more to gain by working together and are developing new partnerships for both communication and service delivery.

Development Communication Foundations

The face of development communication has changed. While it has gained insights from other fields and experience, it still maintains three broad yet important foundations:

Practice should rest on and reflect a sound theoretical base. Communication strategies have become more effective by building on the theoretical bases provided by social psychology, behavioral psychology, instructional systems design, marketing, anthropology and other social sciences. As communication practitioners have adapted and applied the theoretical advances of these social sciences, programs have become more effective.

Programming should emphasize quality. A communication strategy may involve high-tech multimedia campaigns or information spread through truckdrivers' word of mouth, but to be effective it must be based on sound research, follow a systematic development cycle, and employ a strategy consistent with the communication objective and environment.

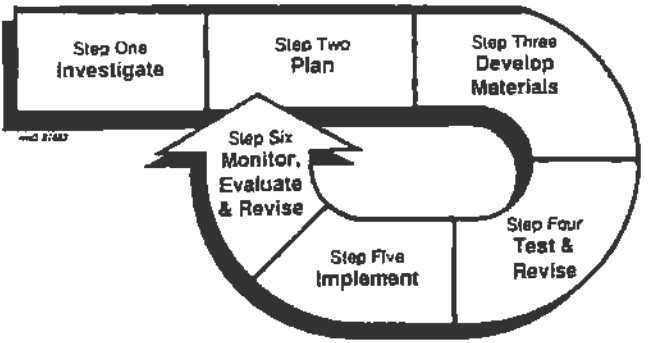
Operations and management should be well structured. Even with the most well-researched communication model, a family planning campaign without condoms or an immunization program without health workers will fail. Communication activities must be integrated into an effective operations and management structure and consider both immediate and future institutional needs.

Planning Communication Activities

Over the years, planning communication activities has acquired a generally consistent and accepted cycle of activities. Careful management of and attention to these activities provide the basis for quality and the overall effectiveness of the communication component and the project in general.

The Communication Process

While the names of the stages vary, communication practitioners have tended to describe a multi-step, cyclical process whose elements and sequence of activities are essentially the same as those in the diagram below.



PCS/JHU

Stage 1. Investigate: research and analysis

- Study the practices of key individuals, communities, host-country policy makers and decision makers and researchers, to identify critical behaviors and attitudes.
- Conduct social and behavioral research to understand and select appropriate audiences.
- Assess existing policies and programs that affect the behaviors being addressed, the strengths and weaknesses of potential institutional partners, and their effects on the program.
- Evaluate communication and information resources currently in place, such as the broadcast media, popular cultural events, friends, neighbors and opinion leaders, extension services, other workers, publications, other projects, training and research programs).

Stage 2. Plan and develop strategy

- Define objectives based on social and behavioral research.
- Select audiences.
- Assess the capacity of existing institutions and communication channels.
- Develop an information base for the content of messages and materials.
- Select channels of communication (eg.,radio and television, folk media, the popular press, interpersonal networks).
- Develop a plan for interpersonal reinforcement (through work shops, seminars, conferences, training programs, technical assistance).
- Develop an overall communication strategy.
- Draw up an action plan for all of the above, segmented by audiences and including specific plans for individual locations.

Stage 3. Develop materials

- Develop prototype messages and materials for testing: sample communication media and training programs, information concepts, workshop curricula, research findings and lessons learned, guideline documents, case studies, manuals and handbooks.

Stage 4. Test and revise

- Pretest with the audience, both for appropriateness of content and presentation.
- Complete the messages and materials.

Stage 5. Implement

- Implement the action plan.
- Monitor all systems (eg., broadcast frequency, material and product distribution systems) to verify that a functioning intervention is in place — that messages and materials are available to the target audiences.

Stage 5. Monitor, evaluate and revise

- Monitor impact. (eg., Are attitudes changing and knowledge increasing? Are practices changing?)
- Review system characteristics: management and organization, operational effectiveness, training and human resource capabilities,

service and product quality, user satisfaction, and the capacity to sustain changes.

- Replan future activities. (eg., Is it necessary to revise the product, its packaging, its promotion or its price?)

The Importance of Research

The careful adherence to a self-monitoring communication process will secure a basis for success—but few communication programs succeed without delving deeper. Successful development communication involves conducting research, challenging assumptions, pretesting media and using learning techniques—and each communication project setting is unique. While prior experience is useful, every new project must be sensitive to and based on its particular context. Therefore, communication strategies should be developed after observation of current behavior, its motivational source and significance, and tests and discussions of potential approaches. Case studies throughout this chapter describe the process.

Getting out to communities

Communication research is carried out within actual communication networks, not in a distant office. For example, one A.I.D. oral rehydration therapy project in Zaire initiated its ethnomedical study on diarrheal disease by interviewing 1,025 mothers throughout Lubumbashi in Swahili. Researchers studied how mothers administered oral rehydration therapy and observed the amount of the solution a mother typically gave a child

A focus group of farmers in East Java, Indonesia discusses a photonovel (CTTA/AED).

with diarrhea. They compared those practices with potentially more effective ones and designed communication strategies to inform and motivate change.

The result? They learned that Zairean women considered dehydration a serious and common problem for children, but they did not associate it with diarrhea and loss of fluids—knowledge the researchers could not have guessed without user-input. With the added insight, researchers were able to plan appropriate messages for posters and radio spots on diarrheal disease control which targeted particular misconceptions of the mothers. To reinforce the effort, they provided supportive information to clinic-based health workers for case management.

In another example, a A.I.D.- funded contraceptive social marketing (CSM) program in Turkey demonstrated the importance of designing campaigns that truly addressed the users' knowledge, attitudes, and practices. After collecting data, researchers found that, contrary to their original belief, Turkish women were indeed aware of modern contraceptive methods and were already highly receptive to family planning. Approximately 70% of the women had, in fact, tried modern methods. But they had discontinued them because of concerns about side effects and health concerns. Forty percent of women regularly practiced traditional methods such as withdrawal to prevent pregnancies and abortion rates were very high (25 out of 100 pregnancies).

Women needed more information about specific methods. Research showed that over half of women were using high-dose pills, which commonly have much greater side effects. Generally uninformed about correct pill use, they did not understand that in almost all cases, temporary side effects subside when *low-dose pills* are used. Pharmacies were not providing adequate information, and doctors and midwives were generally negative about the pill and instead, emphasized the IUD.

The research paid off. Rather than trying to educate women about the virtues of family planning, the Turkey CSM project worked with three oral contraceptive manufacturers to shift the commercial market to low-dose pills. A corresponding communication campaign provided information about the differences between low-dose and high-dose pills and encouraged women to reconsider the pill as an option.

Avoiding assumptions

While it would be easier to transfer specific research findings from one community to another, the benefits of conducting research at the site of the planned project cannot be overestimated. Motivations for behavior in one environment will not necessarily apply elsewhere, and solutions cannot necessarily be transferred.

A marketing campaign for condoms for AIDS prevention in Tanzania illustrates how prior experience can be misleading and assumptions can

destroy a project. Based on experience in other countries and anecdotal information from Tanzania, three assumptions were made about sex, AIDS and condoms among Tanzanian men. In tests with 16 focus groups, the assumptions were proved incorrect in every case (see chart).

Assumption:	Reality:
The name "Simba", meaning lion, would be preferred as a brand name for a condom because it connotes masculinity and aggression.	"Salama" was preferred, which means safe or secure.
Tanzanian men would be uncomfortable discussing sex, AIDS and condoms, and would be neutral about the idea of using condoms.	They were open and interested in discussing sex, AIDS and condoms, and had definite opinions about them.
The research team would encounter resistance from local officials, institutions and community leaders in obtaining authorization and support for conducting research.	The researchers received considerable assistance from regional development officers and politicians.

Finding the research opportunity: AIDS hotlines

Sometimes the opportunity to ask questions about sensitive issues presents itself in unconventional situations. For example, in Brazil, Jamaica, Peru and the Philippines, telephone hotlines were used for counseling people about AIDS and informing them of other services. Often, callers revealed their misinformation about AIDS. Both tasks, counseling and research, require great sensitivity and confidentiality. As an opportunity to learn from the situation, counselors trained in talking about sensitive issues asked questions about the callers' concerns and effective media channels.

The AIDS hotlines revealed important information. For example, in Jamaica, more women than men called and many were first-time callers, suggesting that there was a large demand for information and assistance to this segment of the population. There were also many more calls than expected about sexually transmitted diseases other than AIDS, suggesting that existing services were not effective enough.

Planning Communication Strategies

While research is the necessary foundation for planning communication strategies, the path to behavior change may be far from straightforward. Individuals in their attitude or behavior change do not move typically from point A to point B. Change in individual or community practices rarely occurs in such a linear fashion. Instead, one change leads to another over an extended period of time, and influences are exerted from outside the planned intervention which add complexity to the process.

Even in the context of planned change, an example from Mali illustrates the way that campaign management may have to take a multi-step, phased approach. In Mali, babies are breastfed until they are about two years old. Once weaned, children are thought to need less food than adults, but not to have any particular dietary requirements for growth. Malnutrition is common. These beliefs and practices had existed for generations, and would not change quickly.

The nutrition communication project staff decided to begin by promoting practices that were relatively easy to adapt. This approach would inspire confidence and a feeling of control in the mothers—and eventually, change their nutrition-related behaviors.

Planners found it was not going to be as simple as originally envisioned. The communication strategy had to account for different audiences because while most women could purchase or grow the food they needed, some women relied on their husbands for access to food. But men and women did not use the same communication networks. To realistically reach the men, they required their own inter-village meetings, discussion groups, marketplace promotions and radio spots with messages designed to be specific to their perspectives.

In this program, change was expected to occur *at a slow rate* . Even simple practices were bound up in the local economy, the system of agriculture, and the local perception of what small children ought to eat and who could choose. Issues were best confronted through a gradual and responsive communication process.

Use of Multiple Channels

Choosing effective media channels—and how to use them in combination — is perhaps the most significant part of communication planning. However, media channels in most developing countries, especially in rural areas, are relatively limited in both number and variety. The local radio system funded by A.I.D. in Liberia, for example, was essentially the only means of structured information exchange between multiple rural communities—unless people traveled by foot to a regional town. Many rural areas have no newspapers, no access to television or telephones, and unreliable systems of extension. Indigenous communication channels, while intrigu-

ing, may actually be difficult or cumbersome. A major challenge to communicators may simply be to find access to an audience.

Other constraints to media use may also impede a communicator's efforts. A lack of funds, few staff, poor human relationships, or little motivation among potential collaborators can disrupt the best intentioned programs. Relationships between ministries, for example, and a media system may be strained and further exacerbated by assumptions of payment, time or unspoken favors. As a consequence, A.I.D. projects have discovered highly imaginative media strategies.

Creative channels: messages that travel

A creative channel can sometimes be the most useful one. Barmaids and sex workers working in East African truck stops showed rates of HIV infection of between 44% and 86%, and drivers showed rates of 33%. One AIDS program in 1990 used an innovative approach to educating Tanzanian truckers travelling through the region.

Project Truck Route used two trucking companies and worked at six truck stops from Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, through Zambia and into Zaire. Local people were trained to host meetings where they discussed AIDS with truckers and sex workers, demonstrating correct condom use on props. Condoms with instructional materials and posters with HIV awareness messages were placed in bars, at reception desks and in hotel rooms.

AIDSTECH/Family Health International

In one imaginative and mobile media strategy, drivers were asked to put large stickers on their trucks stating *"Condoms prevent AIDS."* The message traveled covered the three countries both reinforcing other media channels and reaching new populations.

The Media Mix

A mix of media which interact with each other over time is generally more effective than a single channel. People are rarely persuaded to change their behavior by a single encounter with a health aide's advice, for example, or a television announcement or an article in a newspaper. While one announcement may trigger a behavioral response, a sustained change generally results from cumulative exposure.

In West Java, an A.I.D.-funded project chose a combination of reinforcing media to spread child survival information including direct mail marketing techniques. After detailed lists of healthcare workers' names and addresses were compiled, and a small-scale experiment demonstrated the reliability of postal delivery to workers, a large-scale direct mail campaign was launched including child survival information, a 1990 calendar insert, a letter from the provincial chief of health, and a short questionnaire printed on an aerogram. The response was staggering, especially when compared to U.S. expectations. Even though workers had to purchase a stamp and mail the questionnaire back, over 8,500 out of 18,000 responses were received by the provincial office.

An illustration from a counseling card (The Weaning Project/Manoff Group).

Follow-up interventions used another medium. Counseling cards that allowed community volunteers to diagnose the severity of diarrhea in children and provide advice to mothers on proper treatment proved to be effective and easy-to-use. After a day of training, counselors were able to use them with almost complete accuracy, and a study done months later showed that there was little loss of efficiency. The combination of the direct mail channel, face-to-face contact and training resulted in a significant improvement in mothers' ability to mix and administer ORT—important knowledge for child survival.

The Indonesian program also launched a multichannel communication program for West Java by broadcasting radio spots in two local languages on 12 local stations, and creating cloth banners, advertisements, and billboards. Private sector mobile vans presented a film to villagers, and 20,000 community health volunteers were trained. It was difficult for people not to be exposed to the health messages.

Multiple channels, but often one central channel

While evidence shows that people learn more effectively through multiple media channels, a balanced approach to media selection does not always imply *equal* use of channels or that each channel will be equally effective. Instead, a single channel may dominate a campaign, while others are used for reinforcement. Another A.I.D.-funded project, the Metro Manila Measles Vaccination Campaign in 1988, shows the complex interaction between channels and audience knowledge.

During the 90-day campaign, 30-second and 15-second television spots were broadcast often enough to reach regular viewers twice a week, followed by 15- and 60-second radio spots and a full-page advertisement placed in mass circulation newspapers. Materials in health centers were added including a poster publicizing the campaign, another poster announcing the date, time and location of immunization services, three comics posters, a brochure on the immunization program, and streamers and T-shirts for health care workers bearing the campaign theme. Full-page advertisements and inexpensive, small-spaced print ads were published in mass circulation newspapers. TV received 65% of the advertising budget, radio received 30%, and print, 5%.

Post-campaign surveys indicated that the campaign resulted in increases in measles vaccination coverage from 23 to 45%. Television was the most important source of information, with 97% of mothers stating they learned about the campaign through TV, 37% through radio, 21% through posters displayed at clinics, and 9% through newspapers. It is likely that the reinforcement among and combination of channels was the real key to success, with radio and clinic based posters continually reminding clients of the televised message and vice versa.

Using an authentic voice

No matter how many media are chosen, all messages must speak in a voice which is credible and interesting to the intended audience—otherwise the message will not be heard. One agricultural communication project, for example, produced a series of radio mini-dramas designed to convey general agricultural messages. One mini-drama about pesticides featured a farmer getting sick after drinking water from a pesticide can. To keep the materials relevant, the farmers themselves were invited to participate in

developing storyboards and acting out the parts for the taping of the programs. This approach focused attention on actual farmer problems and ensured that language, vocabulary, intonation, and situations were typical of the target villages.

Interpersonal communication on a massive scale

Although "mass communication" is often associated with the broadcast media and print materials, face-to-face communication can also be an effective medium on its own or as part of an integrated approach to reach large numbers of people. Because massive face-to-face contact can be resource intensive, some type of multiplier effect such as training trainers or peers, or setting up interpersonal communication in communication centers such a marketplace or health clinic are most effective.

Interpersonal communication works like other communication channels—it should be carefully researched and planned. One A.I.D.-funded project, a rural sanitation project in Bolivia, delivered an integrated package of health education, information and services to 59,000 people in 200 rural communities across Bolivia relying mainly on face-to-face contact at meetings. Skilled communicators soon discovered that they needed to conduct two types of interpersonal meetings to have the messages be absorbed—general meetings and meetings at mothers' clubs. The reason? Few women attended the general meetings, and others reported that their husbands shared no information with them. Conversely, in communities where health education was provided only through mothers' clubs, some husbands did not want their wives to attend, deeming it a waste of time. By conducting both kinds of meetings, men and women were reached.

A poster showing a "peer prostitute" who advocates condoms.(AIDSTECH/FHI)

Another A.I.D.-funded project demonstrates the innovative use of interpersonal communication. In the cities of Olangapo and Angeles in the Philippines, thousands of prostitutes working in bars were educated about AIDS transmission primarily by a method of peer education.

City task forces were set up, composed of health officials, the city press, officials from the mayors' offices, bar owners and managers and prominent citizens. Educational materials were developed to put in the bars, and short education sessions were held there just prior to opening. A day-long training was held for select women who showed leadership qualities to become peer educators. Each bar or disco had at least one peer educator. Posters with condom-use messages were placed within the bars and discos, and bar owners were encouraged to keep a supply of condoms available.

Then the trained prostitutes trained and discussed condom use with their colleagues. They demonstrated condom use on a wooden penis and encouraged the women to make these demands on their customers—for the health of everyone. Because the interpersonal information was coming "from the inside" from people whom they trusted, other prostitutes were more likely to listen. Nearly 1500 peer educators were trained, and they reached an estimated 36,000 people.

Community Influence

Just as it is important to understand interpersonal communication networks, it is important to understand the communities in which individuals live. The participation of local groups in shaping messages and campaigns and the major influence of community leaders on individual behavior may have a much greater affect than previously anticipated. Researchers at the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania have suggested that the social influence of peers in the community affected decisions of individual mothers to immunize their children more strongly than did education, wealth or knowledge of the importance of vaccination.

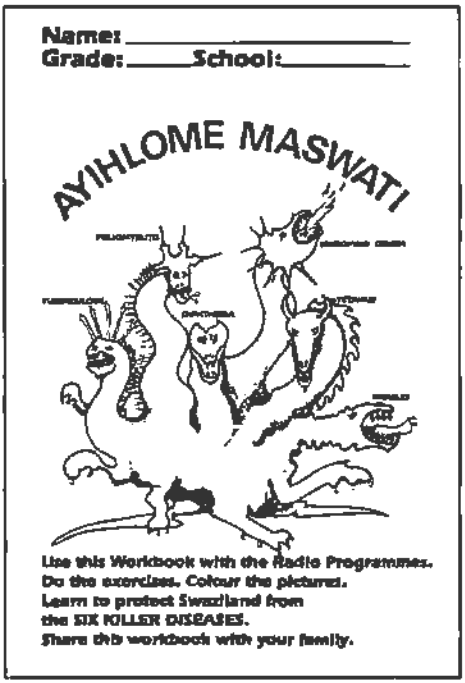
A similar finding applied to breastfeeding. Of the three major factors constraining breastfeeding practices, two were community-based:

- negative public attitudes toward breastfeeding;
- lack of knowledge of specific breastfeeding skills; and
- social norms that define breastfeeding as unusual behavior.

Consequently, community influence may play a greater role than earlier envisioned. New mothers should not be the only audience, or perhaps, the primary audience. Instead,

- messages that focus on only breastfeeding *skills* may be largely irrelevant by themselves;
- messages that suggest to mothers that authoritative individuals (such as doctors) think of breastfeeding as the appropriate and usual way of feeding infants may be influential; and

- messages promoting breastfeeding that focus on communities, institutions and community leaders may be as important as targeting mothers of newborns directly.



The Swaziland Grade Five Workbook was designed to be used with school radio broadcasts (HealthCom/AED).

Often, communication projects target particular family members to support their objectives. For example, in a Jordan breastfeeding project, the chosen messengers were fathers, sons and mothers-in-law. Because breastfeeding is sometimes regarded as an "unusual" practice in Jordan, one breastfeeding intervention used a series of television spots which focused on the family and the cultural legitimacy of breastfeeding. Messages to "eat better" emphasized the role played by fathers and elder sons in encouraging the mother to take care of herself. The mother-in-law was seen advising the young mother how to increase her breastmilk and reminding her to feed the baby on demand. Finally, quotes from the Koran recommending breastfeeding were used to lend religious legitimacy. These combination of these messengers could adequately support breastfeeding practices within the family structure in Jordan better than information solely targeted to the mother.

In other examples, A.I.D. child survival programs in Swaziland and interactive instructional radio programs in Bolivia focused on children in the later grades of primary school in order to educate them as "messengers" to the family. In Swaziland, grades five and six were taught basic immunization facts and encouraged to motivate family members to take siblings in for vaccinations. The course workbook included exercises for children to do at home and required them to seek information from their families.

This combination of insights regarding behavior with the experience of marketing contraceptive and health projects has given unusual power to achieve results for many A.I.D. social marketing projects.

Mass Media

table 1

Channel	% Exposed (a)	Effect of Exposure (b)	Channel Effect (a) x (b)
Clinic	22%	18.1%	4.2%
Outreach	16%	20.1%	3.2%
Radio	60%	13.6%	8.2%

HealthCom/CIHDC, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania

Choosing the communication media may be a difficult decision, but overwhelming evidence concludes that when the mass media are included, behavior change can increase dramatically. As table 1 indicates, while concentrated face-to-face outreach may change more behaviors per person exposed, mass media may actually be more effective overall due to the major difference in exposure. Mass media reach and influence many more

table 2

Mass Media Intervention	Indications of Behavior Change
Pakistan, 1991, Multi-media campaign featuring Aahat, a six part drama for television promoting health and family planning (6 wks)	8% surveyed said: they visited a clinic after seeing Aahat; 36% would limit family size; 5% did something to improve husband-wife communication; and 44% intended to improve spouse communication
Brazil, 1988-90, Multi-media campaign to promote vasectomy in 3 Brazilian cities, featuring humorous TV spots (6 months)	58% of new clinic visitors in one city cited TV as source of referral; 81% increase in vasectomies performed in one clinic.
The Philippines, 1988-89, Mass media campaign in Cebu Province promoting health and family planning and clinic sites, (1 year)	188% increase in new family planning acceptors at city clinics; 54% increase in new acceptors at private clinics
Zimbabwe, 1988-89, Multi-media campaign to motivate men to use family planning featuring radio soap opera for men, (1 year)	14% of men aged 18-55 reportad visiting clinic or community based distributor site; 7% reported they began to use family planning; 81% of men changed attitude about men participating in family planning; 55% talked to partner about family planning

A sample of many projects using mass media. (Population Communication Services/ Johns Hopkins University).

people simultaneously.

Project after project proves the strength of mass media to effect behavior. The projects listed in table 2 are but a few of the many A.I.D.-funded projects which have produced significant results through the use of mass media.

Social Marketing

Social marketing is a highly effective approach to development communication which uses marketing strategies to promote new products or behaviors felt to be beneficial to a specific and carefully researched audience. Social marketing goes beyond a distinct communication component of an intervention and addresses considerations about the nature of the product or behavior, the price or cost to the target audience, the place or delivery system associated with disseminating the product, and the type of advertising and promotional campaigns which will mobilize the audience (the *four "Ps"* of social marketing). In social marketing programs, social science theories such as social learning theory and the theory of reasoned action have had considerable influence.

Marketing Change

The consumer is central to social marketing. The strategy is simple: Social marketers try to learn so much about the consumer that the product or idea "sells" itself.

The four "Ps" of social marketing can be applied to any environment, and in many cases, these two "Ps" also effect the process:

The Four "Ps" of Social Marketing

- develop appropriate ***products*** (eg., rehydration salts for mothers to give diarrhea stricken children);
- create incentives and adjust the ***price*** (eg., make immunization affordable);
- identify convenient ***places*** and channels for distribution (eg., condoms within bars); and
- design ***promotion*** campaigns that support social change goals.

- *politics* affect access to resources;
- *policies* provide the pricing and subsidy structures, marketing systems, and the regulatory or otherwise controlling context in which development takes place.

Developing products

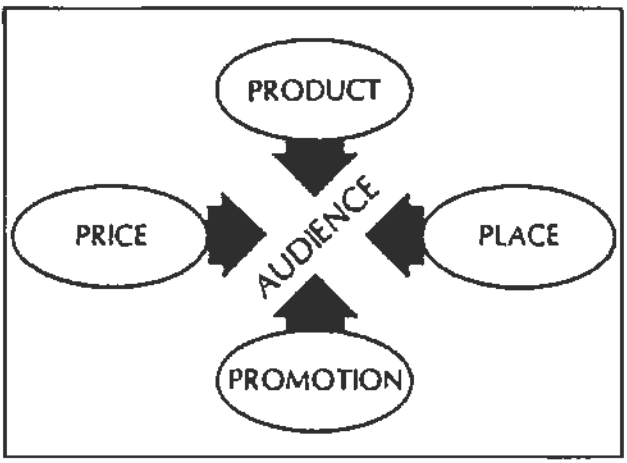
Social marketing not only packages and promotes existing technologies or alternative behaviors, but also involves working with beneficiaries to develop new ones. In Malawi, for example, mothers were reluctant to

take chloroquine phosphate pills as prophylactics against malaria even though they were free at clinics. Communication researchers discovered that the bitter taste reminded mothers of the herbs used to cause miscarriage. Formative research also found that the advice clinics were offering mothers was confusing. Consequently, changes were made in the communication strategies based on audience perceptions both in marketing the pills and training the mothers. The pharmaceutical company provided a sugarcoated version of the pills, and communicators designed a flipchart and in-service training session for clinic workers. Research studies showed that each change increased behavior adoption, and when the new pill and the training were combined, the strategy was most effective.

In a Niger agricultural communication project, communication researchers discovered that millet farmers who participated in the project assessment phase preferred an indigenous technology over the product of an experimental research station. Further experiments with pesticides and new plant varieties confirmed that, in fact, they were less successful than simply planting sesame along with the millet. The "innovative" technology was thus an indigenous one capable of being disseminated through indigenous networks. The lessons of market research and communication strategies complemented each other to produce an approach compatible with the farmers and their environment.

Creating demand: Examples from Morocco and Ecuador

Marketing specialists agree—an important element of marketing a product involves creating adequate demand. In social marketing, the same principle applies. Several strategies described in chapter two, such as peer education and education by entertainment, create demand by ensuring that the messengers are appropriate and influential with the audience. Other tactics might involve gaining the support of religious or political leaders or positioning advertisements in strategic places.



HealthCom/AED

Generally, stimulating demand involves manipulating the way that one or more of the four "Ps" effects the audience. An A.I.D.

project in Morocco shows one way demand was created.

A 1988 pre-launch survey of condom usage in Morocco showed that only 4.5% of urban males used condoms. In September 1989, the Morocco contraceptive social marketing (CSM) campaign was launched in collaboration with the Moroccan Ministry of Public Health and a Moroccan pharmaceutical manufacturer and distributor.

Never before were condoms promoted by brand-specific radio advertising. By increasing the visibility of condoms in retail outlets and creating an image around the Protex brand, the project successfully opened the commercial market in Morocco and Protex captured the leading market share. And the market for condoms continued to grow. In a follow-up survey in the summer of 1990, condom usage among urban males had increased to a surprising 24%. Not only did the social marketing create demand for a product (condoms), but it inspired a social behavior (wearing a condom)—the underlying CSM objective.

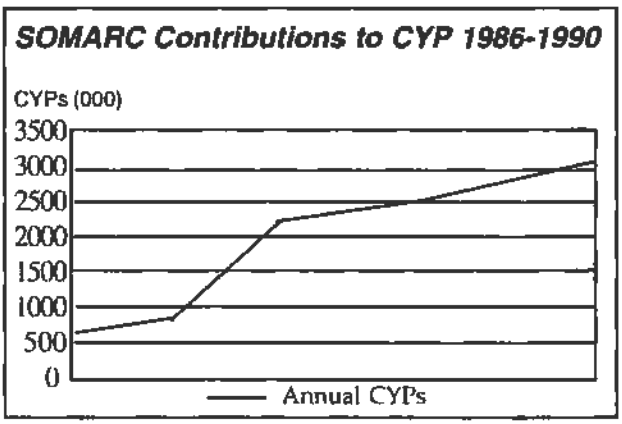
The A.I.D-funded PREMI child survival project in Ecuador demonstrated similar success. After repeated exposures to oral rehydration salts (ORS) and increased access and visibility of the product the understanding by mothers of how to use ORS rose from 24% in 1985 to 46% in 1987. The number of people who tried ORS doubled in the same period.

Demand and multi-media social marketing in Zaire

Combining media to reinforce messages within social marketing, as in development communication in general, can further increase demand and, subsequently, behavior change. A.I.D. experience in Zaire shows the dramatic effect of a multi-media marketing approach.

The general public in Zaire had a low level of knowledge about AIDS and 80% of HIV infection was sexually transmitted. Condoms were scarce, expensive and not promoted. In response, the project targeted all sexually active couples in a project to promote and distribute low-priced condoms and family planning products.

Promotion of the product was not limited simply to a few messages on the radio or television. Television, radio, printed materials, music and theater all created public awareness of the



Couple years of protection top three million worldwide in 1990 (SOMARC/The Futures Group).

AIDS virus and condom use. Songs about AIDS were performed by Zaire's most popular groups and television dramas portrayed the predicament of individuals and families infected with the virus.

The project developed and tested spermicide and a condom named PRUDENCE and created a logo and slogan. A national distribution network marketed them at pharmacies, bars, hotels, night clubs and truck stops. The products were affordable to the poor, merchandised in convenient locations and were advertised on unique locations such as beer coasters and bartenders' aprons.

Condom sales increased from less than one million in 1988 to eight million in 1990 and accounted for an estimated 90% of all condoms distributed in the commercial sector in Kinshasa, a city of four million. Studies among consumers conducted in 1990 demonstrated that condoms were purchased and used primarily as a means of avoiding HIV and STD exposure. The rapid rise in condom sales was attributed to heightened consumer awareness of the threat of AIDS and the knowledge that condoms are the only available means of protection for those who continue to practice high-risk behavior. Both the product and the behaviors associated with it gained recognition and use.

Lessons from Contraceptive Social Marketing

CSM project managers identified four issues that faced program designers repeatedly in implementing projects:

- Because awareness is the easiest component of behavior change to address, there has been a tendency to respond to any marketing situation with increased advertising. Several CSM projects continued awareness advertising at introductory (rather than maintenance) levels long after their brand had high recognition. This level of advertising is an ineffective use of resources.
- Campaign designers often incorrectly assumed that a lack of awareness constrained the use of modern methods. Marketing and communication strategies should be based on an analysis of user knowledge, attitudes, and practices.
- The more specific communication messages were, the more likely consumers were to respond with the appropriate behavior change. Method-specific or brand-specific advertising was preferred over general family planning themes.
- Some country environments were apprehensive about using mass media to communicate messages about contraceptive methods. Social marketing projects were often confronted by laws and regulations which inhibited mass media advertising for brand-specific or method-specific products. Identifying these restrictions

in the design phase of projects was critical to circumventing or eliminating these obstacles. Many social marketing projects successfully introduced first-time brand-specific advertising for condoms and oral contraceptives in traditionally conservative societies, such as Morocco, Indonesia and Turkey.

Understanding Behavior

The success of social marketing depends to a large extent on gaining an understanding of human behavior in a particular environment. For example, what messages alter sexual behavior? and, how do you tell people *how* to change? One A.I.D.-funded AIDS project drew on principles of social marketing that were known to influence the adoption of new practices, and applied them to sexual behavior. They found that:

Singers promote condoms to prevent AIDS (PSI).

- Providing information to people at risk is the logical starting point in changing their behavior. This information should include what not to do as well as what to do for protection against AIDS.
- Many early AIDS campaigns were based on scaring people into abstinence or using a condom. Using fear has not generally motivated people to change their sexual behavior. A low level of fear may get attention, but fear can also lead to denial or to adoption of a fatalistic attitude. Fear may also lead to punitive attitudes among communities which, in turn, may lead to demands to quarantine or cast out people who test HIV positive. If fear is to be used to get attention, it should empower people to respond positively, providing them with specific behaviors which protect their health.
- People are more likely to adopt behavior change that they feel capable of performing. They need to be taught the required skills and have an opportunity to rehearse them. Sex workers, for example, need to practice how they will talk to clients about using a condom. Seeing the behavior modelled on a videotape or

Because condoms could not be discussed over the media, these ads were displayed on the sails of boats (PSI).

role playing helps people to believe that they, too, can carry out the behavior.

- ❖ People are more likely to change their behavior if they have alternatives to choose from. Abstinence or monogamy may not be a feasible or sufficiently attractive alternative to many people. A third alternative of using condoms may be more realistic.
- ❖ People are influenced by group behavior. Encouraging healthy behavior through suggesting that other community members are practicing this behavior can influence individual choices.
- ❖ Each group has influential leaders that can be used to lead change.
- ❖ Lapses are likely. No educational campaign is totally effective. New behaviors will not be maintained unless they are reinforced continually.

4
Communication and Education

For decades, advances in communication have enhanced the reach and effectiveness of education. A.I.D. has used innovative communication materials and media to augment curricula, to open new avenues to information and to introduce new approaches to learning.

In 1990, The World Conference on Education For All in Thailand proclaimed traditional structures of formal education "less rather than more able to meet the needs of the world's children." At the same time, communication technologies were hailed as "more reliable, more cost effective, and [offering] a wider range of delivery systems than before."

Education By Radio

In developing countries, the communication media in education has been largely dominated by a single technology—the radio. While education in most poorer countries is plagued by three main obstacles: a lack of access, efficiency and quality, the radio can reach almost anyone, anywhere, and at low cost. It can create new connections between people and places which are far apart in distance and in culture. Radio is a highly successful education tool because radio is nondiscriminatory. The listener doesn't have to be rich, powerful or literate. All that is needed is access to a receiver.

For over twenty years, A.I.D. has funded radio projects for both formal and nonformal education projects. It and other communication media are chosen for instruction when:

- subjects or topics are not taught *(the use of media as the sole means of instruction)*;
- subjects or topics are not currently taught well or students require reinforcement or remedial instruction *(the use of media to improve quality)*;
- subjects or topics are studied by only a small number of students and larger textbook development and teacher education programs cannot be justified *(the use of media as a last resort)*;
- there are not enough teachers for a subject or topic *(the use of media to increase access)*; and
- in order to achieve optimum learning, a mix of media and conventional instruction is planned to deliver or reinforce direct instruction, to provide practice to the student, or to motivate the student to persevere (the *use of media to enhance learning)*.

Interactive radio instruction for formal settings

Since 1973, A.I.D. has gone one step further to specialize radio instruction for education. It has supported the development and implementation of interactive radio instruction (IRI), a more complex educational tool because it is designed so that the learners do more than simply listen. They actively participate in the lessons.

Interactive radio projects have developed core programs for mathematics, language arts and science education, and materials for health education and environmental education. Most programs have been used in formal school settings and have provided direct instruction. A.I.D.-funded IRI projects include: instruction in English as a second language in Kenya, Lesotho, Swaziland and Belize; mathematics in Nicaragua, Thailand, Honduras, Costa Rica, Bolivia and Ecuador; science for the upper primary grades in Papua New Guinea; environmental education in Costa Rica; and health education in Bolivia.

The radio lessons are designed to be interactive (LearnTech/EDC).

Interactive radio instruction has proved to be a highly successful tool when used appropriately. In Nicaragua, average mathematics test scores in a first grade rose from 39% to 65% after a year's broadcasting. In Kenya, language arts students scored 18% higher than those in conventional classes. And in Thailand, radio mathematics students outscored those in traditional classes by 16%.

IRI has also proved to be extremely cost effective. With a typical cost of about $0.50 per student per year, interactive radio instruction is half the cost of building and staffing conventional classrooms.

Interactive radio where there are no schools

With fifty percent of children in the poorest countries not in schools, the need for the creative use of far reaching communication technologies like interactive radio instruction is greater than ever. And experience shows that interactive radio instruction does not have to used in a formal setting to be successful. A.I.D.'s interactive radio project in the Dominican Republic (RADECO) initiated perhaps the most beneficial and cost effective education methodology yet developed for children not in school.

The methodology was grassroots. The communities selected were within a one-day roundtrip from the town of Barahona. Parents and local community leaders formed a local school association, built a rudimentary shelter and found a radio auxiliary with basic literacy skills to operate the radio and organize the classes. At four o'clock every afternoon, small community groups supervised by the auxiliary spent an hour clustered around a radio. They learned reading, writing, math, music and games, natural science, and social science through regularly timed interactions with the monitor.

The nonformal radio instruction proved to be more than a second-rate alternative. In comparisons with children in conventional schools on an item-by-item first grade post test (for which the instructions were given by radio), RADECO children responded correctly 51% of the time, while conventionally taught children averaged only 24%. The difference narrowed on a second grade test. RADECO children did significantly better in mathematics, while the conventionally taught students did better in writing skills. Overall, the education of the RADECO children tested near or better than that offered at a much higher cost in conventional schools. IRI proved to be an invaluable nonformal education tool.

Understanding How People Learn

Interactive radio instruction has not only been successful because of its capacity to reach remote areas indiscriminately. It has also worked because its designers recognize and understand the complexity of a good educational message and the importance of solid instructional design. The following principles of instructional design described by J. Friend apply to development communication in general:

> **Active involvement.** Active involvement means the cognitive involvement of the learner in learning, ie., internalizing the concept, practicing the skill and accommodating it to his/her own private world view. The learner should actively process knowledge, not just passively receive it in a lecture format.

Distributed learning and practice. People learn through demonstrations and activities distributed over time. For example, children and adults will retain more information through three 20 minute sessions practicing a skill than one 60 minute session. With young children, many concrete examples are necessary.

Quality control. Although there is much we know about good instructional design, the only real insurance is to test the materials with learners and improve the quality accordingly.

Appropriate beginning level and prerequisites. Learners will become frustrated if they do not begin with an adequate foundation of knowledge. No matter what the medium, it is important to begin at the appropriate level and provide an organized sequence of instruction building on past knowledge.

Nonformal Education: Integrated Systems

For nonformal education systems, the communication structure can be as important as the instructional design and the choice of communication media. Typically, nonformal education (NFE) is generated through the use of local institutions and relies heavily on interpersonal contact and the creative use of instructional materials. Often, however, the system is organized and reinforced by the media. In one classic NFE system, ACPO in Colombia, a combination of the *"El Campesino"* newspaper and other printed materials, interpersonal support groups, and radio has operated successfully for decades to provide education to villagers.

Another model, the NFE service agency approach employed by A.I.D. in Lesotho and Ecuador in the 1970s and 1980s, integrated several communication functions into one institutional base. The service agencies produced materials, trained trainers and provided general support and a broad range of other nonformal educational services in response to the often diverse, obscure or specialized needs of programs.

An environmental comic book in Kenya

Frequently, educational service agencies respond to a demand or expressed need for particular educational materials. For example, while environmental issues have a high priority in Kenya, Kenya's schools suffer from a lack of appropriate materials. In response, the educational comic book *Pied Crow* was developed for sixth, seventh and eighth graders. *Pied Crow* was designed to be highly entertaining and informative and to increase the knowledge of Kenya's environmental and health problems.

More than an educational supplement, the magazine used communication strategies to involve families in diverse themes including: natural resource conservation, population growth, better health practices and improved agricultural skills. It contained eight color and eight black-and-white pages of comics with English language text, and was produced at an average cost of $0.20 per copy. Through assistance from A.I.D., two million students in Kenya's primary schools have received copies.

Environmental education and advocacy in Ecuador

In the environmental sector, communication strategies have integrated formal education, environmental advocacy and community action. In Ecuador, for example, Fundácion Natura has been working for the environment for over ten years. Through a joint agreement with the Ministry of Education, they have designed a integrated program of teacher training, environmental lessons and community activities in an effort to change behavior towards environmental issues.

First, Fundácion Natura introduced environmental education into the school curricula by developing appropriate manuals for primary and secondary school-age children. The manuals included material spread over five different existing curriculum tracks in order to be both flexible and useful across a variety of teachers and courses.

Then, teacher training was designed to both reinforce the environmental lessons and provide incentives for the teacher to use them. For instance, manuals were granted to teachers only after a three day training workshop conducted by Fundácion Natura. Teachers with manuals were given added status.

Other activities supported the process. A monthly newsletter for the teachers encouraged additional community-based projects. "Ecoclubs" within the school were formed which carried out proposed projects ranging from cleaning-up and planting experimental varieties of plants to the monitoring of local water purity. A huge success, some school ecoclubs attracted over 100 students pursuing community action.

5

Innovations in Communication

Advances in communication technology and creative use of communication media have changed the face of what is possible in development. Satellites can now connect remote villages; telecommunications can offer a network of links; computer systems can be more individualized and personal; and popular entertainment can be harnessed for development. Using the practical insights gained from years of experience, A.I.D. has tapped into the potential of the information age and supported innovative projects using advanced technologies.

Communication for Policy Change

Some of A.I.D.'s most effective communication work over the past decade has been in influencing and broadening the agenda of policy makers. A computerized projection model known as RAPID attempted to expose policy makers and government officials in Guatemala, Costa Rica and Ecuador (1989-91) to the significant impacts of population growth on the environment such as rapid urbanization, depletion of natural resources, deterioration of agricultural lands, and deforestation. The model was designed to:

- heighten the awareness of policy makers, opinion leaders and influential groups of the effect of population growth on their land; and
- stimulate policy makers to adopt and implement policies and programs to bring population growth in line with the goal of environmental sustainability.

RAPID combined a variety of new information technology approaches such as satellite imagery, computer modeling and forecasting with traditional communication media such as graphics, video, informational brochures, and briefings. Because the model drew on a wide variety of socioeconomic data, it was capable of showing links not commonly made across sectors.

LANDSAT satellite technology contributed images and data on the earth's surface and files were kept for Panama, Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras. Combined with population data surveys, the LANDSAT technology produced graphic presentations, videos, and informational brochures.

Influential to more than just policy makers. RAPID also served a broader advocacy role. In Guatemala, it was used to create a video on population and the environment which was presented to politicians,

This screen is one of a series which shows the gradual changes in the environment over time (POMA/The Futures Group).

environmental professionals, and university researchers.

In Ecuador, the project compiled data and devised a model which focused on the environmental consequences of rapid population growth in urban areas. The presentation examined the environmental and health costs of failing to provide adequate water and sanitation services to squatter and marginal neighborhoods in Quito.

A.I.D. has also supported the development of interactive computer models like RAPID in other areas. One computerized program, the AIDS Impact Model (AIM), combines the results produced by other computer projection models to show the impact of the AIDS epidemic on a variety of sectors. It can project the effect on child and adult mortality, healthcare costs, hospital bed utilization, population growth, the labor force, and the cost of prevention versus cost of care. AIM can provide estimates in response to questions from policy makers like:

- How many AIDS cases will there be in the coming years?
- Will AIDS have a greater or lesser impact than other diseases such as malaria or measles?
- What are the relative costs of prevention programs compared to the future costs of treatment?
- What are the relative effects of different intervention strategies?

Another A.I.D.-funded computerised program, the EDEN model, focuses on the relationships of environmental and natural resource issues and economic development. A follow-on to earlier policy models used in the Sahel, Madagascar and the Philippines, EDEN projects long-term consequences of alternative policies concerning deforestation and fuelwood or irrigation and rice production.

While these models are relatively new, they are making substantial contributions to decision making. They are a ready source of credible and valuable information otherwise difficult to obtain and communicate well.

Telecommunications: Making New Connections

Not only are advanced technologies such as RAPID, AIM and EDEN creating new ways for decision makers to link information, but communication systems are becoming increasingly available to people once too poor or remote to access them. Sheldon Annis wrote:

> *"While poverty once implied physical and cultural isolation, the poor today are connecting with each other and with the outside world. With advances in affordability, miniaturization and user-friendliness, the poor are no longer merely a passive mass audience. They, too, are becoming message makers."*

A.I.D.'s own experience with the Rural Satellite Project (RSP) in Peru demonstrated that basic technologies such as telephone services to rural villages could be provided affordably, a wide spectrum of villagers would pay to use the system, and that health and agriculture projects and community members would greatly benefit. RSP demonstrated that domestic telecommunications networks are also practical possibilities in developing countries. In Indonesia, teleconferencing was used to meet the growing demand for higher education; in the West Indies it was used to reach remote learners with quality instruction; in Peru, teleconferencing provided basic telephone services to rural communities and trained field workers in health, education and agriculture. The RSP demonstrated that telecommunications systems for development can:

- be reliable even under difficult conditions;
- generate substantial revenue flows; and
- expand information resources and outreach.

Satellite and other telecommunications networks can also provide the infrastructure for other growing technologies. For example, facsimile machines, telex and some radio systems can all be transmitted through telephone lines. The connections of satellites and macroframes offer unlimited potential during disaster situations as well as for development.

It is now 30 years since the SITE project in India put television sets in thousands of villages. With the growing potential and availability of communication technologies today, the range of options for communication planners and development practitioners has grown enormously.

Popular Entertainment Media

Communication strategies often engage the attention of an audience that may not want to be educated, but is willing to be entertained. For

example, a radio soap opera begun after the Second World War to promote better agricultural practices in Great Britain dealt with issues in a style which reflected the slow pace of rural life. It continues to attract and keep listeners today. A.I.D.-sponsored music videos that seek to influence the social and sexual behavior of young urban audiences are appropriately up-tempo and "glitzy." Both recognize that by enhancing the entertainment value of their media, communication projects appeal to a wider audience and can educate and influence social behavior.

Performer Lea Salonga informs fans about family planning (PCS/JHU).

"Entereducate," as the approach was dubbed by Johns Hopkins University, builds on social learning theory, which says that much of a person's behavior is built on imitating others. Influential role models, such as Mexico's Tatiana and Johnny or the Philippines' Lea Salonga, promoted and modeled desired attitudes toward sex and sexual practices. Media and health professionals worked together to produce media materials that combined the most creative minds, the highest production values, and the most appealing communicators. Together, they presented powerful, accurate social messages:

Two songs encouraging sexual responsibility by Tatiana and Johnny reached the top 20 in countries throughout Latin America and received one million hours of free airtime. All of this attention amounted to free publicity for the family planning message. Three years later, the songs were still being played, and could be recalled unaided by 50 percent of 1200 young people interviewed in Lima and Mexico City.

Responsible parenthood was the theme of two songs and music videos sung by King Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu in Nigeria. Sunny's album went to the top of the Nigerian charts, and within a few months 88 percent of metropolitan Lagos had heard the songs and seen the video. Nearly half had spoken to their friends or sexual partners about the songs.

In Turkey, 240,000 women reported changes in contraceptive practice through a three-month multi-media campaign. A top comedian made a series of TV spots, while another spot showed a series of family portraits as

children are added. The last haunting portrait shows an empty chair where the mother once sat, portraying the cost of bearing too many children too close together.

Private sector partners contributed $1.4 million to a Philippine campaign. Pepsi donated posters and donated airtime. Johnson and Johnson, Nike and Close-up also donated promotional commodities such as banners and notebooks.

Viewers also identify with dramas and soap operas. In the Philippines, an episode in the popular daytime television drama, "Life in a Box", dealt with the issue of an unwanted teenage pregnancy. Research in Manila showed that 27 percent of 17-24-year-old females watched the show, and virtually all found it believable and informative.

Integrated Communication Systems

In addition to new technology and creative applications of popular media, there have also been experiments in how to organize entire communication systems. These projects suggest that there are several levels of integration which can increase the efficacy of a program.

Links between individuals. When individuals perceive that they can accomplish a common goal and work together, communication efforts gain momentum. *Perceived collective efficacy* influences what people choose to do as a group, the effort they put into it, and their resilience if the effort does not produce immediate results.

Links between organizations with different types of influence. Multi-level collaboration between strategic partners strengthens a communication effort and mobilizes greater numbers of people more effectively. Concentrating efforts at the local level and tying it together with the ministry and a nongovernmental group, for example, not only allows different voices to introduce their perspectives but also tightens the network of advocates.

Links between media type and timing. Integrating the type and timing of communication media used among groups enhances the total strategy. Information learned at school, reemphasized later at a women's meeting, and then heard in a popular song on the radio, for example, will have greater influence because it targets groups from different angles.

Using integrated systems rather than a centrally organized and unidirectional system complicates a communication project process rather

LRCN/Institute for International Research

than simplifying it. The process is more complex, it may cost more and take longer. But in terms of sustainability, the payoffs can be worth the extra effort. The A.I.D.-funded Liberian Rural Communication Network project attempted to stimulate these levels of integration through the establishment of a network of 10,000 watt AM stations in three regions of Liberia. Each rural station had a small local production staff trained by LRCN and community volunteer workers.

The stations broadcast six hours a day, seven days a week to areas up to 45 miles away. They presented a mixture of development programs, entertainment and news. Broadcasting 80% of the programming in English and four to five dialects, each station established a strong local identity and was guided in its programming by local advisory committees. The Central Production Unit (CPU) in Monrovia produced the remaining 20% which included announcements for national campaigns such as National Immunization Week and Social Welfare and Population Week.

LRCN's operating expenses were generated primarily through the Government of Liberia's development budget and fees paid by clients for airtime and production services, training, special events, personal messages and music requests and contributions from local communities. LRCN was designed to support rural social and economic development by:

Promoting the increased utilization of existing government services by the rural population. LRCN, therefore, worked closely with government services to provide production services and airtime, and train representatives of government agencies as broadcasters.

Providing development and other services to a greater portion of the rural population. LRCN tried to ensure that its listenership in rural areas was as well served as urban listeners. Producers frequently traveled to villages. Most rural Liberians regarded LRCN as their primary source of development information.

Increasing communication between villages and the local, regional and national governments. Rural people were regularly provided access to the airwaves. Government officials at the highest level listened to LRCN and local stations received both praise and criticism.

Promoting increased self-help activities. As well as supporting government agencies, LRCN promoted the establishment of fishponds and vegetable gardens, Parent-Teacher Associations, Village Health Committees, individual clinics and hospitals.

Distributing news and entertainment, especially of local relevance. LRCN recorded local music in villages, local "stringers" provided local news bulletins in local languages every night after the national news. LRCN covered local soccer matches live.

Informing the rural populations of, and involving them in, local and national development activities. LRCN was linked to organizations throughout Liberia. It conducted annual immunization campaigns in conjunction with the Combatting Childhood Communicable Diseases Project whose success largely established LRCN's national reputation and ensured demand for its services. LRCN was selected by the National AIDS Committee and World Health Organization to be the central agency for Liberia's information and education campaign.

An independent evaluation revealed the following results:

- a narrowing of the knowledge gap about family planning, health, agriculture, nutrition,etc., between urban and rural listeners;
- a daily listening audience of 55% and a regular listenership of about 75%; and
- a replacement of traditional primary sources of information by LRCN programming for many issues.

Not every project has access to the communication media like the LRCN project. The lessons learned about the integration of people, groups and media show how expansive this type of communication effort can be.

Building Sustainable Systems of Communication

Marketers of baby formula have shown how rapidly breastfeeding can be replaced by an artificial and less healthy formula when breastfeeding campaigns are not maintained. One Brazilian breastfeeding promotion program in 1981-82, for example, caused the proportion of women breastfeeding to rise from 50 to 60% and the duration of breastfeeding to double. When the program was cut back in 1983 and suspended in 1985, although people remembered the TV spots, the prevalence and duration of breastfeeding declined almost to precampaign levels.

A.I.D.'s *A Decade of Experience in Communication for Child Survival* describes the temptation facing planners to indulge in "massive bursts of communication activities" which "exhaust the regular service delivery system and divert resources and energy from other programs.

"The most successful communication efforts are geared to sustainability: mass media that support routine services, face-to-face training that enhances it, and mini-campaigns that do not derail basic systems." To be a part of a sustainable system, communication must demonstrate that:

- it has become integrated into the broader system of development planning, management, training, commodity delivery systems, community programs (and so on) rather than being a separate, unconnected operation;
- it can exercise the influence and judgment to choose appropriate collaborating partners at all levels; and
- it can provide training and development support to the participating individuals and institutions so they can develop communication systems that operate over time to sustain change.

Institutional Capacity

It is important to develop long-term institutional and community capacity to sustain development communication programs. The larger and multi-year A.I.D. projects discussed in this document have made a serious effort to support institutionalization through the orientation of their technical assistance to:

- train key cooperating institution staff in skills related to development communication methods through guided practice in planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating specific interventions;

- conduct similar training in workshop circumstances;
- modify institutional unit function descriptions and staff required by the conduct of development communication;
- establish and shape inter-institutional relationships to achieve the long-term continuation of development communication activities; and
- produce accurate budgets for inputs required by the conduct of development communication with the expectation that future institutional budgets will include such inputs.

But deciding upon the location or type of institutional capacity may be problematic. Building partnerships across public and private sector institutions, for example, requires careful negotiation—especially when donor agencies may be providing resources to one set of institutions, and not to another.

Practical considerations keep communicators trying. Public sector agencies can often benefit from skills located primarily in the private sector. Institutionalization of marketing communication skills, for example, is more likely to exist within private sector marketing agencies than in the public sector. Therefore, projects may decide to hire these skills from the private sector and create a public/private partnership. In the Philippines, for example, a child survival communication program hired a senior marketing and advertising executive with 20 years of experience in the commercial sector to become its resident advisor. As a result, the project objectives remained streamlined, the costs were lower and the project supported a more collaborative process. Public/private partnerships may require careful cultivation, but the benefits of collaboration and refined expertise most often outweigh the costs.

In another approach to building institutional capacity, A.I.D.'s child survival program in Honduras strengthened the Ministry of Health's Health Education Unit. It grew from an inactive, two-person team into a national office with seven professionals in radio, graphic arts, and planning and research. The unit now routinely plans and carries out several research-based, multi-channel health communication programs each year.

In another example in Indonesia, a project tested and developed a system for training *kaders* (volunteer workers) to communicate about ORT to members of their community. In a little more than a year, this training system graduated 500 trainers of trainers and 10,000 *kaders*. Building a system that reproduces itself rather than simply supporting mass training to one way to increase long-term capacity.

Some communication projects have building capacity as a final objective. Building the capacity of the Ministry of Health to plan and produce effective health communication programs was part of the program from the beginning in Lesotho. Basotho health educators learned how to

assess child survival problems, develop appropriate educational materials for target audiences, and implement a campaign through multiple communication channels. The Ministry itself changed by defining and establishing new positions and formulating program objectives in immunization, ORT, breastfeeding, and child spacing. By targeting the communication strategy at the level of Ministry capacity, the project strengthened the long-term effectiveness of the country's child survival programs. No matter the approach to institution building, sustaining development communication over many years will require as much attention to capacity building as to the demands of short-term interventions.

Issues for the Year 2000

As times and technologies change, new challenges and possibilities emerge. In some instances, the challenge is simply to respond to familiar problems whose urgency or magnitude is increasing. AIDS is one example. The World Health Organization estimates that the number of HIV-infected people will double to between 15 and 20 million people by the year 2000. Most new infections will occur among heterosexuals. Five million Africans have AIDS, and 250,000 African children have been orphaned by parents who died from AIDS. The World Health Organization predicts that AIDS will become the leading cause of death among adults in their most productive years over the next several decades. Changing risky behavior, one objective of development communication, is plainly an imperative even though it may be too late for at least two generations of people in developing countries. Issues such as AIDS and population growth are now looking to promote preventive measures through development communication.

In the population sector, development communication also surfaces as one of the few fields which offers solutions. *Population Reports* (November, 1991) estimates that the number of users of family planning services in developing countries will increase by 250 million during the 1990s. However, family planning services will cost $11 billion by the year 2000, and the estimated 600 million users will pay only 10% of that cost. Governments currently pay 75% of the $3.4 billion costs, but will they be able to fund the increase? Probably not. Instead, social marketing and the strength of public/private partnerships will become increasingly important.

In education, the capacity to educate the poorest populations is decreasing rather than increasing. Of those who can attend school, they often learn little due to the scarcity of resources needed to provide quality instruction. Communication for education offers feasible alternatives.

Democracy and the pursuit of democracy are strengthened by free, energetic communication systems. The use of communication to promote individual freedoms and to extend information to those previously isolated

poses a major challenge and opportunity to communicators in the 1990s.

Finally, worldwide environmental issues such as global warming, the disappearance of tropical forests and urban pollution command increasing international attention. In developing countries, the perceptible problems of soil erosion, overuse of fertilizers and pesticides, uncontrolled garbage and human and industrial waste, inappropriate energy use and the loss of national forest and coastal resources are linked increasingly to local quality of life issues such as safe water, firewood availability and the ability to make a living off the land or sea. Depletion of these resources is taking place at an alarming rate and the loss of productivity over the landscape and in the sea is measurable and significant. Governments, private businesses and individuals are depleting natural and biological resources faster than they can be regenerated, due primarily to the pressing, immediate needs of growing populations and expanding agricultural and industrial development. The sacrifice of future economic growth for quick return and transitory benefits is rapidly becoming one of the most significant development problems facing the world today.

There is great diversity within the domain of environmental subject matter covered by these issues, and, in turn, the potential for a diversity of target audiences and interventions with multiple behavioral objectives.

The challenges are real. Whether the communication strategy involves social marketing, using telecommunications and new technologies, social mobilization, or a combination thereof, development communicators have an important future. The lessons learned from 25 years in development communication offer new approaches and technologies, the infrastructure to communicate efficiently, and the capacity to affect change. A.I.D.'s leadership during the last quarter century in exploring the power of communication will be even more critical as we enter the 21st century.

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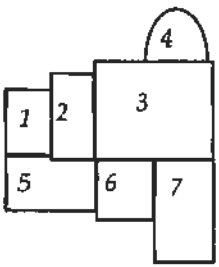

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