**A SYNTHESIS OF POPULATION
COMMUNICATION EXPERIENCE**

PAPER 8

**POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT:
REQUIREMENTS FOR
RURAL COMMUNICATION STRATEGY**

Shawki M. Barghouti

**East-West Center
East-West Communication Institute**

THE EAST-WEST CENTER—officially known as the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West—is a national educational institution established in Hawaii by the U.S. Congress in 1960 to promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training, and research. The Center is administered by a public, nonprofit corporation whose international Board of Governors consists of distinguished scholars, business leaders, and public servants.

Each year more than 1,500 men and women from many nations and cultures participate in Center programs that seek cooperative solutions to problems of mutual consequence to East and West. Working with the Center's multidisciplinary and multicultural staff, participants include visiting scholars and researchers; leaders and professionals from the academic, government, and business communities; and graduate degree students, most of whom are enrolled at the University of Hawaii. For each Center participant from the United States, two participants are sought from the Asian and Pacific area.

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THE EAST-WEST COMMUNICATION INSTITUTE concentrates on the role of communication in economic and social development and in the sharing of knowledge across cultural barriers. The Institute awards scholarships for graduate study in communication and related disciplines, primarily at the University of Hawaii; conducts a variety of professional development projects for communication workers in specialized fields of economic and social development; invites Fellows and visiting scholars to the Center for study and research in communication and to help design projects; offers Jefferson Fellowships for Asian, Pacific, and U.S. journalists for a semester at the Center and the University of Hawaii; conducts and assists in designing and carrying out research; arranges conferences and seminars relating to significant topics in communication; assembles relevant communication materials with emphasis on Asian and Pacific material and makes these available for students, scholars, and practitioners at the Center and elsewhere; and publishes papers, reports, newsletters, and other materials emanating from the above activities.

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June 1977

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the potential for increasing the effectiveness of rural family planning programs by strengthening their functional links with other areas of development: agriculture and rural development, health and nutrition, home economics and family life, and education. The author reviews a number of successful, integrated projects that have used innovative approaches to present population problems and solutions to them. He uses the models presented by these projects to suggest strategies for field activities such as working with village-level groups and with adult education programs. The paper concludes with a review of the requirements for an effective rural family planning program such as adequate information and materials for fieldworkers, training and backstopping for fieldworkers, involvement of rural workers in program planning and research projects, free flow of communication among all levels of the family planning program and with other development programs, and good relationships with members and groups within the rural community.

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SERIES PREFACE

In 1970, the East-West Communication Institute undertook to develop and carry out a special program, involving numerous activities in the area of population and family planning communication under a major institution building grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Its activities for the past six years have included research; the development of innovative professional development activities for family planning communication specialists; international conferences and workshops; a variety of information sharing activities and services; and a large publications program that has produced: a population/family planning communication newsletter, research case studies, conference reports, an inventory of family planning communication activities and needs in 20 countries, a series of reports on donor and technical assistance agencies in the field, reference tools on sources of population information and materials, and 12 modules for family planning communication training.

As a final activity in its six-year program in population communication, the Institute has undertaken to publish a series of 11 papers which summarize developments in population communication over the last several years. The Synthesis Papers, as they have come to be called, cover the various public-oriented components of population/family planning communication programs--formal, in-school population education; education for adults and out-of-school youth; public information activities; use of mass media; and field extension programs--as well as the organizational and administrative concerns of national family planning programs including training for family planning communication personnel; the operation and strategies of family planning programs; the conduct and utilization of program-related research; professional and technical information services in support of population activities; and the integration of family planning with other development sectors. In addition, two of the papers survey the international and regional activities that have

had a significant impact on the overall development of national family planning programs and activities: technical and economic assistance, and meetings and conferences.

The papers are written by experts in the field--people who have had close personal involvement with the development and evolution of national and international programs over the years. In these papers, the authors have attempted to address several major questions: How have population communication programs developed? What has been accomplished? What has been learned? What do past experiences suggest for future efforts?

The Synthesis of Population Communication Experience Project was planned and initiated by Dr. Robert P. Worrall, who directed the East-West Communication Institute's activities in population communication from the beginning of the program in 1970 until he left in July 1976 to become Vice President of the Population Reference Bureau. Under his leadership, the Institute established contact with people in 133 countries and territories and involved in its programs more than 500 middle- and upper-level specialists in information, education, and communication.

Mr. Lyle Saunders, former Ford Foundation Program Officer in Population was a Visiting Researcher at the Institute from November 1975 to November 1976. During that year he was closely involved in the planning and implementation of the project. He has continued to serve as special advisor and consultant to the project, and has been one of the two substantive editors of the Synthesis Papers.

Dr. James R. Echols, former President of the Population Reference Bureau and now Population Communication Consultant to several organizations, has also served as Project consultant and as the other substantive editor for the papers.

Barbara Yount, Writer/Editor of the Institute's IEC Newsletter, which under her editorship grew from a 4-page to a 28-page quarterly newsletter reaching 8,000 people, has been general editor of the series.

Millicent Sanchez assisted the general editor with the copy-editing and the seemingly never-ending bibliographic work such a project requires.

Kay Garrett, EWCI Publications Officer, has been responsible for the design, production, and distribution of the series.

Alison Miura, Karen Katayama, and Roberta Morgan typeset the papers; Jill McEdward and Louise Good cheerfully helped with the volume of proofreading.

Shana Hurst has served as Secretary to the Project since 1975 and has taken care of a million necessary details.

To all of these people, including the writers themselves, I owe an immense debt of gratitude for their time, effort, and dedication to the Synthesis Project.

Elizabeth Buck
Assistant Director for
AID Activities

CHAPTER 1

Population and Development: Reflections on a Rural Communication Strategy

Family planning communication is a complex and delicate field. Some define it in terms of "image building" and selling contraceptives to adults in an attractive way. Others perceive it as linking population problems with total family, community, and national development. Family planning, according to the latter notion, is not a limited concept related only to the use of contraceptives for the prevention of unwanted births; rather, it is an approach to the improvement of family welfare. Because family and community problems are interrelated, programs that provide solutions to these problems should be integrated.

Thus, this broader approach to family planning communication emphasizes the relationship between family size and other aspects of life--nutrition, health, child development, agricultural production, home improvements, and community development. The underlying assumption is that policies and programs that recognize the holistic nature of the family and the community are more likely to gain support for the small family norm in traditional communities.

POPULATION AS A COMPONENT OF DEVELOPMENT

The arguments for giving priority to population programs as a component in national and rural development strategies are powerful and are widely accepted. There is increasing awareness, based on results achieved thus far by population and family planning programs in the developing world, that the intricate problems of development and unchecked population growth cannot be solved by concentrating on one particular development program to the exclusion of others. The interaction between population change and social and economic development is a two-way process. A high rate of population growth usually retards development because it is accompanied

by increasing demands for basic necessities such as food, health care, and housing. Consequently, an increasing proportion of national resources, which otherwise could be used for improving the quality of life, must be used to maintain the existing level of living.

Development planners have had few resources and little time to solve major and immediate development problems such as industrialization, urbanization, and food production. Until recently, little attention has been given to the consequences of unchecked population growth since other problems of development have been perceived as being more urgent. Even in countries where rapid population growth has been recognized as a factor that negatively affects national development, population intervention programs have not been fully perceived as being crucial for a healthy national development process.

The problems of planning population intervention programs can be viewed at two levels. At the national level, communication links between policy makers who are concerned with population and those concerned with other areas of national development are usually weak. It is rare to find a population expert employed by a ministry of agriculture, or health, or education. Consequently, governmental planning of development programs tends to be carried out without any input from population agencies. On the other hand, population planners are also guilty of a lack of cooperation, since rarely do they invite specialists from other ministries, such as education and agriculture, to assist in designing policies and programs related to population projects.

At the family level, it is also found that families themselves often do not perceive the correlation between family size and family welfare even though population research has found an association between lower fertility and such attributes as better health, higher education, higher income, and higher standards of living. However, there is controversy as to whether lower fertility results in improved welfare or whether improved welfare results in lower fertility. Kingsley Davis suggests that an individual's desire to limit births can only be created by altering social conditions. He notes, "The idea that a family planning program can bring a fertility decline to a country without social and economic modernization is not even plausible, much less proven" (1970, p. 30). On the other hand, Bernard Berelson, in analyzing data obtained from a number of

family planning and population programs in developing countries, reached a different conclusion. He warned that categorical statements concerning the impossibility of effective family planning programs in developing areas are unwarranted (1974a). In places such as Taiwan, Korea, and Bali and East Java in Indonesia, a large proportion of family planning acceptors are from rural areas, have little education, and are poor. That this controversy exists, however, suggests that population programs would be more fully effective if implemented with input and cooperation from other social and economic development programs.

A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO THE PLANNING OF POPULATION COMMUNICATION PROGRAMS

To be realistic and practical, population programs must involve interaction with other development disciplines. A more comprehensive approach is needed both to understanding population problems and to planning for their solution. Because family size is a variable that affects, and, at the same time, is affected by the surrounding socioeconomic environment, a more comprehensive approach can lead to a wider acceptance of population programs by both national development planners and family-level decision makers.

There is a basic difference between a comprehensive, integrated approach and a traditional family planning program. The latter is concerned with limiting the number of births per family. It is based on the premise that population problems can be solved by providing enough contraceptives and information about family planning. Thus, family planning services are usually provided by the health departments, and family planning motivators are largely occupied with explaining contraceptive methods to people.

On the other hand, the comprehensive approach attempts to deal with the issue of large family size in relation to the overall environment. This requires consideration of many socioeconomic factors when devising a family planning or a population intervention program. High birthrates are associated with lack of education and low income. Therefore, social programs, economic projects, and community development activities to help the poor and uneducated should be carried out in conjunction with population projects.

In his assessment of national family planning programs in developing countries, Parker W. Mauldin concludes, "despite the stress on family planning programs as an aspect of development, there has been little effort to integrate such programs in the various economic and social sectors of development planning; rather, they have been operated almost exclusively by the health sectors of the various countries" (1975, p. 30). Most countries provide family planning services through hospitals, clinics and rural health centers, primarily within the maternal and child health activities of the ministries of health. Information about family planning is usually provided through fieldworkers who are recruited by the national family planning agency. In addition to the efforts of the fieldworkers, mass media are used to support family planning programs.

In Egypt, for example, special radio and television programs have been designed to motivate people to limit their family size. Fieldworkers, who are employed by the Population and Family Planning Board, usually work in teams consisting of a social worker, a religious officer, and an information specialist. The team concentrates on persuading people to restrict their family size.

Recent studies on the effectiveness of the family planning communications activities in Egypt indicated that more than 65 percent of the population in rural Egypt did not know about family planning. Some have blamed this failure on a communication strategy that emphasizes the use of mass media channels such as television, radio, and newspapers, and limits interpersonal communication for family planning messages. In a society where illiteracy predominates and poverty is common, media outlets are not effective in reaching the rural poor. Also the strategy has failed to link family planning education to other problems facing the Egyptian family such as poor child health, lack of education, and low income. As a result of this criticism, the Egyptian program is widening its approach to encompass other aspects of development. The new strategy will involve rural development fieldworkers from other areas such as agriculture, home economics, and community development to help explain population and family planning messages within the larger context of development (UNFPA, 1975).

Components of Family Planning Programs

The concentration of family planning programs in ministries

of health and the failure to integrate these programs into other social and economic sectors of development have both shaped and limited the communication component of family planning programs. The impact of this situation is difficult to assess, but preliminary studies show that the level of awareness of population programs and family planning methods is low among poor, rural, and predominantly uneducated people.

Family planning communication has usually been aimed at three basic objectives: to inform, to educate, and to motivate people in order to influence their reproductive behavior. The first objective involves the provision of information about 1) population growth and its impact on national and family welfare and 2) family planning methods and their use.

The second objective is to educate people about family planning. Berelson describes this process as involving "a blend of the 'alleged' facts and the values to which they relate, with analysis and 'soft' recommendations as to the path of wisdom, individual or collective. Such programs can be carried out within formal school systems, through systems of adult education, through the mass media, or through such institutions of government as Presidential or Royal Commissions" (1974a, p. 2).

The third objective involves a variety of emotional appeals in order to motivate people to adopt the desired behavior. Accordingly, emotionally-loaded messages (fear, happiness, love, relaxation, etc.) are depicted through advertising and propaganda methods to motivate people to accept the idea and methods of family planning. Such emotional appeals have dominated the communication campaigns of family planning programs. The theme "A Small Family is a Happy Family" has been flashed throughout the developing world. Some posters and films went so far as to depict members of the smaller family as prettier and taller than those of the larger family. And, in some cases where dark skin is socially recognized as symptomatic of poverty, children of smaller families were shown as being lighter in skin color than those of larger families.

Fieldworkers are being widely used in population programs to explain family planning at the interpersonal level. These workers generally limit their presentations to the reasons for using contraceptives and the availability of family planning services. The limited

experience and education of family planning fieldworkers in many countries has precluded any possibility of teaching families about the relationship of family size to other aspects of family welfare and development. Also, fieldworkers from other disciplines have had little, if any, exposure to the issue of family size and how it relates to the objectives of their respective programs. Thus, the fieldworkers' contributions to the efforts of family planning have been limited.

Some family planning programs have achieved remarkable results by broadening their approach to the rural population. In Korea, for example, programs have contributed to a widespread increase in public awareness of family planning methods by using village-level organizations such as the Mothers' Clubs. Through this approach, family planning education has been included along with other matters of interest to the village as a whole, such as managing community property, repairing wells, building schools, and marketing agricultural products and local handicrafts.

Similar programs in other countries have achieved comparable results. In Kenya, for example, the Planning for Better Family Living (PBFL) project introduced population education and motivation for family planning as an integral part of a comprehensive rural extension strategy. This project used women's groups, farmers' training centers, and literacy and adult education classes to provide the rural population with useful information about agriculture, population/family planning, health, nutrition, and community development. In Thailand, the Functional Literacy and Family Life Education project has proved that better understanding of the problems of population growth and family size can be achieved by expanding the curriculum of literacy classes to include health, agriculture, home economics, and so on. A recently-established program in Bangladesh, in which Ministries of Agriculture, Social Welfare, Rural Development, Education, Information and Labor, work with the Ministry of Population Control and Family Planning, is another example of a comprehensive approach. These projects are successful examples of how an integrated approach to population communication can achieve remarkable results.

ORIGINS OF COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS IN THE FIELD

Family planning programs in many developing countries are relatively new and consequently have limited experience in dealing with field problems. As a result of their rapid expansion, these programs often suffer from a shortage of professionally trained administrators and managers. Many of the programs were initially started by enthusiastic, conscientious groups from the private sector, many of whom had little or no experience in planning and managing programs. Although these pioneers contributed substantially to the establishment of systematic family planning services, their resources, experience, and skills were not adequate to deal efficiently with rapidly growing programs and the accompanying administrative requirements. Because of substantial international assistance and increased interest in population problems in the last decade, programs have grown very rapidly and have thus exceeded their capabilities to supervise, support, and manage field activities. There has been a shortage of trained and qualified specialists at all levels of program management and implementation. In addition, the discipline of family planning has not been perceived as professionally attractive in many developing countries. It is not surprising, therefore, that family planning programs in developing nations--where there are chronic shortages of professionally trained administrators, communication and information specialists, project planners, and managers--suffer severely from these problems.

According to Man Lin and Ralph Hingson, the structural and personnel problems of organizations that promote and deliver family planning services have not received proper attention. These organizations have been initiated on a large scale without sufficient attention to the training needs of their personnel, including fieldworkers (Lin and Hingson, 1974, pp. 189-91). For example, B. Misra *et al.*, in their study of family planning in a north Indian state, found that fieldworkers were poorly motivated to do rural work. The majority had received sufficient formal education to lead them to expect a comfortable office job in an urban area. For most, family planning fieldwork was not their preferred occupation but, rather, their only

alternative to unemployment. Their previous training did little to motivate or prepare them. Most were trained for no more than two weeks. Although some of the female staff had longer training in maternal and child health services, it did not necessarily prepare them for motivational work in family planning. The authors concluded that family planning might benefit from the experiences of fieldworkers in other disciplines (1976, p. 71).

How can these problems of family planning fieldwork be alleviated? One answer is to design special training courses for family planning workers to impart the necessary new skills and knowledge. These courses should cover a variety of subject matter related to communication, health, contraceptive methods, and so on. The training program provided by the Indian Institute for Rural Health and Family Planning is a good example. This Institute provides the trainees with the opportunity to work in the field, to survey the community, to identify its leaders, and to assess its needs and problems through research and field projects. The results become part of the training curricula.

Another answer has been to strengthen the communication links between family planning fieldworkers and their counterparts from other disciplines related to national and rural development. Extension workers from other development projects should understand, support, and complement the work of the family planning fieldworkers, and vice versa. This approach requires an improved and upgraded image of family planning. Family planning fieldworkers should not feel inferior to other workers. (To overcome this feeling, some family planning programs pay their workers higher salaries than those received by workers employed in other extension programs.) It has been frequently reported that the field staff of other disciplines refuse, for a variety of reasons, to associate with family planning activities. Agricultural officers in East Africa, for example, refused to work with family planning personnel and, on many occasions, declined invitations to speak at family planning seminars. Similar stories were also reported from Egypt. This situation affects both the morale and performance of family planning fieldworkers on the one hand, and on the other, people's perception of the importance of family planning.

Better training and better communication among fieldworkers from different disciplines are only partial solutions. The most

effective strategy is systematic, comprehensive communication. The family planning workers would be treated as members of an extension team that is trying to bring new ideas and practices related to various aspects of family life to rural families. The strategy suggests that: 1) rural extension programs, including family planning, shift their focus and priority, and 2) they be planned jointly so that they complement one another, do not compete for the same resources, follow a coordinated sequence of activities, and contact people in a coherent and well-organized pattern.

Developing such a strategy is not an easy task. The problems are numerous and cannot be solved according to rigid schedules or formulae.

THE FAMILY PLANNING MESSAGE AS PART OF A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH

The boundaries of population/family planning communication are difficult to determine. When we look at a given community, the possible audiences for family planning messages can be seen on a continuum: At one end are those who reject both the idea and the methods; at the other end are those who have been practicing one method or another and are willing to continue doing so as long as it is necessary. Located between these two groups are several other categories of people who vary in their disposition toward the use of family planning methods. Some may be willing to use the method if and when medical care and reliable health services are available. Others may need further assurance about the safety or necessity of the methods. Thus, while one group needs technical information about a given method, other groups need value-oriented information that aims at legitimizing small families. It is specifically for these latter groups that a comprehensive communication strategy needs to be developed. They need to learn how they are going to benefit from a small family. They need to be shown the relationships between fewer children and improved agriculture, housing, mother and child health, family welfare, and management of family resources.

Clarity of any explanation is, naturally, dependent on how much we know about such relationships. Research is being carried out that demonstrates some of these relationships. For example,

the College of Agriculture at the University of the Philippines has studied family size and population growth and their impact on agricultural and rural development. The Kenyan College of Agriculture at Egerton has developed new courses that integrate population, home economics, and agricultural topics. These courses are taught to students who may become agricultural officers after graduation. However, very little has been done to present these relationships in a way that means something to a fieldworker who must address a small group from a poor village.

The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) has been successful in enlisting the support of specialized United Nations agencies for population programs. As an example, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has been working closely with UNFPA in an attempt to link population issues with agricultural development at both global and national levels. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) and UNESCO are including population programs in their activities.

The same approach can be, and often is, followed at the national level. Universities and academic institutions, as well as specialized service departments, can be recruited to work on population issues relevant to their interests. Although a number of national population programs have been successful in getting other specialized agencies to incorporate population and family planning concepts in their research and training programs, there is still an inadequate body of literature available on the relationship between population and other areas of development. It is a "bright spot" in the programs of population education to see, for example, a ministry of agriculture producing publications linking family size and population with the quality and quantity of agricultural development in the country. It is equally as encouraging to see schools and training institutions expanding their population curricula beyond demographic information, population trends' data, and charts. We need more materials that show how family size affects the welfare of the family as well as the national development effort. People need to learn about these relationships in order to conceptualize clearly and seriously what family planning can do. In order to achieve this objective, the message of family planning has to be diversified.

Although there are the exceptions already mentioned, training and academic institutions in agriculture, nutrition, education, and

health have, on the whole, been negligent in relating the issues of family size to their areas of concern. This is one of the reasons behind the scarcity of information about such relationships. This scarcity has caused some family planning programs to have to repeat the same message for years and made fieldworkers talk about family planning methods without being able to fully explain why these methods should be used in the first place. More information about more issues is needed in order to enhance creative message presentation by the education and extension services.

For example, during my fieldwork in Kenya, I noticed that neither fieldworkers nor families were interested in discussing family planning in group meetings. It was only when the Kenyan fieldworkers prepared information on the relationship between family size, food supply in the community, and the quality and quantity of educational and health services in the local areas that the discussion about family planning became interesting, lively, and fruitful.

CHAPTER 2

Conceptual and Operational Links between Population Communication and Other Development Disciplines

AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Reports prepared by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) indicate that the high population growth rate in developing countries is causing a rapid increase in the demand for food. In fact, the effective demand for food has risen in nearly all countries at rates higher than the rate of population growth. One FAO report asserts that food consumption in low-income families increases as fast or faster than the rise in incomes. In Indonesia, for example, the percentage of total expenditure on food is nearly three-quarters of the income of low-income families--and about 70 percent of this is spent on cereals, starchy foods, pulses, and nuts (1976).

Although total food production has increased in the past 30 years, many of the developing countries have not been able to keep up with the increase in the food demand brought about by high rates of population growth. For example, in Near Eastern countries, the population growth rate is about 3 percent a year. In contrast, the demand for food increased at a rate of 4.1 percent a year. Thus, imports were increased to meet the growing demand for food, and consequently, resources were diverted from productive to consumptive use (FAO, 1977).

In addition to the increasing demand for food, the high population growth rate increases pressure on land causing increased land fragmentation, rural migration, and agricultural unemployment. The population density, particularly on arable land, is increasing. FAO estimates that the number of people per hectare of agricultural land would rise in the developing countries of the Far East from 2.9 to 4.9 between 1963 and 1985 (1976, p. 14). Also, the annual rate of increase of the total labor force in the Far East has accelerated

from 1.4 percent in the 1950's to 2.1 percent in the 1960's and is expected to rise further by 2.3 percent in the 1970's and 2.5 percent in the last decade of this century.

There are a number of concerns in agricultural extension that are relevant to family size: agricultural supply, farm labor, mechanization, etc. During a survey of farm families in the Philippines, Gelia Castillo observed that the effect of family size on farm production was difficult to ignore. Mothers were found to be burdened by household chores. They had little time to help on the farm or to perform any agricultural work. Farmers could not produce enough to satisfy family requirements of both food and cash. Because of poor nutrition, the farmer has little energy to prepare the land properly. As a consequence the yield of the land is low (Castillo, 1973). To break this vicious cycle, it is necessary to reduce the family burden, thus increasing food supply per family members. These and other issues are relevant to both agricultural and family planning fieldworkers.

Unfortunately, there are not many countries where the relationship between agriculture and family planning has been exploited in such a way as to increase cooperation between these two fields. Few agricultural planners are willing to incorporate population content into the educational aspects of their work. Can these relationships be explained by field communication programs directed to rural families, and if so, how?

As mentioned earlier, educational materials that explain these issues are not readily available. Most of the literature on population and development is too general or too narrow to suit the needs of workers in agriculture and rural development. The materials are either too broad in their units of analysis (for example, the world and its regions), or else are too narrow in content (purely demographic or family planning topics dealing mainly with birth control and contraception).

The FAO, in its efforts to link agricultural and population education, is encouraging rural training institutions to introduce population concepts in the teaching of agricultural sciences where possible. Courses in agricultural economics and farm management are being developed in Kenya, the Philippines, and Jordan that incorporate population and family size concepts into curricula dealing

with investment in agriculture, production input-output per unit of land and unit of labor, farm income, consumption, and resource allocation.

At the operational level, the work of Juan Flavier in the Philippines is a good example of how agricultural topics can be linked with family planning education. His approach attempts to introduce the new and unfamiliar terms of family planning by using agricultural expressions and illustrations familiar to rural people (Flavier et al., 1974).

A number of publications have been prepared about the Indian experience in using agricultural extension workers and community development officers to carry family planning messages to rural families. Al Ahbad Agricultural Institute, in cooperation with the family planning association of India, has prepared a book based on case studies of agricultural extension workers who participated in family planning programs as educators and motivators. Extension workers were given short-term training in family planning principles and contraceptive methods. Although their training did not provide sufficient opportunity to study, analyze, and explore conceptual relationships between agricultural development, land problems, family size, and population growth, the agricultural fieldworkers were found to be efficient carriers of the family planning message (Patankar and Dey, 1973). The fieldworkers' past experiences with farm families and their understanding of local problems gave them confidence and credibility--two qualities needed to deliver effectively messages that attempt to convince people to limit their family size and to use contraceptive methods. However, the case studies showed that agricultural workers were not comfortable in dealing with family planning problems and issues when they were not well informed about them. However, incentives and other financial rewards were used to keep these agricultural workers involved in family planning and delivering messages in which they themselves did not fully believe.

The reluctance of fieldworkers from agricultural extension programs to become involved in activities related to family planning has many causes. One has already been mentioned--the image of family planning fieldwork as below the professional standards of other programs. Other factors are related to the social and cultural controversies that surround the work of family planning motivation. Still another set of factors that discourage the development of

operational links between family planning and agricultural programs is found in bureaucratic limitations, rigid administration, and narrow definitions of responsibilities in terms of subject matter and the community served (Patankar and Dey, 1973).

Obviously, a significant sector of the audience being reached by agricultural extension workers is the same as that which must be reached by family planning messages. One worker can carry both messages, or workers can coordinate their activities to bring about successful integration of population and agricultural and rural development communication efforts.

HEALTH, NUTRITION, AND HOME ECONOMICS

Another important area that has largely been ignored by family planning education and communication field projects is the conceptual relationship between health and nutrition and family size. Alan Berg in The Nutrition Factor argues that nutrition programs can serve as a mechanism to encourage family planning (1973, p. 34). The mother of a child who has made a quick and dramatic recovery from malnutrition will be receptive to advice from the people who saved her child--that advice could quite logically include family planning information. Also, contraceptive programs may have a better chance of success if women's nutrition is improved. Berg feels that nutritional anemia, so common among women in poor countries, may be one cause of the high removal rate of intrauterine devices since malnourished women demonstrate higher incidence of bleeding than do better nourished women (1973).

Contraceptives sometimes affect breast-feeding and thus the nutritional well-being of infants. Whereas the intrauterine loop appears to stimulate lactation, certain oral contraceptives high in estrogen appear to inhibit it. Certainly, the relationships between the use of contraceptives, lactation, infant health, and pregnancy could be included in family planning education (Ibid., pp. 38-39).

Carl E. Taylor argues that more attention should be given to the relationship between maternal and child health services and family planning. In his studies he found a strong correlation between nutritional influences on child health and the parents' willingness to accept family planning (1973). Huenemann also suggests

that "nutrition along with other basic services decreases infant mortality and morbidity and thereby helps to make family planning an acceptable concept to parents . . ." (1975, p. 3). Trying to encourage acceptance of family planning by families with poor health without associating it with better nutrition education for the mothers, children, and other members of the family, can be a waste of effort.

Salma Ashur suggests the following as areas where the relationships between nutrition and family planning could be stressed:

- Women's nutritional status and their physiological reproductive capacity;
- Effects of nutritional status on the mother's health and child health and survival, and the diet of the mother in relation to pregnancy;
- Lactation and family planning: impact of lactation on the child's health and mother's health and the impact of contraceptives on lactation;
- Nutritional requirements of different groups of the family considering age, sex, work, and the resources needed to meet these requirements (Ashur in FAO, 1977, p. 3).

Unfortunately, not much literature concerning these points is available to fieldworkers.

There are topics in home economics and family management that are closely related to population and family planning. These topics include child development and care; and home management and family economics, such as housing and education. For example, organizational patterns in households are influenced by the size, composition, and role-norms traditionally expected in the family. FAO seminars in different regions have identified some areas in home economics which could incorporate population components (Bustrillos, 1976). Courses in home economics that incorporate family planning and population education have been developed in the Philippines, Kenya, and other countries. These courses have developed a body of literature useful to fieldworkers, about the specific relationships between various aspects of family life and family welfare on the one hand, and family size and family planning on the other.

CHAPTER 3

Problems of Fieldworkers and Fieldwork

For want of a nail the shoe is lost;
For want of a shoe the horse is lost;
For want of a horse the rider is lost;
For want of a rider the battle is lost.

Benjamin Franklin

One of the main problems facing those who urge the development of an integrated communication program for family planning and rural development is how to define the professional and technical contributions of the different sectors at both the conceptual and operational levels. To do that we need to find practical answers to the following questions: Are rural fieldworkers from non-family planning programs interested in family planning? Do these fieldworkers feel that family planning programs are related to their efforts and activities? How and in what way? Will they be willing to include family planning messages in their own program? Who should initiate the work of integrating family planning into other disciplines of development? Who is responsible for defining the relationship between population and family planning and other sectors of development?

Will agricultural extension workers, for example, be willing to spend time developing these relationships? Will they be willing to talk about family planning while concerned about crop performance, farm services, and other agricultural matters? Or can the family planning fieldworker, who is generally more closely associated with social workers, health educators, or community teachers, be trained to talk about agricultural problems with ease and confidence? Answers to these questions are difficult to find.

MISSING THE APPROPRIATE AUDIENCE

Rural sociologists, students of public administration, agricultural specialists, and, recently, population and family planning scholars have contributed to a better understanding of the problems of rural fieldworkers. Although most of the problems have been identified through studies of agricultural extension workers, these problems are quite similar to those experienced in other rural extension programs.

Rural extension service is supported because it attempts to reach people who do not have other access to information because of limited resources and education or because of lack of contact with the outside world. Rich and educated people tend to have their own sources of specialized information--a private doctor, an agricultural specialist, a commercial dealer, an educated child, and so on. They rarely need an extension service except when there is an urgent problem. Yet, studies show that most extension services are strongly biased toward more well-to-do and progressive people. Fieldworkers like to spend their time with people who can understand them and are receptive to new ideas. Neil Roling and Fred Chega (1972) and J. Ascroft et al. (1973) found that when fieldworkers were asked to recruit farmers to attend training courses, mostly those farmers with higher-than-average incomes were invited. The authors suggest that one reason for this situation is that the fieldworkers were acquainted only with the rich and progressive farmers.

QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF FIELDWORKERS

Other problems that must be faced are the poor training of rural fieldworkers, their lack of mobility, and their heavy workload because there are just too few of them. From my observations in East Africa and from similar observations made by a number of authors, I can safely say that many fieldworkers have not been adequately trained. Not only is the initial training too brief and limited, but periodic meetings of field staff, which could be used for training purposes, are usually spent discussing administrative and financial affairs. Discussion of technical and professional issues and an intelligent exchange of ideas between rural fieldworkers and their supervisors are rare. While reviewing the files of fieldworkers

in several districts in East Africa, I found few references to technical issues, discussions of strategies, or exchanges of professional views. Lionel Cliffe *et al.* (1968) found that fieldworkers usually work short hours, miss working days, and spend much of their time preparing travel reports, wage payments, and other activities not directly productive. Because of their limited training and education, fieldworkers tend to write short, general reports in order to fulfill some administrative requirement of completing a report at the end of a given working period. These reports are of little use for making decisions at higher levels because the fieldworkers do not include problems they have faced in the field or make suggestions for solutions.

Another limiting factor is the lack of transportation for fieldworkers. This means their work is limited to places close to where they live. A related problem is the scarcity of fieldworkers. Even in Korea and Taiwan where family planning programs are relatively more advanced than in other developing countries, each fieldworker has to reach a large number of families. In Korea each worker has to reach on the average about 2,200 fertile couples in 50 to 60 villages (Kincaid *et al.*, 1975). In Taiwan each worker is assigned to a township of about 35,000 people. The ratio of fieldworkers to rural families is equally as low in other developing countries. Kenyan fieldworkers each serve about 32,000 families while in Egypt each fieldworker has to reach about 45,000 rural families--an impossible task. It would be a mistake to conclude that the answer is simply to expand the network of fieldworkers, because this means expanding the network with its present inefficiencies and shortcomings. Before expanding that network, new approaches, new strategies, and new training orientations need to be developed.

Another problem is the extension and communication strategy being followed by many extension workers: one that focuses on reaching individuals in their home or at the center. Fieldworkers have rarely used group extension methods, such as adult education and literacy classes and women's groups. They tend to shy away from these methods because they require careful planning and preparation or because the fieldworkers do not feel competent to handle such situations. With the exception of a few projects such as the Mothers' Clubs in Korea, the Programme for Better Family Living in Kenya, and the Thailand Family Life Education Project, I am not aware of other serious rural development projects on a national scale that attempt to use group extension methods.

UNDERSTANDING THE MISSION

One of the factors resulting in inefficient performance by fieldworkers is their inadequate understanding of their mission. Fieldworkers have to be able to illustrate their messages and to design communication strategies to fit local conditions and needs. To do so effectively, they must believe in the message they are to deliver. It is common to meet family planning fieldworkers who are not sure that the messages they are delivering to the families are true. I have heard many fieldworkers in East Africa ask why people should have fewer children. Some voiced this question because they themselves were not convinced; others did not feel that they had enough information to convince other people. Robert Crawford (1974), in discussing problems of field communication, tells a story about his visit to Taiwan and his discussion with a family planning fieldworker and a nurse who were arguing with him about the need for family planning. Crawford reports that the idea did not make sense to the two women even though they were promoting family planning in Taiwan, which has one of the best government family planning programs in the world.

To explain this point further: during one of the training courses conducted for family planning fieldworkers in Kenya, one worker, after spending two weeks learning about the methods of family planning and how to present them, asked desperately: "What do we tell people about family planning after we explain to them how to use the methods? Do we start with the assumption that our audience is sitting in front of us waiting to learn about the methods and hearing us repeat over and over again, "Limit your family size, do not have many children?" The fieldworker wanted to say more about family planning and its relationship to agriculture, education, and health at the family level. The worker was correct in saying that he could not face his audience and talk to them only about limiting births and using contraceptives. That message is only useful to those who are already convinced.

REACHING RURAL FAMILIES

Attempts to reach rural families can be grouped into three strategies: 1) using the traditional extension approach; 2) utilizing local organizations and village-level groups; and 3) approaching people through adult education programs.

1. The Traditional Extension Approach

The most common approach is that of the extension service whereby the extension agent visits villages and contacts individual families through home visits. This approach is based on the assumption that there is a body of knowledge that can be presented to individual rural families to help improve their understanding of the problems of large families and the advantages of family planning. No real program distinction is made to fit different clients. The staff of the family planning program that follows the traditional extension approach is mainly composed of persons with basic training in health (from nurses and doctors to minimally trained field-workers), social workers, and, occasionally, teachers or former community development officers.

Under the traditional approach, it is common to find in the same rural area a number of different and entirely separate extension activities in health, agriculture, nutrition, home economics, cooperatives, social services, and community development, all aimed at the same audience but sponsored by different public or private agencies. A major criticism leveled at these programs is that the sectoral programs are uncoordinated, resulting in duplication, gaps, poor timing of inputs, waste of resources, and confusion to people.

2. Using Local Organizations and Village-level Groups

A related extension approach emphasizes working with organized groups as the main method for achieving cognitive and behavioral changes. This approach is based on the assumptions that people live and function in groups. Godwin Chu (1975) uses the Chinese experience to support the argument that the group approach can be a powerful mechanism to move a traditional society out of its old routines and push it on the road to development. Peer group influence is important in shaping individual behavior. Groups tend to reduce anxiety, fear, and uncertainty and add a sense of security for individuals who are reluctant to try something new on their own.

Women's groups and agricultural societies are good examples of groups that can be used as vehicles for transferring information. The Mothers' Clubs in Korea have been used by the family planning program to disseminate both information and oral contraceptives.

They are also used by the Office of Rural Development to help rural families improve their incomes by introducing new crops as well as increasing the yields of their customary crops.

Everett Rogers and D. Lawrence Kincaid have written about the Mothers' Clubs in some detail (Rogers et al., 1975; Kincaid et al., 1975). They found that the clubs were effective in increasing understanding and the spread of family planning methods among rural adults. They contend that the adoption of family planning can be achieved more efficiently through group communication because such a strategy provides the needed group support to reinforce a woman's decision to adopt a certain contraceptive method. The group serves as a source of information whereby members learn about methods and their side effects through personal discussions and group learning activities. The group also provides a convenient forum for field-workers.

Initiating and maintaining the Mothers' Clubs in an area is the responsibility of the local family planning fieldworker and a district worker of the Planned Parenthood Federation of Korea (PPFK). These two are usually responsible for the activities of several Mothers' Clubs in two or three counties. Mothers who become members of a club should be able to read and write, be affiliated with at least one community activity, and be between the age of 20 and 49. Each local club is led by a volunteer leader who is chosen from among the members and who serves a two-year term. Mothers' Club leaders, assistant leaders, and secretaries are usually given a one-week training course on family planning, credit union management, and record-keeping procedures. In the past, training was conducted primarily in Seoul, but emphasis is now being placed on training at the provincial level.

The activities of the Mothers' Clubs include, in addition to family planning education and services, such cooperative activities as growing fruits, vegetables, chestnut trees, and rice; breeding livestock; working on community construction projects such as schools and community halls; improving village sanitation, nutrition, and child care; and working on income-producing projects such as cooperative stores and cloth making. Mothers' Clubs support the socioeconomic development efforts of the community through their contribution to these projects and by forming credit unions (or "mothers' banks"), which provide loans to individuals or finance community development activities.

In their assessment of the effectiveness of these clubs, Hyung Jong Park et al. (1974) found that one out of every three women currently practicing family planning in the rural areas of Korea is doing so on the advice of a Mothers' Club leader. Rogers et al. and Kincaid et al. observed that these clubs have increased the efficiency of family planning programs in rural areas to a level higher than that achieved by family planning programs in urban areas.

In addition to the PPFK there are several other organizations that use the clubs. The Ministry of Health and Social Affairs uses them to encourage cooperative activities and for various social programs. The extension services of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry uses the clubs to teach basic agricultural practices, home economics, nutrition, and home sanitation. Each ministry provides an agent to assist the club in carrying out its respective activities. Kincaid et al. found that there is no role confusion among members of the village clubs resulting from these different activities (1975, p. 8).

The idea of establishing groups working at the village-level and of organizing rural families in order to accelerate development (and the spread of family planning) has also been tried in Kenya. Here the Programme for Better Family Living (PBFL), a project assisted by the FAO and the Kenyan government, developed communication and education activities for women's groups (Krystall, 1975). The project has involved curriculum and instructional development, training, research and evaluation, and field and pilot projects to test materials. The organization of the Kenyan women's groups is slightly different from that of the Korean Mothers' Clubs, but these two organizations have almost identical objectives and provide excellent examples of the use of the comprehensive approach to family planning through local organizations. Both programs emphasize an integrated approach to planning, administering, and delivering services needed for social and economic development. The key to this approach is in the training of women's group leaders, a function carried out by an inter-departmental field staff. This multidisciplinary field staff also works with the leaders and their groups in their own communities after completion of the training course. The educational and communication efforts directed toward local groups are as important as the organizational efforts put into establishing them, for without a sound communication strategy, their contribution to development becomes haphazard, superficial, and sporadic. The strategy requires that opportunities be made available for the

members of groups to acquire specific skills and related knowledge in a systematic way. Training may take the form of a residential course held in a farmers' training center or less formal classes at the local school. The objectives of the training program are both to acquaint the members of the groups with new ideas and practices and to keep them in regular contact with development personnel and their respective activities. The assessments of the training programs have shown that their internal efficiency (cost effectiveness) and external productivity (cost-benefit ratio) are not determined by what the training courses accomplish, but rather by the enthusiasm, back-stopping, participation, and support they generate and receive from ministries concerned with development and rural change. It was observed that, as a result of training courses conducted for women's groups in Kenya, fieldworkers became more enthusiastic about their work and assignments. They became more interested in working with officers from other sectoral departments and eager to attend training courses to improve their communication skills and their understanding of issues and problems of development and family welfare.

The Comilla Project in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) is one of the most impressive attempts to test the integrated group approach. The Comilla Project uses agricultural cooperative societies and the Thana Training and Development Center as vehicles through which groups of villagers are reached with messages about various aspects of development. Managers and model farmers of the village cooperatives have received regular training in a variety of development topics such as management, accountancy, agronomy, irrigation, marketing, education, health, sanitation, family planning, and nutrition.

The Thana Training and Development Center brings together field officers of the government development agencies to discuss better planning and coordination activities. The offices of agriculture, education, public health, and family planning are located on one campus. The center provides facilities for training, workshops, and demonstration activities which are organized for villagers. The Comilla Project also conducts educational programs for women and young people regarding adult education and literacy, child care, and family planning services. The Comilla Project relies heavily on the use of small groups to reach a large number of individual villagers and to stimulate their active participation in development activities (Rahim, 1976). The use of small groups is essential because mass

media coverage in this rural area is inadequate. Village groups in the Comilla Project elect their representatives who receive short-term training and are made responsible for guiding the discussions in the regular meetings held in the village. They select, explain, interpret, and adapt the messages the group should discuss. Rahim observed that the interaction among group leaders, change agents, and group members helps to reduce the destabilizing effects usually brought about by the introduction of new ideas and practices (Ibid.).

3. Approaching People through Adult Education Programs

A third approach used in reaching rural families is based on adult education and literacy courses. Members of these classes are usually poor, rural people who could not obtain a formal education. It is among this class that resistance to change and to new ideas is most pronounced. Adults come to these classes primarily to learn literacy skills. Marion Halverson, who spent almost thirty years with the World Council of Churches developing literacy and adult education programs in East Africa, told me that most of the students were interested in becoming literate in order to carry out their social and economic activities more efficiently. The students, however, tend to develop interest in other aspects of development when texts about agriculture, child care, and nutrition are presented during literacy classes.

The Machakos Integrated Functional Education Project in Kenya is a good example of a project that has successfully presented family planning education as an essential and integral component of the rural education process. The project used fieldworkers from agriculture, health, family planning, and nutrition as the teachers. They were also responsible for developing their own educational materials, based on community surveys they conducted themselves and using literacy and adult education experts as well as subject-matter specialists as sources of background information and technical assistance. The fieldworkers attended training sessions to improve their writing and communication skills, especially in regard to illiterate adults. Educational materials and manuals prepared by the fieldworkers contained discussion notes and lessons related to agriculture, family planning, nutrition, health, social welfare, home economics, and family entertainment.

The communication strategy of the Machakos Project was designed to respond to the difficulties faced in delivering information

to rural communities where extension services are weak and fragmented. The strategy required that sectoral extension programs widen their emphasis by offering new kinds of information for rural families. It involved using all relevant community resources: farmers' training centers, rural and community development activities, adult education and literacy classes, mothers' groups, and cooperative societies. The strategy attempted to deal with the problems of reaching rural families at two levels: at the extension system level where better coordination, management planning, and integration was required, and at the grass-roots level where farmers must become better planners and master a steady succession of improved technologies to improve the quality of their lives. Concepts related to population and development were introduced into the training of interdepartmental extension teams, and educational materials for adult education courses and literacy classes included discussions of interrelated issues and problems at the family level. Throughout the project, fieldworkers were provided with training opportunities that developed their understanding of the project's objectives and provided guidelines on how to present, discuss, illustrate, or demonstrate specific problems to the students.

In planning the educational materials, the fieldworkers identified several necessary educational aids which they subsequently prepared and produced. The first was a comprehensive family life educational manual for community leaders in which the problems of rural families were presented in a format that helped group leaders conduct discussions of these problems and demonstrate skills required for their solutions. Written in simplified language, it devoted one chapter to each problem. The discussion notes emphasized audience participation and, as a discussion aid to the leaders, suggested solutions to the problems.

The second type of educational material consisted of basic literacy textbooks to reinforce the reading skills of beginners. One textbook developed by the fieldworkers taught symbols (letters) by using key words selected from a lexicon of family life education. This functional approach to teaching literacy was enhanced by another text which discussed family problems in simple language and facilitated reading fluency in the early stages of learning how to read and write. The third type of educational materials were simple, well-illustrated leaflets and pamphlets about specific issues and subjects to be handed out to rural families at the end of meetings and classes (Barghouti, 1975b).

Reaching people in groups, establishing village-level organizations, and working through adult education and literacy classes have been found effective in overcoming basic communication hurdles. Through these methods, more people are reached; population messages are presented within the total context of development; and answers to people's concerns are generated locally.

CHAPTER 4

Requirements in the Field

In order to carry out their complex tasks, fieldworkers must have a variety of sophisticated skills, and they must also have the support of all program administrators from the top echelons in the national government down to their immediate supervisors in the field. The family planning program must provide fieldworkers with up-to-date professional and technical information; with educational materials; with training and backstopping so that the fieldworkers can produce their own materials and plan and implement their field activities; and provide them with opportunities to exchange information with researchers, subject-matter specialists, and program staff from other locations and from other departments. The national program must be organized and managed so that there are good channels for the flow of management and program information between the field and headquarters and regional offices. Equally important to the vertical communication system within the family planning program is good horizontal communication between all of the various development programs involved in reaching rural people.

1. UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR FIELDWORKERS

A continuous supply of technical information is essential for good performance by fieldworkers. Regular radio programs, periodical publications, seminars, training sessions, and informal meetings with supervisors are some of the channels through which fieldworkers can be kept up-to-date with developments in the field. Unfortunately, fieldworkers are often unaware of new developments in the field of family planning in general or even of activities going on within their own program.

During numerous visits to fieldworkers' offices, I noticed they had very poor and very few reference materials in subjects related to their work. Their offices were almost bare except for old posters and outdated reports. What books and publications that were found in these offices had usually been acquired when the fieldworker attended a training course in the past. No one was providing them with current publications. Furthermore, no follow-up materials or publications had been sent to them from the organizers of the training courses they had attended.

The provision of technical and professional information to fieldworkers is not a common practice in many family planning programs. The responsibility for seeing that such materials reach the field belongs to program managers and administrators. Some of them, unfortunately, wait for material to come from IPPF, USAID, or other international agencies, in quantities large enough for distribution to the field offices. Such material usually is of little use to fieldworkers because it is not written in their language, is too difficult, or is simply irrelevant. Technical materials should be adapted to the educational level of the fieldworkers and should apply to the problems and issues they face in their working environment. The Philippine, Korean, and Malaysian family planning programs have successfully addressed themselves to this problem by publishing local family planning magazines that are usually read by fieldworkers as part of their assignments. The Korean Happy Home magazine is an example of a good source of information about issues and topics of relevance to the task of fieldworkers.

In addition to their need for professional and technical information, fieldworkers also need materials to support their communication activities. Usually, fieldworkers rely on headquarters staff to provide informational and educational materials. However, the supply is usually sporadic and unreliable, and the materials too general to be used in local educational programs. (This is also true for clinic personnel as shown by Samuel A. Betty and Higino A. Ables in their analysis of communication patterns in two family planning organizations in the Philippines. They found that family planning clinics received and distributed whatever information and educational materials they could obtain, regardless of their source. No qualified authority performed the task of reviewing the material to determine if it was applicable to the client's local needs and the clinic services. In most cases,

material was not available at all, and clinic personnel reported that they had done little to promote education and communication because they did not have the materials necessary to do so [Betty and Ables, 1975].)

As a result of this dependency on outside sources for materials, fieldworkers tend to perceive the educational process as a routine job in which the information they receive is passed on to rural families through traditional instructional methods which do not provide the needed interaction between the adults and the fieldworkers. Rural families will not continue to attend meetings where the fieldworker lectures from information prepared for general rather than specific audiences and occasions. They have to be approached through materials that are interesting and relevant and through educational methods that directly involve them, require their participation, and treat them as equal partners in the interaction process between the fieldworker and themselves.

To reach their audiences effectively, the fieldworkers must understand the topic and the message and be able to identify with the content and the approach used to explain it. One way to insure this is by encouraging the fieldworkers to prepare, develop, and possibly even to produce their own educational material. In order to do so, fieldworkers need to learn how to write clearly and simply, and they need to be thoroughly familiar with the topics they are writing about. Unfortunately, most family planning programs have not encouraged local preparation of educational materials. Very few fieldworkers have been provided with training opportunities to improve their writing skills or the ability to produce visual aids. R.D. Colle, in his analysis of the frontiers of communication based on his field experience in Latin America, concluded that "locally produced materials are by far the most effective. 'Locally produced' does not have to mean poorly produced: technology is available that permits exciting materials to be developed even outside the production centers of our capital cities. 'Locally produced' does imply that there be more local participation in the development of communication plans as well as in the creative and execution phases. This approach means that urban orientated office-bound officials should be willing to put greater faith in the ability of rural people themselves to take an active part in the communication process, rather than be only passive receivers" (1974, p. 5).

Ideally, the information units in the capitol cities should help the fieldworkers to produce their own material. As part of this backstopping service, they should offer short training courses that would include writing, pretesting, and material evaluation, and stress that the audiences for these materials are, for the most part, illiterate or semiliterate. In brief, the skills needed are those to plan, produce, and disseminate information to rural families. As a result, fieldworkers would no longer be passive participants in the communication process but active agents.

Unfortunately, this is not typical of family planning programs today. More often, central information units view fieldworkers only as recipients of information and channels for conveying messages to rural groups and individuals. The information units are devoted to producing posters and films, which, because of limited instructional guides, are often used ineffectively by the fieldworkers. In several countries the family planning organizations have large information units complete with printers and production facilities that could serve the fieldworkers. In these same countries, I have met fieldworkers who complained that they could not prepare educational materials because there was no one to help them produce, illustrate, and print their work.

Need for Materials on Development

As mentioned earlier, there is an urgent need to prepare and distribute publications about the relationships of various aspects of development to the issues of population growth and family size at the national, community, and family levels. In searching the library for family planning publications, I have not found even one, easy-to-read reference book on the relationship between family size and agriculture. Neither was there any material that explains how fieldworkers can link, for example, nutrition or community services to family planning. A system for producing and distributing such material should be developed in such a way as to encourage fieldworkers to read, evaluate, comment on, and contribute to an exchange of technical information. This participation can be achieved by preparing readable reports about successful projects carried out by fieldworkers in other locations, the strategies they used, and the results achieved (Cernada and Sun, 1974).

But very few family planning programs have developed and established a regular system of technical information services designed to acquaint fieldworkers with the latest developments and accomplishments in the areas of social and biomedical research.

Information services should not be restricted to the provision of written materials. Fieldworkers should be provided the opportunity to meet with specialists such as medical doctors, sociologists, and demographers in order to learn about major issues and problems relevant to family planning, population, and national development. Such sessions should encourage free discussions in which fieldworkers are allowed to interact on an equal basis with the visiting experts. One advantage of such sessions is that they can be restricted to the discussion of one subject. Many training sessions try to deal with all aspects of population issues--an impossibly huge task. The sessions are also useful because they help develop a common understanding of issues. This is extremely important since fieldworkers come from such various backgrounds as home economics, education, social sciences, community development, nursing, and nutrition. Unfortunately, fieldworkers are very rarely offered such opportunities.

Some countries have addressed this situation by insisting that regular meetings be held in the provinces and districts solely for the purpose of discussing local issues and problems related to family planning programs. The Kenyan family planning program, for example, started an innovative procedure whereby it invited staff from a selected province, researchers from the University of Nairobi, supervisors from headquarters, and doctors from the Ministry of Health to meet informally with fieldworkers for day-long sessions during which they presented the latest views and ideas about the issues and problems of family planning in the country and the province. The second step was to publish the salient points of the meeting in a family planning magazine so that field staff in other provinces could also be exposed to this information.

Participation by Fieldworkers in Research Projects

During my work in East Africa, I found that some fieldworkers were participating in research. I believe that links between

researchers and fieldworkers should be strengthened. Researchers can learn first hand about issues and problems that require further investigation and analysis, and fieldworkers can become better informed about their discipline and also learn basic research skills such as collecting data, preparation of simple questionnaires, interviewing techniques and information analysis. Fieldworkers can be trained to observe and generalize from what they observe.

Unfortunately, in many developing countries the gap between researchers and fieldworkers is wide. The former are concerned with fieldworkers only when they are used as subjects for research projects. A great deal of family planning research conducted in developing countries is published only in international journals or presented at international workshops. Little attention is given to sharing research results with fieldworkers, thereby providing them information about social, economic, and demographic aspects of their country, province and perhaps even their own communities. Such information would be of utmost value to them in planning and implementing their field activities.

2. RELATIONSHIPS WITH SUPERVISORS AND COLLEAGUES

The performance of fieldworkers cannot be evaluated in isolation from their relationships with supervisors and the kinds of assistance and support they receive from program administrators at the national and provincial levels. First let us examine the relationship between fieldworkers and their supervisors. In many cases fieldworkers are assigned to their job without a clear understanding of the program and its goals, without sufficient task training, and without a budget to guide their activities. Instructions received from the national office are likely to be vague and general in nature, for they are sent to all workers in all areas of the country. Often such instructions are largely unrelated to field objectives, requiring the fieldworker to carry out unnecessary activities and fragmented assignments. The "up-down" relationships between supervisors and the fieldworkers are often authoritarian in style and express, on the side of the supervisor, only superficial concern with field problems--the main interest being to restrict costs and satisfy administrative and logistic requirements. It is unfortunate to see that much of the "up-down" relationship is concerned with administrative details relating to such matters as travel expenses and allocations of paper or stencils.

Information about budget allocations to the field are usually kept in the offices of supervisors in the central office. It is rare to find a field office that has been given clear and definite instructions on how much should be spent on what activities within a given period of time. Thus, because fieldworkers do not know what resources are available, they are deprived of the opportunity to plan activities in line with what can be afforded.

A number of experts in rural extension have tried to address this situation. Robert Chambers summarizes these attempts in his suggestion that management of field staff should be based on the assumption that fieldworkers are responsible for and capable of responding to supervision that gives them a part in drawing up their own work plans and setting their own work targets (Chambers, 1974). Work planning should be a "bottom-up" process. At the operating level, practical procedures should be implemented to establish a healthy flow of communication among the various elements of the organization. These procedures should provide for regular management meetings between supervisors and fieldworkers that result in agreed upon work plans for activities to be accomplished in the period between meetings, and for well-written reports about the work accomplished and the problems encountered. These action reports should be problem- and opportunity-oriented and designed as a managerial tool for getting things done. In other words, reports that are simple, functional, and professionally informative about conditions and problems of field operations.

However, little attention has been given to strengthening the flow of information from fieldworkers. Communication from field to headquarters is largely restricted to routine, written reports. Because fieldworkers are usually discouraged from acting on their own and lack sufficient training, they end up submitting dull reports that follow a format; scarcely a word is changed from month to month, and thus, very limited information is provided that could be used to guide future planning and allocation of resources.

Gerald D. Hursh, Neil R. Roling, and Graham B. Kerr, who have studied rural extension programs in Nigeria, presented a typical picture of the situation at the field level when they concluded: "Extension agents often live in villages under conditions that foster lethargy, with no meaningful communication with supervisors, and with inadequate supervision and advice. All these

factors create feelings of personal alienation and dislocation. Strategies to expand the efficiency and vitality of the extension service would have to include improvements in the interaction between change-agency bureaucracy and extension agents in the village" (Hursh et al., 1968, p. 159).

When programs are fragmented, requests from the field are usually scarce and haphazard. On the other hand, when there is a good communication between headquarters and the field, fieldworkers request assistance and cooperation from higher levels. As a result, fieldworkers improve their competence and consequently are apt to have more confidence in requesting professional assistance from superiors. Through these requests from the field, the central staff is likely to develop a greater sense of responsibility for the work being done at the grassroots level.

Rogers argues that the entire family planning organization is a communication system designed to reach an intended audience with certain messages. To achieve its objective, this system has to be able to identify the information needs of the families reached, generate this information, and deliver it in a simple style and through appropriate channels. This task can only be accomplished through steady renewal and growth of staff competence. The operation requires good management at all levels.

Headquarters administrators as well as fieldworkers are required to manage, plan, coordinate, and continually evaluate their programs. The ability to harmonize and integrate field programs with complementary development projects is also required. Staff development and smooth field operations require flexible, yet efficient, management systems. Lack of flexibility between the field and headquarters proscribes the educational activities of the extension worker. Permission is usually required before workers commit themselves to any request to participate in a training course or in a joint field operation with other fieldworkers. Some supervisors deny their fieldworkers the opportunity to react spontaneously to educational needs because, they claim, such a work style distracts fieldworkers from their main responsibilities (Rogers, 1975).

Administrators and managers of family planning programs should encourage and assist fieldworkers to develop their own field and educational programs for rural families and to take the initiative

in outlining what, where, and how activities will be carried out within the reporting period. A degree of decentralization of authority and responsibility ensures that educational programs are adapted to local needs and can obtain local support. This local autonomy in planning requires that a larger measure of local financial control be permitted. It is ineffective to ask fieldworkers to plan activities, to commit themselves to producing educational material, and to support the efforts of other projects when they do not have a local budget or local power to spend it.

Some may argue that fieldworkers do not have the experience, education, and skills to supervise, control, and deal with local budgets and local expenditures. If they do not have these skills, then they should be provided with the opportunity to acquire them both through special training and through gradual increases in responsibility.

In earlier sections of this paper, the importance of staff meetings was discussed in terms of facilitating the flow of professional and technical information and the planning of field activities. These meetings can also be useful as a mechanism for providing on-the-job training for field staff. The sessions should be held monthly and be attended by all fieldworkers in a given geographical area in order that activities can be coordinated, experiences shared, and planning carried out jointly.

The overall purpose of such sessions is to help fieldworkers program and implement plans of work for a given period of time. Fieldworkers should be encouraged to discuss what they are planning to do, their justification for doing it, and the time, cost, and resources they will need to accomplish the proposed activity. The supervisor should give his or her opinions, suggestions, and commitments in support of the plan proposed, thereby giving the fieldworkers immediate feedback and reducing any anxiety and uncertainty. Through this type of discussion, all fieldworkers present can learn from each other and from the supervisor. At management training sessions, the fieldworkers should be asked to report on what they have accomplished, the problems encountered, and the reasons for any delays in implementing plans. The supervisor can then identify bottlenecks in field programming and implementation and make suggestions for overcoming them.

During a programming session that I attended, the supervisor asked a fieldworker for information about the community in which she worked and about a number of issues related to her assignment. The worker was not prepared to answer the questions. For example, she did not know where all of the nutrition and health clinics were located, the number of health workers in her area, whether there was a training center with living accommodations in the community, or the school situation of the district. This fieldworker, as well as the others at the meeting, learned that fieldworkers must be well informed about the local community and its resources and that they should be prepared to discuss them at the management sessions.

There have been many attempts to improve the efficiency of rural extension and communication services, usually initiated by headquarters. Endeavors to develop organizational charts with impressive hierarchical structures (blocks and links that suggest the role, the relationships, and the flow of command among the various components of the system) usually do not achieve significant improvements. Even though charts can serve an important purpose, they are only useful when there is free flow of information up and down the organizational system, resulting in an integrated program responsive to the needs and problems of field action programs.

3. RELATIONSHIPS WITH WORKERS FROM OTHER DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

The third area of concern is the relationship between the family planning fieldworker and workers from other development agencies. One of the main barriers to integrating field programs in many Asian and African countries, is the fact that family planning programs were set up as part of the network of ongoing health programs. Initially, this was quite logical since it allowed family planning programs to go rapidly into operation using the services and facilities of the health structure. Recently, however, attention has been paid to the fact that family planning programs suffer both from a lack of coordination and integration with major development programs at the national policy and planning level and from a lack of coordination with other community action programs in the field (Whang, 1976, p. 5).

In-Joung Whang discusses a number of issues related to the problems of coordinating and integrating family planning activities with other aspects of development. It is important that all agencies be convinced that they are working to attain mutual goals and objectives. If the goals of the different agencies are not compatible, then coordination is difficult. Continued willingness to coordinate activities depends on the attitudes of the agencies which benefit the least (Ibid., p. 165). Based on field experience, it is clear that the educational objectives of the family planning worker overlap with and share a wide and common ground with the educational objectives of fieldworkers in home economics, agriculture, nutrition, health and community development, and still others. Also, operationally, the family planning fieldworker usually attempts to reach the same audience, visit the same communities, and utilize the same occasions as those used by other fieldworkers to reach rural families.

An integrated approach requires that fieldworkers join forces with other agencies to plan, manage, and implement their field activities. To do so, family planning fieldworkers need to be briefed regularly on the activities, targets, plans, and operations of the related development projects.

In order to achieve integration, joint meetings on a regular basis with other fieldworkers are useful. However, these meetings do not achieve much if they are limited to general discussions, "shop talk," and refreshments. Rather, they should focus on the details of objectives, activities, program plans, and their implementation. These meetings should lead to integrated planning which outlines who should do what, when, and how. The family planning fieldworker can take the initiative to organize such meetings or suggest that they be held regularly. The fieldworkers can elect a chairperson, according to seniority, experience in the community, and/or willingness to take up this responsibility.

Through these interdepartmental team meetings, fieldworkers learn much about the community, a necessary step for creating the confidence necessary for the ambitious planning of realistic targets. By drawing up plans together, fieldworkers develop a greater commitment to their projects as well. I noticed during my association with the Kenya Machakos Integrated Functional

Educational Project that each member of the interdepartmental team was concerned about the performance of all other members. The agricultural fieldworker was willing to participate in sessions organized for nutrition or family planning education. Thus, the project was able to provide better services to the community without employing new extension workers (Barghouti, 1975b).

A major contribution of this interdepartmental communication was the boosting of morale, confidence, and capabilities of the local-level staff. A good example of this took place in Kenya where a work plan designed at the district level by a fieldworker was returned with the following response from her supervisor: "If you have prepared this plan with assistance from other fieldworkers, there is no point in saying no or delaying it. You'd better proceed with it and we will let you know what we think about it when we see the results. Just let us know how we can support you in the meantime." This procedure became a de facto decentralization of program planning and implementation.

As we have seen in our earlier discussion, the effective communication strategies followed by successful programs such as the Comilla, the Kenyan PBFL, and the Korean Mothers' Clubs projects called for innovative and integrated approaches to teaching rural adults. To achieve a satisfactory level of integration, a certain amount of program flexibility must be maintained. This flexibility can only be achieved when fieldworkers prove that they are capable of and willing to plan and carry out educational activities that are suitable to the conditions of their community and efficiently coordinated with the development projects of other sectoral departments.

A central theme that runs through our discussion of the successful projects is the need to reach people in groups and to do so with multidisciplinary teams of extension workers who plan and implement their activities together. This is not easy. Many professionals and their agencies perceive the important problems of rural development as being located within the field of their own specialty. Their acceptance of the work of other agencies may be superficial and a result of courtesy rather than conviction. Each agency wants to run its own program and to receive credit for accomplishing program objectives.

It takes time, devotion, and a selfless attitude to bring officers from various departments together in an effective working relationship. This process has to be achieved gradually. It has to be achieved by creating conditions favorable to attracting the support of field officers. It requires, for example, careful gathering of data about community problems and their interrelationships and clear demonstration of how the contribution of each program can alleviate the situation. This information can be exchanged through interdepartmental meetings, brief reports, local newsletters, interdepartmental memos and visits among members of various departments. The sharing of information is the first step on the long road to effective integration. It should lead to a clearer understanding both of the advantages of working together and of why a piecemeal approach is ineffective and wasteful of resources, including the time and energy of fieldworkers. Information sharing helps fieldworkers realize that they are part of the whole development process, how each part fits, and how these parts relate to and reinforce one another. The women's group project of the Kenyan Program for Better Family Living (PBFL) has achieved remarkable results by following this approach. But integration at the national level, although desirable, is not essential for achieving integration at the local level.

Procedures followed by the women's group program in Kenya resulted in a reasonable level of harmony and cooperation among the family planning fieldworkers and officers from a variety of development agencies, even though the program was not originally established to assist family planning. It was initially perceived as a means to improve the social and economic well-being of rural families through financial assistance and vocational training in agriculture, homecraft, and other handicraft skills. Family planning education became an integral part of the program as a result of the efforts of the PBFL project, which integrated all extension services conducted in one district. Accordingly, fieldworkers were requested to form a team. The community development officer was, in many cases, the coordinator of the team and therefore, responsible for convening, reporting, and following up on the team's requests from various departments. The program emphasized regular and frequent opportunities for intersectoral meetings. These meetings were designed to help fieldworkers implement the program and, in particular, to address problems as they arose during the

implementation of field activities. The meetings also helped to strengthen communication links among various hierarchical levels of administration as well as horizontally among various inter-ministerial departments. Another function was to draw up time-tables and schedules for field operations and program planning.

During these meetings, the team defined the training requirements of its members. The team, composed of fieldworkers representing agriculture, home economics, family planning, health, nutrition, adult education, and some voluntary organizations met regularly to discuss what had to be done, who was responsible for doing what, and when each operation should be completed. To perform this programming exercise efficiently, fieldworkers were provided with the opportunity to acquire the basic skills needed for program planning, management, and administration. The workers were taught to keep records, to collect information about available resources, and to budget costs of various operations. They were also asked to assess the costs and requirements of: planning and conducting training courses for women's leaders, arranging for outside lecturers, planning meeting venues, and recruiting participants to the training course. All members were requested to prepare sections of the integrated training program and to write and produce materials needed for teaching the women's groups. Fieldworkers were assisted in this by specialists in communication, by adult educators and by subject-matter specialists who ensured that the messages were simple, clear, accurate and relevant to the situation. After completing their assignments, fieldworkers were asked to present what they had produced--for discussion with the other members of the team before the training course started. Thus, the team functioned as a curriculum committee for the local training courses (Barghouti, 1975b).

4. RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE COMMUNITY AND THE PEOPLE

The fourth area of concern is the fieldworkers' relationship with the communities they serve. Fieldworkers must be thoroughly familiar with the social and cultural customs and beliefs of the people, their needs and problems, and the social relationships among the members of the community. Field experience and results of many family planning programs indicate that only after proper study of their target groups can fieldworkers plan proper

proper study of their target groups can fieldworkers plan proper communication strategies which will result in changing existing attitudes, forming new ones, and encouraging people to adopt or behave in a desired way.

Fieldworkers need to know about the social and economic conditions of the community: its agricultural products, its demographic characteristics, its employment sources, its levels of education, and its schools and health services. They also must be aware of the various religious and secular groups and organizations in the community, who the formal and informal opinion leaders are, and which individuals are most likely to support the field activities of the program.

Effective relationships can be established when fieldworkers become involved in a variety of community activities. For example, many governments have organized village polytechnics and youth centers to teach manual skills to out-of-school youths. By becoming acquainted with the teachers and the students of these centers, and finding out what their attitudes are toward family size and welfare, the fieldworkers can tailor activities that involve them in discussions concerned with community and family welfare, including family planning.

CONCLUSION

This paper investigates the potential for increasing the effectiveness of population communication field programs by strengthening their functional links with other areas of development: agriculture and rural development, health and nutrition, home economics and family life, and education. The central theme that runs through the discussions is the need to reach the population with coherent and well-balanced messages about family size and population growth. Family planning, according to this theme, is not a limited concept related only to the use of contraceptives and to the prevention of unwanted births; rather, it is an approach to improving family welfare. Accordingly, family planning communication is placed within the context of total family welfare, community development, and national progress.

Because fertile adults "make or break" any population program, communication strategies to reach them with coherent

and practical messages about family size are essential. "Tomorrow's adults" can be addressed today through the formal educational system. Adults, however, must be reached through projects that will motivate them to think of the size of their family as a crucial factor that affects their welfare and that of their children. The most effective formula for reaching this audience, both individually and in groups, is through the efforts of multidisciplinary teams of extension and rural education workers.

The paper reviews a number of successful projects that have followed innovative approaches to the teaching of population problems and solutions to them. It uses the models presented by these projects to suggest an outline for planning field activities based on a comprehensive, integrated approach to development communication. It discusses operations and field requirements which can achieve results when carefully planned in conjunction with relevant activities of other development programs.

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